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Samuel Robert Kenney
Bowdoin College, kenneysam97@gmail.com

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Leadership from Within

Founders, advocates, and organizational networks operating in Maine's immigrant community

An Honors Paper for the Department of Africana Studies

By Samuel Robert Kenney

Bowdoin College, 2019

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my sincere thanks and gratitude to three of my most important intellectual mentors: my mom, my dad, and my thesis advisor, Dr. Brian Purnell. My parents I thank for inspiring me to pursue my passions, wherever they may lie, and for teaching me the value of working for the betterment of my community. Discussion at the childhood dinner-table on the ethics of altruism eventually motivated me to volunteer in Portland, where I found inspiration for this project. I can't thank you enough for guiding me with patience and encouragement through life's hardships. To Professor Purnell, I can't tell you how much I appreciate your investment in me from the beginning when no one else would. I am grateful that you challenged me to improve my writing in the first semester—it made for a better project. I would like to acknowledge every person who offered their help or advice throughout the process of research and writing, including Martha Stein, and the whole Sullivan family. A big thank you to all of the staff at the Joseph McKeen Center for the Common Good who offered me support in the form of advice, connections, and bus tickets that enabled me to conduct interviews in Portland and Lewiston. And lastly, I would like to thank my very best friends in the world in Coles Tower 4A/B and in Chamberlain Hall who brighten my life at all times. Without the support of everyone in my life, this project never could have gotten off the ground. I owe so much to Bowdoin College, and the extensive resources it invests in academic excellence.

ADCDH - (translated from Portuguese) Association for the Development of a Culture of Human Rights
ACLU - American Civil Liberties Union
CBO - Community-based organizations
CCM - Catholic Charities of Maine
    RIS - Refugee and Immigration Services
    OMRS - Office of Maine Refugee Services
DHHS - Department of Health and Human Services
DRC - Democratic Republic of the Congo
ED - Executive Director
ELL - English Language Learning
ESOL - equivalent meaning to ELL
ECBO - Ethnic community-based organization
FPAE - Friends of Portland Adult Education
GA - General Assistance
GPIWC - Greater Portland Immigrant Welcome Center
IDA - Individual Development Account
ILAP - Immigrant Legal Advocacy Project
IPIO - Immigrant political incorporation organization
IRB - Institutional Review Board
IRCM - Immigrant Resource Center of Maine
ISO - Immigrant-serving organization
LPR - Lawful Permanent Resident
MIRC - Maine Immigrants' Rights Coalition
MCI - Maine Community Integration
MSRC - Maine State Refugee Council
NAACP - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NMRC - New Mainers Resource Center
NMTA - New Mainers' Tenants Association
OEO - Office of Economic Opportunity
ORR - Office of Refugee Resettlement
PAE - Portland Adult Education
UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees
USCIS - United States Citizen and Immigration Services

Abstract

Much of the discourse surrounding African immigration to Maine has centered on the provision of public services that facilitate community development and integration. This project investigates different types of leadership strategies employed by African individuals in Maine that advance community objectives. When African immigrant leaders are empowered to affect public policy, they re-frame traditional conceptions of aid-dependency and vulnerability commonly applied to African immigrants in media and popular culture. Through leadership in nonprofit and civic spheres, African immigrant community leaders translate grassroots connectivity with informal networks into meaningful influence in the realm of public policy. This project focuses on the evolution of community leadership in Maine's Somali community, the network of immigrant-serving organizations that provide specialized public services across the state, and the capacity of one organization in particular, the Maine Immigrants' Rights Coalition (MIRC) to ensure accurate representation of policy initiatives to civic officials for individuals unable to participate in the electoral process. This project evaluates the political utility of 'lived experience' as a component of diversity in the realm of public policy.

Introduction

Though difficult to track precisely, the phenomenon of African migration to Maine has persisted in some form since around the year 2000. Some of these immigrants come to Maine directly from their countries of origin, and some have already spent some time in the US before making the decision to relocate to Maine, the most northeastern state in the country. Much of the media coverage on immigration in Maine over the past two decades has focused on the apparent improbability of African immigrants establishing permanent communities in Maine cities and towns, given the state's demographic heritage. Maine has grown increasingly rural and aging over the latter half of the 20th century, while maintaining a white racial majority of 96.9 percent by the year 2000.[1] The arrival of African immigrant communities upset this long-standing demographic homogeneity, at least locally. The US Census Bureau registered an increase in the percent of "Black or African American" living in Maine between 2000 and 2010 on multiple municipal levels as African immigrants famously settled in the metropolitan areas of two Maine cities, Lewiston and Portland. In Androscoggin county (home to Lewiston), the percentage of "Black or African American" increased from 0.6 percent in 2000 to 3.6 percent in 2010; the Lewiston metropolitan area went from 0.9 to 6.3 percent from 2000 to 2010;[2] Cumberland county (home to Portland)

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[1] "Census: Maine most rural state in 2010 as urban centers grow nationwide," *Bangor Daily News* (Bangor, Maine), March 26, 2012 (website). Accessed October 19, 2018, http://bangordailynews.com/2012/03/26/business/census-maine-most-rural-state-in-2010-as-urban-centers-grow-nationwide/

Henry J Kaiser Family Foundation, "Population Distribution by Age" (web page), State Health Facts (website), accessed October 19, 2018, https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/distribution-by age/?currentTimeframe=0&sortModel=%7B%22colId%22:%22Location%22,%22sort%22:%22asc%22%7D

"For younger workers, leaving Maine means higher incomes," *Bangor Daily News* (Bangor, Maine), June 2, 2017 (website), accessed October 19, 2018, http://bangordailynews.com/2017/03/12/the-point/for-younger-workers-leaving-maine-means-higher-incomes/

"Table 3: Race and Hispanic or Latino: 2000." *Summary Population and Housing Characteristics, Maine: 2000.* (2002) 32. census.gov, accessed October 19, 2018

[2] The "Lewiston metropolitan area" is a measure arbitrarily defined by the author as the sum of demographic data of Lewiston and Auburn, Lewiston's sister city.

increased its percentages of "Black or African American" from 1.1 to 2.4 percent; and finally, the

Portland metropolitan area increased from 1.9 to 5.2 percent.[3] Tracking the concentration of

African immigration to Maine using data from US Census reports is certainly useful, although

somewhat problematic. The US Census registers demographic information on the basis of race

only, not including legal residency status, prior family history, or other markers of African

immigrant identity in particular. The Census Bureau can only release demographic information

every ten years, thereby limiting any understanding of individuals' movements on a smaller

timeframe. So while it exposes the vague contours of African immigration to Maine, it fails to

capture the importance of cultural impacts on a community-level.

Enrollment statistics from public schools in Portland and Lewiston give a more nuanced

view of immigration to Maine. On a state-wide level in 2012, only about 3 percent of students

were enrolled in ELL (English language learning) programs.[4] In the city of Portland, by

contrast, during the 2014/15 academic year, the public school department recorded 58 separate

languages spoken at home by students, with 25 percent of the total number of students enrolled in

ELL programs, and a more than two-fold increase in the number of multilingual students since

1998/99.[5] The Lewiston school department hosted a student body of 5,520 in 2013/14, 22.5 percent

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[3] The "Portland metropolitan area" is a measure arbitrarily defined by the author as the sum of demographic data of the three largest cities in Androscoggin county, Portland, South Portland, and Westbrook – known for hosting significant African immigrant communities.
"Table 3: Race and Hispanic or Latino: 2000." *Summary Population and Housing Characteristics, Maine: 2000.* (2002) 34. census.gov, accessed online October 18, 2018.
"Table 3: Race and Hispanic or Latino: 2010." *Summary Population and Housing Characteristics, Maine: 2010.* (2002) 42. census.gov, accessed online October 18, 2018.
[4] "English language learners, special education students increase in South Portland," *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Maine), January 23, 2018 (website), accessed October 19, 2018.
https://www.pressherald.com/2018/01/23/english-language-learners-students-receiving-special-education-increase-in-south-portland/
[5] Multilingual and Multicultural Center, Portland Public Schools, "Demographic Data" (web page), Portland Public Schools – Multilingual (website), accessed October 19, 2018.
https://mlc.portlandschools.org/about/demographic_data

of whom received ELL programming.[6] Although the school department does not specify the number of students speaking each language across the district, 22 out of the 58 languages listed on the department's website are spoken within African countries. Many of those languages hail from a close cohort of nations in Eastern and Central Africa, notably the countries of Sudan, South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Somalia, Eritrea, Burundi, and Rwanda.[7] For both Lewiston and Portland, statistics on language use in school gives a better perspective on the creation of African communities in Maine cities and towns.

The immigration of Africans to Maine presented significant challenges over the past two decades, and overcoming those challenges has required formidable leadership from within African immigrant communities. By working with government officials and other resident-leaders, African individuals and their children have made important contributions to Maine society. This thesis will attempt to answer two central questions: what challenges have African immigrant communities faced in Maine, and how have they overcome those challenges? The study will place special focus on how already-established Maine governmental agencies, non-governmental organizations, and other social institutions respond to challenges within African immigrant communities. How have those institutions evolved in response to African immigration and the work of African individuals in Maine? What institutions have African immigrants created in order to address personal needs, or the needs of their particular community? These questions will guide the analysis of immigrant-serving organizations (ISOs) and African immigrant leadership in Maine during the past two decades.

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[6] National Center for Education Statistics, "District information of Lewiston Public Schools" (web page). Search for Public School Districts (website), accessed October 19, 2018.
https://nces.ed.gov/ccd/districtsearch/district_detail.asp?start=0&ID2=2307320
[7] Multilingual and Multicultural Center, Portland Public Schools, "Demographic Data" (web page), Portland Public Schools – Multilingual (website), accessed October 19, 2018.
https://mlc.portlandschools.org/about/demographic_data

The first chapter will give particular attention to the evolution of challenges facing the Somali community throughout its history in Maine. This historical study will provide an important baseline of understanding for African immigrant leadership in Maine and its potential to evolve in response to various internal and external pressures, in addition to examining the interplay between ISO work and other policy-oriented approaches to solving community challenges. As the first distinct case of African immigration to Maine, the Somali resettlement in Lewiston will give important context for later modes of African leadership.

The second chapter presents the results of a series of interview surveys conducted between November 2018 and January 2019 with leaders, founders, and administrators within Maine's networks of ISOs. This research aims to challenge the perception of Maine's ISO network as fragmented, either topically or geographically. The goal of this research was to understand where various objectives in immigration-related policies intersect by understanding the connections between topically unrelated ISOs. By building a model to organize Maine's ISO network, this study provides an framework for understanding how Maine's immigrant community addresses problems affecting its ethnically, linguistically, and socially diverse population; the structural criteria of the model's imply the phenomenon of centralization, insofar as certain organizations hold more influence over policy decisions than others. This model compares and evaluates the policy-goals, trends of internal organizational structure, and connectivity of ISOs present in Maine, shedding light on the importance of African immigrant leadership to addressing community-level challenges across the state.

In the third chapter, this study examines one ISO in particular, the Maine Immigrants' Rights Coalition (MIRC). Through interviews with Executive Director Mufalo Chitam, I gained access to Maine's premier collectivist policy-oriented advocacy group on issues affecting

immigrants in Maine. The chapter focuses primarily on MIRC's internal structure and leadership as a coalition, and attempts to describe its importance in a larger context of public policy advocacy groups that represent immigrants through non-electoral systems. In particular, the chapter reveals the relevance of African immigrant leadership within MIRC's internal decision-making processes.

Since 2000, numerous ethnographic and journalistic studies have examined Maine's diverse range of immigrant communities. Some studies examine immigration through specific and targeted case study, however many more consider Maine's immigrant community as a single, homogenous unit—thereby ignoring national or sub-national group identities that affect daily life. To some extent, such an oversight may be justified. As this study will claim later on, a great majority of public discourses on immigration in Maine—from native-Mainers and immigrant individuals alike—consider Maine's population of immigrant communities as one group. Even when a certain program or policy targets one demographic subset of the larger immigrant community (highly skilled asylum seekers predominantly from Central Africa, for instance), a certain rhetoric of inclusivity precludes discrimination against any particular national or sub-national identity. This tendency by ISOs to disregard national identity in favor of a generic 'immigrant' identity stems from a prerogative to include the highest number of individuals as possible into the scope of their missions. The choice of grouping all African-national immigrant identities together for this study reflects a reality that the majority of leaders in the ISO community are in fact immigrants from Africa; moreover because African immigrants represent a strong majority of the black population in Maine, societal issues of racism or prejudice against black people affect African immigrants collectively, regardless of national identity. Because this study focuses on the institutions that African immigrants affect due to their condition of a double

minority—black and immigrant—the most expedient word-choice must occasionally overlook national or sub-national immigrant identities in favor of a universal 'African immigrant' identity.

This thesis is written in the academic tradition of Africana Studies. With roots in the works of great African American and post-colonial African authors from WEB Du Bois and Franz Fanon to Crawford Young and James Baldwin, Africana Studies benefit from a multidisciplinary approach to studying intersections of historical forces, social identity, and political action concerning the African diaspora; its scope of analysis must therefore recognize how African diasporic history has shaped contemporary (re)definitions of black or African American identity. As a white outsider conducting interviews over the course of this study, I was careful not to assign labels to my interview subjects' lives or work; Africana Studies requires a flexible conception of racial identity due to the dynamic nature of movement and temporality in the African diaspora, so I did not wish to impose an overly 'academic' perspective on how African immigrant leaders in Maine choose frame their own lives and work.

This research places a premium on the way that African immigrant leaders in Maine brand themselves in their professional roles. As providers and advocates for targeted social services, African immigrant leaders' professional self-branding possibly relates to certain contextual factors, such as the predominantly white, US-born population and working culture in Maine; or as previously mentioned, African immigrant leaders might have chosen to advertise their ISOs without reference to African-ness in order to capture a broader range of funding sources and non-African clientele. To some extent, self-branding as "leaders of the immigrant community" might be the product social exclusion wherein African immigrants could face rejection from certain spheres in mainstream American society on account of their blackness, and also exclusion from certain spheres of black American society due to their immigrant background. While these issues

are essential to any understanding of African diasporic identity in the United States, certain temporal and methodological restrictions (e.g. building trust through qualitative survey over a short period of time) limited the depth of conversation about identity. This thesis chooses, therefore, to emphasize the way that African immigrants bring their diasporic identity to community leadership, immigration-related policy, funding and visibility, and stakeholder relations.

This study will not spend considerable time discussing individual narratives from African immigrants in Maine. This study aims to evaluate challenges affecting Maine's African immigrant community on a societal level; as such, it must unfortunately generalize the large range of individual experiences among individuals into one social label. Personal narratives by African immigrants in Maine may be found in the following books: *New Mainers: Portraits of Our Immigrant Neighbors*, *One goal : a coach, a team, and the game that brought a divided town together*, *A Season for Building Houses*, and *'They Were Very Beautiful. Such Things Are.': Memoirs from Dabaab, Kenya and Lewiston, Maine*. In order to thoroughly examine society-level challenges and solutions relating to all immigrants, this study will attempt to group individuals of extremely diverse experience together into one group. It is important to recognize that a high degree of nuance exists in the formation and expression of personal identity.

<center>**Chapter 1**</center>

<center>**Finding Solutions to Pragmatic and Nativist Challenges:**</center>

<center>**Historical case study of African leadership in Lewiston's Somali Community**</center>

Background: ethnic conflict and the international refugee regime

The secondary resettlement of Somali refugees comprised Maine's first wave of African immigration, and before arriving in the United States, many of these individuals achieved refugee status at great cost. In order to adequately understand community challenges posed by Somali resettlement in Lewiston, Maine, this study must examine the conditions preceding civil war and displacement: first, we must understand the basis of Somali ethnic conflict; second, we must understand the effects of an international refugee regime on individuals.

Recent history of ethnic conflict in Somalia dates back to near 1976, when the Somali military led by Mohamed Siad Barre attempted to intervene in Ethiopia's civil war, and liberate a region of Ethiopian territory home to a significant Somali minority. Instead of uniting the nation, this military intervention served to destabilize the inter-clan coalition which had previously supported Somali national government.[1] The militant resistance that followed Barre's 1976 intervention in Ethiopia divided the country along lines of linguistic ethnicity and clans (quasi-ethnic distinctions based on geography and lineage, sometimes equated with the term 'tribe'). In 1991, the Barre government collapsed, and civil war officially broke out among armed factions throughout the country. No centralized government has since declared recognized sovereignty over

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[1] Michael Woldemariam, *Insurgent Fragmentation in the Horn of Africa: Rebellion and Its Discontents* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 211.

the nation of Somalia, and the power vacuum has left many citizens vulnerable to the impacts of violence and persecution. Acknowledging the trauma of conflict in this study serves to humanize the experience of Somali refugees. It also sheds light on the complicated nature of Somali clan-driven society that enabled a country with relatively uniform linguistic and ethnic population to descend into civil war.

Prior to colonial occupation by British and Italian forces, the country now known as Somalia contained a significant diversity of ethnicities. By the time independence movements had created Somali national identity and corresponding political structures, the nation hosted a wide range of ethnic minority groups, defined as such through geographic separation, codified social class difference, and language distinction. Of Somalia's approximately 7 million inhabitants today, roughly a third belong to an ethnic minority group. Despite difference in treatment, nearly all ethnic minorities claimed membership in a particular Somali clan identity. Complex systems of lineage and clan structures pervade Somali society. Somalia contains five major ethnic-clan groupings, which constitute about 88 percent of the nation's 7 million inhabitants: the Hiwaye, the Darood, the Isaaq, the Rahanweyn, and the Dir.[2] The ethnic or clan-minority groups in the Somali homeland count among the majority of Somali refugees in the United States, however, indicating a persecution of minorities during the civil war on the basis of ethnicity and clan-membership. Of the total Somali refugee population in the United States by 2009, 75.9 percent of individuals identified with minority ethnic-clan groups.[3]

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[2] Fenda A. Akiwumi, and Lawrence E. Estaville, "Somalis in Maine" in *The African Diaspora in the United States and Canada at the Dawn of the 21st Century*, ed. John W. Frazier, Joe T. Darden and Norah F. Henry. (Binghamton, NY: Global Academic Publishing, 2009) 257-270.

[3] Jay L. Newberry, "Somali Refugee Resettlement and Locational Determinants in the United States" (PhD diss., Michigan State University, 2011). 50.

Once displaced individuals successfully flee persecution within their own country, they enter into a different legal status as a refugee. The international refugee regime began when the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR) first defined the term 'refugee.' During the 1951 *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, following the displacement of persons in Central Europe during the Second World War, the term 'refugee' was accepted by the international community.[4] All nations party to the agreement defined a refugee as:

> "[any] person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it."[5]

This definition of refugee status and its implied mandate that all nations must provide refuge for displaced persons was modified only slightly by the *Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugee* of 1967. This second convention removed the stipulation allowing states to interpret refugee status based on country of origin and time of conflict. The removal of the temporal and geographic stipulations on the attainment of refugee status expanded protection to Africans displaced by civil war and ethnic conflicts. By the year 2000, changes to refugee status had contributed to a significant rise in African refugee populations across the world, and the UNHCR rose to become

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[4] Gilbert Jaeger, "On the history of international protection of refugees," *Immigrant and Refugee Resource Collaborative* 83 no. 843 (2001): 727-736.

[5] "Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees," opened for signature January 31, 1967, UNHCR – The UN Refugee Agency. https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/protection/basic/3b66c2aa10/convention-protocol-relating-status-refugees.html

the sole major institution processing individual applications for refugee status. As the number of conflicts in African countries increased following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the image of Africa quickly became associated with that of the refugee. Refugee camps developed into quasi-cities, as the number of African refugees awaiting resettlement exceeded the capacities of bureaucratic processing.

Pragmatic solutions offered by UNHCR administrators to manage humanitarian crises have negative effects on the social or national identity of refugees. Many studies have criticized the treatment of refugee individuals and families within these camps, citing the tendency of UNHCR administrators to downplay the refugee's national identity in favor of an apolitical, ahistorical, universal humanitarian subject.[6] Other critics argue that refugee camps' primary function is to safeguard the interests of wealthy countries in the global North who fund the existence of such camps. The process for selecting resettlement countries favors poor nations in the global South at disproportionate rates compared to the global North, with Pakistan, the DRC, and Kenya hosting the most refugees per gross domestic product.[7] Overall, the functioning of these camps have serious psychological effects on refugees, even after successful resettlement in the United States. Many Somali refugee children were born in the camps, or moved there at a very young age, and much of their education concerning nationality and culture comes not from their country of origin, but from the controversial, apolitical humanitarian identity prevalent in these camps.[8] Given this treatment, it is especially remarkable that Somali communities in the United States display such social cohesiveness and culturally autonomy – a topic to be explored later in the chapter.

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[6] Liisa H. Malkki, "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization," *Cultural Anthropology* 11, no. 3 (1996): 377.
[7] Catherine Besteman, *Making Refuge: Somali Bantu Refugees and Lewiston, ME* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016). 63.
[8] Liisa H. Malkki "Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization," 378.

These two periods of a Somali refugee's life prior to resettlement in the United States—first the trauma of civil war and conflict, and second the possible de-socializing effects of residence in a refugee camp—greatly contribute to the long-term challenges facing Somali refugees in Maine. Regional and international geopolitical changes have great influence on individual lives, guiding the movement of people from one side of the world toward a new life in the United States.

Arriving in Lewiston, Maine

In the latter half of the 20th century, the United States had accepted some 3.8 million refugees from countries around the world, and as a part of this national effort to accept refugees, the city of Portland had resettled approximately 3,500 refugees within the municipal boundaries of the city by the year 2000.[9] About 315 of these refugees hailed from the small country of Somalia on the Eastern Horn of Africa.[10] This small group of Somali refugees began to communicate the high quality of life in Portland to other Somalis living in the United States. These friends, family members, and acquaintances began to resettle in Portland en masse. These individuals were part of a larger community of Somali refugees in the United States, numbering around 45,000.[11] After being initially resettled in urban centers across the United States with high crime-rates and the presence of gang-related violence, Somali families and individuals began to look elsewhere. Many decided on Portland, Maine because they observed a higher quality of life, low crime rates, and

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[9] Gordana Rabrenovic, "When Hate Comes to Town: Community Response to Violence Against Immigrants," *American Behavioral Scientist* 51, no. 2 (2007): 349, http://doi.org/10.1177/0002764207306063

[10] James Bennett and Phil Nadeau, *Report to Governor Angus King: New Somali Arrivals and Other Issues Relative to Refugee/Secondary Migrants/Immigrants and Cultural Diversity in the City of Lewiston.* Lewiston, City of Lewiston (2002).

