#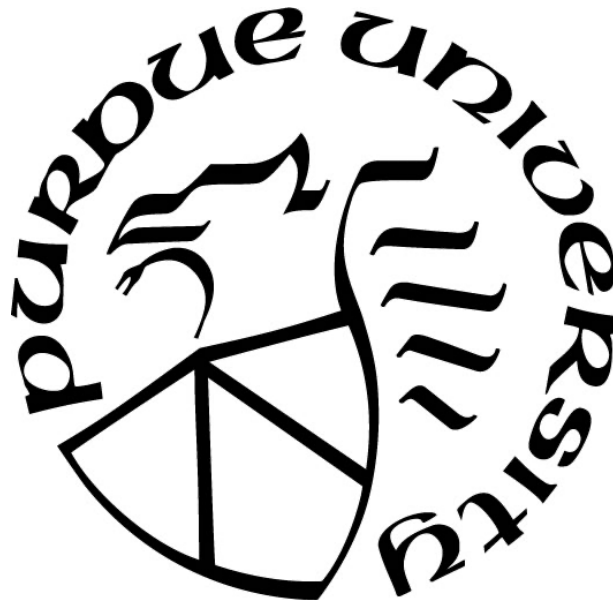 DEMANDING RIGHTS UNDER HIGH STRESS: DILEMMAS OF LEADERSHIP AND SUSTAINING LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN THE U.S. IMMIGRANT RIGHTS MOVEMENT

by

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For my grandmother

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ABSTRACT

Immigrants have limited opportunities for political engagement in the United States without fear of police profiling and deportation. Leaders in the U.S. immigrant rights movement must find ways of encouraging participation in local immigrant rights activism efforts despite the hostile political climate against immigrants in the United States. In the U.S. immigrant rights movement, local participation in community-based immigrant rights organizations (CBIROs) is an important part of sustaining immigrant rights efforts. This dissertation examines how leaders' interactions with members influence the likelihood that members will continue to participate in CBIROs. I draw on 29 in-depth interviews with both members and leaders in the Muslim-American Rights Alliance (MARA), a CBIRO in the Midwest. MARA's leaders use authority signals, inclusion practices, and legitimacy tactics to address the dilemmas associated with sustaining local member participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. MARA's leaders use supportive and inspirational authority signals to maintain the charismatic authority of MARA's Executive Director. MARA's leaders use political education and decision-making inclusion practices to counteract the consequences of oligarchy within MARA. MARA's leaders use professional and street legitimacy tactics to establish the organization's legitimacy within the local immigrant rights community. The findings from this dissertation allow for new insights into how leadership in CBIROs influences sustained participation in local immigrant rights activism.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This dissertation examines the dilemmas leaders face sustaining local participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. Immigrants have limited opportunities for political engagement in the United States without fear of police profiling and deportation. Leaders in the U.S. immigrant rights movement must find ways of encouraging participation in local immigrant rights activism efforts despite the hostile political climate against immigrants in the United States. The purpose of this dissertation is to examine how leaders' interactions with members influence the likelihood that members will continue to participate in community-based immigrant rights organizations (CBIROs) after their initial recruitment. This dissertation uses qualitative methods to examine how leadership operates within CBIROs. Participants in this study included 29 leaders and members of one Muslim-serving CBIRO in the Midwest. The findings from this dissertation allow for new insights into how leadership in CBIROs influences participation in local immigrant rights activism.

This chapter begins with an overview of the research context of leadership and participation in immigrant rights activism in the United States. I then review the statement of problem and research significance of the dissertation with the accompanying research questions. Following this is a review of the dissertation's research design. The chapter concludes with an overview of the remaining chapters of the dissertation.

Research Context

Immigrant rights have been the focus of recent political debates about immigrant legality in the United States (Benjamin-Alvarado, DeSipio, and Montoya 2009; Menjivar 2011; Sziarto and Leitner 2010). Immigrant rights marches across the country have occurred, in part, as a response to recent immigration laws such as the SB1070 in Arizona and the Sensenbrenner Bill (HR4437). These laws have criminalized the status of undocumented immigrants seeking work or any other rights requiring legal documentation in the country (Golash-Boza 2012; Pantoja, Menjivar, and Magana 2008; Vonderlack-Navarro and Sites 2015). Protests against these policies were organized across the United States beginning in March 2006. Over 2 million people participated in these public demonstrations (Engler 2009). In Los Angeles, one protest was called "La Gran Marcha." It was one of the largest demonstrations in the city's history (Hernandez 2007).

On May 1st, 2006, "A Day Without Immigrants" mobilized mass boycotts and marches in major cities like Washington, D.C., Austin, Texas, and Chicago, Illinois. These marches, and most immigrant rights mobilization in the United States today are led by community-based organizations (Engler 2009). These immigrant rights marches provided immigrants a platform for voicing their claims for a broader set of concerns like demands for broader immigration reform and social justice for all immigrants (Cordero-Guzman et al. 2008).

However, the adoption of recent anti-immigration policies coupled with increased anti-immigrant sentiment have made it increasingly difficult for immigrants to demand rights in the United States today (Associated Press 2017; Golash-Boza 2012; Hing 2017). Despite the high turn-out of participants in these marches, fear of profiling and deportation continue to limit immigrant political engagement in the United States. The 2006 marches were originally a response to policies that targeted undocumented and Latino immigrants in the United States (Golash-Boza 2012). Most Latino immigrants have been profiled as undocumented due to these policies. However, there has also been increased anti-immigrant sentiment against other immigrant groups in the United States. The War on Terror has increased discrimination against Muslim immigrants and Americans (Maulik 2011). For instance, the Muslim Ban was signed into law as an Executive Order by President Trump in 2017. The Muslim Ban banned travel from seven Muslim majority countries: Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen (Knefel 2017; Roberts 2020).

The current political climate in the United States has constrained the forms of political action immigrant rights groups can undertake without legal ramifications. Recent changes in immigration policy and immigration enforcement in the United States have been described as 'cruel' and 'inhumane' (Pink 2017). One tactic commonly used by U.S. immigration enforcement today is community raids. These raids are carried out intentionally to "instill fear in entire communities with a show of great force directed at community members" (Golash-Boza 2012: 7). As a result, many immigrants are fearful of police racial profiling and deportation irrespective of their legal status (Pink 2017). Racial profiling "places additional constraints on anyone who is perceived as non-American, both in the legal and patriotic sense of the term" (Naples 2009: 7).

New immigration laws meant to detain potential undocumented immigrants set the stage for a shift in mobilization tactics for the U.S. immigrant rights movement (Martinez 2008). In response to increased state enforcement of federal immigration laws, organizers began to focus on a more localized approach to immigrant rights activism (Engler 2009; Martinez 2008). Local

immigrant rights activism efforts address the varying needs of different immigrant communities in the United States. For example, some immigrant communities focus their activism efforts on preventing workplace raids, while other communities are more concerned with contesting local border patrol enforcement (Engler 2009; Heyman 2014). In the U.S. immigrant rights movement, local participation in community-based immigrant rights organizations (CBIROs) is an important part of sustaining immigrant rights efforts (Associated Press 2017; Engler 2009; Martinez 2008; Moreno 2017). Local participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement has engaged thousands of people in non-violent direct action (Engler 2009). Examples of immigrants demanding rights locally have included: the mobilization of city-wide public protests against immigrant profiling by local police; petitioning local government leadership at both city and state levels for support to protect immigrants; organizing information sessions about legal options for immigrants in their local cities; and raising funds for legal and documentation renewal fees (Associated Press 2017; Columbus 2017; Moreno 2017).