[11] Phil Nadeau, "A Work in Progress: Lewiston Responds to the Rapid Migration of Somali Refugees" in *Somalis in Maine: Crossing Cultural Currents*, ed. Kimberly A. Huisman et. al. (Berkley: North Atlantic Books, 2011), 55.

better access to vital resources and social services.[12] In the course of a few months, these small immigrations increased, and Portland's meager housing accommodations for refugee resettlement became overwhelmed by many more families than the city could afford to house. Portland's branch of the Maine Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) began to house some of these immigrants in homeless shelters and motels, all the while frantically searching for neighboring communities where housing might be more affordable. Upon consultation with city and state-wide officials, administrators in Portland's branch of Maine DHHS decided to resettle Somali immigrants in Lewiston, a city to the north of Portland.[13] The first group of Somali refugees arrived in Lewiston by early 2001, and in the years that followed, thousands more would trace the same path, attracted by the low cost of housing, comparative ease of access to social services, and a relatively low unemployment rate.

In 2000, Lewiston hosted a population that was 96 percent white, largely working-class, and strongly francophone, due to significant immigration of Franco-Canadian workers to the area several decades prior.[14] The city's population had been declining over the past three decades as manufacturing jobs began to disappear, leading to historically high rates of housing vacancy (20 percent in 2000, compared to Portland's housing vacancy rate of less than 3 percent in the same year).[15] In spite of relatively low unemployment, the city faced significant macroeconomic challenges. The manufacturing jobs which had sustained Lewiston's growth in the 20th century disappeared as mills closed and labor became outsourced overseas. Textile mills which had made Lewiston the industrial center of the state during the 1970s also closed.[16] However, by the year

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[12] Kimberly A. Huisman, "Why Maine? Secondary Migration Decisions of Somalis in Maine" in *Somalis in Maine: Crossing Cultural Currents*, ed. Kimberly A. Huisman et. al. (Berkley: North Atlantic Books, 2011)
[13] Gordana Rabrenovic, "When Hate Comes to Town: Community Response to Violence Against Immigrants," 353
[14] *Ibid*
[15] *Ibid*
[16] *Ibid* 352

2000, Lewiston was beginning to experience a sort of "economic renaissance." Unemployment was receding, and the poverty rate had dipped to levels comparable to those of Portland. Total economic investment in the Lewiston/Auburn metropolitan area (Auburn being Lewiston's sister city) exceeded $500 million between 2000 and 2009.[17] By 2003, signs of permanent Somali residence in Lewiston began to appear. Shops and stores such as the Mogadishu Store on Lisbon Street opened. Somali mosques and parks in the inner-city neighborhoods then predominantly inhabited by Somalis became community meeting points. A Somali mosque had opened in an old nondescript storefront in the downtown area.[18] Most significantly, perhaps, was the development of communications between Somali community leaders and city officials. In 2002, a "town hall meeting" displayed cooperation between the two sides. The cooperation found some initial success, as officials were able to field and rebuke questions regarding rumors of special treatment for Somali refugees, such as large cash allowances and free cars from the city.[19] As city resource managers addressed the challenge of providing general assistance to Somali refugees, there was some speculation that 500 to 1,000 Somali refugees from Atlanta might relocate to Lewiston during the summer. Through preliminary channels of communication, city officials then asked leaders in the Somali community to slow down the flow of Somalis coming to Lewiston so that the city's strained social services system would not be overwhelmed. Somali leaders acquiesced and communicated directly to contacts in cities across the country hosting significant Somali refugee populations. Leaders in the community even went as far as communicating the city's

[17] Phil Nadeau, "A Work in Progress: Lewiston Responds to the Rapid Migration of Somali Refugees," 55.
[18] Kimberly A. Huisman, "Why Maine? Secondary Migration Decisions of Somalis in Maine"
[19] "A Yankee Mill Town Globalizes," *Chicago Tribune*, June 13, 2002 (website), accessed October 19, 2018 http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-2002-06-13-0206130003-story.html

request on a Somali-language radio station in Atlanta.[20] In the end, fewer than 300 Somalis moved to Lewiston that summer.[21]

The City of Lewiston would need to respond to a growing crisis of resources, as the cost of integrating thousands of new immigrants into American society grew. The number of Somali families receiving some form of social assistance from the state was disproportionately high compared to native residents—something to be expected among a community of individuals who recently arrived to the country and had only limited exposure to English in the first year of residence. Failures in national policy for primary refugee resettlement left the State of Maine with increased financial responsibility for providing programs to mitigate housing, food, English Language Learning (ELL), and employment insecurity. After one year of federal funding for refugee resettlement programs in the aforementioned areas, however, or if the refugee decided to move, those federal resources would no longer be available—the expectation being that adult refugees would find employment in the U.S. job market thereafter.[22] Upon arrival in Portland/Lewiston, therefore, few Somali refugees spoke English at a level necessary for employment in most professions. To address this issue, city officials initiated changes in the curricula of local public schools. They hired education professionals with background in ELL and expanded funding to programs designed to provide professional training to Somali adults. The need for ELL resources extended beyond public school curricula, however. In early 2002, social service agencies such as the Lewiston Career Center solicited the help of state-government officials to solve the problem of Somali unemployment. In a report to Governor Angus King, Patti Saarinen explained the various levels of employment training offered by her agency, as well as

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[20] *Ibid*
[21] Gordana Rabrenovic "When Hate Comes to Town: Community Response to Violence Against Immigrants," 354
[22] Phil Nadeau, "A Work in Progress: Lewiston Responds to the Rapid Migration of Somali Refugees"

some challenges raised by Somali residents requesting services. Her organization could not feasibly offer specialized coursework to Somali residents if those individuals could not understand the study materials or examination questions – all of which were written in English. She defended the use of English in coursework; employers depend on having staff who can communicate easily in English for reasons of safety and efficiency on the job-site. She described several short-term solutions to Somali refugee unemployment. Through expansion of the "Welfare to Work" program funding, she hoped to offer some ELL training and transportation services for refugees who lack the means of getting to jobs and training.[23]

Changes in curricula and increased activity among certain social service agencies in Lewiston proved somewhat successful in lowering Somali unemployment, which dropped from nearly 100 percent in 2001 to close to 48 percent by 2006.[24] However, the problems of low employment endured in the Somali community relative to employment levels of local residents. By 2006, a study of Portland's refugee community indicated that levels of refugee employment were low and trending downwards. The same was confirmed for Somali immigrants in Lewiston by the 2008 Refugee Employment Report by Amanda Rector of the Maine Department of Labor and Maine State Planning Office.[25] The high levels of unemployment in the Somali community seems to have affected local opinion. Rumors circulated among Lewiston residents that refugees were receiving large cash sums upwards of $10,000 and used cars from the state. Local media also speculated on the fairness of the Somali immigrant community's negative impact on the local economy.

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[23] James Bennett and Phil Nadeau, *Report to Governor Angus King: New Somali Arrivals and Other Issues Relative to Refugee/Secondary Migrants/Immigrants and Cultural Diversity in the City of Lewiston.* Lewiston, City of Lewiston (2002).
[24] Amanda K. Rector, "An Analysis of Employment Patterns of Somali Immigrants to Lewiston from 2001 to 2006," Maine Department of Labor Center for Workforce Research and Information and the Maine State Planning Office, Augusta, Maine (2008).
[25] Phil Nadeau, "A Work in Progress: Lewiston Responds to the Rapid Migration of Somali Refugees," 62

In the wake of 9/11, the Somali community of Lewiston would be challenged by local residents and xenophobic agitators. Tensions steadily increased between the Somali community and local residents, many of whom were doggedly proud of Lewiston's strong Franco-American tradition. The dissonance of seeing an African cultural community in a historically white town shocked some residents into action. Hostilities emerged publicly when Lewiston Mayor Laurier Raymond wrote an open letter to the Somali community on October 4, 2002, asking them to dissuade fellow Somalis in the United States from resettling in Lewiston. The letter framed Somali relocation to Lewiston as an "influx" while praising city officials and staff of Maine the DHHS, as well as local residents, for "dealing with…the burden" of Somali refugee families. Raymond suggested that any decrease in Somali migration to the city would be met with substantial relief by professionals and case managers tasked with interacting with the Somali community. The city's finances, he stated, had suffered increased strain from Somali migration as well. The letter entreated leaders of the Somali community to discourage friends and family around the country from relocating to Lewiston, restating the city's strained economic capacity to continue funding those social services demanded by Somali residents. He claimed that, at the time of the letter, the city had found enough funding to accommodate the situation, through from where he does not specify. Raymond implored members of the Somali community to exercise "restraint" and "self-discipline" three times, while acknowledging that it is the "legal right of any U.S. resident to move anywhere he/she pleases." Raymond maintained by the end of the letter, however, that Lewiston had been "overwhelmed and responded valiantly. Now [it] need[s] breathing room. Our city is maxed-out financially, physically, and emotionally."[26]

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[26] Kimberly A. Huisman et. al. (ed.), "Mayor Raymond's Letter to the Somali Community" in *Somalis in Maine: Crossing Cultural Currents* (Berkley: North Atlantic Books, 2011) 299-300.

The Somali community took two days to respond with their own letter. Written by Somali elders, the letter offered a swift criticism of Mayor Raymond's ability to lead a unified Lewiston community. The Somali elders expressed their dismay and anger towards the mayor for failing to meet with the Somali leaders in person. The letter contrasted Raymond to former mayor Kalleigh Tara, who had maintained an open channel of communication with the Somali community. The elders expressed their discontent with Raymond's communication, citing positive relationships with other politicians and officials on the local and state-wide levels, notably then-governor Angus King and soon-to-be governor John Baldacci. Lewiston society, the letter suggested, would improve its quality of life based on its becoming a "multi-ethnic, multi-racial…international city." Somali elders went on to state that the city was benefiting from the attraction of "hundreds of thousands of dollars in state and federal funds to boost existing social services for all residents of Lewiston." The letter defends Somali occupation of Lewiston's dilapidated downtown, by raising the market value of real estate and by housing Somali adults eager to contribute to the local economy through employment and taxes. Amid thanks for the hospitality and understanding of Lewiston residents, the letter candidly reminded the mayor that Somali refugees had renounced Somali citizenship; as American citizens, Somali refugees have as much right to reside in Lewiston as any other American citizen. The letter bluntly called Raymond an "ill-informed leader who is bent towards bigotry" and accused him of intending to incite violence against members of the Somali community.[27]

Residents, politicians, and media outlets from across Lewiston and Maine reacted strongly to the letter. Then-governor of the state of Maine, Angus King released a statement distancing himself from Raymond's remarks while defending the Lewiston mayor's character. King took the

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[27] Kimberly A. Huisman et. al. (ed.), "Letter from Somali Elders," 301-303.

opportunity of Raymond's letter and the Somali community response to announce a special task force on issues related to immigration and refugee resettlement in Maine.[28] During the first meeting, King emphasized the economic importance of immigration to Maine, in light of the state's aging population and demands for labor outweighing Maine's supply of able-bodied workers. The task force incorporated the voices of important community leaders and political organizers, and the panel included leaders of social service agencies and government branches of administration such as the Maine State Housing Authority, the Maine Rural Workers Coalition, the Maine Human Rights Coalition, the Maine Council of Churches, among others.[29] After several days of silence following the response to his letter, Mayor Raymond met with Somali elders to discuss how best to reestablish trust between city officials and the Somali community, although he stopped short of apologizing.[30] The Somali community softened their stance on the mayor's character, saying, "We understand the social and economic pressure that new entrants bring to the community. We hope that others appreciate the potential richness and opportunity newcomers bring to the city."[31]

The meeting provided local officials the opportunity to hear from immigrant-rights and minority-rights activist organizations such as the NAACP and the National Limited English Proficient Advisory Task Force. This latter organization proposed a federal review by the Justice

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[28] "Mixed Welcome as Somalis Settle in a Maine City," *New York Times*, October 15, 2002 (archives, website), accessed October 19, 2018 https://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/15/us/mixed-welcome-as-somalis-settle-in-a-maine-city.html

[29] "King: Maine future needs immigration; One key benefit, the governor tells a task force, is replenishing a work force outpaced by demand," *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Maine), December 3, 2002 (database, online), accessed October 19, 2018. https://search-proquest-com.ursus-proxy-11.ursus.maine.edu/usnews/docview/277057184/7C249963AEB34520PQ/1?accountid=17222

[30] "Complaints of racism soften after Somalis meet mayor; After talking with Lewiston Mayor Laurier Raymond, Somali leaders say they are satisfied with his intentions" *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Maine), October 12, 2002 (database, online), accessed October 19, 2018. https://search-proquest-com.ursus-proxy-11.ursus.maine.edu/usnews/docview/277090333/93951BD8F26D44B3PQ/3?accountid=17222

[31] "Mixed Welcome as Somalis Settle in a Maine City," *New York Times*, October 15, 2002

Department of Lewiston's response to Somali resettlement.[32] While improved communication between city officials and Somali community leaders brought about increased attention from governmental leaders on the state-level, and some media attention from national publications such as the New York Times, the city's financial capacity to provide social services to Somali refugees remained precarious.[33] Supported by a combination of state grants, federal programs, and a portion of Lewiston's welfare budget, social services for Somali refugees aiming to integrate Somali men and women into Maine's economy were costly. Lewiston city official Phil Nadeau endeavored to bring in a specialist on issues of immigration and diversity to lead a new "immigrant and refugee program," aimed at diffusing ethnic tensions.[34] In spite of communications between city leaders and other governmental agencies, the issue of a Somali community placing financial strain on the city's budget did not disappear. Neither did cultural tension fade from memory for local residents.

The exchange between Raymond and the elders of the Somali community had several important consequences. It created a line of communication between state officials concerning how to best address the challenges presented by the Somali community in Lewiston, as highlighted by Mayor Raymond, while maintaining a level of respect and appreciation for those members of the Somali community working to integrate into American society. On the other hand, Raymond's letter might have given some hope to local residents who wanted to undermine the Somali community's presence in Lewiston. The Portland Press Herald first began reporting racial unrest in early October. Some Somalis reported hearing racial slurs shouted from white residents, while

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[32] "Officials meet with Somalis to boost ties; A request for a federal review of immigrant services in Lewiston is expected to focus on consistency across departments," *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Maine), October 11, 2002 (database, online), accessed October 19, 2018. https://search-proquest-com.ursus-proxy-11.ursus.maine.edu/usnews/docview/277068370/93951BD8F26D44B3PQ/8?accountid=17222

[33] "Mixed Welcome as Somalis Settle in a Maine City," *New York Times*

[34] "Diversity expert takes up challenge in Lewiston; Victoria Scott starts work Monday on bridging gaps between longtime residents and Somalis," *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Maine), December 8, 2002 (database, online), accessed October 19, 2018. https://search-proquest-com.ursus-proxy-11.ursus.maine.edu/usnews/docview/277143821/7C249963AEB34520PQ/7?accountid=17222

other residents of Lewiston point to physical confrontations in the streets and schools of downtown Lewiston as evidence of increased tension.[35] The public debate over the "Somali issue" culminated in January of 2003 with small demonstrations by white supremacy groups, and a much larger counter-demonstration of about 4,500 organized several miles away on the Lewiston-based campus of Bates College, called the "Many and One Coalition."[36]

This counter-demonstration provided the first opportunity for a public display of support by local and state-wide institutions for the Somali community, though some inter-organizational communication had already been initiated at Bates College in October, following Raymond's letter and the Somali community response.[37] Leaflets from the Many and One Coalition's rally on January 11, 2003 provided information to rebuff claims made by demonstrating members of the white-supremacy group World Church of the Creator. The leaflets celebrated the economic benefits of immigration, reassured attendees that as a group, contribute billions to the US economy through their work, education abroad, consumption of American goods and services, and taxes. The leaflets cite a population loss in Androscoggin County between 1990 and 2000, and population growth on a state-wide level that ranks 45th out of all 50 states.[38] These statistics rebuff claims made by white-supremacist opponents of the Somali community. The rally also advertised future community activities hosted by the Coalition, such as "Training for non-violent marshals," "public safety training," a "teach-in" hosted by Bates College academics for nonviolent political action, and inter-faith/inter-cultural community contra dances with Somali performances.[39] The rally's

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[35] *Ibid*

[36] "Maine Somalis Generate Dueling Protests," *Los Angeles Times*, January 12, 2003 (online), accessed October 19, 2018. http://articles.latimes.com/2003/jan/12/nation/na-somalis12

[37] Phil Nadeau, "A Work in Progress: Lewiston Responds to the Rapid Migration of Somali Refugees," 59

[38] International Students of Lewiston-Auburn, "Immigrants & Maine: A Close Look at the Real Statistics" January 11, 2003 (online), accessed 16 December 2018. http://www.curiouscitydpw.com/curiouscitydpw/wp/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/many_one.pdf

[39] *Ibid.*

mission statement affirmed the Coalition's purpose in supporting the Somali refugee community through "commitment to build a community of safety, peace, and justice for all…[rejecting] racism, division, hatred and violence."[40]

The Many and One Coalition's rally on January 11 sparked cooperation between local institutions and the Somali community. Local colleges and churches took a particularly important role in the organization of events aiming to advance the Somali community's economic and social integration, including "social meet and greets" and academic forums designed to foster mutual understanding between local members and the Somali community. Academic initiatives included service-learning projects sponsored by the University of Southern Maine and Bates College, the University of Southern Maine's Somali Narrative Project, and research by Colby College Professor Catherine Besteman among professionals of academia across the country. The community response included initiatives from within the refugee community, such as the New Mainers Partnership – a program created with the goal of advising refugee case management.[41] The Many and One Coalition's rally displayed community support from socially liberal institutions, and enabled politicians to push the issue of Somali resettlement into an even more partisan direction, while providing important precedent for how community leaders might resist opposition in the future.

This example of collaboration between the Somali community and local institutions also highlights the importance of leadership within the Somali community. As Ismail Ahmed explains in his 2008 ethnographic study of Somali leadership in Lewiston, traditional leadership –

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[40] Kimberly A. Huisman (ed.) et. al., "Letter from Somali Elders" 305-306.
[41] James Bennett and Phil Nadeau, "The Portland-Lewiston Refugee Collaborative & The New Mainers Partnership" a report by Executive Department of the City of Lewiston. (March 1, 2006).
https://www.maine.gov/dacf/municipalplanning/comp_plans/Lewiston_2016_(marked_up).pdf

synonymous here with the term "elders" – is both divisive and inward-facing.[42] The confidential nature of academic scholarship maintains the anonymity of individual Somali elders; even in studies aimed at uncovering behavioral tendencies among this group of individuals, the identity of Somali elders remains concealed (see Ismail Ahmed 2011 and Omar Ahmed 2008). Elders' reticence to engage with outside forms of authority created a shadowy presence in media, where interactions between civic leadership and Somali elders are described as "meetings behind closed doors." Wherever the topic of Somali leadership appeared in media, Somali elders choose not to identify themselves, speaking instead through intermediaries such as Hussein Ahmed, for example, owner of the Barwaqo Hallal Market on Lisbon Street.[43] Where direct contact with traditional Somali leaders proves difficult or impossible, journalists sample a range of individuals who seem more ready to share their identity with the public—including business-owners, heads of non-profits, case workers, and young people. Fatuma Hussein of the Immigrant Resource Center of Maine commonly receives the attention of journalists, as does Zam Zam Mohamud, a local community activist. Ismail Ahmed would classify individuals like Hussein and Mohamud as 'emergent leaders.' These emergent leaders believe in collaborative community engagement, and they also contradict several important tendencies among traditional Somali leadership, including a deference to male elder authority over internal matters.[44]

As Omar Ahmed explains in his ethnographic study of the Somali community, deference to male elder authority begins during childhood education, where Somali elders instill moral

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[42] Ismail Ahmed, "Fragmented and Collaborative Leadership in a Changing Somali Community" in *Somalis in Maine: Crossing Cultural Currents*, ed. Kimberly A. Huisman et. al. (Berkley: North Atlantic Books, 2011) 85.
[43] Somali elders chose to be referred to in a Lewiston Sun Journal article as "eight Somali men" under the headline claiming their identity as Somali elders. While the article summarized the discussion points made by MacDonald and Ahmed, the eight elders contributed not a single word to the news report.
"Mayor MacDonald talks with Somali Elders," *Lewiston Sun Journal* (Lewiston, Maine), December 11, 2012 (online), accessed November 11, 2018. http://www.sunjournal.com/mayor-macdonald-talks-somali-elders/
[44] Ismail Ahmed, "Fragmented and Collaborative Leadership in a Changing Somali Community," 92.

standards of behavior, family and community customs, and the value of discipline.[45] In traditional

Somali society, leadership of a given clan has the important responsibility of mediating conflict,

both internally and externally. Whereas in traditional settings conflict might stem from inter-clan

violence or unsanctioned marriage, in Lewiston's diasporic Somali society conflict can take the

form of internal divisions and external pressure to assimilate. Internal divisions stem from

differences in religious ideology and clan membership, and conflicts due to difference in clan-

membership can arise from the nature of traditional Somali leadership itself. Ismail Ahmed

describes this inter-clan conflict as a series of "arm-twisting" and "back-stabbing" where each elder

may act as a representative for his clan, and decisions are made on an ad-hoc basis in council

(guudiga) between the leaders of all clans represented in a given Somali community.[46] There is no

formal institution built around this decision-making process, and the distribution of power may

fall on a select few among the council of elders, based on certain personal characteristics such as

perceived wisdom, skills in oration, wealth, or charisma. Individual elders are responsible for their

particular clan's compliance with the council's decision. Elders are expected to maintain a threat

of punishment for any member who by word or action attempts to contradict the council's

decision.[47]

Whereas in traditional settings the council may deliberate over issues of conflict

exclusively, in Lewiston's Somali community elders debate questions of assimilation and changes

to the leadership paradigm. Traditional leaders tend to exacerbate divisions within the community,

often to assert personal control. For Ahmed's study, several members of the community identified

traditional leadership as an obstacle in achieving "greater self-reliance, self-sufficiency, and self-

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[45] Omar Ahmed, "Somali community leadership and conflict management" (Masters Thesis, University of Southern Maine, 2008), 24-25.
[46] Ismail Ahmed, "Fragmented and Collaborative Leadership in a Changing Somali Community" 85.
[47] *Ibid.*

rule in the changing arena of the Lewiston diaspora." Emergent leaders, by contrast, seemed to advocate for the changes which might achieve those goals: an 'outward-facing' mentality, a departure from strict adherence to traditional Somali cultural norms, and accountability in the leadership structure. At the time of Ahmed's study, emergent leadership had few allies in the Lewiston Somali community, however. Emergent leaders sampled anonymously in Ahmed's survey reported high rates of burn-out due to the high stress of organizing community action on top of earning a salary. General uncertainty within the Somali community towards accepting American cultural norms in lieu of Somali tradition created an impediment to changes in the leadership paradigm.[48] Both emergent and traditional leaders agree that education in English and economic self-sufficiency are important tools to develop the Somali community, however elders display a reticence towards interaction with the broader Lewiston community.

Certain local entities such as colleges, religious organizations, and liberal politicians may have contributed to growing imbalance of power between emergent leaders and traditional elders. Events such as the Many and One Coalition represent the apex of multiculturalism, defined by the Oxford Dictionary as, "the presence of, or support for the presence of, several distinct cultural or ethnic groups within a society."[49] This context of multiculturalism demanded some form of Somali representational leadership; in order to showcase public cooperation between local institutions and the Somali community, civic leaders around Lewiston began to seek out Somali individuals willing to serve as cultural representatives in the public eye. During the first several years of the Somali community's existence in particular, city officials worked to include Somali organizations into policies and programs meant to ease the transition of new arrivals. These Somali individuals served

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[48] *Ibid* 92.
[49] "multiculturalism" (web page), English Oxford Living Dictionaries (website), accessed December 9, 2018. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/

the city through facilitating the distribution of funds, voicing group interests or concerns, and creating public forums for the display of culture and cooperation.[50] This emphasis on public displays of cooperation between the local leadership and Somali leadership ideally served to include Somali leaders in the decision-making process regarding the integration of their community into a broader multicultural Lewiston society. It had the unintended consequence, however, of exacerbating social divisions within the Somali community.

Multiculturalism as a social context has the effect of transforming minority communities through explicit assimilatory pressures.[51] In the case of Lewiston's Somali community, those emergent leaders selected by the city conformed to the desires of Lewiston's local leadership to see the Somali community as homogenous and compliant regarding certain issues of cultural conflict, such as secularism in public life, female genital mutilation, and the use of corporeal punishment.[52] As previously suggested, the Somali community contains a multitude of distinct clan-lineages, represented by particular elders. This reality contradicts the multicultural imperative set by politicians and elected officials to portray Lewiston's Somali community as homogeneous. The administration of funds by certain Somali community leaders failed to account for this complex social structure, leading to an uneven allocation of state resources.[53] In the early 2000s, several organizations claimed the responsibility of providing a cultural bridge between the local leadership and the Somali community: the African Immigrants Association and Somali Community Services. Both organizations wished to establish a multicultural center, improve transportation, provide day-care and educational services for Somalis, and create a board of

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[50] Andrea Voyer, "Multiculturalism as the Normative Context of Immigrant Reception: Somali Immigrant Inclusion in Lewiston, Maine" in *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 36. no 5 (2015): 549-550.
[51] *Ibid*
[52] *Ibid*
[53] *Ibid* 551

directors who might be identified as leaders of the Lewiston Somali community.[54] Allegations of

nepotism, irresponsible allocation of state funds, and undemocratic, religiously conservative views

on homosexuality negatively affected Somali Community Services.[55] The rise of African

Immigrants Association corresponded with increasing pressures toward social integration while

maintaining unique "sanitized" aspects of Somali culture. This context of multiculturalism

imposed constraints on Somali leadership: local officials would only cooperate with Somali

individuals who publicly respected the American ideals of secularism and democracy. These

multiculturalist constraints failed to promote leaders who accurately represent all aspects of

Lewiston's heterogeneous Somali community.

The Somali community of Lewiston faced several important challenges immediately upon

arrival in Maine. Voluntary migration to Portland quickly overwhelmed the city's ability to

temporarily house Somali refugees, so city officials looked elsewhere, settling on Lewiston.

Lewiston's social services system was quickly strained, forcing their city officials to apply for a

patchwork of federal and state funding. A hostile message to the Somali community by then-mayor

Laurier Raymond sparked anger and brief political reconciliation. Lastly in this initial stage of

Somali settlement in Maine, racist demonstrations against the Somali community aroused

widespread support of the Somali community by local individuals, organizations, and institutions,

who expressed a desire to integrate Somali cultural experience into the fold of Lewiston's daily

life. Meanwhile, divisions in Somali leadership seem to pose a problem for social unity and

successful integration into American social and economic life. During this period, the city's social

services network strained to accommodate the refugee population's needs for English Language

Education with funding from the state and federal government. In the next section, we will see

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[54] *Ibid* 552
[55] *Ibid*

how that precarious system of funding would come under attack from outside political forces, and the subsequent challenges posed to the Somali community of Lewiston.

Continuing tension, the transition to neo-liberal welfare reform, and community responses

By 2005, the jointly-received Unanticipated Arrivals Grant from the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement for Lewiston and Portland had expired. Lewiston needed to either procure additional state and federal funding or restructure their social services according to the ongoing needs of the Somali community. By 2006, the city successfully restructured their budget to include funding from the state to reimburse 50 percent of the city's General Assistance (GA, Maine's social welfare voucher program) expenditures.[56] These vouchers may be used for food, rent, or other personal expenses, and may be obtained by individuals based upon demonstrated need. In 2006, although the Somali refugee community constituted less than 11 percent of the city's total population, approximately 30 percent of GA funds were provided to Somali individuals, and by 2009 that number had dropped to around 19 percent.[57] In 2008, Lewiston's adult education program dedicated between 55 and 65 percent of its annual budget to basic ELL education.[58] Somali recipients comprised eleven percent of social service cases handled by Maine DHHS in Lewiston in 2011, indicating that Somalis constitute a proportional number of social service cases compared to the overall population of Lewiston. By 2017, moreover, statistics released by the Lewiston public school department indicate higher graduation rates among Somali students than the

[56] "A decade later: The city, Somalis and spending," *Lewiston Sun Journal* (Lewiston, Maine), December 18, 2011 (online), accessed October 19, 2018. http://www.sunjournal.com/decade-later-city-somalis-spending/
[57] *Ibid*
[58] Phil Nadeau, "A Work in Progress: Lewiston Responds to the Rapid Migration of Somali Refugees" 69

population at large.[59] These indicators of upward mobility in the Somali community do not necessarily affect certain markers of economic progress such as unemployment, for instance, because Somali students who succeed in high school may enter institutions of higher learning, instead of the workforce. The funding of social service programs such as GA, ELL education in public schools, and adult education for Somalis seemed to indicate progress among Somalis toward economic self-reliance, even if unemployment remained quite high. This incremental economic progress faced resistance, however, from local conservative residents and politicians.

The election of Maine Governor Paul LePage on January 5, 2011 represented a turning point in Maine politics. LePage made a name for himself as a candidate and as a public official through his sometimes crass, sometimes racially-heated remarks, such as telling then-President Barack Obama to "go to hell" or claiming the existence of "out-of-state drug dealers come to Maine to peddle heroine and impregnate 'white girls.'"[60] LePage profited from a wave of popular support across country for the radical-conservative wing of the Republican caucus, called the Tea Party. During his tenure, LePage cited refugees and asylum-seekers as "the biggest problem in our state," while deliberately associating refugees with endemic poverty and failure of the welfare state.[61] This policy under conservative economics is sometimes known as the "neo-liberal reform of the welfare state," and its popularity during LePage's tenure must be seen within the scope of wide-spread political opposition to President Obama's endeavor to pass the Affordable Care Act through Congress.[62]

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[59] "A decade later: The city, Somalis and spending," *Lewiston Sun Journal* (Lewiston, Maine), December 18, 2011 (online), accessed October 19, 2018. http://www.sunjournal.com/decade-later-city-somalis-spending/
[60]"How a community changed by refugees came to embrace Trump," *Associated Press*, October 19, 2018 (last edited, online), accessed October 19, 2018. https://apnews.com/7f2b534b80674596875980b9b6e701c9
[61] *Ibid*
[62] Besteman, *Making Refuge: Somali Bantu Refugees and Lewiston, ME,* 171

Political attacks against Lewiston's system of social services-distribution capitalize upon failures of the national refugee resettlement program, which places an expectation upon refugees to become economic self-sufficient after one year of receiving resources (food assistance, housing assistance, education, etc.) from the federal government. Much scholarship on the federal refugee resettlement program criticizes the short duration of refugee welfare services, as well as the overly zealous emphasis on economic independence from the state, sometimes at the expense of culturally specific family structures.[63] This phenomenon seems particularly relevant for the Somali community, whose cultural tradition of nomadism contradicts the resettlement program's preference toward permanent residence of refugees in their place of primary resettlement.[64] Federal programs for refugee resettlement often have highly specific terms and conditions which limit the eligibility for funding to municipalities with strong local economies. Due to the relatively poor state of Lewiston's economy, the city never qualified for these grant programs. The city failed to fulfill the qualifications for Targeted Assistance grants under the federal Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR); nor was the city able to procure job training grants from the Workforce Investment Act, Titles One and Two.[65] Failure by the city to procure external or supplementary federal funds indicates significant shortcomings in federal policy regarding refugee integration. Without the help of the federal government, the financial burden of integrating refugee communities into local economies fell upon local government. Even if that financial burden became somewhat insignificant, the perception of special treatment being afforded to the Somali community seems to have sustained resentment among local residents.

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[63] Stephanie J. Nawyn, "Institutional Structures of Opportunity in Refugee Resettlement: Gender, Race/ethnicity, and Refugee NGOs" in *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 37, no. 149 (2010): 150.
[64] Kimberly A. Huisman, "Why Maine? Secondary Migration Decisions of Somalis in Maine" in *Somalis in Maine: Crossing Cultural Currents*, ed. Kimberly A. Huisman et. al. (Berkley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2011).
Phil Nadeau, "A Work in Progress: Lewiston Responds to the Rapid Migration of Somali Refugees," 69
[65] *Ibid*

Local politicians capitalized on these feelings of resentment. A particularly salient example of this was Lewiston Mayor Robert Macdonald, known in some circles as Paul LePage's protégé. During his tenure as mayor, Macdonald was known for saying aloud the more crude aspects of his constituency's distaste for Somali culture. In a news column, the mayor claimed that by "living in America, Somalis must conform to our culture. Here men and women are equal. In many places of employment, women are the boss. Somali men will have to get over it and conform. There can only be one dominant central culture: American."[66] Such a patronizing assumption of superiority gravely overlooks relevant examples of sexism in American society, representing a willful lack of introspection and clear bias against Somali culture. It can be thought of in no other terms than as an attack, meant to galvanize Somali residents and enforce racist norms. In several other instances, Macdonald declared American culture as superior to Somali culture.[67] These commentaries on cultural divisions indicate a wide-spread acceptance of anti-Somali discourses—at least among Macdonald's constituency—thereby normalizing racial and xenophobic tension among ordinary residents.

The ongoing cultural tension in Lewiston manifested in a variety of ways. Ethnographic studies of Lewiston residents such as Catherine Besteman's work give important anecdotal evidence for ethnic tension, as do various articles in newspapers like the Portland Press Herald or the Lewiston Sun Journal, recounting incidents of hate crime, racial slurs, and/or public distrust of Somalis.[68] This public opposition to Somali immigrants set the foundation for LePage's attack on social services helping Somali residents transition.

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[66] Besteman, *Making Refuge: Somali Bantu Refugees and Lewiston, ME,* 161.
[67] *Ibid* 160.
[68] "A Lone Man's Stunt Raises Broader Issues," *New York Times*, September 6, 2006 (online), accessed October 19, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/05/us/05maine.html
"Bigotry against immigrants is nothing new in Lewiston" *Lewiston Sun Journal* (Lewiston, Maine), June 24, 2018 (online), accessed October 19, 2018. http://www.sunjournal.com/bigotry-against-immigrants-is-nothing-new-in-lewiston/

During Lepage's campaign for reelection in 2014, he correctly identified welfare reform as the most salient issue to Maine voters. The question of whether to safeguard or to reform Maine's complex system of welfare benefits had become an extremely partisan issue: 46 percent of Maine voters believe that the welfare system did more harm to the state as a whole than it did good.[69] Lepage's attack on the welfare state began with an attack on one of the state's most visible recipients, immigrants.[70] On multiple occasions during his tenure, LePage denounced the apparent injustice of an "overly generous welfare programs that we cannot afford."[71] By the end of his first term, LePage succeeded in pushing modest reform with the 2011 budget, which placed a 60-month limitation on benefits and brought Maine's welfare program in line with the federal standard established in 1996.[72] Rhetorical attacks on immigrants over their use of welfare benefits resulted in several executive mandates in 2014, as the governor attempted to ban the distribution of GA by municipal governments to non-citizens, although this mandate was quickly challenged in court.[73] Even by the end of his tenure, LePage placed great political importance on welfare reform, associating welfare recipients, directly or indirectly, with the image of the lazy, unmotivated, free-loading immigrant.

"Tense times in downtown Lewiston in wake of killing" *Lewiston Sun Journal* (Lewiston, Maine), June 23, 2018 (online), accessed October 19, 2018. http://www.sunjournal.com/tense-times-in-downtown-lewiston-in-wake-of-killing/

[69] "Welfare & immigration: How would the candidates for governor address fraud, aid levels and work requirements?" *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Maine), October 16, 2014 (database, online), accessed October 19, 2018. https://search-proquest-com.ursus-proxy-11.ursus.maine.edu/usnews/docview/1612107120/F0FABA4A1D804F20PQ/10?accountid=17222

[70] *Ibid*

[71] Paul LePage, "State of the State 2012" (online). Accessed October 19, 2018. https://www.maine.gov/governor/lepage/newsroom/speech.html?id=345707

[72] "LePage's budget would level general assistance; cities decry welfare cuts" Bangor Daily News (Bangor, Maine), February 17, 2011 (online), accessed October 19, 2018. http://bangordailynews.com/2011/02/17/politics/lepage's-budget-would-level-general-assistance-cities-decry-welfare-cuts/

[73] "LePage wants to move welfare lawsuit to federal court" *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Maine), August 1, 2014 (online), accessed October 19, 2018. https://www.pressherald.com/2014/08/01/lepage-wants-to-move-welfare-lawsuit-to-federal-court/

LePage's targeting of immigrants as unjust recipients of welfare benefits had lasting effects on the false-narrative which places immigrants in the same category as other socially vulnerable groups. In reality, LePage's reduction of social programs affected all economically vulnerable Mainers, not just those immigrant individuals who accessed social services. According to leaders of several emergency assistance programs in Lewiston, such as the Trinity Jubilee Center, endemic poverty in downtown Lewiston does not conform to racial or ethnic stereotypes; most of the recipient of emergency services are white Maine residents.[74]

The association of immigrant communities with endemic poverty and welfare abuse has some important consequences for Somali organizations and leadership. The attacks on Somali ways of life by local and state-wide political leaders accompanied a simultaneous development of emergent leadership within the Somali community, and their organizations help aid the transition of immigrants into life in Maine. The integration of these new leaders into the fold of local and state-wide advocacy coalitions and conferences represents the increasing support of the Somali community in the face of outside opposition and internal problems of joblessness and lack of access to services.

Among the first significant ISOs in the state was the United Somali Women of Maine, founded in 2001 by Fatuma Hussein. The organization began with the intention of identifying the needs of Somali women in Lewiston and working to address those needs. What was at first a small assembly of Somali women grew into an organization whose leadership has affected decision-making in all parts of Lewiston's Somali community. The organization, rebranded in 2016 to Immigrant Resource Center of Maine (IRCM), acts as a cultural liaison between community partners, social services agencies, and individuals of Lewiston's immigrant community. According

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[74] Besteman, *Making Refuge: Somali Bantu Refugees and Lewiston, ME* 174.

to its website, IRCM "empowers refugee and immigrant families by helping them access available services, advocating for victims of sexual and domestic violence, preventing violence in our communities, providing assistance with childcare, resettlement, translation, and transportation."[75] For her work, Fatuma Hussein has gone on to earn the support of local community members and the endorsement of Maine institutions like Bowdoin College, who gave Hussein an honorary degree in 2017, and the Portland Press Herald, who covered her story.[76]

In 2008, a group of "young Somalis" began the Somali Youth Bantu Association of Maine. They worked out of a van, providing athletic equipment to Somali youths, with the goal of boosting participation in sports and encourage success in public schools. Since their inception and attainment of non-profit status in 2009, the organization evolved to serve the family members of youth as well. They began to offer classes to "help new Mainers learn English, financial literacy, parenting and job skills."[77] Their current programming places significant emphasis upon immigrant mental health services – including case management, outpatient counseling, home and community treatment services, behavioral home health services, and rehabilitative community support, youth programs, and adult and family programs.[78] The organization, now called the Maine Immigrant and Refugee Services, has diversified its mission and expanded programming to include services to immigrants and refugees of all nationalities. This diversification of mission represents a significant development in leadership from within the Somali community; emergent leaders have begun to conduct business outside the framework of ethnic-clan or national boundaries.

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[75] "Immigrant Resource Center of Maine [homepage]" (webpage), Immigrant Resource Center of Maine (website), accessed October 19, 2018. http://www.ircofmaine.org

[76] "Lewiston immigrant group celebrates helping refugees" *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Maine), April 29, 2018 (online), accessed October 19, 2018. https://www.pressherald.com/2018/04/29/lewiston-immigrant-group-celebrates-helping-refugees/

[77] "About MEIRS" (web page), Maine Immigrant and Refugee Services (website), accessed October 19, 2018. https://meirs.org/about-us/

[78] *Ibid*

In 2011, recognizing the need for academic support among Somali youth enrolled in public schools, and an inability of Somali parents to help their children succeed in an English-based education system, two Bates College alumni started Tree Street Youth. The staff and board of directors for Tree Street Youth, including some of its founding members, have a diverse set of backgrounds: while some come from Somali cultural heritage, and some are people of color, a significant portion of individuals are white.[79] The mere fact, however, that some non-Somali individuals were able to work in close participation with leadership in the Somali community represents a departure from 'traditional Somali leadership,' as discussed previously in this chapter.

Developments in leadership in the Somali community also sustained the development of state-wide advocacy coalitions, as well as local efforts to improve social services. The Maine Immigrants' Rights Coalition (MIRC) presents one of the first examples of community organizations looking outward and advocating for improved "legal, social and economic conditions experienced by Maine's immigrants."[80] The participation of Lewiston-based Somali organizations such as IRCM and the Somali Bantu Community Association represents an important effort to connect Somali community leadership with the work of allies such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of Maine or the Maine Business Immigration Coalition (to cite only two examples of coalition members not directly involved in Lewiston's Somali community).[81] Increased participation of Somali leaders in regional initiatives, such as conferences like "African Refugee Health: Best Practices," hosted by Bates College in 2010 represents a high degree of mutual support between local institutions and the Somali community. The 2010 conference brought in experts from around the world to speak on the specific challenges presented

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[79] "Staff" (web page), Tree Street Youth (website), accessed April 20, 2019. https://treestreetyouth.org/staff/
[80] "About us" (web page), Maine Immigrants' Rights Coalition (website), accessed October 19, 2018. https://www.maineimmigrantrights.org/about/
[81] *Ibid*

by Somali refugee healthcare, including an emphasis on addressing psychological trauma experienced throughout displacement, awaiting resettlement, and navigation of the American healthcare system.[82] Organizers chose to incorporate a cultural program into the conference schedule, emphasizing the importance of understanding African culture in the caregiving process.[83]

Despite an ongoing prerogative among conservative politicians to undermine the social services offered to Lewiston's Somali community, Somali leaders have evolved and adapted to those challenges. Without reliable ethnographic or journalistic evidence from within the Somali community, this study cannot draw a conclusion concerning the shifting nature of leadership paradigms in the Somali community. However, an increasingly outward focus by emergent leaders to cooperate with Maine institutions indicates some change in the leadership tendencies from within Lewiston's Somali community.

Conclusions

As the first case of African immigration to Maine, the Somali community of Lewiston presents an important precedent for future migrations. The secondary resettlement of Somali refugees in Lewiston posed several important challenges to the surrounding community; how Somali individuals resolved issues affecting the community – unemployment, internal tensions, communication with government officials, access to mental health services, etc. – has established

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[82] "African refugee health care conference to be held at Bates College," *Lewiston Sun Journal* (Lewiston, Maine), October 8, 2010 (online), accessed October 19, 2018. http://www.sunjournal.com/african-refugee-health-care-conference-held-bates-college/

[83] "Conference at Bates College draws international, local experts in African refugee healthcare" (web page) ,Maine Academy of Family Physicians: Strong Medicine for Maine (website), accessed October 19, 2018. http://www.maineafp.org/cme/other-cme-opportunities/african-refugee-conference-press-release

an important model for the development of African immigrant communities throughout Maine. Reconciliation of Somali culture with American social norms took time for both Somalis and native residents of Lewiston. This process sometimes sparked resistance from conservative residents. In spite of economic statistics showing increased economic self-sufficiency in the Somali community over the course of the first decade—and showing the beneficial economic effects of Somali employment to the city—local resistance to the Somali community persisted. While opposition to Somali residents initially disputed the community's right to exist (a "Somali invasion") this discourse soon became politicized in the context of neo-liberal reform of Maine's welfare system, which incorrectly correlated the Somali community with endemic poverty. Resistance to these political operatives depended heavily upon cooperation between emergent Somali leadership and local organizations or institutions, such as Bates College. The successes of Maine's first African immigrant community stem from direct involvement of Somali individuals in the process of advocacy, and the defense of essential social services for immigrant individuals. The elevation of some community organizers to positions of representational leadership marks an important precedent for communication between African immigrant communities and civic officials.