Scholars have studied immigrant rights activism in the United States by examining political opportunity structures, resource mobilization strategies, discourse and frame analysis, and identity processes within social movements (Benjamin-Alvarado, DeSipio, and Montoya 2009; Cordero-Guzman et al. 2008; Martinez 2008; Nicholls 2013; Nicholls 2014; Terriquez 2015). Scholars have examined leadership in social movements by addressing how different forms of leadership may emerge within various types of organizational structures and how different types of leaders may influence participant mobilization and organization within social movements (Morris and Staggenborg 2008; Payne 1989; Robnett 1996; Ferree and Roth 1998; see Brown 1989; Ganz 2000; Marx and Useem 1971; Wilson 1973).

However, limited few scholars have critically examined how leadership within community-based organizations enable (or not) the sustained participation of marginalized populations[1] in local rights activism in the United States. By 'local,' I am referring to the immediate location where activism originates among individuals and the effects of activism are directly felt (Naples and Desai 2002; see Naples 2009). In other words, the 'local' refers to the communities where these individuals live and work daily. In this dissertation I ask: How does leadership sustain participation in CBIROs during periods of high stress? By period of high stress,

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[1] Marginalized populations may include those who are socially and economically marginalized as well as those who are legally liable.

I am referring to a period in which there is increasing hostility toward participants within a social movement.

Research Problem

Social movement literature describes leaders as key actors in social movements due to their ability to inspire commitment among participants (Morris and Staggenborg 2008). For this dissertation, social movement leaders are defined as "strategic decision-makers who inspire and organize others to participate in social movements" (Morris and Staggenborg 2008: 171). Previous examinations of leadership in social movements have been situated in theories such as political opportunity theory and resource mobilization theory (Morris and Staggenborg 2008). Resource mobilization theorists argue that leaders are political entrepreneurs. Due to leaders' particular sets of skills and attributes, they can mobilize resources, frame discourse, and organize participants to achieve social movement goals (Morris and Staggenborg 2008). In contrast, political opportunity theorists argue that structural opportunities and constraints make strategies available or unavailable for leaders to utilize to further movement goals (Morris and Staggenborg 2008). However, neither theory adequately addresses how leadership dynamics within community-based organizations influence sustained participation after the initial recruitment process. Resource mobilization theory only gives agency to leaders, neglecting the role of social movement participants in the political mobilization process (Morris and Staggenborg 2008). While political opportunity theory tends to neglect the agency of social movement actors overall. When leaders' choices are discussed, participants are still excluded as important actors in the social movement decision-making process (Morris and Staggenborg 2008). I define leadership dynamics as the social interactions that occur between leaders and rank-and-file members to make decisions within social movement organizations.

In the U.S. immigrant rights movement, active participation in community-based immigrant rights organizations (CBIROs) is integral for sustaining local immigrant rights efforts (Associated Press 2017; Cordero-Guzman et al. 2008; Engler 2009; Jacobs 2013; Martinez 2008; Moreno 2017). However, encouraging member participation in community-based organizations is challenging (Perkins, Brown, and Taylor 1996). Community-based organizations have limited resources to provide incentives for members to participate in social movement activities. Therefore,

leaders must come up with ways of encouraging member participation. However, few scholars have critically examined how leadership dynamics within CBIROs enable (or not) sustained member participation in local immigrant rights activism in the United States. This dissertation examines how leaders navigate the dilemmas of sustaining member participation in CBIROs in the Midwest.

Dilemmas of Leadership in the U.S. Immigrant Rights Movement

I examine three dilemmas that leaders face sustaining participation in CBIROs. First, leaders must establish their authority as decision-makers within CBIROs. Leaders use their authority to inspire and organize member participation within social movements (Morris and Staggenborg 2008). Early examinations of leadership in social movements were primarily concerned with how leaders gain legitimate authority within social movements (Morris and Staggenborg 2008). According to Weber (1947), there are three ways that leaders can gain legitimate authority within society: traditional authority, legal-rational authority, and charismatic authority. In contrast to both traditional and legal-rational bases of authority, charismatic leaders rely on members' belief in their personal devotion to the social movement's goals (Weber et al. 2013). Charisma has been described by scholars as the extraordinary ability of an individual to inspire participation among movement members (Banks et al. 2017; Conger et al. 1997; Einwohner 2007; Groves 2005).

Several scholars have drawn upon Weber's theory of charismatic leadership to understand how leaders draw upon "the emotional character of the community" to develop relationships with social movement participants and to inspire participation within the movement (Morris and Staggenborg 2008: 172; see Weber 1968). Charismatic leaders motivate participation in social movements by developing social bonds and affectual ties with members (Adair-Toteff 2005; Antonakis et al. 2016; Banks et al. 2017; Larrson and Ronnmark 1996; Weber et al. 2013; Wilson 1973). In the U.S. immigrant rights movement, charismatic leaders have mobilized marginalized populations like poor and disenfranchised immigrants in the United States (Heyman 2014). However, charismatic authority tends to erode over time (Weber 1947). Weber conceptualized charisma as existing outside of the boundaries and rules of society, so he found the concept of charisma antithetical to bureaucratic organization or sustainability over time (Weber 1947). In social movement organizations, charismatic leaders struggle with developing personal bonds with

members while simultaneously maintaining their social distance necessary for sustaining their charismatic allure (Weber and Moore 2014). Charismatic leaders face the dilemma of sustaining their authority among members of CBIROs over time.

Second, leaders must implement strategies for including marginalized members within CBIROs. Social movement organizations "struggle and often fail" at representing and respecting the voices of a diverse membership base (Reger 2002: 720). This is especially true for social movement organizations that represent marginalized constituencies in society (Weldon 2006). Historically, marginalized constituencies "often perceive more privileged groups as dominating activist decision-making" even when they are included as members of social movement organizations (Weldon 2006: 56). Scholars have debated about the extent to which organizational structure affects member participation within social movement organizations. Social movement organizations that rely on hierarchical organizational structures tend to struggle with the inclusion of marginalized members (Jacobs 2013; Jenkins 1983). Hierarchically structured organizations tend to stress both a hierarchy of offices and rigid rules of communication that limit members' access to the organization's decision-making process (Jacobs 2013; Zald and Ash 1966).

Some scholars critique hierarchical social movement organizations due to the 'iron law of oligarchy' (Clemens and Minkoff 2008). Michels (1962) developed the theory of the 'iron law of oligarchy' to explain why hierarchical organizations tend to have decreased member participation over time. According to the 'iron law of oligarchy', bureaucracy will develop in all social movement organizations. To deal with the day-to-day responsibilities associated with maintaining an organization over time, leaders will begin to rely on a hierarchical division of labor. As a result, the agency to make decisions and affect change within the organization will become concentrated among the organization's leaders (Diefenbach 2019; Leach 2005). Michels (1962) argues there are two main consequences of the iron law of oligarchy: becalming and goal displacement. Becalming refers to the loss of member energy and involvement within social movement organizations and goal displacement refers to leaders' disregard of the organization and its members' initial policy goals (Michels 1962; Osterman 2006a). As a result, hierarchical organizations tend to have decreased member participation over time. Leaders of hierarchical CBIROs face the dilemma of implementing practices that increase marginalized members' agency within the organization, so as to reverse becalming and oligarchy.

Third, leaders must devise political activism tactics that legitimize the CBIRO's actions within the local community. The public is often not privy to the inner workings of social movement organizations. As a result, the public rely on an organization's tactical repertoire to evaluate the legitimacy of social movement organizations and their actions (Etter et al. 2018; Gnes 2016; Wilson 1973). Tarrow (1998) argues that social movements engage in three different types of protest actions to make their demands visible to the public: violence, disruption, and convention. Violent protest actions include destroying public property and directly attacking police and other authority figures. Disruptive protest actions include blocking traffic or interrupting the normal operations of businesses with sit ins. Conventional protest actions include strikes and public demonstrations. What all three of these protest actions have in common is their emphasis on confrontational collective action (Tarrow 1998).