Chapter 2

Mapping centrality in Maine's network of Immigrant-Serving Organizations:

A descriptive model

The case of Somali immigration to Lewiston provided an important precedent and context to explain how African immigrants in Maine address challenges facing their communities. The emergence of nonprofit founders or administrators as significant Somali community leaders reveals the importance of nonprofit and other social service entities in the context of community integration and development. ISOs of all kinds—501(c)(3) nonprofits, ethnic community based organizations (ECBOs), departments of state government, and municipal agencies—contribute significant work towards community development. Collectively, these organizations form a network, and the following chapter will map this network by creating a model that places each of Maine's ISOs into one of three groups: peripheral, medial, and central.

Introducing the model

In spirit, this model attempts to derive some semblance of order from a network that, at first glance, contains a wide array of independent actors, each performing in geographically distinct localities, and interacting seldom, if ever. Mapping the connections between seemingly disparate organizations over the course of this study revealed a web of collaborative relationships that transcend topical and physical distance. Through interview with leaders of ISOs in Maine, there arose a distinct pattern of comparison between those organizations with high amounts of legitimacy, or prestige, and those without. These 'prestigious' organizations tended to have stable, extensive programming, and they also participated in a wide range of collaborative efforts.

Organizations with high amounts of prestige may be called more 'central' in that they hold higher amounts of authority and legitimacy.

Preliminary research design during the months of September and October of 2018 coincided with initial inquiry and examination of secondary source material, discussion of interview questions and research methodology, and review by an Institutional Review Board (IRB). Research materials were obtained through recorded and transcribed interviews with founders, directors, and administrators of ISOs in Maine between November 2018 and January 2019. Additional documents and oral testimony were obtained through contact with individuals whose work related to immigrant-issues during the same timeframe. IRB procedure exempted this research methodology from formal review, due to the factual nature of inquiry into operational tendencies, and not the personal views of those interview subjects. Exemption therefore allowed a significant degree of liberty in constructing a flexible interview methodology. It permitted, for instance, the ability to ask follow-up and clarifying questions to interview subjects. Nevertheless, in accordance with ethical and institutional constraints of conducting research based on human testimony, no question nor follow-up question posed to interview subjects strayed far from the list of questions proposed to the IRB for review.[1]

Some constraints on research in this manner include: voluntary nature of participation in the interview process, temporal limitations on the study's research methodology (hence the number of organizations that might have participated), and an observed lower rate of responsiveness among smaller organizations that were solicited. The model will also suggest the placement of other organizations that have some public presence, but were not available for interview. Unfortunately, in the world of nonprofits and community

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[1] See Appendix A for the list of questions proposed for review by the IRB of Bowdoin College.

organizations, informational websites share the tendency of being infrequently updated, if they exist at all. These constraints to research design should highlight the preliminary nature of this study; by no means should it be considered a complete evaluation of the entire network of ISOs in Maine.

This model is by no means an absolute measure of organizational worth; instead, it offers a comparative approach to ISOs in a particular geographic context. By mapping out the position of various organizations within Maine's network using this model, this study can determine some general characteristics of the network as a whole. This study avoids using stringent metrics for program effectiveness—sometimes called "outcome indicators" (e.g. serving X number of individuals with Y grant funding)—because those metrics are often flawed, situationally dependent, and useless in a comparison between topically unrelated organizations.[2] In the emerging field of study that concerns immigrant-oriented organizations, very little scholarly work attempts to construct a meaningful comparative approach in the evaluation of ISOs. Two exceptions, Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad (2008) and the "Immigrant Civic Engagement Project" give special consideration to the importance of geography when creating different standards for comparative assessment of ISOs. Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad (2008) attempts to evaluate the capacity of ISOs that provide civic and political incorporation services to immigrant community residents using a list of factors that could be applied more generally to describe organizational focus and programming (see Figure 1.2, below).

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[2] Janet Elizabeth Rechtman, "On Being a Nonprofit Executive Director" (PhD diss., Antioch University, 2008). 40.

	Civic	Political
Resources	• Budget • Personnel (staff, volunteers, members, clients) • Physical space, equipment	• Expenditures, personnel, physical space, and equipment devoted to political activities
Presence	• Visibility and recognition among general population, mainstream media • Degree of isolation or connection to other organizations in civic activities • Legitimacy—formal incorporation (501(c)(3)) or state recognition • Legitimacy—perceived as having a role in local governance	• Visibility and recognition among government officials • Organizational affiliations with elected or appointed officials • Degree of isolation or connection to other organizations in political activities
Weight	• Ability to advance interests in the civic realm • Ability to influence allocations of resources to other organizations • Ability to shape and influence civic projects involving multiple organizations	• Ability to gain access to public officials • Ability to have interests represented in agenda-setting policy decision-making and policy implementation • Ability to influence allocation of power to other organizations

Figure 1 *Components of Civic and Political Stratification Among Organizations* [3]

Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad (2008)'s stratification model inspired this study's considerations for modeling centrality. Some key characteristics of Maine's network of ISOs prevents its application in this context, however. The Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad's model posits a causal relationship between environmental conditions and hierarchical stratification among organizations. In the stratification model, variation in environmental conditions related to immigration such as geographic boundaries, organizational structure, immigrant-group characteristics, and local public policy will affect the relative impact of an organization's work in

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[3] Figure 1 was copied, unedited except for formatting, from S. Karthick Ramakrishnan and Irene Bloemraad, "Introduction: Civic and Political Inequalities" in S. Karthick Ramakrishnan and Irene Bloemraad (eds.), *Civic Hopes and Political Realities: Immigrants, Community Organizations, and Political Engagement*. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008), 21.

different, non-overlapping locations.[4] By contrast, the model proposed by this study intends to draw meaningful comparisons between ISOs operating in collaboration within the same geographical context. Furthermore, given the ethical, temporal, and practical constraints of this study's research method, obtaining such detailed information from each interviewed participant such as their organization's operating budget or "visibility and recognition among general population, mainstream media" would be unrealistic. Therefore, this model has adopted a more flexible approach to comparative study of ISOs.

Unlike Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad (2008)'s model that enumerates a long list of specific metrics that measure organizational impact, our qualitative model posits an inter-dependency between three key factors that characterize organizational operations: programming, inter-organizational collaboration, and prestige. Programming can be described using the three factors (to be discussed later) of stated mission, relative influence, and relative financial stability. Inter-organizational collaboration refers to an action or program executed between two or more ISOs. Prestige refers to the perceived legitimacy that one organization maintains relative to its peers. These three factors—programming, inter-organizational collaboration, and prestige—are codependent and correlated such that increasing the quality of one will increase the possibility of improving the other two. For example, having a track record of successful programming increases prestige, and in turn, the perception of high prestige will inevitably attract "better" sources of funding, and more qualified professional staff to improve programming. Sustaining a high quality of programming might additionally increase the likelihood of one ISO collaborating with another. Because inter-organizational collaboration on programming is voluntary, those organizations most often solicited for collaboration retain a higher level of trust, or prestige (see Figure 2.1, below).

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[4] S. Karthick Ramakrishnan and Irene Bloemraad (Eds.), "Introduction: Civic and Political Inequalities," 21
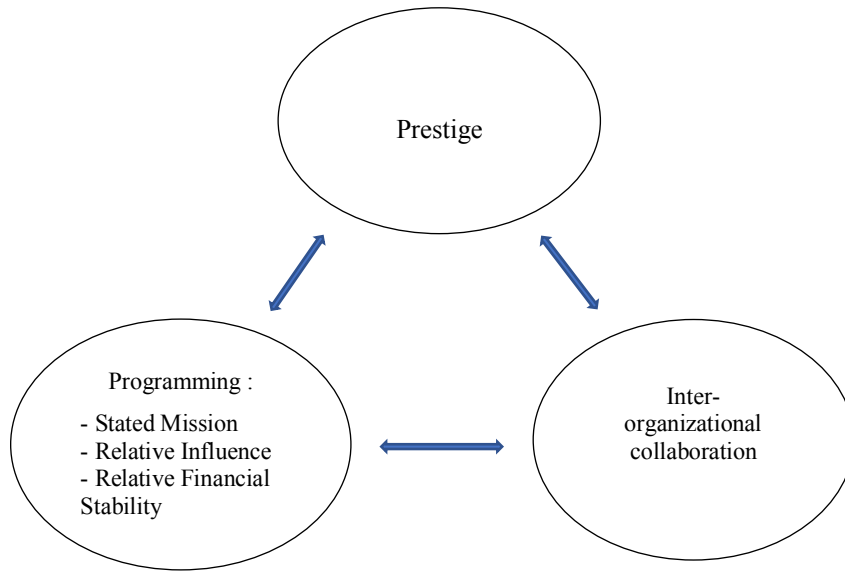
Figure 2.1. A graphical representation of the inter-dependency between key factors describing the operations of ISOs.

It should be noted that 'prestige' is a highly amorphous and subjective qualifier. The word 'prestige' could encompass a range of similar terms, such as credibility, influence, legitimacy, power, or trust. Moreover, few individuals would risk assigning prestige to a neighboring organization for fear of overstepping their own authority. The distinction is therefore tacit. Prestige of a given organization may also translate into influence when matters of network-level priority are in question. This study posits that there exists a corollary relationship between prestige and interorganizational collective action. Several coalitions and working groups deal particularly with collective action—generally within the scope of state or federal policy—such as the Maine Immigrants' Rights Coalition (MIRC) or the Maine State Refugee Council (MSRC). Prestige may inform the position of a given organization within these coalitions or working groups—from basic membership to specific leadership roles and responsibilities. This study reveals a correlation between prestige and demonstrated ability to affect inter-organizational collective action (see Figure 2.2, below). The purpose of this study is to reveal the boundaries of this corollary

relationship. Chapter 3 will attempt the examine how MIRC's internal structure incorporates ISOs (like those from Chapter 2) into positions of political leadership.
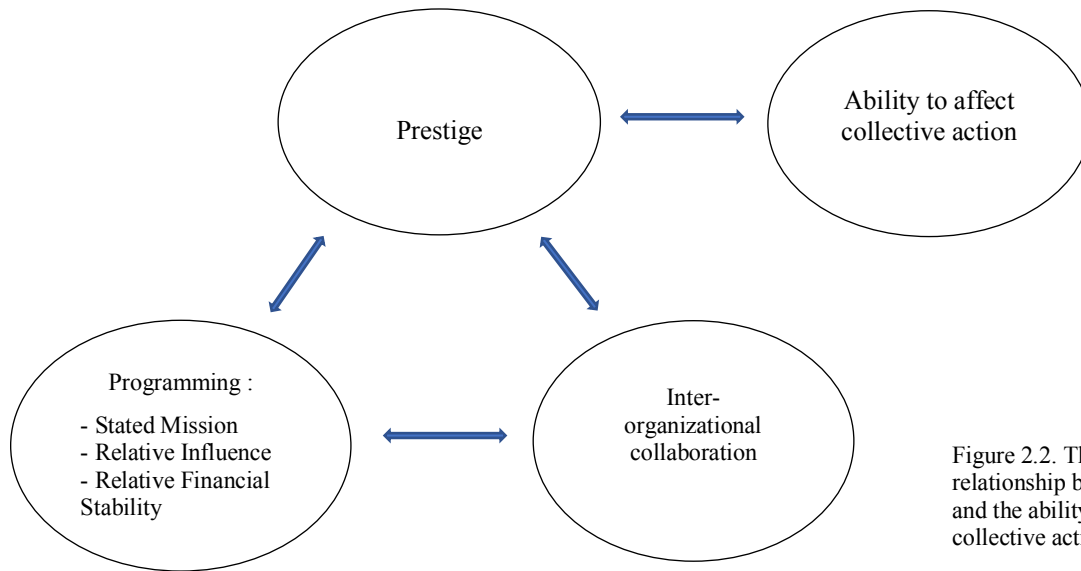

Figure 2.2. The corollary relationship between prestige and the ability to affect collective action.

We define the criterion 'stated mission' as the degree to which an organization's purpose may directly or indirectly affect Maine immigrants on a universal level; for instance, a 'central' stated mission might describe an organization that explicitly attempts to affect governmental policies pertaining to Maine's population of immigrants. Due to inevitable difficulties distinguishing 'central' from 'medial' and 'medial' from 'peripheral,' it may help to consider only those organizations operating on a state-wide level as having 'central' stated missions because more often than not, those organizations manage resources and affect policies relevant to the widest range of individuals. Conversely, the designation of 'peripheral' under the category of 'stated mission' might describe an organization whose stated mission creates a limitation on the number of individuals within its power to reach. In this case, 'peripheral' may be sometimes synonymous with the term 'specialized,' because although a certain organization may have limited ability to affect inter-organizational collective action, the extent to which it can effectively provide

direct services to individuals and families might exceed that of a more central organization. In this case, 'peripheral' should not be thought of as equivalent to 'unimportant.'

The second criterion, 'relative influence,' describes the extent to which a given organization has demonstrated an ability to execute its stated mission, and the extent to which members of that organization (staff or leadership) are solicited to present their work to the public. The more often that the director of a certain organization must speak at a conference or participate on an advisory board for immigrant-related policies, the more we might consider their organization as having a high amount of influence outside the scope of its normal day-to-day operations. In order to measure relative influence as a criterion for the execution of the organization's mission through day-to-day operations, we must examine all aspects of its operating procedures in detail, and determine if the operation constitutes an effective use of resources. The amount of resources that an organization devotes to its programming may additionally indicate its relative influence.

The 'relative financial stability' of an organization describes the extent to which a given organization's funding sources can guarantee its continued existence. In describing their funding sources, the individuals solicited for this study described a wide-range of development strategies. For example, financially stable organizations have numerous and diverse sources of funding (e.g. reliable annual fundraising drive, individual donors, private foundations, contracts with governmental agencies, grants from governmental programs, etc.). Having a diverse range of funding sources indicates flexibility in programming such that if the organization were to lose the support of one private foundation or government grant, for instance, then it could continue programming in another area without having to lay off staff. The relative financial stability of an organization may be measured by the constancy of its funding sources and by the size of its annual budget.

This study sampled ten leaders of ISOs through interview survey, in addition to personal attendance of three conferences that exhibited the work of three other ISOs; four of these organizations have been consolidated into the "organization" Portland Public Schools. This study obtained information concerning Hope Acts, Maine Community Integration, New Mainers Tenants' Association, and various ECBOs from online sources.

The Telling Room, Hope Acts, MCI, NMTA, ECBOs

Ladder to the Moon, GPIWC, OEO

ILAP, Portland Public Schools, ProsperityME, CCM
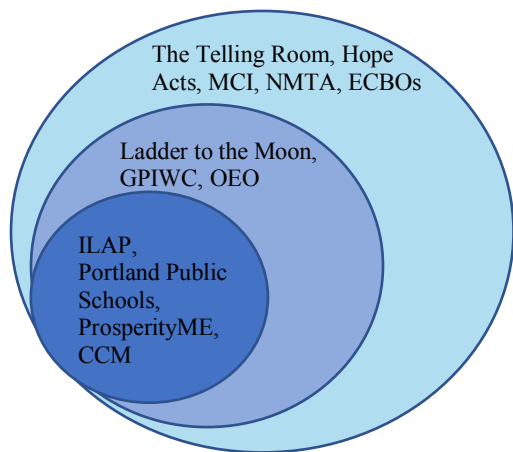
Figure 3. The resulting centrality model: mapping ISOs based on the corollary relationships defined in Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2.

Organizations at the periphery

Before achieving 501(c)(3) status, the Telling Room started as an idea shared between three professional writers living in Portland who wished to use their skills in a way that empowered youth through writing, publication, and community engagement. These three criteria are what Program Director Nick Whiston identified during interview as "the three P's" of Program, Publication, and Public Engagement. The first program led by the founders in 2004 focused on training students of a local high school who were either immigrants themselves or the children of immigrants. The program operated using volunteers so that each participant received one-on-one consultation for their writing. At the end of the process, the Telling Room published the students' writing into an anthology of short stories and poetry, and the founders hosted a public reading in

collaboration with the Maine College of Art, which offered arts integration. Since the first program in 2004 focusing exclusively on immigrant, non-white high schoolers, the Telling Room began branching out their programming to include students of all demographics. Whiston justified this dramatic shift in mission, saying that although the idea for their center existed prior, and somewhat unrelated to the rapid development of an African immigrant community in Maine, the founders considered it important that their first program launch within that new community:

"I'll say this—I bet if you talk to all three founders, they would say that, for sure, part of their motivation was that there was a new population in Portland that had a lot of stories to tell, and there were a lot of people interested in hearing those stories. So I don't think it was pure coincidence by any means that that was the first group they worked with, but also I would say that it was never their intent to exclusively work with immigrant and refugee students—if that makes sense."

Whiston also explained that the Telling Room maintains a variety of programs designed to engage members of the immigrant community. Young Writers and Leaders, their most successful and most in-depth program, focuses exclusively on immigrant or first-generation students. The program contains three subsections and three summer camps, each offering the same material and programming under different time constraints. In addition to the Young Writers and Leaders Program, the Telling Room also offers programming in ELL classrooms of local public schools. An important part of its afterschool programming takes place in public schools with high proportions of immigrant students. Whiston noted that the number of immigrant/first generation students in their programs is proportionally higher than the number of immigrant/first generation students living in Maine: about 15 percent of the Telling Room's students are immigrants/first generation students, compared to 3.0 percent of the state's overall public school student population

in ELL programs.[5] Whiston explained that although the program began with the idea of serving the immigrant community of Portland, their long-term vision—and one might say, a necessity for their survival—mandated reaching beyond the immigrant community of Portland, and branding themselves as an organization for general youth empowerment.

In the above-cited excerpt, Whiston describes a situation in which US-born, white individuals focused their attention on a black immigrant community on account of a public fascination with it, before moving on to different, larger ambitions. In this circumstance, the Telling Room typifies many nonprofits that started in the early 2000s as well as older organizations that saw the social issues of their communities change and thereafter developed programming around immigrant issues. For the purpose of this study, we describe these organizations as 'tangentially related' to the immigrant community because they exercise minimal or nonexistent impact on the decision-making processes of collective action regarding immigrant issues: organizations such as the Telling Room do not send representatives to attend conferences, community meetings, or advocacy events concerning immigrant issues, such as the MIRC or MSRC.[6] These 'tangentially related' organizations may contribute essential services, but because they fail to integrate themselves into the decision-making process, their positioning on a centrality curve should be considered peripheral.

While organizations such as the Telling Room fall into the category of 'peripheral' in this model because of their tangential relationship to the immigrant community, some ISOs occupy such a small niche that according to the criterion 'stated mission,' they would find it quite difficult

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[5] Migration Policy Institute: National Center on Immigrant Integration Policy, "States and Districts with the Highest Number and Share of English Language Learners" *in ELL Information Center Facts Sheets Series.* No. 5 (2005). Data on the current number of students who speak a language other than English at home on a state-wide level in Maine is conspicuously absent. The statistic of number of ELL students in the state must constitute a relatively poor, although in this circumstance, sufficient, approximation for the desired statistic.
[6] Interview with Nick Whiston.

to influence decision-making processes on a network-wide level. Organizations such as Hope Acts, the New Mainers Tenants' Association, and Maine Community Integration represent this second layer of ISOs in the 'peripheral' category. The organization Hope Acts owns and operates a low-cost housing complex designed to offer asylum seekers in the Portland-area shelter and a pathway to employment. Hope House—a name for the residence that Hope Acts maintains for asylum seeker housing—also offers courses in ELL education and some professional and legal services to residents.[7] However, before continuing our comparison of ISOs such as Hope Acts, it might prove fruitful to take a moment and explain the particular case of asylum seekers in Maine.

The path to receiving asylum in the United States is an arduous affair. In common usage, the term "asylum seeker" might refer to any individual traveling in the United States whose stay is predicated upon an intention to receive asylum—the same condition of legal rights and protections accorded to refugees. Under law, however, there exists an important distinction between the different statuses of individuals generically called "asylum seekers." Any individual who resides in the country with legal documentation—such as Lawful Permanent Resident (LPR) status, or temporary immigration statuses like student or tourist visa—is considered a legal immigrant. An individual who has not yet applied for asylum and who lacks valid legal residency or visa documents is an undocumented immigrant. And under law, the term 'asylum seeker' applies to any person that submitted an application for asylum and awaits judgement from the United States Citizen and Immigration Services (USCIS).[8]

Asylum seekers have a wide range of personal stories that bring them to the United States. Many professionals sampled in this study and elsewhere suggest that asylum seekers from Africa

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[7] "Hope House" (webpage), Hope Acts: Housing Asylum seekers. Helping Immigrants Succeed (website), accessed February 14, 2019. https://hopeacts.org/immigrant-support/hopehouse/
[8] Interview with Julia Brown

and the Middle East in particular display higher than average levels of education and capital resources compared to other immigrants generally, and compared to refugees in particular—the logic being that highly educated professionals have more disposable income to flee persecution outside the framework of UNHCR assistance. Stories from asylum seekers in Maine vary widely: from engineers, doctors, lawyers, and administrators escaping violence on an airplane ride with legal short-term immigration documents to middle class people forced to fly into Central America and pay for illegal passage into the United States via a Southern Border, asylum seekers endure extreme risks no matter their choice of passage.[9] In recent years, the number of individuals and families choosing the latter option has likely increased in response to restrictions on legal immigration issued by the Trump administration through Executive Order "Buy American, Hire American."[10]

The Trump Administration also instituted procedural changes to the rules of applying for asylum in the United States. These rules effectively limit the capacity of asylum seekers to earn income legally and afford temporary housing during an interim period of up to about 13.5 months: there exists a one year deadline following arrival for submitting the application for asylum, and an additional wait period of six weeks before receiving an interview with the regional USCIS office. Furthermore, even after submitting an application, asylum seekers must wait 150 days before applying to obtain work authorization, only if during that time they have not received a final decision on the application.[11] Once the asylum seeker submits the initial application—a

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[9] "Asylum seekers travel to Portland in droves, overwhelming social services" *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Maine). December 24, 2018 (online), accessed February 14, 2019. https://www.pressherald.com/2018/12/23/asylum-seekers-travel-to-portland-in-droves-overwhelming-city-services/
[10] *Ibid.*
Sarah Pierce, Jessica Bolter, and Andrew Selee, "U.S. Immigration Policy Under Trump: Deep Changes and Lasting Impacts," *Transatlantic Council on Migration.* (Migration Policy Institute, 2018). 8.
[11] Immigrant Legal Advocacy Project, "Changes to Asylum Interview Scheduling Policy" (no date). Accessed February 14, 2019. https://nmrcmaine.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/Changes-to-Asylum-Interview-Scheduling-Policy-1.31.2018-by-ILAP.pdf

complicated procedure requiring detailed legal arguments for obtaining asylum—they become eligible for GA in Portland and Lewiston.[12] Thus, a choice must be made between rushing the asylum application during the first several months of residency and risking a poor result in order to benefit from the short-term relief of GA, or finding some other form of accommodation.