Since Tarrow, scholars have made a distinction between insider and outsider political activism tactics (Taylor and Van Dyke 2008). Insider tactics tend to be nonconfrontational in nature and include lawsuits, leafleting, letter writing campaigns, and signing petitions (Andrews and Caren 2010; Taylor and Van Dyke 2008). In contrast, outsider tactics tend to be confrontational and include sit-ins, demonstrations, blockades, and bombings (Andrews and Caren 2010; Taylor and Van Dyke 2008). CBIROs in the U.S. immigrant rights movement have become publicly linked with confrontational outsider tactics like protests and demonstrations (Heyman 2014; Martinez 2008; Pantoja, Menjivar, and Magana 2008). However, many immigrants in the United States may be barred from participating in political activism tactics like attending public protests and participating in organized civil disobedience. After 9/11, the legitimacy of Islamic organizations in the United States was questioned due to the stigmatization of Muslims as terrorists (Borchgrevink 2020). Leaders of Muslim-serving CBIROs face the dilemma of choosing tactical repertoires that encourage member participation without confirming stereotypes that Muslims are militant or dangerous.

In this dissertation, I address three specific questions that examine how leaders overcome the dilemmas of sustaining member participation in CBIROs: (1) What actions do leaders use to communicate their authority to members within CBIROs?; (2) What practices do leaders use to include marginalized members within CBIROs?; and (3) What tactics do leaders use to establish the legitimacy of Muslim-serving CBIROs within the local community.

Research Significance

The significance of this dissertation is threefold. First, I examine how leadership operates as an interactional process within social movement organizations. Except for a few studies, most research on social movements describes the actions of movement leaders "without according primary importance to leadership in movement dynamics; instead, the actions are understood in terms of other concepts and processes" (Einwohner 2007: 1309; see Earl 2007; Robnett 1996). To understand how leadership affects participation in social movements, it is necessary to examine "the interactive relationships among various types of leaders and movement participants" (Morris and Staggenborg 2008: 180). Some studies have examined leadership dynamics and interactive relationships within social movements in some shape or form (Earl 2007; Einwohner 2007). For instance, Einwohner (2007) conceptualized the term "authority work" to describe how leaders consciously make efforts to establish credibility with potential followers to mobilize activism. Authority work "treats leadership as an interactional achievement, the product of the actions and reactions of leaders as well as their followers" (Einwohner 2007: 1310). Earl (2007) has examined leadership in social movements as a set of leading tasks. Rather than identifying characteristics of leaders in social movements, Earl (2007) identifies the actions of leaders that are the most salient, or important, for the movement's success. These leading tasks include the actions necessary for managing the internal life of social movement organizations. This dissertation contributes to theoretical scholarship on leadership dynamics within social movements by examining how social interactions between leaders and participants within social movement organizations influence sustained social movement participation. Morris and Staggenborg (2008) argue it is necessary to examine the interactive relationships between leaders and participants to understand how leadership affects social movement mobilization. Examining interactions between leaders and participants draws attention to how decisions are made within social movement organizations and how those decisions affect the likelihood that participants will continue to participate in these organizations.

Second, this dissertation provides important insights into the local organization of immigrant rights activism in the United States. Previous literature on participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement has cited the importance of local participation in community-based immigrant rights organizations (Associated Press 2017; Engler 2009; Martinez 2008; Moreno 2017). Community-based organizations are social movement organizations that operate at the local

level to mobilize social movement participants in the same areas where they live and work (Jacobs 2013; Perkins, Brown, and Taylor 1996). The 2006 marches were a result of grassroots mobilization efforts made by localized groups like community-based organizations within the U.S. immigrant rights movement (Pantoja, Menjivar, and Magana 2008). However, there has been a limited focus on dynamics of interaction between leaders and members within community-based immigrant rights organizations. Previous examinations of leadership in the U.S. immigrant rights movement have primarily focused on describing different types of youth leaders within the movement (Nicholls 2013; Nicholls 2014; Revilla 2012; Terriquez 2015). This dissertation contributes to scholarship on local participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement by examining how leaders and members make decisions about local immigrant rights activism within community-based immigrant rights organizations (CBIROs).

Third, this dissertation addresses the influence of legal status on immigrant participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. Legal status has been a mobilizing force for participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. Undocumented immigrant organizers have been very visible in the U.S. immigrant rights movement (Escudero and Pallares 2021). In particular, undocumented immigrant youth have engaged high stakes political activism like acts of civil disobedience to fight for immigrant rights (Escudero and Pallares 2021). However, the stigma of legal status also constrains the opportunities some immigrants have for political engagement in the United States (Cebulko 2014; Nicholls 2013; Nicholls 2014). For instance, Muslim immigrants in the United States face the additional stigma of being labeled as terrorists (Borchgrevink 2020; Nicholls 2014; Yazdiha 2020). The stigma of legal status and the terrorist label have become conflated in the United States. Like undocumented immigrants, Muslims that are profiled as terrorists face increased risk of detainment and deportation. As a result, Muslim immigrants may be more wary of participating in acts of civil disobedience to make demands for immigrant rights in the United States. This dissertation contributes to scholarship on the influence of legal status in the U.S. immigrant rights movement by examining how leaders of CBIROs navigate the constraints the stigma of legal status puts on immigrant political engagement.

Research Design

I use qualitative methods to examine how leadership dynamics influence sustained participation within one community-based immigrant rights organization (CBIRO) in the Midwest. Qualitative methods allow researchers "to share in the understandings and perspectives of others and to explore how people structure and give meaning to their daily lives" (Berg and Lune 2012: 8). This may include insights into the social processes by which leaders influence sustained participation in community-based immigrant rights organizations.

The population of interest for this dissertation were adult leaders and members of one community-based organization in the Midwest, the Muslim-American Rights Alliance (MARA).[2] MARA is a Muslim-serving community-based immigrant rights organization located in downtown Middleton.[3] I selected MARA as a case study after contacting 15 different CBIROs in the local Middleton community. I contacted each of these organizations via email with a description of the research study asking for a meeting in person or via phone to discuss the possibility of gaining access to interview referrals. MARA was the first organization to respond. I first had a phone conversation with the Outreach Supervisor to ensure my research study was a good fit for MARA. Afterwards, the Outreach Supervisor invited me to visit the organization's downtown office space.

MARA is an interesting case study for examining leadership and participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. MARA is a grassroots, professional, Muslim rights organization. Like many other social movement organizations in the U.S. immigrant rights movement, MARA is a community-based organization committed to grassroots activism in the local Middleton community. However, MARA is also a professional organization. MARA is structured like a business with both paid staff members and unpaid interns. MARA does not have a dues-paying membership. Instead, MARA relies 100% on community donors to fund its activities and pay its staff members.

MARA was founded in 2005 to combat Islamophobia and Muslim discrimination in the United States. MARA's mission statement is to defend civil rights, fight bigotry, and promote tolerance of Muslims in the United States. While MARA does address immigrant rights as part of its Muslim advocacy mission, the organization does not directly advocate for undocumented

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[2] The Muslim-American Rights Alliance (MARA) is a pseudonym assigned to the case study organization.
[3] Middleton is a fictious name for the location of the case study.

Muslim rights. Instead, MARA focuses on advocating for the civil rights of both Muslim Americans and immigrants in the local Middleton community. This case study allows for an examination of how leadership operates in professional, grassroots organizations in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. The results from this case study can be generalized to other grassroots organizations in the movement. However, unlike other grassroots organizations in the movement, this case is unique due to its professional organizational structure and focus on Muslim rights activism.

MARA is a small-scale organization with fewer than 100 active members at any time. MARA's members include directors, staff members (including para-legals and department supervisors), fellows, interns, and volunteers (See Table 1 below). MARA's membership base is primarily made up of interns and staff pursuing higher education degrees and coming from middle-class or upper-class backgrounds. A majority of the interns are students from the local community and most of the staff is hired from the intern pool. MARA has five departments: Civil Rights; Outreach; Operations; Communications; and Research. Each department is dedicated to achieving a specific advocacy goal. For example, the Communications Department primarily handles the organization's public media relations, and the Civil Rights Department handles all litigation cases.

Interns make up a majority of MARA's membership base. There are six types of internships available at MARA. Each internship is supervised by a different department apart from the Outreach and Government Affairs internships. Both Outreach and Government Affairs internships are supervised by the Outreach Department. Interns are assigned to departments based on their research interests and incoming skill sets. For instance, a law student would most likely be placed in the Civil Rights Department while an intern with a writing background and interest in the media might be placed in the Communications Department.

I entered the field as an announced researcher. Entering the field as an announced researcher is one way a researcher can establish trust and rapport with their population of interest (Berg and Lune 2012). One benefit of being an announced researcher in the field is the ability to ask direct questions about the research study. As a result, participants are not wondering why I am asking specific questions or what my purpose is in examining their role within the organization (Berg and Lune 2012). I spent one year from August 2018 to August 2019 interacting with participants within MARA to establish trust with potential participants.

Table 1: MARA's Job Positions and Responsibilities

Job Positions	Job Responsibilities
Executive Director	Final decision-making authority for the entire organization. Schedules staff meetings and private meetings with leaders and department supervisors. Engages with the local community for media exposure and fundraising efforts.
Deputy Director	Day to day internal operations decision-making authority and management of department supervisors.
Litigation Director	Decision-making authority for current and potential civil rights cases.
Department Supervisors	Supervisory authority over department staff members' and interns' day-to-day responsibilities and department level projects.
Para-legal	Responsible for civil rights case intakes and litigation paperwork.
Fellows	Responsible for completing specific project aims within assigned departments.
Interns	Responsible for completing two community projects (one individual and one collaborative) within assigned departments.
Volunteers	Responsible for day-of assigned roles during community events such as: signing in event participants, event set up and tear down, fundraising/collecting donations, and mosque outreach.

Semi-Structured Interviews

  I conducted semi-structured interviews with leaders and members from MARA. Semi-structured interviews allow for an examination of the contexts in which decisions are made in social movements (Blee and Taylor 2002). The open-ended nature of semi-structured interviews can be "helpful for understanding little studied dynamics and for studying social movements that are difficult to locate, generate few documents, or have unclear or changing memberships" (Blee and Taylor 2002: 94). Furthermore, semi-structured interviews can provide insights into how activists assign meaning to their participation in social movements and how they understand their interactions with each other (Blee and Taylor 2002).

Sampling Strategy

My sampling strategy for interviewees combined both snowball and purposive sampling methods to address two principles for qualitative interview sampling: (a) completeness; and (b) similarity and dissimilarity. Completeness refers to the continuation of sampling interviewees until the interview topic is saturated, "that is, the interviews are garnering the same kinds of narratives and interpretations" (Blee and Taylor 2002: 100). The principle of similarity and dissimilarity refers to sampling interviewees to see how responses of interviewees with similar and different characteristics compare to each other (Blee and Taylor 2002).

First, I used snowball sampling to initially gain access to interviewees at MARA. Snowball sampling is sometimes referred to as respondent-driven sampling (Berg and Lune 2012). I emailed the Deputy Director with a description of the research study asking for a meeting to discuss the possibility of gaining access to interview referrals. The Deputy Director forwarded my email to the organization's Outreach Supervisor. Most of my first respondents were MARA's staff members that the Outreach Supervisor introduced me to within the first few weeks that I was in the field. I then relied on referrals from these initial respondents to identify additional interviews. Second, I used purposive sampling to ensure that my sample was diverse. Purposive sampling strategies have been used "to ensure that certain types of individuals or persons displaying certain attributes are included in the study" (Berg and Lune 2012: 54).

I sampled 29 leaders and members from MARA's active core. While MARA has up to 100 members at any one time, the organization's active core is made up of less than 30 paid staff members and interns. While paid staff members tend to be constant throughout an entire year, interns change from one season to the next. I sampled leaders and members over the course of one year. Two criteria were used for the selection of interviewees: race/ethnicity and education level. I sampled leaders and members across (1) various ethnic backgrounds and (2) across different levels of education including: no high school degree; high school degree or equivalent; some college or form of higher education; and higher education degree or above. After I conducted 29 interviews with MARA's leaders and members, I determined that I would not gain any further novel or important insights into MARA's leadership dynamics and their influence on sustained member participation (See Table 2 below).

Table 2: Interviewee Demographics

#	Pseudonym	M/L	Status	Age	Gender*	Job Title	Race/Ethnicity*	Religion	Class*	Education	Country of Origin
1	Vincent	L	Current	37	Male	Outreach Supervisor	Black	Muslim	Lower	Bachelors	U.S.
2	Hugo	M	Current	27	Male	Intern	South Asian	Muslim	Middle	Bachelors	U.S.
3	Sherlock	M	Current	26	Male	Fellow	White/Hispanic	Non-Muslim	Middle	J.D.	U.S.
4	Atticus	L	Current	N/A	Male	Litigation Director	White	Non-Muslim	N/A	J.D.	U.S.
5	Matilda	M/L	Current	24	Female	Communications Supervisor	South Asian	Non-Muslim	Upper-Middle	Masters	U.S.
6	Doris	M/L	Current	23	Female	Para-Legal	Asian/Indian	Non-Muslim	Upper-Middle	Bachelors	U.S.
7	Omar	M	Current	24	Male	Intern	Middle Eastern	Muslim	Upper	Bachelors	U.S.
8	Bernard	M/L	Current	35	Male	Research Supervisor	American/Pakistani	Muslim	Lower-Middle	Bachelors	U.S.
9	Anastasia	M/L	Current	24	Female	Intern	White	Non-Muslim	Middle	Bachelors	U.S.
10	Mabel	M/L	Current	23	Female	Operations Supervisor	Arab/Italian	Muslim	Middle	Bachelors	U.S.
11	Dimitrius	L	Current	36	Male	Deputy Director	Indian American	Non-Muslim	Middle	J.D.	U.S.
12	Luis	L	Current	42	Male	Executive Director	Mediterranean	Muslim	Middle	Masters	Egypt
13	Miguel	M	Current	22	Male	Intern	Palestinian	Non-Muslim	Upper-Middle	Bachelors	U.S.
14	Pablo	M/L	Former	25	Male	Intern	Indian American/Muslim	Muslim	Lower	Bachelors	U.S.
15	Felix	M	Current	24	Male	Intern	White	Muslim	Upper-Middle	Bachelors	U.S.
16	Aurora	M	Current	28	Female	Intern	Jordanian	Muslim	Middle	Bachelors	Palestine
17	Sabrina	M/L	Current	23	Female	Intern	Palestinian American	Muslim	Middle	Masters	U.S.
18	Esther	L	Former	32	Female	Government Affairs Supervisor	Multi-Racial	Muslim	Lower-Middle	Bachelors	U.S.