Hope Acts (and indeed many other organizations in Maine) provides two services directly to asylum seekers: housing and basic ELL education. At the time of the writing of this study, predominantly African asylum seekers are overwhelming the Portland municipal social services and area shelters, in migratory waves reminiscent of Somali resettlement in Portland and Lewiston in the early 2000s.[13] The rental market of Portland is among the nation's least affordable, and vacancy rates in the Housing Market Area of Portland-South Portland reached depths of 4.2 percent in the first quarter of 2018.[14] Under the recent policy of the General Assistance Office of Portland, the City has assumed the expenses of enrolling non-citizens into General Assistance programs, such as the provision of housing vouchers.[15] The city budgeted $200,000 annually for

[12] "Portland to continue providing general assistance to most immigrants" *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Maine). December 19, 2016 (online), accessed February 14, 2019. https://www.pressherald.com/2016/12/19/portland-to-continue-providing-general-assistance-to-most-immigrants/
"Another Maine city reports spike in asylum seekers applying for aid" Bangor Daily News (Bangor, Maine), March 2, 2017 (online), accessed February 14, 2019.https://bangordailynews.com/2017/03/02/politics/another-maine-city-reports-spike-in-asylum-seekers-applying-for-aid/
City of Lewiston Social Services Department, General Assistance Program, "A Guide to the Applicant's Rights and Responsibilities" (no date), accessed February 19, 2019.
https://www.ci.lewiston.me.us/DocumentCenter/View/559/Guide-to-Applicant-Rights---English?bidId=
[13] "Maine's Largest City Strains Under Asylum-Seeker Influx" *The Wall Street Journal*. January 27, 2019 (online), accessed February 14, 2019. https://www.wsj.com/articles/maines-largest-city-strains-under-asylum-seeker-influx-11548601200
[14] "Maine's rental maket among the least affordable in the nation" *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, ME). June 14, 2018 (online), accessed March 7, 2019. https://www.pressherald.com/2018/06/13/maines-rental-market-among-least-affordable-in-the-nation/
U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, "Comprehensive Housing Market Analysis: Portland-South Portland, Maine." (June 1, 2018). Accessed online March 7, 2019.
https://www.huduser.gov/portal/publications/pdf/Portland-ME-Comp-CHMA-18.pdf
[15] "Portland to continue providing general assistance to most immigrants" *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Maine). December 19, 2016 (online). Accessed February 14, 2019. https://www.pressherald.com/2016/12/19/portland-to-continue-providing-general-assistance-to-most-immigrants/
City of Portland Health and Human Services Department: Social Services Division, "Impact of Undocumented Individuals on General Assistance Reimbursement by the State of Maine FY15" in "Portland freezes hiring, non-

this expense using predictions based on an immigration model of refugee arrivals in Portland from years past; however, given the rapid influx of asylum seekers that are poised to receive General Assistance from the City, a crisis of resources is set to unfold.[16] Organizations like Hope Acts provide an essential resource to Maine's immigrant community; compared to the scale of Portland's housing crisis, their impact remains peripheral.

Like Hope Acts, the two peripheral organizations New Mainers Tenants' Association (NMTA) and Maine Community Integration (MCI) offer essential services with limited scope or impact. NMTA offers the important service of mediating disputes between immigrant renters and native Maine landlords. Through trainings, information sessions, and advocacy, the NMTA offers programming meant to educate community members on their legal rights as renters.[17] Because of its relatively young age (founded in 2014) and highly specific focus, NMTA occupies a location on the periphery of the centrality curve. MCI offers a different approach to addressing issues facing the immigrant community. Through facilitation of intercultural events, MCI endeavors to provide "support and understanding of the Communities and their various cultures, through enhancing and improving the opportunities of the communities to better integrate in the American culture through education, advocacy, and social change empowerment."[18] At least from the current iteration of the website, MCI seems to offer fairly amorphous, value-driven programming without much of an eye for public image or presentation of programs for potential funders. Organizations such as MCI at the time of this study present an example of a new, yet seemingly unstable form of ISO. If the

emergency overtime because of immigrant-aid dispute with the state" *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, ME). November 12, 2014. Accessed March 7, 2019. https://www.pressherald.com/media/document/impact-undocumented-immigrants-general-assistance/

[16] *Ibid*

[17] "Our Programming" (webpage), New Mainers Tenants' Association (website), accessed March 7, 2019. https://newmainersta.org/our-programming

[18] "About us" (webpage) Maine Community Integration (website), accessed March 8, 2019. https://mcilewiston.weebly.com/

unstructured nature of its website and responsiveness by email are any indication of other forms of programming, then we must consider MCI as an example of a peripheral (but not unimportant) organization whose cooperation has yet to be recognized by significant players in the network.

Ethnic community based organizations (ECBOs) typically operate on low to non-existent budgets, while sometimes depending on the contributions of member to operate. Programming by ECBOs in Maine often focuses on providing social resources such as emergency support networks and inclusivity events to members of a given ethnic community. Primarily, ECBOs of Maine provide space and time for social gatherings. For instance, immigrants from the DRC or the Republic of the Congo may elect to participate in the Congolese Community of Maine, an ECBO whose mission is "to facilitate integration of the Congolese people. To assist Congolese immigrants during their transition to life in Maine. To promote entrepreneurship and Congolese culture and value through educational, social event, public forum within State of Maine."[19] Although the organization lists a website domain on multiple forums, including its own Facebook page, no real website exists. The organization's leadership posts a wide range of material onto their Facebook page—from holiday wishes to eulogies and celebrations of birth, to promotion of their own programming and programming of other organizations—all of which the public may freely access.

When asked about his participation in community based groups, Georges Budagu Makoko of Ladder to the Moon affirmed ECBOs' primary role of providing a social space where people of one ethnic/national minority can maintain culture and tradition in a familiar social setting.[20] Similarly, Mufalo Chitam of MIRC described the appeal of ECBOs as largely social:

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[19] "Congolese Community of Maine" (webpage), Facebook (website), accessed March 8, 2019.
https://www.facebook.com/pg/Congolese-Community-of-Maine-201848326560842/about/?ref=page_internal
[20] Interview with Georges Budagu Makoko

"Associations happened naturally because, well, like from…if you are from away, you know, and when you come here, you want to belong. So they naturally, you know, gravitate towards their own ethnicity and within them they create an organization." She explained that ECBOs gain funding from private foundations interested in encouraging diversity within the circles of ISO leaders on a statewide level.

The primary source of ECBO funds in Maine come from a single private foundation called Maine Initiatives. As a private foundation 501(c)(3), Maine Initiatives claims responsibility for helping fund a variety of progressive issues, including marriage equality, same-day voter registration, and community proposals on zoning or pesticide use.[21] For over ten years, Maine Initiatives has operated the Broad Reach Fund to "strengthen emerging and established immigrant-led, community-based organizations in Maine."[22] Chitam described the appeal of starting and leading an organization as empowering; in the face of discrimination in the hiring process for nearly any profession (and continued discrimination in the workplace as well), starting an ECBO could provide an immigrant with good income, while at the same time maintaining an important service to the community. Under a certain understanding, a formal decentralized network of ECBOs has come to replace the largely informal network of immigrant individuals who respond to crises in their communities. Mufalo Chitam, Damas Rugaba, Georges Budagu Makoko and Claude Rwaganje each individually described the responsibility attached to being a "well-established" immigrant within these informal networks: before many ECBOs existed, homeless or unemployed immigrants would often depend on well-established members of their ethnic/national minority for advice or help navigating the system of foreign bureaucracy. As Mufalo Chitam

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[21] "History" (web page), Maine Initiatives (website), accessed March 8, 2019. http://maineinitiatives.org/about-us/history/
[22] "Immigrant-Led Organizations Fund Grantees" (webpage), Maine Initiatives (website), accessed March 8, 2019. http://maineinitiatives.org/grants/immigrant-led-organizations-fund/

described, ECBOs address issues overlooked by mainstream service providers. Furthermore, they promote an essential leadership and representational role within the structural framework of MIRC, due to their grassroots connection to residents of various ethnic communities in Maine.[23]

On the other hand, some established immigrant leaders deride ECBOs as unorganized or poorly run, and they wish to distance themselves from behaviors that they consider problematic. In a field of competitive grant-seeking 501(c)(3)s, the more highly professionalized organizations win the most funding; funding-deficient ECBOs are at a significant disadvantage in that competition for resources, especially if they haven't built a "good track record" of programming, as Claude Rwaganje phrased it. Failure to own a conference room or office space, for instance, poses a significant inconvenience to those ECBOs who wish to attract more funding.[24] In particular, Rwaganje remarked that development funding, more than any other factor, can distinguish an unstable ISO (i.e. an ECBO) from a stable immigrant-led ISO, such as his own. He claimed that ECBOs often suffer crises of leadership, because ECBO founders have a tendency to reach out to friends and family for support in constructing their own organization, as opposed to skilled professionals. Imitating the decision-making process of ECBO leaders in conversation, Rwaganje criticized their leadership: "So the strategy…most ECBOs, they do like an easy life. [They say to themselves], 'I will have my fellow friends on the board so they don't challenge me, they don't—so we can manage funds the way we want.'"[25] He respected ECBOs' ability to disseminate information and provide an important place for cultural gatherings, but he took issue with their general lack of programming and initiative to succeed in the competitive realm of nonprofit fundraising/development. While ECBOs collectively play a crucial role in raising levels

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[23] Interview with Mufalo Chitam
[24] Interview with Damas Rugaba
[25] Interview with Claude Rwaganje

of immigrant entrepreneurship, leadership, and autonomy, they are especially vulnerable to financial collapse. Collectively, ECBOs widen the scope grassroots-level connectivity between centrally important leaders of the immigrant community and regular people influenced by the policies which central leaders have the potential to affect; individually, ECBOs rely on unstable operational procedures that could lead to collapse or dramatically reduced programming. Although collectively they perform an essential function for the advancement of immigrant issues, on an individual basis the operational procedures of ECBOs lend little confidence to their perpetual existence, earning them placement at the periphery of this model's centrality curve.

Bridging the gap: medially positioned organizations

Unlike the peripheral organizations, many of whom were unavailable for direct interview during the limited time frame allowed by this research design, nearly all of the medial organizations directly participated through in-person interview or through the provision of physical materials. Placement of the following organizations in the category of 'medial' aims to appreciate the importance of stated mission, relative influence, and relative financial stability to predict the potential for each organization to affect collective action, though arguably not from a position of central authority.

In 2013, after spending eleven years in the United States, George Budagu Makoko published a memoir detailing how he survived as a refugee, fleeing genocide in the eastern provinces of the DRC. By his own account, he wrote the memoir as a way to educate the public about one of the most destructive conflicts of modern times—one that is ongoing and relatively unheard of in the United States. He called the book Ladder to the Moon and quickly decided to alter his approach. Started in 2014 but officially chartered in 2016 as a 501(c)(3), Ladder to the

Moon transformed from the title of a memoir into a model organization for African public awareness campaigns in Maine. Ladder to the Moon now has two primary programs: organizing an annual Global Awareness and Responsibility Conference centered on issues affecting Africa, and publishing a monthly newspaper Amjambo Africa!, which distributes 10,000 copies to over 350 locations in Southern Maine. The newspaper Amjambo Africa! is written in English with translations into French, Kiswahili, and Kinyarwanda included in the issue. Writing in three of the most widely spoken languages among African immigrants in Portland was an essential component to Makoko's mission as founder and editor. Amjambo Africa! makes the news accessible to all members of the immigrant community regardless of English-reading abilities, and its content endeavors to bring immigrants together by highlighting important social and educational events in the immigrant community. In the eleventh issue, for instance, the monthly community calendar advertised events ranging from a lecture hosted by the Maine School of Law entitled "Justice for Women Lecture" to a fashion show and open mic night to special training classes in immigrant entrepreneurship hosted by Portland Adult Education and supported by Bangor Savings Bank (a private sponsor). Coverage of Maine Governor Janet Mills' inauguration received significant coverage in the issue, alongside a diverse range of contributor columns, a permanent feature called "country profile" which gives recent news on a different African country every week, and photographic stories about two recent community events.[26]

In addition to publishing a monthly newspaper, Ladder to the Moon organizes an annual conference designed to bring together members of the African immigrant community. The 2018 conference featured four guest panelists and one keynote speaker to address the question, "How

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[26] Georges Budagu Makoko (Ed.) *Amjambo Africa!* Vol. 1, 11.
In the eleventh issue, the South Sudanese Community of Maine and the Rwandese Community Association of Maine received photographic stories.

does war impact African women socially and economically?" Throughout the event, multiple speakers highlighted the foundational role that women play in African society; in the United States, African women displaced by war face significant challenges of balancing the culturally imposed responsibility of child-rearing alongside the need for cultural integration. In particular, African women face great obstacles preventing regular attendance of English classes. Among other challenges, child-rearing stands out in as perhaps the most significant limitation: raising children often precludes basic integration services like ELL education, and even with a good understanding of English, it takes time and energy to learn the American bureaucratic systems for healthcare, insurance, daycare, employment, and transportation services (introduction by Mufalo Chitam, panel presenter). Nevertheless, African women demonstrate their resilience by successfully navigating those responsibilities and investing in their own education. They seek out resources in the U.S. like the organization In Her Presence that facilitates employment licensing so that educated immigrants can practice their professional skills in the American workplace.[27]

The American healthcare system poses a particular problem for African women. Even those who qualify for Medicare under the law face considerable difficulty getting the health or dental procedures they need. Under the social obligations of child-rearing, many women assume responsibility for securing access to healthcare for their family; navigating the foreign system, however, poses a nearly insurmountable barrier to women, especially for asylum seeking families or for those immigrants who endured significant trauma fleeing war. Sexual violence and other forms of abuse suffered while fleeing conflict can affect African women's mental health for an entire lifetime if not treated using culturally appropriate mental health services. A lack of culturally or linguistically appropriate services available to African immigrants can push affected individuals

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[27] Remarks by Mufalo Chitam at the "2019 Global Awareness and Responsibility Conference: How does war impact African women socially and economically?"

into depression, substance abuse, and unsafe behavioral health scenarios. Although the need is recognized among certain members of the social services industry, there remains much work to be done in addressing these issues.[28]

Organizations like In Her Presence and Catholic Charities of Maine Refugee and Immigration Services (CCMRIS) attempt to address the above-mentioned challenges facing African women by providing specific cultural training for healthcare workers, and service providers by educating immigrants on how to navigate the healthcare and mental healthcare systems and by raising awareness for why mental health issues spread in certain cultures. The social expectations attached to African family-life places significant strain on women, but they also inhibit men from seeking the mental health support necessary to overcome past trauma.[29]

An intermission divided the conference into two separate programs, during which time attendees served themselves food from a buffet and socialized. When asked about the use of such an intermission, Makoko confirmed the objective of networking between members of the immigrant community and leaders of ISOs. Between Amjambo Africa! and the Global Awareness and Responsibility Conference, Ladder to the Moon provides an essential auxiliary service to the entire network of ISOs. On the one hand, Ladder to the Moon amplifies public outreach and education for any ISO featured in the newspaper at no additional cost. Through the annual conference and monthly newspaper, Ladder to the Moon advances the case for ISOs, promotes cross-cultural understanding, and facilitates engagement (civic and educational) within the immigrant community itself.

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[28] Remarks of Valens Hasubizimana, Health Promotion Grant Manager/Healthcare Navigator for CCMRIS at the "2019 Global Awareness and Responsibility Conference: How does war impact African women socially and economically?"

[29] *Ibid.*

Ladder to the Moon must occupy a medial position in this model due to its auxiliary role to other organizations that provide programming affecting policy and/or large numbers of immigrant individuals. Moreover, although Ladder to the Moon displays some operational procedures associated with stability—such as relying on a diverse range of funding sources including private advertisements, corporate sponsors, private distribution partners, and 501(c)(3) foundation funding—being only recently operational exposes the organization to higher risk of failure. Many essential human resources depend on volunteer labor. For instance, many of the editorial decisions are made by Makoko himself or volunteer board members, and many of the translation and distribution components of the newspaper's operation depend on volunteer labor. During the interview, Makoko remarked that towards the beginning especially, there was some uncertainty regarding the ability for Ladder to the Moon to meet deadlines. In creating his board, Makoko expressed his desire to recruit experienced, skilled individuals that would be passionate about his goals, and he claimed to be somewhat successful in that endeavor; however, he also explained that when constructing a nonprofit, much of the initial support came from friends and members of his own personal network. Ladder to the Moon's reliance on unpaid, volunteer labor for operations deserve commendation for all individuals involved; the employment of trained professionals in those roles would increase the organization's stability, however.

Like Ladder to the Moon, the organization Greater Portland Immigrant Welcome Center (GPIWC) offers (or plans to offer) a wide range of programming to encourage cooperation among leaders of the immigrant community. Also like Ladder to the Moon, GPIWC is a relatively new organization. Started in 2014, the center began as a co-working space in order to address one major financial limitation placed upon emerging immigrant-led, ISOs—namely, that leasing professional office space in Portland weighs heavily on nonprofit budgets, thereby limiting the capacity of ISOs

to invest in programming. A co-working space reserved for ISOs also facilitates the exchange of information and resources. Organizational leaders can share volunteers, staff, and ideas on collaboration or programming. GPIWC also reserves working space for members of the public free of charge, so that enterprising individuals in need of temporary working space can find a professional atmosphere to conduct their work, and consult individuals who are knowledgeable in the fields of social services and ISO resources. Collaboration in a co-working space also prevents duplication of efforts, to some extent, because ISO can quickly consult peers on differences or similarities in programming. Additionally, co-founder of GPIWC Damas Rugaba explained as a representative leader from GPIWC, he personally sits on an ad hoc policy working group that will propose solutions to issues of workforce integration in Maine's immigrant community.[30]

GPIWC also hosts an English acquisition program targeting individuals for whom typical ELL services don't address their needs. He indicated that English language proficiency constitutes the first and most significant obstacle to an immigrant's success in Maine. He cited a statistic that since 2013 roughly 60 percent of immigrants in Maine have college degrees—a number likely influenced by the recent influx of highly skilled/educated asylum seekers. Addressing the English-learning needs of these individuals represents the most significant challenge of integrating immigrants into Maine's economy. The English-acquisition model proposed by GPIWC uses a computer lab and instructors trained in English-teaching software so that immigrants can record themselves, speak in controlled groups, and complete assignments designed to improve speaking abilities. Educating these highly skilled immigrants in English quickly will then allow them to pursue accreditation and licensing so they can integrate into high-paying jobs, as opposed to entry-level positions in careers that require minimal education, such as janitorial services or

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[30] Interview with Damas Rugaba

manufacturing. Furthermore, GPIWC offers a Business Help Program designed to give entrepreneurial immigrants the resources necessary to start a business in the American economy. The program gives overview of different accounting systems, taxation, business plans, access to lending institutions, mentorship and technical assistance as participants graduate from the program and start a business. And the third area of programming focuses on raising public awareness in the immigrant community on civic engagement, voting, and naturalization. GPIWC additionally recognizes that the costs of going through naturalization often prevent immigrants from becoming citizens; in response, they are attempting to establish lines of credit with local lending institutions for citizenship applications. Overall, GPIWC offers a dynamic range of programming that focuses on empowering members of the community on the one hand, and facilitating higher amount of cooperation among immigrant leaders on the other.

Like Ladder to the Moon, GPIWC is a relatively new organization, and it incurs the same existential risks as any new organization. Moreover, its proposed programming is largely speculative. At the time of this research, the English language acquisition lab was just recently operational and the civic engagement programming thus far had consisted of voter registration and transportation to the polls of the November 2018 midterm elections. The Business Help Program had yet to service any clients and their Greenhouse Program (an intensive version of the Business Help Program) had yet to accept any applicants. As a medially positioned organization, GPIWC displayed a great potential for success, however until they build a track record of accomplishments, their future is dubious.

In 2016, the Portland Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) began to hold meetings, interviews, and public hearings with "service providers, community groups, and individuals" to devise a strategic plan for guiding city investment in under-served, foreign-born trained

professionals in an effort to retain immigrants and optimize economic contribution (notes from the Maine State Refugee Council Advisory Meeting).[31] The Strategic Action Plan for Inclusion delineates four "Outcome Areas" that the city would like to address: economic inclusion and development, civic inclusion, social inclusion and cultural inclusion, and welcome-ability.[32] The plan declares three strategies for achieving those outcome goals and a detailed outline of measures for achieving each strategy. Generally, the plan advocates for investment in resources to help career development, ESOL (a different acronym synonymous with ELL), and increase levels of immigrant participation in business development offerings and networking. The report describes measures to be taken by the city such as the creation of the Professional Connector Program and other forms of collaboration between municipal and non-municipal service providers to support career advancement through "cross-sector job shadow opportunities…[and] hosting an annual employer only forum on How to Attract and Retain Diverse Talent to learn of gaps, best practices, and collective work."[33] The plan also proposes supporting "the evaluation of foreign credentials and associated costs related to licensing and certification of foreign-trained individuals for those ineligible for existing support in this area" as well as direct advocacy to change Maine licensing requirements under the Office of Professional and Occupational Regulation.[34] Other efforts to boost civic inclusion most prominently include promotion of civically-minded events like naturalization ceremonies, and guaranteed equal access to all City services and Council sessions through implementation of the Language Access City Policy. In an effort to improve the cultural and social inclusion of immigrants in the city, the Office of Economic Opportunity developed a

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[31] "Office of Economic Opportunity" (website), Portland, ME (webpage) Accessed March 8, 2019.
https://www.portlandmaine.gov/2108/Office-of-Economic-Opportunity
[32] City of Portland Office of Economic Opportunity, *City of Portland Strategic Plan for Inclusion*. Portland, ME. (December 2018).
[33] *Ibid*
[34] *Ibid*

website called 'PortLand of Opportunity.' As described in the report and during oral presentation, the website will serve the immigrant community as a roadmap by connecting users to resources like the GPIWC and other service providers, as well as professional development programs defined in the report.