Table 2 Continued

		M/L									
19	Iris	M/L	Current	19	Female	Intern	Mexican	Non-Muslim	Lower-Middle	Associates	U.S.
20	Levi	M	Former	26	Male	Intern	White	Non-Muslim	Middle	Bachelors	U.S.
21	Juan	M	Current	41	Male	Event Volunteer	Egyptian/African/ Middle Eastern	Muslim	Middle	Associates	Egypt
22	Dawn	M	Current	21	Female	Intern	White	Non-Muslim	Middle	Associates	U.S.
23	Silvia	M	Current	27	Female	Intern	Arab American	Muslim	Middle	Bachelors	U.S.
24	Summer	M/L	Current	19	Female	Intern	White	Non-Muslim	Middle	High School	U.S.
25	Luna	M/L	Current	22	Female	Intern	Pakistani American	Muslim	Middle	High School	U.S.
26	Agnes	M/L	Current	30	Female	Fellow	Muslim/Middle Eastern	Muslim	Middle	J.D.	Syria
27	Ivy	M	Current	21	Female	Intern	White	Non-Muslim	Upper-Middle	High School	U.S.
28	Gail	M	Current	25	Female	Intern	White/Irish	Non-Muslim	Upper-Middle	Masters	U.S.
29	Phoebe	M/L	Current	26	Female	Intern	White/Scandinavian American	Non-Muslim	Upper-Middle	Bachelors	U.S.

M/L: M=Member; L=Leader
*Self-Defined

Interview Process and Protocol

Potential participants were initially contacted in person within MARA's office space and via email. I spent a few days each week from August 2018-August 2019 interacting and working alongside MARA's members. I sent individual emails to potential participants describing the purpose of the study, inviting their participation, and requesting a convenient date, time, and place of their choosing for a face-to-face interview. In each email, I also attached the Participant Information Sheet. I suggested that I meet the interviewees at a time and place of their choosing to ensure they were comfortable when answering interview questions. I also attempted to schedule the interviews in a quiet place where the interviewees' answers would not be overheard by passersby to ensure the confidentiality of the entire interview.

Most interviewees chose to have their interviews in MARA's office space during normal business hours. I had access to a private office where I could conduct the interviews with doors closed and out of earshot of MARA's staff members. I was also given access to MARA's office space outside of normal business hours. A few of MARA's members chose to have their interviews scheduled when the office was vacant. Finally, several interviews were conducted at nearby coffee shops and restaurants. Before each interview, I asked each interviewee if they consented to have the interview audio recorded. All but four interviewees consented to have their interviews audio recorded. I took detailed notes during the interview when a participant did not consent to having their interview audio recorded.

The interview protocol for leaders (see Appendix A) is divided into two parts. Part I relates to the profiles of the interviewee. Part II relates to interview. The interview questions are separated into two sections: (A) Legal Status and Immigrant Rights; and (B) Leadership Dynamics and Inclusion. Section A asks questions about the background of interviewees and how they think about immigrant rights. Section B asks questions related to leaders, leadership, and how decisions are made at MARA.

Part I asks for seven pieces of information relevant to the profile of the interviewee: (1) age; (2) self-identified gender; (3) occupation; (4) self-identified race/ethnicity; (5) socioeconomic status; (6) education level; and (7) country of origin. The categories pertaining to occupation, socioeconomic status, and education level were included to account for differences between interviewees that cannot be adequately captured by the category of class alone. Answers to the

categories listed under Part I of the interview protocol were filled in over the course of the interview and were only explicitly asked for at the end of the interview if not previously mentioned.

Part II of the interview protocol is made up of semi-structured questions separated into two sections. In Section A, I first asked interviewees to describe themselves. I then asked interviewees to describe how they became involved with MARA. I then asked interviewees a few questions related to the extent to which MARA advocates for immigrant rights, including what types of rights are pursued for immigrants in the Middleton area and whether legal status is considered in these pursuits. In Section B, I asked interviewees questions related to leaders and leadership dynamics within MARA. First, I asked interviewees to consider in what ways they are a leader in MARA and to identify the specific roles they play within the organization. I then asked interviewees to think about the qualities or skills they think leaders should have and the responsibilities they have within the organization. Finally, I asked interviewees several questions related to how decisions are made within MARA. In particular, I asked interviewees how they communicate with others in MARA and how this contributes to how decisions are made in their organization.

The interview protocol for community-based organization members (see Appendix B) is a slightly modified version of the interview protocol for community-based organization leaders. Like the interview protocol for community-based organization leaders, the interview protocol for community-based organization participants is also divided into two parts with Part I relating to the profile of the interviewee and Part II relating to interview questions meant to cover the research questions and concepts described above. However, some questions in Part II of the interview protocol were eliminated or modified to specifically address members' roles within community-based organizations. Below, I will briefly review the changes made from the interview protocol for community-based organization leaders.

In Section A, I asked interviewees a few questions about the extent to which MARA discusses immigrant rights including what types of rights are pursued and how. In Section B, I asked interviewees to think about who they consider leaders within MARA. I then asked interviewees to describe the roles they perform within the organization and if any of these roles could be considered leadership positions within the organization. Finally, I asked interviewees to describe how they communicate with leaders within the organization.

At the end of each interview, I asked interviewees if there was anything else they would like to discuss, or think should be discussed as a part of the interview. I then thanked the

interviewees for their participation in the study and again informed them of the context in which the interviews will be used. I also reassured interviewees of the confidentiality of the recorded interviews and transcriptions. I wrote up more detailed field notes of each interview and transcribed the audio tapes verbatim from each interview immediately afterwards. Field notes were written directly after each interview noting the interviewee's facial expressions and emotions during the interview and important insights about leadership and their participation in MARA.

Ethical Issues

IRB approval for work with human subjects was received to proceed with the research study. I used several safeguards to ensure the protection and rights of the study's participants. First, informed consent was a priority throughout the study. I made sure each potential participant understood the purpose of the research study and how the interview data would be used. To avoid any record linking the participants to the research study, I did not require participants to sign a consent form. Instead, I provided participants with the Participant Information Sheet in both the initial recruitment email and before each scheduled interview began. The Participant Information Sheet stated that participation in the study is voluntary, and participants could choose to withdraw their participation at any time before, during, or after the interview. Participants were also given the option of skipping any question they did not feel comfortable answering.

Second, I assigned each interviewee a pseudonym and ID number to protect the confidentiality of participants after I confirmed their willingness to participate in the study. I did not record the interviewee's name or any other identifying information in any of my field notes or the interview transcript itself. During each interview, instead of names, I assigned an ID number to each interview transcript and associated written notes. I then attached each ID number to a fictitious name and used this pseudonym for all written accounts of the study's findings.

Third, I also took cautionary measures to secure the storage of my field notes, the audio recorded interviews and the resulting interview transcripts. After audio recording each interview, I immediately uploaded each audio recording onto a password protected computer using only the ID number as a means of identification. All audio recordings were transcribed as soon as possible after each interview. I then destroyed each audio recording after each interview transcription was completed.

Data Analysis

I used NVivo (Version 12) analysis software to organize and code each interview transcript (QSR International Pty Ltd: 2018). After transcribing each audio recorded interview, I uploaded each transcript onto NVIVO. Fully transcribed interviews were coded both inductively and deductively. I used a four-step coding process to examine my interview data. First, when conducting interviews in person, I noted my first impressions of the interviewee and their demeanor during the interview in my field notes. Second, I listened to the audio recordings of all interviews to get a sense of the main themes and concepts discussed during the interview while writing up the detailed interview transcripts. Third, I close coded the interview transcripts for both emergent and theoretical themes based on the themes derived from the audio recordings previously. I first used inductive analysis to identify emergent patterns in the data. I then used deductive analysis to assess whether previous social movement literature corresponded with, contradicted, or deepened interpretations of my findings. Fourth, I coded the transcripts a second time clarifying the definitions of each identified theme and collapsing discreet categories into larger emergent and theoretical patterns.