As an office of the City of Portland, the OEO operates on municipal funds, and it is ultimately subject to oversight by elected officials. The dynamic nature of American politics and the stress placed upon newly formed municipal departments together inspires some uncertainty concerning the ability of the OEO to execute each of its strategic actions fully and to address every outcome area. Moreover, when asked to explain the OEO's approach to advertising and outreach for the Strategic Plan during a presentation at the Maine State Refugee Council Advisory Meeting, OEO Director Julia Trujillo Luengo declared that her approach of presenting in front of groups of immigrant leaders and public hearings constitutes sufficient outreach. Trujillo Luengo's choice to advertise the OEO's new website primarily among leaders of ISOs reflects an assumption that information on new programs and services would automatically trickle down from immigrant leaders to those individuals in need. According to some leaders surveyed by this study, that perspective is both problematic and endemic. One anonymous, for example, criticized the inability of certain white leaders of ISOs to adapt their standards of communication for an immigrant audience:

> "[White leaders] don't understand how immigrants operate. You cannot just create the website and put it there and they expect that immigrants will just go there into it and find a match. Immigrants, you have to find them where they are, down there. You have to go there, you have to do outreach. You have to go to them and pull them, and bring them. I mean according to the website there are those willing partners from the business

community that want to mentor; they can go in there. But if you don't do outreach and bring people to come, they will never come."[35]

When prompted to describe a more culturally appropriate strategy for outreach, they continued to criticize the assumption that information spreads naturally throughout the immigrant community by way of ECBO presidents and leaders of immigrant-led ISOs:

"You cannot—you may have the best program ever, but you need people to go through that program. If you don't—people just assume they sent an email on the MIRC list and those community leaders will spread the information, spread the information…Not necessarily true. Some may, some may not…That's not on the side of good approaches. Our approach here is, you stand by community leaders but also try to identify people who are more active in the community whether they are community leaders or not, and then say, maybe I can gain more from this person than the president of that community [association]."[36]

The criticism expressed by this immigrant leader may well represent a minority opinion among immigrant community leaders. However, they raise an important criticism about the nature of MIRC's list-serve in particular, and seem to call into question best practices strategies for community outreach among ISOs in Maine more generally—two topics which should not be overlooked, despite having been stated by a single source, as opposed to being presented as common consensus among all interviewed individuals. When asked about the utility of MIRC's email list-serve to function as a point of connection between immigrant organizations, MIRC Executive Director (ED) Mufalo Chitam qualified that small organizations might benefit

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[35] Interview with anonymous survey participant
[36] *Ibid*
Ellipses added for brevity and clarity, without altering the meaning of the response

enormously from the email list-serve, however she would advise larger organizations to supplement their outreach through MIRC with more substantial "on the ground" contact with individuals in the immigrant community. Giving an example for how she conducts outreach for her own organization, Chitam emphasized the importance of human connection. In addition to her professional relationships with ECBO leaders and immigrant leaders of ISOs, she stressed the importance of her identity as an immigrant, saying: "Because I live in the community I—you know, some things I go to just because—not because of my work. But—you know, and it does help, you know, with knowing what's happening in the community."[37]

As a municipal department, the OEO holds the potential to create significant changes to immigration-targeted social services policy within the City of Portland, especially considering the low operating budgets of ISOs compared to the total spending power of city government.[38] When considering the OEO's potentially inadequate forms of community outreach that could undermine the success of implementing the Strategic Plan for Inclusion's central platform, this study must cautiously place the OEO at a medial position on the centrality curve.

Central organizations: an unspoken distinction

The placement of certain organizations within the 'central' category of this model will surely inspire disagreement among some concerned parties. As has been previously stated, research design for this study relies on judgements placed upon well-intentioned organizations, all of which contribute important work when addressing issues that face the immigrant community of

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[37] Interview with Mufalo Chitam
[38] Between municipal expenditures and school department budgets, the City of Portland's annual budget exceeded $346 million in in FY18.
City of Portland, Maine, "City of Portland, Maine FY18 Municipal Budget." Portland, ME. (online), accessed March 8, 2019. http://www.portlandmaine.gov/ArchiveCenter/ViewFile/Item/836

Maine. Conceptions of centrality are not monolithic. Of the four remaining organizations, only one may be considered immigrant-founded, immigrant-led, and immigrant-run. The remaining three are by no means racially or ethnically homogenous, however they do have a history pre-dating the arrival of African immigrants, so their organizational structures reflect non-immigrant leadership primarily. After significant reflection over this model's objective characteristics described at the beginning of the chapter, this study places the following organizations in the 'central' category.

Instead of considering all of the organizations, departments, and programs associated with municipal ELL education in Portland separately, this study considers them part and parcel of the same 'organization.' Standardized relationships of funding, transfer of personnel, and personal relationships maintained between key leaders and administrators tie the various programs of municipal ELL education together: Portland Adult Education (PAE), Friends of Portland Adult Education (FPAE), New Mainers Resource Center (NMRC), Portland Multilingual and Multicultural Center (Portland Multilingual for short), and Portland Empowered.

The former director of PAE Rob Wood agreed to provide historical background for the transition of Portland's adult education program from an operating arm of Johnson's War on Poverty campaign in 1979 through the various stages of African immigration starting around 2000. Throughout these periods of transition, the management style of adult education changed dramatically—namely, the reality of non-English-speaking immigrant students necessitated the hiring of teachers trained in ELL andragogy. Wood described the unique advantaged afforded to PAE in responding to dramatic shifts in student demographic composition (country of origin) because PAE hires teachers on a mostly hourly, non-contractual basis. Whereas many 501(c)(3) ISOs operate on closely monitored, restrictive budgets whose funding streams offer minimal

financial stability at best, the financial stability of Portland Adult Education is tied inextricably to the graces of Portland Public Schools. Notwithstanding a sudden political attack from the Portland School Board, the financial future of Portland Adult Education appears solid, thereby allowing for more flexibility in spending options. Flexibility among teachers' schedules (many of whom are retired from teaching careers) and an ability for PAE administrative management to restructure their staff facilitated the organizations' ability to adapt quickly to the changing needs of Portland's immigrant community.[39] For example, the challenges facing PAE's students today differ significantly from those of ten years ago. In particular, Wood described the difficulty of teaching English at times of Somali refugee majorities among student populations, due to the high rate of native-language illiteracy and subsequent impediments to learning. By contrast, more recent demographic characteristics of PAE students indicate a higher level of education prior to arrival in the U.S. Largely asylum seekers from the Great Lakes Region of Central Africa and from Angola, these students have quite different goals, and they require different resources. PAE offers courses extending beyond the classic confines of ELL education—which is to say, simple grammar and oral situational learning. PAE offers courses under general "enrichment" including photography, dance, and personal finance; course offerings under "academic" include college transition and college preparation classes; and in "job skills courses," PAE offers different training classes on American corporate rules, technology and office skills, certificate programs, occupational training, and specific counselors to advise licensing procedure for highly-skilled foreign workers.[40] In particular, course offerings under the "academic" and "job skills" departments display the shift of PAE in recent years to accommodate more highly educated immigrant students.

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[39] Interview with Rob Wood.
[40] *Ibid*

The New Mainers Resource Center deserves particular attention as an exemplary case of coordination between various municipal departments. NMRC receives funding from a Maine State Legislative initiative in 2013 designed to integrate highly skilled immigrants into Maine's aging workforce, and while the department has mandatory reporting requirements to the Maine Department of Education, NMRC programs are directed by PAE administration.[41] NMRC offers targeted opportunities for specific professional sectors—including workshops, working groups, employer panels, prep courses, internship opportunities, and outreach events—and they offer one-on-one advising for individuals in need of tailored advice, particularly those individuals in need of advice on transfer of licensing or other professional credentials from their country of origin. Additional programs initiated by NMRC include the Education Academy to retrain foreign-trained teachers in the particular expectations of the American education system and therefore fulfill a need among public schools in Southern Maine for multilingual teachers and educational technicians.[42] Although NMRC programs are administered within PAE's organizational structure (decision-making, reporting to PAE Executive Director Anita St.-Onge), NMRC must procure additional funding to cover the costs of paying PAE teachers whose normal salary (or hourly wage) is covered by the Portland Schools annual budget. Covering these costs typically requires the use of grants from private foundations. This extension of PAE programs under NMRC demonstrates the flexibility of municipal organizations when responding to evolving challenges in the Maine immigrant community. Success of the overall program, therefore, depends on efficient collaboration within various departments of municipal administration.

Through personal experience or through their offering of ELL programming, nearly all of the individuals surveyed by this study affirm the high importance of ELL education to the social

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[41] Interview with Sally Sutton
[42] *Ibid*

and economic advancement of immigrant individuals. As the most centrally located organization offering ELL services, over time PAE has established a credibility for facilitating the founding or advancement of other ISOs. Organizations such as ProsperityME found initial support for their programming using PAE facilities and financial resources.[43] Over decades of operation, PAE has built a track record of credibility as the premier service provider for ELL education.

On the other side of municipal ELL education, two organizations work within the Portland Public School Board's initiative of investing in the success of immigrant children through increased improved engagement with the immigrant community. Portland Multilingual and Multicultural Center (Portland Multilingual) is a department of Portland Public Schools that provides translators and interpreters for students and families of students in the school system. According the Portland Multilingual data, approximately 32 percent of the municipal school district is non-English, and 40 percent of the center's budget is covered by Title III of the Office of Refugee Resettlement (given the high number of refugees) and 60 percent of their operating costs are covered by the school district.[44] Interpreters for the center generally assist students on a selective basis, but their primary responsibility is to provide linguistic and cultural mediation between school administrators and parents of students in need of additional services. The Individualized Education Program (IEP) is among the most common occasions for parent-school interaction because nearly all students for whom English is not their first language are enrolled in ELL/ESOL class in addition to their regular coursework. During IEP meetings and parent teacher conferences in particular, Portland Multilingual staff have the opportunity to inform immigrant parents' of the American school system, and the resources for non-English speaking children for

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[43] Interview with Claude Rwaganje
[44] Attendance of a meeting with staff interpreters at Portland Multilingual and Multicultural Center, January 16, 2019.

a variety of circumstances. One significant policy for Portland Multilingual is the Resolution to Implement a Seal of Biliteracy Awards, which constitutes an official statement by the Portland School Board to encourage students fluent in another language to pursue or maintain literacy in that language as a public school student.[45] The ability to communicate such policies and their implications to non-English-speaking parents represents an important example of the expertise required for interpreters. Furthermore, interpreters fluent in the language of immigrant families can better gauge nuanced reaction to questions about traumatizing experiences prior to arrival in the U.S.—an important issue because if traumatizing events occurred, students would be eligible for counseling with a school social worker free of charge and school officials could additionally provide parents with information on low-cost mental health options.[46] Portland Multilingual handles the intake process for new students from immigrant families as well. During this process, interpreters can judge the families' needs outside the scope of their normal intake responsibilities; interpreters commonly provide some case management services to families in need of assistance. They might need help accessing GA for the first time or enrolling in other social service programs like Maine Care (a state-funded medical assistance program).[47]

Immigrant parents have access to public school administrators additionally through representative organizations like Portland Empowered. According to the organization, the success of immigrant students depends largely on parent engagement, and Portland Empowered aims to help advocate for the needs of immigrant families to the school board directly, thereby improving educational policies and resources available to students and parents alike.[48] In particular, Portland

[45] Portland Public Schools, "Resolution to Implement a Seal of Biliteracy Awards" in "Seal of Biliteracy Awards Resolution" (webpage) Portland Public Schools Multilingual & Multicultural Center (website), accessed March 8, 2019. https://mlc.portlandschools.org/about/news/seal_of_biliteracy_awards_resolution
[46] Attendance of a meeting with staff interpreters at Portland Multilingual and Multicultural Center, January 16, 2019.
[47] *Ibid*
[48] Presentation by Pious Ali during the "Democracy and Diversity: Civic Engagement Summit"

Empowered created a community meeting design called the Shared Space Café with the goal of efficiently and accurately present the views of immigrant families to the school board.

The aggregation of all programs, departments, and agencies pertaining to municipal ELL education into one 'organization' may cause discomfort among some readers. However, due to shared characteristics of all organizations tasked with improving English literacy among Portland's immigrant community, this study considered those organizations as collectively constituting one network, remarkable for its complexity of programming and holistic approach to community advancement, starting with the provision of the base-element to professional success in an American setting: knowledge of English. This municipal ELL network represents the closest that any one entity can approach to achieving permanence.

Catholic Charities of Maine (CCM) operates two of the most important agencies in the state for casework regarding refugee services: Refugee and Immigration Services (RIS) and the Office of Maine Refugee Services (OMRS). The director of RIS, Hannah DeAngelis, agreed to provide interview material for this study, however time constraints limited the ability of this study to benefit from the testimony of OMRS director, Tarlan Ahmadov. The placement of CCM organizations into the category of 'central' organizations in this model might be seen as controversial for a number of reasons: although RIS is staffed almost entirely by members of the immigrant community and Ahmadov (an immigrant from Baku, Azerbaijan in the former USSR) operates OMRS with the help of a small staff, both respond to largely non-immigrant administrative structures. The OMRS administers the state refugee resettlement program for the federal Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) and RIS answers directly to centralized CCM administration that doesn't necessarily have representation of immigrant perspectives. DeAngelis indicated that although her office provides a variety of case management solutions to refugee

individuals or families enrolled in their program, they also work in collaboration with other immigrant-led, ISOs in Maine.

Historically, the RIS provides case management services exclusively to refugee families, which may be a problem in the contemporary context of asylum seeker immigration to Maine. DeAngelis acknowledged that in previous years, the in-migration of African refugees constituted a strong majority of the immigrant community, however moving forward if RIS is to remain a relevant force in the immigrant community, it must broaden its approach to include asylum seekers. Their case management program is extensive and extremely well organized: programs ranging from employment services to cultural orientation to the provision of advice on medical insurance, RIS condenses many of the services that individual immigrant-serving 501(c)(3) organizations manage into one streamlined administrative structure. Leadership of RIS also invests heavily into community outreach and engagement through attendance of community events and active participation in MIRC committees such as the Legislative and Policy Committee. RIS also presents an interesting example of white leadership (by way of DeAngelis) that is completely dedicated to increasing the diversity of staff and working in collaboration with smaller ISOs. With the financial stability, name recognition, and administrative strength (accounting, development outsourced to professionalized divisions) guaranteed by "big Catholic Charities," RIS presents the most highly adaptable and integrated form of collaborative case management services in Maine.[49]

The only white-led and mostly white-staffed ISO among the cadre of 'central' organizations is the Immigrant Legal Advocacy Project (ILAP). The organization provides specialized legal services and general legal education for the immigrant community. Advocacy and Outreach Attorney Julia Brown agreed to provide interview testimony for this study. Brown

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[49] Interview with Hannah DeAngelis

explained each of ILAP's legal help and counseling programs in detail, which range from testifying before the state legislative on behalf of their clients' interests, to handling cases of human trafficking or forced labor, to advocating on behalf of victims of sexual assault with undocumented legal status to helping structure legal arguments for asylum applications.[50] As the Advocacy and Outreach Attorney, Brown represents ILAP and their legal opinions in collaborative or advising roles within MIRC. When addressing issues related to asylum seekers in Maine, local and national media outlets like the Portland Press Herald or the Wall Street Journal seek out ILAP for comment.[51] ILAP maintains a central position within Maine's community of immigrant-led organizations despite lacking administrative representation of immigrants because of the central role they play in state-wide policy relating to immigration. The organization has strong ties to MIRC: it's founder and former ED also started MIRC as a way to connect the network of ISOs in Maine and improve interorganizational collaboration. It also handles individual cases pertaining to legal statuses for the members of the immigrant community. This dual approach to addressing issues facing the immigrant community—especially one as salient as legal statuses and legal protections—places ILAP in the central category of this model, despite its lack of diversity.

ProsperityME represents the pinnacle of immigrant-founded, immigrant-led, and ISOs in Maine. Like other organizations considered central in this study, ProsperityME engages in extensive collaborative action with other ISOs in the form of combined programming, public presence outside day-to-day activities (e.g. representation on MIRC, sharing leadership positions within other ISOs or community-based organizations), and extensive engagement in public

[50] Interview with Julia Brown
[51] "Maine's Largest City Strains Under Asylum Seeker Influx" *Wall Street Journal.* January 7, 2019 (online), accessed March 8, 2019. https://www.wsj.com/articles/maines-largest-city-strains-under-asylum-seeker-influx-11548601200
[51] "Asylum seekers travel to Portland in droves, overwhelming social services" *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Maine). December 24, 2018 (online). Accessed February 14, 2019.

outreach events. ProsperityME also displays the most stable funding apparatus of any immigrant-led organization sampled by this study, due in part to having a well-structured corporate framework to support their programming. Under Founder and ED Claude Rwaganje's management, ProsperityME built a reputation for successful and efficient programming, thereby allowing it to earn the support of a diverse range of funding sources. Rwaganje's reputation as a reliable leader in the immigrant community relates to his success with ProsperityME on the one hand, but it also depends on his ability to advise a wide range of other ISOs in the area.

ProsperityME has a professional staff including a Program Director, an Event and Marketing Coordinator, a paid Financial Education Instructor, an administrative assistant, and rotating internship position. The organization's programming centers on courses, workshops, and personal coaching of immigrants on topics of financial literacy—understanding taxes, retirement plans, saving for college, US credit systems, insurance, etc.—but it encompasses a much wider range of financial services related to building wealth within the immigrant community. ProsperityME programs such as the Individual Development Account (IDA), which matches immigrants' savings through a federal grant designed to encourage responsible financial practices among immigrants. ProsperityME also provides grant funding and no-interest credit lines to Maine immigrants that need to access funds for down-payments on home rental leasing or vehicle ownership, for example. The organization also provides for training courses in jobs and career skills, and cultural orientation. And finally, the organization provides funds for an annual scholarship; they intend to create an endowment to ensure that the scholarship program can run sustainably in the future.[52]

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[52] Interview with Claude Rwaganje

In addition to building a reputation around its leader and having a diverse range of successful programming, ProsperityME is supported by a diverse range of funding for various operations. They rely on a combination of corporate sponsorship, support from private foundations, government grants, small donations, and fundraising efforts. These financial contributions total of about $500,000 of overhead per year, which helps insulate the organization from reductions in staff, should one funding source discontinue their support.[53] ProsperityME's relatively high amount of disposable capital allows the organization to dedicate additional staff to ensuring sustainable growth—through improvement of programming, applying for grants, and networking with other organizations. ProsperityME also integrates leadership from their Board of Directors using a structured approach to board participation. Board member orientation, for instance, takes place over several days, during which each new member is informed of specific expectations and responsibilities for that particular leadership position, such that the board operated as a support system for the ED.[54]

The placement of these four organizations—Portland municipal ELL programs, Catholic Charities of Maine, Immigrant Legal Advocacy Project, and ProsperityME—in the central cadre of ISOs in Maine reflects several common characteristics. The organizations have demonstrated a significant degree of reliability and permanence in programming. Their representation among key advising or decision-making positions within interorganizational collaborative entities like MIRC constitutes significant influence over changes in policy. Their authority depends to some extent on the strength of their outreach initiatives and the relevance of programming, which informs their higher than average degrees of inter-organizational collaboration. The issues that these organizations address through programming affect the immigrant community on the largest scale

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[53] *Ibid*
[54] *Ibid*

possible: access to ELL education, reliable case management services, legal help and advocacy, and personal financial services.

Conclusions

This model endeavors to give thoughtful, clear presentation to the major components that together form the foundation for Maine's network of ISOs. The model highlights how members of the network operate in collaboration with each other, as opposed to in competition with one another. The choice to present Maine's network in a centrality model that distinguishes 'peripheral,' 'medial,' and 'central' constitutes a pragmatic choice to arrange the vast network into some semblance of order. Furthermore, the complex nature of organizational programming prevented the arrangement of ISOs by issue (e.g. healthcare access, ELL education, civic engagement, etc.). Instead, all organizations engage in collaborative action to some extent. Mapping the ways in which any given organization functions in a collaborative atmosphere reveals some general, yet often unspoken, characteristics of the network as a whole.

In the next chapter, this study will examine in close detail the extent to which Maine's premier collaborative organization MIRC operates through mediation techniques meant to balance the interests of different entities within the network. Specifically, we will examine the extent to which organizational leadership can be truly representative of community needs, as opposed to the advancement of individuals' personal agendas.

<center>**Chapter 3**</center>

<center>**Seeking Representational Leadership through Advocacy:**</center>

<center>**Political incorporation of African immigrant communities**</center>

<center>**by the Maine Immigrants' Rights Coalition**</center>

In Chapter 1, we observed that certain members of Lewiston's Somali community assumed the role of representational leadership contrary to the desires of Somali elders. This evolution of Somali community leadership coincided with significant political changes in local and state government, such as the election of Laurier Raymond to the office of Lewiston City mayor. Voyer (2015) identifies a causal relationship between these two events. The paper claims that the emergence of ISOs' founders as legitimate community leaders reflected the preferences of civic officials, as opposed to an evolution of internal Somali community social structure.[1] Although Voyer (2015) stops short of accusing the emergent leaders of having misguided or unrepresentative opinions on integration and development, it succeeds in questioning the process by which the leader of an ISO may assume the responsibility of representational leadership.

Leaders of ISOs gain credibility when their organizations respond to societal challenges affecting immigrants' economic, social, and political conditions; this credibility often transfers to representational community leadership. Due to their role as group representatives, ISO leaders can greatly affect the state's response to issues concerning the African immigrant community. This style of community leadership extends beyond Lewiston's Somali population; indeed, many of the

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[1] Andrea Voyer, "Multiculturalism as the Normative Context of Immigrant Reception: Somali Immigrant Inclusion in Lewiston, Maine," *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 36 no. 5 (2015): 544-563 doi: 10.1080/07256868.2015.1072911

policy initiatives concerning immigrants outside of Lewiston (on a state-wide level and in other municipalities) arise due to cooperation between civic officials and leaders of ISOs.

The integration of ISO leaders into roles of representational community leadership occurs in select spaces, and it is often facilitated by networking strategies meant to boost prestige (see conclusions of Chapter 2). Community events and conferences such as the "Democracy and Diversity: Civic Engagement Summit" and the annual "Global Awareness Conference" improve the connectivity among immigrant leaders because they provide aspiring individuals an opportunity to network, and they offer mainstream leaders the chance to plan future collaboration. Moreover, organizations such as the Maine Immigrants' Right Coalition (MIRC) provide a space for inter-organizational cooperation through coalition advocacy. In order to promote inter-organizational unity in Maine's multi-racial, multi-ethnic immigrant community, MIRC must mediate a plethora of actors from various civil spheres: private sector, public sector, and nonprofit realms. MIRC facilitates the elevation of immigrant leaders into the role of decision-makers, and MIRC also provides an opportunity for immigrant leaders to interact with "traditional" organizations whose focus is not limited to issues affecting the immigrant community.[2] As the head of an advocacy coalition, MIRC's Executive Director must mediate the policy objectives of each representative and delegate authority accordingly in order to best to address issues facing the immigrant community of Maine. This chapter will examine the transcription of two interviews conducted with MIRC Executive Director, Mufalo Chitam. This interview material was obtained

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[2] Use of the term "traditional" betrays a distinct bias of the author's perspective. In this study, "traditional" might refer to any organization that contributes to a wide dialogue on immigrant issues only partially or tangentially, because their stated mission is not limited to issues exclusive to Maine's African immigrant community. Their relative size, stability, and name recognition precludes them from the 'peripheral' category presented in Chapter 2, however their partial focus on immigrant issues also precludes them from a 'medial' or 'central' position. Examples of this type of organization include the Maine chapter of the NAACP, Maine Equal Justice Partners, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), and Maine Peoples Alliance.

using the same methodology as those interviews cited in Chapter 2. The two interviews took place

on January 9 and January 18, 2019 at MIRC headquarters in the offices of GPIWC.

In this chapter, we will interrogate the social and political responsibilities of MIRC as

Maine's premier collaborative advocacy organization. First, we will present a summary of existing

literature on immigrant civic participation in the United States and we will examine some specific

demographic qualities of Maine's immigrant community. Second, we will examine how the

internal structure of MIRC and its policy decisions reflect particular qualities of African leadership

in Maine's diverse immigrant community. And third, we will evaluate MIRC's ability to represent

the political objectives of African immigrants in Maine through non-electoral means.

Political incorporation of immigrants in the US and Maine

Immigrants in the United States generally have low rates of political participation in the

electoral process.[3] In Maine, of the 45,000 known immigrants (including LPRs, refugees, asylees,

asylum seekers, and undocumented persons) about 26,000 immigrants are naturalized citizens, yet

only 17,000 are registered voters.[4] Low rates of political participation among immigrants cannot

be explained by traditional variables such as age, education, and socioeconomic status.[5] Rather,

naturalized citizens are typically raised in other countries, so their conceptions of voting may be

affected by different forms of political socialization. Immigrants from dysfunctional or

authoritarian political systems often display a strong desire to participate in democratic electoral

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[3] Wendy K Tam Cho, "Naturalization, Socialization, Participation: Immigrants and (Non-)Voting," *The Journal of Politics* 61 no. 4. (1999): 1141.

[4] "Maine: Demographics & Social" (webpage) Migration Policy Institute (website), accessed March 24, 2019. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/data/state-profiles/state/demographics/ME
Interview with Damas Rugaba.

[5] Wendy K Tam Cho, "Naturalization, Socialization, Participation: Immigrants and (Non-)Voting" 1143-1144.

processes, but they also experience some lasting effects from prior political socialization.[6] For the African immigrant communities in Maine, this factor might be particularly relevant in explaining voting behavior. Countries such as Burundi, Angola, Rwanda and the DRC rate among the least functional, least free democracies in the world; these countries also have significant emigrant populations in Maine's immigrant community.[7] Even after passing through U.S. naturalization—a process that ideally ensures some basic understanding of civic duties such as voting—many foreign-born citizens have different conceptions of American political participation than US-born citizens. As a demographic group, immigrants perceive voting through a different cost-benefit structure. Lacking English proficiency, for example, prevents some individuals from voting.[8] In Maine, organizations like the GPIWC aim to reduce other costs associated with voting in immigrant communities such as transportation by providing vehicles during elections to ferry potential voters to the polls.[9] The difficulty of obtaining citizenship poses another obstacle for immigrants to overcome if they wish to participate in the American political process. Of Maine's roughly 45,000 immigrants, 42.3 percent are not citizens, so roughly 19,000 individuals who pay taxes and receive benefits from the state cannot participate in the political process through voting. Of those non-citizens who are eligible for citizenship—as many as 7,000 individuals—many cannot afford the legal and administrative fees required to complete their naturalization process.[10] Electoral exclusion through structural factors (such as lack of language comprehension) and

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[6] Antoine Bilodeau, "Is Democracy the Only Game in Town? Tensions between immigrants' democratic desires and authoritarian imprints," *Democratization* 21, no. 2, (2014): 359.

[7] Freedom House (website), "Freedom in the World 2018: Table of Country Scores" (web page), accessed April 28, 2019. https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-2018-table-country-scores

[8] Wendy K Tam Cho, "Naturalization, Socialization, Participation: Immigrants and (Non-)Voting," 1144

[9] Interview with Damas Rugaba.

[10] *Ibid*

through political alienation (such as voter apathy) account for the 9 to 12 percent difference of voter turnout between among native-born Americans and naturalized citizens on a national level.[11]

These obstacles to political participation do not extend to all forms of civic engagement, however. High rates of membership in apolitical associations or other types of community-based organizations (CBOs) suggest that civic engagement is actually robust among immigrant groups in the US. Contrary to traditional notions of *social cohesion* or *social capital* that posit a negative correlation between immigration and political participation, the prevalence of apolitical associations and CBOs actually constitute an indirect form of political participation by immigrants.[12] Although there certainly exists a high degree of variation in the extent to which these immigrant-oriented CBOs contribute to the political incorporation of their constituent members, what remains clear in the wider literature on immigrant political participation is that these apolitical CBOs provide certain means of entering the political process through non-electoral channels of representation.[13]

These immigrant political incorporation organizations (IPIOs) emerge and evolve based on the specific policy imperatives of the local immigrant community at any given moment, informed by such characteristics as the demographic composition of the community.[14] For instance, over the course of one or more generations, ethnic political organizations often evolve from concerns around the state of their homeland (i.e. having a transnational character) to local political concerns

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[11] Tova Andrea Wang and Youjin B. Kim, "From Citizenship to Voting: Improving Registration for New Americans," *Demos*. (2012) Accessed online March 19, 2019.
https://www.demos.org/sites/default/files/publications/fromcitizenshiptovoting_demos_2.pdf
[12] S Karthick Ramakrishnan and Irene Bloemraad, "Introduction," in S Karthick Ramakrishnan and Irene Bloemraad (eds.) *Civic Hopes and Political Realities: Immigrants, Community Organizations, and Political Engagement*. (New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008). 2
[13] *Ibid* 5
[14] To my knowledge, the acronym IPIO has no common usage in the literature on immigrant political incorporation. It is used here for the sake of expedience.

such as citizenship, voting registration, and representation in local government.[15] Because immigrant communities in Maine are in constant flux, this evolution of political interest is by no means uniform. Certain ISOs in Maine such as Ladder to the Moon embody a shift to domestic political concerns without quite losing the transnational character that served as an initial inspiration for their founding. Whereas at the beginning, Ladder to the Moon focused almost exclusively on the domestic affairs of certain African countries, its newspaper Amjambo Africa! now runs stories on local community events and state politics.[16] By contrast, more recently formed organizations with African immigrants in leadership positions (e.g. GPIWC, Tree Street Youth, Maine Immigrant & Refugee Services) make no overt claims to having a transnational political character; the focus of these organizations (at least publicly) is to address local conditions affecting immigrants in Maine.

Many local ECBOs have also adopted a more domestic character. The Facebook page of the Somali Community Center of Maine, for example, features a prominent number of stories and events concerning local politics alongside a smaller number of events with transnational focus. Between October 12, 2017 and March 19, 2019, the Somali Community Center of Maine posted to its Facebook timeline 28 messages related to local or domestic politics, such as the message, "Get out and VOTE!" on November 7, 2017, advertisements for cultural activities, or repudiation of the "false accusations" by a Maine Somali memoirist Abdi Nor Iftin.[17] Only one post advertised

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[15] James F Hollifield, "The emerging migration state," *International Migration Review*. 38 (2004): 885, cited in Alejandro Portes, Cristina Escobar, and Renelinda Arena "Bridging the gap: transnational and ethnic organizations in the political incorporation of immigrants in the United States," *The United States, Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31. no 6 (2008): 1058.

[16] Interview with Georges Budagu Makoko.

[17] The date October 12, 2017 was arbitrarily chosen to represent a time in the recent past; the date March 19, 2019 is the day that this paper was written, so it represents the "current day."
"Somali Center Maine" (webpage) ,Facebook (website), accessed March 24, 2019.
https://www.facebook.com/pg/somalicentermaine/posts/
Abdi Nor Iftin wrote the *New York Times* bestselling memoir *Call Me American* detailing the course of his migration from Somalia to the United States. It created significant controversy in the Somali community of Maine

an event that could be seen as transnational in character: on June 28, 2018, the Somali Community

Center of Maine advertised a "Welcome Event for Somali General" to take place two days later.

The post described the general's actions as a "sacrifice…in the effort to fight violent extremism in

Somalia and bring security and stability to Somalia."[18] Some of the more recent waves of

immigration from Angola have reinvigorated a desire among certain community members to

engage in transnational political activism. The group ADCDH (an acronym in Portuguese which

translates to Association for the Development of a Culture of Human Rights) advocates for the

independence of a mineral-rich region of Angola called Cabinda that has endured an intense

oppression of rights by the Angolan government.[19] Maine's immigrant community has a diverse

range of political imperatives—from local to transnational—that need to be taken into

consideration when evaluating the types of IPIOs that emerge.

In some cases across the United States, the need for immigrant political incorporation

drives a stratification of organizations with the potential to serve as relevant IPIOs.[20] In these

circumstances, one or more ISOs may be better positioned to mediate relations between a

community in need of representation, and a local government (municipal or state) willing to

provide additional resources to that community. In Chapter 1, we observed the emergence of ISOs'

founders as important community representatives. More insulated ethnic organizations such as

Somali Community Services declined because its leaders faced a cultural gap in understanding on

due to its inaccurate representation of Iftin's Somali roommates, which elicited responses from leadership in the Somali Community of Maine association, and Iftin's publishers.
"Former roommates of Somali memoirist dispute their portrayal in 'Call Me American'" *Portland Press Herald* (Portland, Maine). October 26, 2018 (online), accessed March 24, 2019.
https://www.pressherald.com/2018/09/04/former-roommates-of-somali-memoirist-dispute-their-portrayal-in-call-me-american/
[18] "Somali Center Maine" (webpage) Facebook (website), accessed March 24, 2019.
https://www.facebook.com/pg/somalicentermaine/posts/
[19] "Adcdh Direitos Humanos" (webpage), Facebook (website), accessed March 24, 2019.
https://www.facebook.com/adcdh
[20] S Karthick Ramakrishnan and Irene Bloemraad, "Introduction," 5

mainstream views of homophobia, for instance. In the short term, this cultural gap created a local stratification of organizations with the potential to serve as IPIOs. Stratification is important because those organizations with direct access to local government officials have a higher degree of influence over agenda-setting and distribution of local resources.[21]

That IPIOs in Maine evolved from a variety of local organizations with access to government officials (as was the case in Lewiston) to the establishment of a single organization on the statewide level (MIRC) must relate to the changing demographic nature of the Maine immigrant community. As Maine ISOs developed successful programming, credibility, and reliable funding sources over the course of more than a decade, they became more inter-connected (described in Chapter 2), which thus helped expand jurisdiction of the 'Maine immigrant community' to include immigrants from Portland, Lewiston, and beyond. The creation of MIRC as a centralized IPIO must be seen as a natural consequence to these developments.

The dynamics of collective action that created MIRC and continue to sustain it must also be understood within the context of African global migration patterns. Although much of this study has emphasized the presence of African leaders in the Maine immigrant community to the exclusion of some non-African-led ISOs—such as the Capital Area New Mainers Project, which provides youth mentorship and cross-cultural dialogue to the primarily Iraqi immigrant community in the Augusta, Maine area—events such as the 2018 Global Awareness Conference (with African immigrant speakers and a largely African immigrant audience) affirm the importance of African immigrant leadership. The pre-eminence of African leadership in Maine's immigrant community is underscored by the relatively low numbers of African immigrants living in Maine compared to immigrants from other continents. According to data compiled by the Migration Policy Institute,

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[21] *Ibid* 9

the population of foreign-born from Africa living in Maine accounts for just 15.2 percent of the total immigrant population.[22] By contrast, immigrants from Asia outnumber African immigrants by nearly a two-to-one margin in Maine, and immigrants from Europe outnumber African immigrants by nearly 5,000.[23] This disparity between predominantly African leadership of ISOs and the numerical minority of African immigrants compared to other regions must be explained by other qualities unique to the African immigrant community of Maine.

When African immigrants arrive in the United States, they tend to maintain specific regional, tribal, ethnic, or national identities.[24] Upon arrival in the US, African immigrants tend to recreate the philanthropic or mutual aid societies that pervade many African countries. Mutual aid organizations have a long history in Africa rooted in the strong social capital of African family networks that preceded the imposition of colonial rule, and the dysfunction of many post-colonial African states strengthened the importance of mutual aid associations in many African countries.[25] When African immigrants arrive in the United States, they create networks, institutions, and agencies that are affected by these social structures.[26]

Furthermore, African immigrants in Maine typically face much higher rates of economic insecurity due to racial discrimination and barriers to economic integration. Over the course of this research, testimony revealed extensive perceptions of racial discrimination in the hiring process and workplace against African immigrants: African academic and professional credentials are generally not respected the same way that American or European credentials are, and individuals

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[22] "Maine: Demographics & Social" (webpage) Migration Policy Institute (website), accessed March 24, 2019. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/data/state-profiles/state/demographics/ME
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] John A. Arthur, *African Diaspora Identities: Negotiating Culture in Transnational Migration*. (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010). 2
[25] Kwasi Wiredu, "Society and democracy in Africa," *New Political Science* Vol 21, no. 1 (1999). 35.
[26] John A. Arthur, *African Diaspora Identities: Negotiating Culture in Transnational Migration*. 4

commonly face discrimination from hiring managers and coworkers.[27] Other structural challenges such as the difficulty of learning English for many African immigrants reinforces the perception that African immigrants universally require assistance from social services agencies or nonprofit organizations. As a product of these two factors—discrimination in hiring and structural challenges to economic integration—the financial security of black households in Maine is significantly lower than white households.[28] As private foundations show growing interest in ISOs that target the Maine's immigrant community, African immigrant professionals have increasing incentives to enter the ISO sector. These economic factors must be taken into account alongside cultural factors in explaining the high incidence rates of African leadership of ISOs in Maine.

The high number of African-immigrant-led ISOs in Maine has significant consequences when considering the structural character of leadership for Maine's immigrant community. As the premier IPIO in Maine, MIRC holds the potential to translate that leadership potential into political influence.

Transformation of organizational structure: MIRC's path to becoming an IPIO

As Executive Director, Chitam presides over two components of MIRC's organization. First, MIRC serves to facilitate communication and collaboration between organizations that provide social services to immigrants in Maine. These organizations may communicate "best practices" with each other and maximize their collective impact; according to Chitam, "the core mission of the coalition is working together."[29] Second, the organization represents the most

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[27] Interview with Mufalo Chitam.
[28] "Data by location: Maine" (webpage), Prosperity Now Scorecard (website), accessed March 24, 2019.
https://scorecard.prosperitynow.org/data-by-location#state/me
[29] Interview with Mufalo Chitam.

important collectivist advocacy group for Maine immigrants. The advocacy component is structured around the Policy/Legislative Committee—a standing committee that drafts reports and policy advice to elected state officials. Many organizations represented on the Policy/Legislative Committee are neither immigrant-led nor exclusively immigrant-focused. In addition to the Policy/Legislative standing committee, MIRC creates ad-hoc committees to advise certain policies as they appear; the Public Charge Committee, for example, has strategized resistance to a proposed change of the "public charge ground for inadmissibility" rule.[30] MIRC also sponsors the activities of several working group committees. These working groups draft opinions on certain policy areas and present their opinions to representatives of elected officials. The Asylum Seekers Working Group, for example, contains prominent activists who work with asylum seekers professionally— such as attorneys and city staff—but lack membership in MIRC due to non-ISO affiliation. Furthermore, several committees organize around a specific ethnicity/target audience, such as the Latino Advocacy Committee.

MIRC began in 2005 when several mainstream social service provider organizations recognized an opportunity for increased collaboration. Maine People's Alliance, ILAP, Maine ACLU, and the Maine Council of Churches began sharing best practices and coordinating programming in order to best address the needs of Maine's immigrant population. In the early

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[30] "Public Charge" (webpage), US Citizenship and Integration Services (website), accessed March 24, 2019. https://www.uscis.gov/greencard/public-charge
"Trump's 'Public Charge' Rule Would Radically Change Legal Migration" (webpage), Center for American Progress (website), accessed March 24, 2019.
https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/poverty/reports/2018/11/27/461461/trumps-public-charge-rule-radically-change-legal-immigration/
The Department of Homeland Security interprets the "public charge ground for inadmissibility" rule when making judgements on issuing visas and LPR status. The proposed rule change would most negatively affect individuals applying for LPR status under the Family Reunification Program; if the rule change were to go into effect, households that avail themselves of public welfare services including Supplemental Security Income (SSI), Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), General Assistance, Medicaid, Medicare Part D premium and cost-sharing subsidies, the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), or housing assistance face additional challenges receiving LPR status.

stages of its development, MIRC strongly advocated for integration-oriented services. As time passed, however, various smaller immigrant-led ISOs developed across the state, and MIRC accepted these organizations as members of the coalition. Chitam describes how private funders were especially receptive to the idea of immigrant-led ISOs taking a leadership role in MIRC; one private foundation in particular, Maine Initiatives, created a fund in partnership with the Broad Reach Fund to support immigrant-led ISOs.[31] Since Maine Initiatives and the Broad Reach Fund began supporting immigrant-led ISOs around 2010, other private foundations have invested in the platform of encouraging diversity in leadership by empowering immigrant leaders.[32] Many ECBOs that represent more recently established immigrant communities (such as the South Sudanese Community Association of Maine) owe their entire formal existence to this particular source of funding; older ECBOs like the Somali Community Center of Maine incorporated before private foundations' interest, though they also benefit from initiatives like the Broad Reach Fund.[33]

This rapid emergence of immigrant-led ISOs contributed to a growth in MIRC membership from 20 to 57 between 2012 and 2019. By 2015, tension began to foment over internal leadership: between 2012 and 2017, MIRC was led by a non-member organization, the Maine People's Resource Center—a leadership that Chitam described as "nonimmigrant"—and the growing number of immigrant-led member ISOs demanded some degree of representation in MIRC's leadership. This tension reached a critical point when the organization voted to incorporate as a 501(c)(3), created a Governor's Committee, and drafted by-laws requiring the election of the first Board of Directors, which would hire an Executive Director. Chitam describes the 18 months of

[31] "Broad Reach Fund" (webpage), Maine Philanthropy (webpage), accessed March 24, 2019.
https://www.mainephilanthropy.org/sites/default/files/Broad%20Reach%20Fund%20Information%20Sheet.pdf
"Immigrant-Led Organization Fund" (webpage), Maine Initiatives (website), accessed March 24, 2019.
http://maineinitiatives.org/grants/immigrant-led-organizations-fund/
[32] Interview with Mufalo Chitam.
[33] *Ibid*

transition toward this new model of organizational structure as "[not] very pretty."[34] In response to immigrant leaders wanting "to be part of decision-making in Maine as [they] change the system, as [they] change policies to provide service to immigrants," representatives from MIRC's founding mainstream organizations demonstrated such resistance that the coalition had to hire a consultant to facilitate the fallout of those "hard decisions."[35]

MIRC's organizational structure mandates that the Executive Director is accountable to the collective desire of coalition members indirectly: the Executive Director must report to the board, and board membership is determined by popular vote of the coalition members.[36] This organizational structure insulates the Executive Director from the potentially divisive politics of a large coalition membership base. Still, Chitam testifies that people who "are not of color" persistently challenge her authority as Executive Director. In her words:

"[I]t's not easy to give up control and power. It's not easy…I find it a lot and I speak about it now so much in the tables that I sit in saying that, you know, it's very important for us to, you know… like, we get accustomed to being the ones saying, "This is where you go. This is where you go." When you're a person who's not of color… because it's—you know, like it's, it's in you. It's in you, because like I said, most people have grown and gone to school their whole lives and never have seen anybody of color. And the only thing—they just, you know—so they just feel like, "Oh it's the *trust* thing to say, 'Can you make a decision for me? Can you make a decision?'" And I find it—I still find it in my, in my circles even now. Where I am a problem for leadership. For leadership, it's still a problem. I'm always still

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[34] *Ibid*
[35] *Ibid*
[36] *Ibid*

being questioned…We all have to learn—I have to learn and somebody else also who is

accustomed to not being led by a person of color has to learn and has to trust that."[37]

In this framing, Chitam suggests that the challenges to her leadership share deep similarities with

the discrimination against immigrants who seek employment with foreign credentials. In order to

overcome those challenges as an Executive Director, Chitam relies on her lived experience as an

immigrant to strengthen her personal credibility as a leader.