Overview of Dissertation

This dissertation examines how leaders sustain participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. I use semi-structured interviews to examine how leaders navigate the dilemmas of sustaining participation in one community-based immigrant rights organization (CBIRO) in the Midwest. In this chapter, I reviewed the context of participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement and outlined the research design used to examine the research problem. In the following chapters, I address how MARA's leaders address three dilemmas of sustaining participation in CBIROs.

In chapter 2, I examine Weber's theory of charismatic authority and the influence of leader emotions for inspiring member commitment to CBIROs. According to Weber, leaders use emotion to inspire participation in social movements and establish personal bonds of loyalty with their followers (Breuilly 2011; Groves 2005; Morris and Staggenborg 2008; Weber 1968). However, since charisma is based on personal ties between leaders and their followers, their authority is temporary and tends to erode over time (Heyman 2014; Stutje 2012). Charismatic leaders face the

dilemma of developing personal bonds with members while simultaneously maintaining their mysterious allure (Weber and Moore 2014). I examine what authority signals charismatic leaders use to inspire member commitment to CBIROs and the extent to which these authority signals increase members' feeling of belonging within the organization.

In chapter 3, I examine Michel's theory of the iron law of oligarchy and the influence of member agency on sustained member participation in CBIROs. According to the iron law of oligarchy, all organizations will become hierarchical over time (Michels 1962). As a result, members have limited opportunities to exercise their own agency, leading to decreased member involvement within the organization (McCarthy and Wolfson 1996; Michels 1962; Osterman 2006b). To sustain active member participation, leaders face the dilemma of creating conditions for members to exercise their agency within hierarchical CBIROs. I examine what inclusion practices leaders use to include marginalized members within hierarchical CBIROs and the extent to which these inclusion practices increase member agency within the organization.

In chapter 4, I examine Tarrow's theory of contentious politics and the influence of tactical repertoires for organizational survival within the U.S. immigrant rights movement. Tarrow (1998) argues that confrontational tactics like disruptive protests push the public to respond to the demands of social movements. However, leaders of Muslim-serving CBIROs face the dilemma of choosing tactics that will encourage member participation without confirming stereotypes that Muslims are militant and dangerous (Borchgrevink 2020; Yazdiha 2020). I examine what legitimacy tactics leaders use to advocate for Muslim rights in the local community and the extent to which these tactics increase Muslim visibility within the U.S. immigrant rights movement.

In chapter 5, I review the main findings from each of the analysis chapters. I then discuss implications for future research on leadership dynamics and sustained participation in CBIROs in the U.S. immigrant rights movement.

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CHAPTER 2: THE LEADERS

CHARISMATIC AUTHORITY AND MOTIVATING PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY-BASED IMMIGRANT RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

One function of leaders in social movements is to motivate member participation in both movement activities and organizations (Morris and Staggenborg 2008). For leaders to be successful at motivating participation, they must establish their authority among social movement members. Then, they must sustain that authority over time. Charismatic leaders motivate social movement participation by developing social bonds with their followers (Adair-Toteff 2005; Larrson and Ronnmark 1996; Weber et al. 2013). There is evidence of charismatic authority within the U.S. immigrant rights movement. For example, The Border Network for Human Rights (BNHR) uses charismatic authority to mobilize the local working-class community to advocate for immigrant rights in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. The BNHR is a community-based immigrant rights organization (CBIRO) located in southern New Mexico that fights against border immigration law enforcement (Heyman 2014). The BNHR describes its Executive Director as the organization's charismatic leader. He is described as a 'visionary in his social analyses and remarkably skilled and decisive in terms of political and organizational tactics" (Heyman 2014: 81). As a result, members of the BNHR tend to follow the Executive Director's lead on organizational decisions. However, little is known about this type of mobilization (Stutje 2012; Sy et al. 2018).

Charisma is an affective relationship between leaders and followers (Stutje 2012). As a result, emotion is considered a primary component in the charismatic leadership process (Sy et al. 2018). According to Weber's theory of charismatic authority, leaders draw upon "the emotional character of the community" to inspire participation in social movements (Morris and Staggenborg 2008; see Weber 1968). In other words, charismatic leaders establish their authority by appealing to the needs and values of the communities they serve. As a result, followers feel personal bonds of loyalty to them (Breuilly 2011). However, since charisma is extremely personal; it is also therefore, temporary (Weber 1947). Weber argues that charismatic authority will erode and become ineffective over time (Heyman 2014; Stutje 2012).

While Weber's conceptualization of charismatic authority has been influential in the study of social movement mobilization, it does not adequately explain the effectiveness of charismatic

authority in social movement organizations (Antonakis et al. 2016; Weber and Moore 2014). Charismatic leaders must address the paradox of distance to sustain their authority in social movement organizations. Charismatic leaders must develop personal bonds with members while simultaneously maintaining the emotional distance necessary for their charismatic allure (Weber and Moore 2014). I argue that leaders can use authority signals to address the paradox of distance associated with charismatic authority in CBIROs. I define authority signals as conscious efforts by leaders to establish their credibility with members in CBIROs. Leaders can establish their credibility as leaders by demonstrating that they are personally invested in both the organization's goals and its members. Authority signals include asking members about their personal lives outside of the organization and making speeches about their previous activism experience in the local community.

This chapter examines the authority signals leaders use to motivate member participation and overcome the paradox of distance associated with charismatic authority in CBIROs. I address three specific questions: First, what signals do leaders use to communicate their authority within CBIROs? Second, to what extent do these authority signals involve emotion-laden behaviors? Third, to what extent are these authority signals effective at increasing members' sense of belonging in CBIROs? I draw on semi-structured interviews with 29 participants in one CBIRO, the Muslim-American Rights Alliance (MARA)[4], located in the Midwest.

This chapter is organized into three sections: First, I discuss who interviewees identified as leaders and evidence of charismatic authority in MARA. Second, I discuss the types of authority signals leaders use to establish their credibility with members and the extent to which they use emotion to motivate member participation. Third, I discuss the extent to which these authority signals result in increased feelings of member belonging and sustain charismatic authority in MARA. This chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings and implications for future research on charismatic authority and motivating member participation in CBIROs.

Leader Identification in MARA: Evidence of Charismatic Authority

MARA is a non-profit community-based organization that serves a primarily Muslim population. It was founded in 2005 by MARA's current Executive Director, Luis, and two other

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[4] The Muslim-American Rights Alliance (MARA) is a pseudonym assigned to the case study organization. Pseudonyms are also used for the interviewees. Middleton is a fictious name for the location of the case study.

co-founders. MARA was founded as a direct response to increased Islamophobia in the United States following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks. As a result, MARA is dedicated to combatting discrimination against Muslims and Muslim Americans in the local community. MARA relies on a small number of paid staff, interns, and volunteers to advocate for Muslim rights.

MARA has a hierarchical organizational structure. MARA has five departments: Civil Rights, Outreach, Operations, Communications, and Research. Each department has at least one supervisor who has authority to assign tasks to their interns and staff members.[5] However, the Executive Director still has the final decision-making power within the organization.

When asked to identify MARA's leaders, interviewees overwhelmingly identified the three Directors and the Outreach Supervisor. Ninety percent of interviewees identified Luis, the Executive Director, as MARA's primary leader. Following Luis, Dimitrius, the Deputy Director, was identified as a leader by 67% of interviewees. Third, 59% of interviewees identified Vincent, the Outreach Supervisor, as a leader. Finally, 55% of interviewees identified Atticus, the Litigation Director, as a leader.