After winning a Diversity Lottery Visa while in Zambia, Chitam began her career in

Portland as an event organizer for various nonprofit organizations. Crucially, Chitam took a

management-level position at a company called Granite Bay Care. In that role, she managed hiring

and leadership of a predominantly immigrant staff. In addition to her employment, Chitam was a

resource of information for newly arrived immigrants:

"[O]utside from the work that you do, like your pay-job, after hours you are serving the

community. So you are helping people too. So people come to you. So what do you do? So

you're a resource. You know, figuring out how to—how do you stabilize, how do you

integrate? Where do you get the jobs? What do you do for school, for children school, for

the hospital? So you're doing that. So that's the work that you get to do. And in addition to

your full time job."[38]

Through this position in society, Chitam gained intimate knowledge of formal and informal

resource networks available to immigrants; she also earned important credentials among

immigrant social services providers. She began volunteering, serving on boards, and creating a

platform advocating for the advancement of immigrant women's issues. Soon, she was traveling

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[37] *Ibid.*
Ellipses added for clarity.
[38] *Ibid*

across the state to speak at events on the role of African immigrant women in American society. She started the organization Empower the Immigrant Woman in order to inspire other women to take up her cause and relieve the pressure she felt as the only voice for immigrant women in Maine. As founder of Empower the Immigrant Woman, Chitam quickly gained MIRC membership. Over the course of her career in the US, Chitam built leadership credibility around her immigrant identity and professional experience.

As Executive Director of a coalition, Chitam uses her credibility as a leader to create strong working relationships with potentially factious members.[39] In order to prepare for "member organization management" during each monthly member meeting, she hires a strategic cooperation consultant to work on a contractual basis. This consultant helps Chitam draft strategies for how to best organize meeting agendas, decide what events or conferences she should attend as an esteemed leader of the immigrant community, and gauge her members' perception of MIRC as a coalition. In 2018 Chitam commissioned two reports by outside consultants in an attempt to ensure that the coalition's policy objectives and structure accurately reflect the prerogatives of MIRC members and immigrant community leaders alike.

The first report, entitled "The Future of MIRC" surveyed all MIRC members on issues related to perception of coalition effectiveness, unmet needs of coalition members, potential challenges to organizational harmony, and possible solutions. As perceived by coalition members, MIRC's greatest strengths can be found in its "membership, voice for immigrants, [culture of] collaboration, and advocacy."[40] Members also seemed to place very high importance on the empowerment of immigrants within MIRC's decision-making process; under the heading of "dominant themes," members demanded a more egalitarian distribution of responsibilities and

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[39] *Ibid*
[40] Shenna Bellow, "The Future of MIRC," *Maine Immigrants' Rights Coalition.*

understanding of MIRC's structure.[41] Members also identified fragmentation and community divisions as two significant challenges for MIRC to overcome through its structure and advocacy; through "mutual respect and appreciation for fellow MIRC members…emphasis on collaboration and information sharing…[and] shared values around mission and the importance of MIRC," the coalition could overcome obstacles that limit effectiveness.[42] Among the quantitative data gathered by the report, it was learned that less than 50 percent of surveyed individuals felt that their needs were being met by MIRC, and over 60 percent did not believe it difficult to participate in MIRC proceedings.[43] MIRC members overwhelmingly support the coalition's mission; they express uncertainty over the expansion of staff, office space, and financial independence; and they feel that they have a stake in the coalition's success or failure.[44]

The report "Voices of New Mainers: Common Challenges and Solutions—Recommendations and Next Steps for the Maine Immigrants Rights' Coalition (MIRC)" created 'listening sessions' in which surveyors sampled non-activist members and leaders of the immigrant community to gain an "on-the-ground perspective" for MIRC's policy priorities.[45] Using these testimonies, MIRC would ensure that their statewide advocacy agenda accurately reflects the practical needs of Maine's immigrants. In addition to one Iraqi community in Portland, the survey sampled African and Latino communities in Portland, Androscoggin County, Millbridge, and Lewiston; of the African communities surveyed, the report distinguishes between Central African, Sudanese, Somali, and Djibouti communities.[46] The report observes distinct policy priorities for different national/ethnic groupings. Latino immigrant groups identify policy priorities most highly

[41] *Ibid*
[42] *Ibid*
[43] *Ibid*
[44] *Ibid*
[45] Maine Immigrants' Rights Coalition , "Voices of New Mainers: Common Challenges and Solutions—Recommendations and Next Steps for the Maine Immigrants Rights' Coalition (MIRC)"
[46] *Ibid*

aligned with an undocumented immigration status, such as law enforcement/racial profiling and low-wage work.[47] The predominantly refugee populations of Somali/Somali Bantu, Sudanese, and Iraqi immigrants prioritize policies concerning education/jobs, health care, and culture. Immigrants from Central African countries such as the DRC, Rwanda, and Burundi identify challenges associated with a largely asylum seeker population: legal aid, housing, general assistance, work permits, and transfer of academic and professional credentials. From the listening sessions, the report assembled a list of six policy areas that affect immigrants' daily lives: law enforcement, low-wage work, education, housing, health care, and integration/coordinated services.[48]

From each of these six policy priority areas identified by non-MIRC community members and leaders, survey participants proposed 6 specific policies or actions that would benefit immigrants in Maine.[49] The report highlighted immigrants' need for stable jobs, specialized education services for their children, stricter application of legal protections afforded to native-born citizens, the creation of an "Integration Hub," and equal access to government services in housing, GA, and healthcare. In their 2019 Policy Priority Platform, MIRC recognized all 6 major policy areas identified by the "Voices of New Mainers" survey.[50] The 2019 Policy Priority Platform also reveals seven bills introduced to the Maine State Legislature that MIRC lobbied for; these seven bills (as well as three that MIRC members are drafting or advising) would address many of the specific policy actions suggested by the "Voices of New Mainers" report. If all are passed, the bills submitted to the Legislature would expand access to essential government services

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[47] *Ibid*

[48] *Ibid*

[49] For a complete list of all policies proposed by "Voices of New Mainers," see Appendix B.

[50] "2019 MIRC Policy Priority Platform" (webpage), Maine Immigrants' Rights Coalition (website), accessed March 24, 2019. https://www.maineimmigrantrights.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/MIRC%E2%80%99S-2019-Prority-Policy-Issues-Legislataive-Bills.pdf

to immigrants (LR 342), increase spending on integration services and adult literacy education (LD 647 and LD 718), streamline licensing procedures for foreign-trained professionals (LD 532 and LD 769), and establish a commission to research economic disparities of racial and ethnic populations (LD 768). The three bills in drafting stages would expand legal protections to immigrant workers by criminalizing workplace policies that contribute to economic underperformance of immigrant families.[51]

Because of her personal and professional experience as an immigrant from Africa, Chitam's appointment to the role Executive Director generated a significant change in MIRC's societal function. Due to its nonimmigrant leadership prior to Chitam's appointment, MIRC had a limited credibility internally and externally when claiming to represent the interests of Maine immigrants. When immigrant-led ISOs began to outnumber nonimmigrant-led organizations in MIRC membership ranks, the character of the coalition changed. If MIRC were to continue representing the policy objectives of the immigrant community, its leadership needed to reflect the majority of its voting membership—not just through policy, but also through representation. The appointment of Chitam to Executive Director, therefore, transformed the coalition from a collectivist advocacy group to a true IPIO: from top to bottom, MIRC members representing immigrant-led ISOs share a stake in the effectiveness of MIRC policy priorities, because they live in the very communities affected by such policy. Furthermore, Chitam's internal and external surveys ("Future of MIRC" and "Voices of New Mainers") guarantee that the policy objectives proposed by MIRC members accurately reflect the needs of everyday immigrant residents. Chitam's work as Executive Director ensures that immigrants in Maine can gain access to government officials without participating in the electoral process.

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[51] *Ibid*

An alternative to electoral politics

In normative electoral democracy, government officials represent the policy objectives of their constituency. Non-electoral systems of political representation like political integration by nonprofits (e.g. IPIOs) contain actors that advocate for policies relevant to their constituent communities. In democratic systems, political actors are constrained by structures which guarantee accountability, such as regular and fair elections. However, unlike elected officials, political actors in IPIOs lack the accountability mechanism of elections. Their ability to maintain influence over public policy over time (i.e. membership or leadership in the IPIO) depends on having a robust internal marketing structure that guarantees revenue in exchange for successful execution of programming. Within this model of non-electoral representation, there exists the potential for political actors to represent their own programming objectives that were developed some time in the past as opposed to the policy needs of a dynamic constituency.

To illustrate the risks of representing policy objectives through non-electoral structures like IPIOs, we will imagine a hypothetical scenario in which the year is 2005, and Maine's immigrant community contains a large number of people with limited skills in English literacy. Members of the immigrant community, mainstream nonprofit social services providers, and government officials all attempt to find a solution to this problem. Some immigrant-founded ISOs become very successful in combatting English illiteracy, and they gain access to an IPIO like MIRC so that they can advise the state's investment in English literacy programs. Fifteen years later, new waves of asylum-seekers from English-speaking African countries have arrived in Maine. These asylum-seekers have professional credentials and little need for English literacy programs. Their primary obstacles consist of finding affordable housing, overcoming legal barriers to working, and obtaining LPR status. Low rates of English literacy persist in the immigrant community at this

moment because despite the persistent efforts of policy makers and immigrant-led organizations, the need for English literacy outweighs available resources. Because the immigrant leaders from 2005 have more influence within the IPIO, English literacy programs receive more attention from elected officials than policies that would help the new asylum seekers, even though asylum seekers outnumber immigrants who need English literacy education.

In the above hypothetical scenario, the capacity of an immigrant leader to affect state policy stems from that leader's perceived legitimacy, not the policy needs of the immigrant community. While the above scenario illustrates a non-negligible threat to IPIO effectiveness, several elements of MIRC's coalition infrastructure reduce the risk of inaccurate or ineffective representation of community policy objectives. Contrary to the above hypothetical scenario, many highly skilled asylum seekers in Maine come from Francophone African nations, and their need for ELL education is still significant. However, a crisis of that nature would likely not occur, because the most successful ISOs adapt their programming to the changing needs of the immigrant community. Immigrant leaders with key influence in MIRC have their ears to the ground, so to speak, because they recognize that any decrease in their programming success would certainly result in a decrease in funders' support, which could marginalize their personal influence. In the case of ProsperityME—to cite one immigrant-led ISO in MIRC—the personal prestige that Executive Director Claude Rwaganje can sustain depends on the effectiveness and diversity of programming that his organization provides. The "proven track record" of accomplishments which allow him (and other immigrant leaders of ISOs) to maintain influence in MIRC depends on this perceived prestige.

Immigrant leaders also have a better sense of community needs. In all types of bureaucratic institutions, having a diverse body of workers or decision-makers who represent the community

they serve has been proven to increase efficiency.[52] Diversity in representational institutions improves quality of policy and decision-making to an even greater extent.[53] Chitam characterizes her own leadership (and by extension, the leadership of immigrant coalition members in MIRC) as based on community connectivity:

> "[T]he board decided to have an immigrant in this role…so I—that the connections stay. So the connection is stronger and real and genuine. Because I live in the community, I know some things, I go to just because—not because of my work. But, you know, and it does help, you know, with knowing what's happening in the community."

This quality of representational leadership strengthens the connectivity between MIRC's policy objectives and the policy objectives of Maine's immigrant community.

Prior to the transition from collectivist advocacy group to IPIO with Chitam as Executive Director, MIRC faced a greater risk of coalition leaders neglecting one area of policy in favor of another. Within the structure of an IPIO, leaders of ISOs represent a crucial link between the immigrant community and decision-making circles. MIRC lacks the sort of electoral or expulsion policies which would mandate accountability, however; if a MIRC member were to support a policy that did not align the popular will of the community, for instance, MIRC would not be able to hold that leader accountable. In such a scenario, MIRC relies on having a plurality of knowledgeable members who would recognize the bad policy and vote to block it. Furthermore, MIRC ensures a democratic form of decision-making by setting agendas and policy objectives during the monthly members' meetings. The "Voices of New Mainers" report also constitutes a crucial mechanism by which MIRC's policy objectives can be verified or altered based on popular

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[52] Harvey L. White and Mitchell F. Rice, "The Multiple Dimensions of Diversity and Culture" in Mitchell F. Rice (ed.) *Diversity and Public Administration: Theory, Issues, and Perspectives* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2005). 5.
[53] *Ibid*

immigrant community contributions. In order to maintain a high quality of advocacy, MIRC relies

on the technical expertise of founding members for work on the Policy/Legislative Committee.

The members of that committee provide the essential service of translating the policy objectives

of immigrant community leadership into the technical language of advocacy and legislation. In the

general study of representational coalitions, there is strong evidence that the perception of

members' expertise increases members' performance on all levels, controlling for diversity

factors.[54] MIRC's internal structure maintains high levels of members' performance by promoting

full participation by all members commensurate with experience and interest. These methods of

agenda-setting and policy creation by immigrant leaders and the founding mainstream

organizations respectively allows MIRC to operate as an effective representational political body.

Conclusions

This study responds to part of a very broad question, "How do African immigrants affect

Maine, and how does Maine affect African immigrants?" Through examination of the

organizations that African immigrants create or affect, we can evaluate how African immigrant

identity evolved to include political and social responsibility in the context of environmental

challenges in Maine. In the first two chapters, immigrant leaders addressed community-level

challenges through the creation of nonprofit ISOs and integration into exiting ISOs. This pattern

of community response has particular importance for the issues, community, and geographic space

addressed by a given ISO. Collaboration between topically adjacent ISOs can expand the impact

of both collaborating parties; in Maine's collaborative network of ISOs, a wide variety of public

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[54] Rebecca Wells et. al. "Factors Affecting Member Perceptions of Coalition Impact," *Nonprofit Manag Leadersh*
19, no. 3 (2009): 4.doi:10.1002/nml.222. Accessed online 24 March 2019.
https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5697425/pdf/nihms919219.pdf

policy challenges affecting the immigrant community are solved through individual ISO action. The development of MIRC as a representational body of nonprofit leaders connects the work of individuals ISO network members to state-sponsored public policy initiatives. All three cases of community responses by African immigrants—first in the evolving character of the Somali community leadership, second in the placement of immigrant-led organizations within Maine's network of ISOs, and third in the structural means of immigrant-representation in MIRC—show the importance of African diasporic experience in the formation and execution of public policy affecting African immigrants in Maine.

Conclusion

Throughout this study, I have attempted to observe and report how African immigrant individuals created and supported organizations in order to best address challenges facing their communities. The varying levels of importance that these leaders place on their African immigrant experience in the promotion of their ISO's work reveals the situational importance of African diasporic identity to these leaders.

In Chapter 1, this study observed how certain external political conditions and qualities of internal group social structure inspired an evolution in Somali community leadership. The new 'emergent' leaders have unverified levels of support from within the Somali community; nevertheless, they maintain representational influence by holding direct lines of communication with elected officials on behalf of the Somali community of Lewiston. These emergent leaders are typically founders or leaders of community-based nonprofit organizations, and their influence on local policy is at least partially derived from forces outside of the Somali community social structure, such as the preferences of incumbent civic officials. Leaders of ISOs in Lewiston's Somali community communicate with elected government officials with representational authority, while little evidence supports the notion that those leaders have popular community support. This case of African immigrant community leadership provides important context and precedent for later forms of African leadership concerning immigrant community social and political projects in Maine.

In Chapter 2, I created a comparative tool to organize Maine's network of ISOs. Through this model, I evaluated the prestige of ISOs sampled in the study based on a range of factors. From this evaluation of organizational prestige, I posited one dependency relationship—placement within a centrality curve—and one inter-dependency relationship—the potential to affect

collective political action. Through placement of each organization on a centrality curve, this study highlights the importance of organizational management practices (i.e. effective programming), financial stability, mission (social policy imperatives), record of inter-organizational collaboration, and potential to participate in collective political action within the context of Maine's network of ISOs. Over the course of this chapter, I examined the internal structures of ISOs in a comparative sense in order to better understand how African leaders of Maine ISOs could assume the responsibilities of community leadership.

In Chapter 3, this study examined one collectivist organization in particular, the Maine Immigrants' Rights Coalition, due to its ability to connect members of the immigrant community to elected government officials through non-electoral means of political representation. This study considers the hiring of an immigrant from Zambia, Mufalo Chitam, to the position of Executive Director as an crucial moment in MIRC's transition from a special interest advocacy coalition to an immigrant political incorporation organization. MIRC's internal structure allows it to represent the policy objectives of the immigrant community in two ways: 1) immigrant leaders of ISOs work within specific policy areas that address social problems, and they have lived experience responding to challenges facing the immigrant community using formal and informal networks of support, which gives them more direct access to the immigrant community; and 2) surveys and outreach initiatives conducted by Chitam gather essential information on the policy objectives from community members directly. These two qualities of MIRC's internal structure allow it to effectively advocate for the policy goals of Maine's immigrant community through non-electoral forms of representation.

Collectively, these three chapters provide overview of several important considerations when evaluating African immigrant community leadership in Maine. Lewiston's Somali

community responded to restrictive welfare-reform policies and growing nativist tension by accepting the promotion of ISO leaders as representatives for community interests. The second chapter's model for mapping Maine ISOs describes how organizational management practices, social policy focus, financial stability, inter-organizational collaboration, and potential to influence collective action can predict the extent of an organization's influence over policy. Especially important to this model was the lack of definitive relationship between African immigrant leadership and an ISO's centrality. And lastly, when African immigrant leaders achieve positions of influence in a political advocacy organization, their policy expertise and intimate knowledge of community conditions allow that IPIO to advocate for meaningful, representative policy objectives.

This study has attempted to provide review of how African diasporic identity can affect the character of ISOs. While certain circumstances like the 2018 Global Awareness Conference clearly highlight the prevalence of African immigrant leadership, other instances of crucial ISO activity (e.g. the work of ILAP, NMRC, or tangentially related organizations like Maine ACLU) lack African immigrants in positions of decision-making and policy advice. On the whole, this study can only describe the extent to which African immigrant leaders selectively brand themselves (and their work) using symbols and rhetoric referencing African diasporic identity. While African immigrant identity does not seem exclusively important to the centrality of certain ISOs within the Maine's network, that same experience seems to positively influence decision-making in the advocacy of policy initiatives by MIRC.

This study was constrained by the preliminary nature of this research. As an outside observer, I felt that I could most positively contribute to the emerging field of immigration studies in Maine through survey of the wide range of public policies that both positively and negatively

affect parts of the African immigrant community, and how members of that community respond. I was unable, therefore, to examine any one organization's internal structure in depth, with exception of MIRC. Because of my position as an outsider conducting interviews, I needed to establish my personal credentials in the process of interviewing; I could only ask more intimate questions (e.g. funding structure) after establishing trust with my interview subject. Future researchers of this topic based on prior personal relationships with the interview subjects might be able to delve deeper into the internal structure of ISO operations vis à vis African immigrant identity and leadership. I would recommend future research to start from an already-established relationship of mutual trust. Given the size and decentralized nature of Maine's ISO activity, the issue of African immigrant identity in leadership is ripe for expansion and revision. The future of Maine's economic and social prosperity depends on the work and lives of African immigrants; this study has hopefully revealed the power of community-level responses from African immigrants in Maine.

Appendix A

Interview questions – prepared document for IRB Application

Could you please describe your position and responsibilities for this organization/employer? How did you come to work in this capacity?

Could you please describe the main objectives of your organization/employer?

Have you personally seen your organization/employer evolve its mission or operational structure? If so, what prompted that/these change(s)?

To your knowledge, how has your organization evolved since its founding?

Have the social issues which concern your organization changed? How have the challenges in addressing those social issues evolved?

How would you describe the demographic composition of your clientele? Is this demographic composition representative of any larger community or social group?

Has your organization's clientele-base changed in any way (e.g. demographic composition, needs) since its founding?

Does your organization draw distinctions between immigrants of different legal statuses?

Is the distinction between "immigrant-founded" and "immigrant-run" important within your organization?

Could you please describe the extent to which your organization incorporates individuals (and/or individuals' criticism) from the clientele community into its operations?

Do you ask your clients to state their country of origin or any other demographic information such as the number of languages spoken before rendering services? Do you contact your clients after rendering services to them? Do you use this data to inform future operations or programming?

Could you please describe the process by which your organization gathers information about its clientele?

How does your organization inform itself on changes in public policy concerning its mission?

How does your organization adapt to changes in public policy concerning its mission?

Could you please describe the level of communication that your organization/employer maintains with other organizations that operate within the same demographic community, municipal area, or societal function?

Could you describe your organization's relationship with other social entities (e.g. non-profits, government agencies, etc.) which offer similar services in the same geographic area?

Does your organization maintain ties to other organizations for the express purpose of cooperation and/or advocacy? If so, how would you qualify these inter-organizational ties?

Could you describe the levels of political and governmental involvement that your organization engages?

Does your organization propose or encourage clients to participate in politics or advocacy?

Could you describe any ties or lines of communication that your organization/employer holds with other types of organizations? A list of examples, but not limited to: political action organizations, local politicians, labor unions, ethnic-based community organizations, media companies/outlets, religious organizations, government agencies, service providers, or hometown associations?

Please describe the operational structure of your organization's funding/development department (if it exists as a distinct division in your organization); if possible, please indicate any changes that affected this department since the organization's founding.

Do those funding entities which support your organization financially restrict or influence the operational strategy of your organization?

Appendix B

"Voices of New Mainers: Common Challenges and Solutions – Recommendations and Next Steps for the Maine Immigrants' Rights Coalition (MIRC)" Proposed Policy Recommendations[1]

Law Enforcement
1. Provide "Know Your Rights" trainings;
2. Remove legal status requirements from state and local processes to the extent that it is possible; and
3. Reduce racial profiling.

Low-Wage Work
1. Crack down on job discrimination and illegal workplace practices;
2. Find ways to credential particularly high-skill immigrants more quickly; and
3. Create more good jobs

Education
1. More after-school programs needed that offer children homework help they cannot get at home;
2. Improve communications between parents and teachers, ensuring children are placed in appropriate classes that match their learning needs;
3. Work to help educators better distinguish between lack of English skills and developmental disabilities.

Housing
1. Better educate both landlords and tenants on their respective rights and responsibilities;
2. Need for tenant advocacy and stricter code enforcements; and
3. Protect and Improve the Administration of General Assistance

Health Care
1. Access to affordable health care
   a. Expand Access to MaineCare
   b. Educate and improve access to affordable private insurance;
2. Access to adequate health care

Integration: Affordable, Coordinated Services
- Creation of an "Integration Hub" could provide the following:
  - Greater access to interpreter services;
  - Greater access to legal aid and information;
  - English classes; and

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[1] Copied exactly, editing only on formatting

o   Better collaboration to address many of the issues listed in the other recommendations.

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