However, there was large variation in the extent to which interviewees identified themselves as leaders. Several members see themselves as leaders in society and possessing some leadership qualities. Nonetheless, they say they better fit the role of member within MARA. For instance, Omar, an intern in the Research Department, did not want the responsibility associated with leadership. Overall, women were more likely than men to claim a dual identity of leader and member. Sixty-three percent of women identified as both leaders and members, while only 15% of men identified themselves by this dual status. Despite being more likely to identify themselves as leaders, women were not among any of MARA's agreed upon leaders. This finding suggests that men are more likely than women to embrace their roles as exclusively leaders or members, rather than attempting to straddle both positions. This finding also suggests that women do not feel like their authority as leaders would be recognized in MARA. Similar to Robnett's (1997) findings about gender and leadership in the civil rights movement, women in MARA are excluded from formal leadership positions within the organization. Robnett (1996) found African American

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[5] The Communications Department is the only department in MARA that routinely has two supervisors. The Civil Rights Department is directly supervised by the Litigation Director, so that department does not have an assigned supervisor position.

women were confined to informal leadership positions within the civil rights movement. Instead, many of these women acted as bridge leaders for the movement, using their interpersonal ties to mobilize rural communities to participate in voter registration. Despite these critical grassroots mobilization efforts, they were rarely identified as leaders within the movement (Robnett 1996; Robnett 1997).

Evidence of Charismatic Authority in MARA

Weber conceptualized three ways that leaders can gain legitimate authority within society: traditional authority, legal-rational authority, and charismatic authority (Weber 1947). Charismatic leaders establish their legitimacy by appealing to their followers' emotions and putting themselves forth as a model to imitate (Weber 1947). In contrast to both traditional and legal-rational bases of authority, charismatic authority relies on followers' belief in the individual leader's personal devotion to the cause (Weber et al. 2013). In other words, charismatic leaders rely on their personal bonds with members to motivate commitment to their cause.

Weber defined charisma as "a certain quality of an individual personality by which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities" (Stutje 2012: 5). However, charismatic leaders are not necessarily described as being supernatural or superhuman by their followers. Most charismatic leaders in social movements are described as individuals with exceptional magnetism and charm, capable of accomplishing fundamental goals on behalf of their followers (Stutje 2012). As a result, charisma has been described by scholars as the extraordinary ability of an individual to inspire participation among movement members (Banks et al. 2017; Conger et al. 1997; Einwohner 2007). Having a commitment to a vision and high self-confidence are both associated with charismatic leaders in social movements (Banks et al. 2017; Erez et al. 2017; Griffith et al. 2015). Charismatic authority is also characterized by personal ties of loyalty between a leader and his or her followers (Breuilly 2011). Therefore, charismatic leaders can be defined as individuals who are perceived by their followers to have exceptional personal gifts and abilities, a prophetic vision, and form emotional bonds with them to inspire social movement participation (Conger et al. 1997; Parry et al. 2019; Sy et al. 2018; Weber 1947).

Luis meets two important criteria associated with charismatic authority in social movements. First, Luis has shaped MARA's organizational identity based on his personal vision

for the organization. As one of MARA's founders and its current Executive Director, Luis has shaped the trajectory of the organization. Luis shaped MARA's identity as an anti-bullying organization based on his own personal experiences of being discriminated against as an Egyptian immigrant and practicing Muslim in the United States. Luis describes MARA as a tool for fighting for the rights of Muslims who are unfairly profiled based on their minority status. According to Luis, MARA's focus on marketing itself as an anti-bullying organization allows him to pursue specific issues of discrimination facing the local Muslim community.

Several interviewees described Luis's personal commitment to MARA and its stance on anti-bullying in the local community. For example, Silvia, an intern in the Civil Rights Department, describes how Luis has taken personal efforts to shape how MARA is perceived in the local community. She describes how Luis personally reaches out to members of the community that are being discriminated against because of their Muslim identity:

> Luis is kind of like the big boss. I think his decision making is directly related to the trajectory of the organization, like what kind of issues are we focusing on, how the organization is being perceived. Those are things that he has to make decisions about, optics and long-term goals… I was just thinking today, someone told me a story about how there was a Muslim American who was vilified in the press… So, I think he approached, he actually took it upon himself to look into it. He could have delegated that, but he took it upon himself to reach out to this individual…

Second, Luis uses family rhetoric to develop emotional bonds with MARA's members. One of my first introductions to Luis was during his speech at an end of the summer intern graduation event referred to as "Intern Appreciation Day." The event was held during office hours in the afternoon in their public event space. Luis began his speech by discussing the positive qualities of the summer intern cohort and remarked enthusiastically, "You guys are always family." This would be the first of several times Luis referred to the family bonds he felt with MARA's members. During his speech, Luis made a point to emphasize the importance of lasting bonds between both current and past members of MARA.

Perhaps one of the best descriptions of Luis as a charismatic leader is his speech at the organization's Annual Banquet. The Annual Banquet is the largest fundraising event that MARA organizes all year. Politicians and community organizations in the local area are invited to attend and encouraged to donate funds to MARA. During the dinner portion of the banquet, Luis gave a speech about MARA's commitment to anti-bullying in the local community. Luis implored the banquet's attendees to donate to MARA due to the importance of the cause.

During his speech, Luis emphasizes that MARA is not a religious organization, but does serve a religious community. He then gives an example about the treatment of women in the Muslim community. He mentions instances in Middleton where women are judged based on whether they wear hijabs, and states that individuals should judge her based on her heart, not how she is dressed. He also talks about the need for systemic justice for the Muslim Middleton community, "We don't wait for things to happen, we have a research team that looks for instances of social justice proactively." He goes on to emphasize, "This isn't MARA, this is a community." He then states that fundraising and donating to the organization is both a religious and civic responsibility. He ends his speech by referring to MARA's clients and supporters as his "brothers and sisters."

Overcoming the Paradox of Charismatic Authority: Authority Signals and Leader Emotion

According to Weber, charismatic authority is unstable and will erode over time. Weber conceptualized charisma as existing outside of the boundaries and rules of society, so he found the concept of charisma antithetical to bureaucratic organization or sustainability over time (Weber 1947). However, I argue that authority signals can be used to sustain the charismatic authority of leaders within social movement organizations. Einwohner (2007) conceptualized the term "authority work" to describe how leaders consciously make efforts to establish credibility with potential followers with what they think will best resonate with them. Drawing on Einwohner's definition, I define authority signals as conscious efforts made by individuals to communicate their credibility as leaders to members within CBIROs. Leaders can use authority signals to communicate emotions they think will resonate best with their members.

Charisma is based on perceptions of the extraordinary, what sets leaders apart from their followers. Followers trust charismatic leaders because they believe they are uniquely qualified to make decisions that will further the cause (Weber 1947; Weber et al. 2013; Wilson 1973). However, attributions of exceptionality are difficult to maintain. Weber and Moore (2014) argue that there are two paradoxes associated with charismatic leadership in social movements that make it difficult to sustain over time: the paradox of difference and the paradox of distance. First, charismatic leaders need to be different from followers, although followers tend to prefer leaders who are like them. Second, they need to be personally inspiring to others while being socially distant from them (Weber and Moore 2014). However, little is known about how charismatic leaders resolve these

paradoxes within social movement organizations. Charismatic relationships between leaders and followers "depend in part on a quality of intimacy and interaction" (Weber and Moore 2014: 205). It is difficult for charismatic leaders to maintain their authority if their flaws are visible to their followers, destroying the mysterious allure surrounding their success (Weber and Moore 2014). How do charismatic leaders sustain their mysterious allure while also attending to the day-to-day management of social movement organizations?

I argue that MARA's leaders rely on a combination of authority signals to address the paradoxes associated with sustaining the charismatic authority of the Executive Director. Two types of authority signals were identified by interviewees: supportive authority signals and inspirational authority signals (See Table 3 below). Below I will discuss each type of authority signal in order of their effectiveness in communicating the credibility of leaders to MARA's members.

Table 3: Types of Authority Signals

Authority Signal	Description	Utility	Type
Acting as a Friend	Empathetic interactions with members that rely on listening to members' needs and taking interest in members' personal lives out of work.	Support members' personal needs to make them comfortable asking leaders for help.	Supportive Authority
Leading by Example	Daily interactions with members to answer work-related questions and showing them how to complete organizational tasks.	Support members' capacity to learn new organizational skills.	Supportive Authority
Conviction in Beliefs	Passionate displays like group speeches that draw on leaders' personal experiences working with the local community.	Inspire members' personal commitment to the organization and its goals.	Inspirational Authority
Out of Office Work	Scheduled work meetings and community engagement activities that keep leaders out of the office during normal business hours.	Inspire members to work hard to achieve organizational goals.	Inspirational Authority

Supportive Authority Signals

Supportive authority signals communicate leaders' credibility in MARA by demonstrating their empathy with members. Interviewees described the importance of leaders taking the time to consider their personal needs outside of work and making themselves available to address their concerns at work. Leaders who use supportive authority signals communicate their personal investment in members by demonstrating their emotional closeness. This emotional closeness allows leaders the time to get to know members individually, making them feel valued and irreplaceable within the organization. Some examples of supportive authority signals include: asking about members' family and interests outside of the organization, making an effort to listen to members concerns and modifying their performance expectations to address those concerns, being available during office hours to answer member questions, and personally demonstrating how to complete organizational tasks. Acting as a friend and leading by example were identified by interviewees as two important supportive authority signals within MARA.

1a- 72% of the 29 interviewees described the importance of leaders acting as their friends to accommodate personal member needs within the organization.

When asked to describe the relationships they have with different leaders in MARA, most interviewees said they had developed friendships with individuals they identified as leaders in the organization. For these interviewees, it was important that leaders demonstrate that they are more than just their bosses, dictating orders to be followed. As a result, being a 'friend' was considered a prerequisite of being identified as a leader for most of MARA's members. Most interviewees described the importance of leaders acting like their friends during interactions both in and outside of the office. The remaining 28% of interviewees did not mention it was important for leaders to ask about members' lives outside of work to be effective at their jobs. Leaders who use acting as a friend authority signals within MARA were described as individuals who are good listeners and took interest in members' personal lives. Acting as a friend includes inquiring about a member's mental or physical health issues, religious preferences, and family background. When leaders take an interest in members' personal lives, members feel like they are not interchangeable with others and their contributions to the organization matter. Previous scholarship of charismatic leadership in social movements has indicated that demonstrating sensitivity to member's needs is an

important aspect of the charismatic leader-member-relationship (Conger et al. 1997). Acting as a friend authority signals communicate to members that leaders care about members above and beyond the needs of the organization.

Dimitrius describes his own leadership style as consciously trying to be friendly with staff and interns even outside of the office:

> Like I'm friendly with them in and outside of work like I'll grab dinner or do an activity with them. Like if you need something. I'm always here. My door is open…. You know why I care. I love you for the person you are. My job at the end of the day is to make sure this organization is functioning and running.

According to Dimitrius, being a friend to members is an important part of his job as Deputy Director of MARA. Communicating to members that he values them as people outside of work makes them more productive working members of the organization.

Aurora, an intern for the Operations Department, identifies Vincent as a leader because he interacts with her as a friend, rather than just as a boss:

> For me a leader is someone who, who works with people to achieve their goal and is not like being bossy… So, a leader for me, who I see as a leader here is Vincent. I like how he manages and works with others. And that's really, he's a friend. For example, for me as a leader the way he talks to people, with everyone, he makes you feel comfortable. He's easygoing with everyone. Easy to talk to.

For Aurora and many other interviewees, leaders acting as their friends made it easier for members to interact with them in the organization. These types of interactions made Aurora feel more comfortable with Vincent and made it easier for her to ask him about problems she was having both in and outside of work.

Some interviewees like Levi, a former intern in the Outreach Department, mentioned they had introduced Vincent to their family members as a friend first, and a boss second:

> So, I would say friends first and foremost I think, when I refer to Vincent. Like in a professional context, I like to talk about him as my boss… But that's just like as an introduction you know to describe the relationship. Like why we had a relationship, like the truth of the relationship is usually much more like a mentor and a friend. Especially because he was very kind and generous and understanding with my mental health and medical situations that I had that caused me to put my internship on pause for a year you know. You know and he spoke on the phone with my dad. He's met my family once or twice, I think.

Many interviewees associated the acting as a friend authority signal with leaders taking the time to ask about members' personal lives outside of work. Interviewees described leaders inquiring

about their spouses, parents, and children during their conversations, rather than limiting them to discussion about work-related topics.

1b- 52% of the 29 interviewees described the importance of leaders taking the time to demonstrate how to complete daily organizational tasks.

When asked if office availability was an important part of being a leader in MARA, a majority of interviewees described the importance of leaders being available to answer member questions and to demonstrate examples of how to complete daily organizational tasks. The rest of the interviewees did not find it necessary for individuals to be available in the office daily to be identified as leaders. Leaders who use leading by example authority signals within MARA were described as individuals who take the time to explain and model how to complete member responsibilities such as civil rights case in-takes and writing articles for the *Middleton Gazette.*[6] Leading by example authority signals communicate to members that leaders will make themselves available for day-to-day guidance within the office based on members' schedules, not the leaders.

Doris, the para-legal for the Civil Rights Department, describes a leader as, "someone who is willing to teach the people they are leading, you know, in order to learn and grow in what they are doing… A leader is who you go to if you have questions about things… provides direction and guidance, and helps you learn." Doris describes Atticus as one leader in MARA that tends to be more hands-on compared to other leaders like Luis or Vincent. During my time in the field, Atticus was a constant presence within the office. He always had his office door open and didn't hesitate to answer any questions members had, regarding civil rights legal issues or otherwise.

Dimitrius suggests that one of the most important qualities that he tries to demonstrate as a leader is a strong work ethic:

> One of my biggest values is leading by example. I never ever want to, I will never assign someone a task that I'm not willing to do myself… I purposely make sure I'm the first person here [the organization's office] and the last one to leave. Because I think it's disrespectful to the staff if I'm not doing the work, I make them do. For example, dishes in the sink, in the kitchen, is one of my pet peeves. If there

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[6] The *Middleton Gazette* is a news website created by MARA, but that stands separate from the organization's official professional website. The *Middleton Gazette* contains original media content made by MARA's staff and interns including opinion editorials, interviews with persons of interest, and coverage of local news about Muslims in the Middleton community.

are dishes left at the end of the day, I will go ahead and wash them. It's not like I'm going to assign that task for someone else if I'm not willing to do that myself. And I think great leaders inspire others by their actions and their manners, not just their words.

Dimitrius describes "leading by example" as the leader taking on the same responsibilities that he asks of members within the organization. Dawn, an intern in the Communications Department, describes observing Dimitrius "leading by example" during an event held annually in the organization's office, The Taste of Ramadan[7]:

Luis, he's more of like an overseer whereas I feel like Dimitrius is more like hands on. There were a couple times where I would walk into the Communications office, and he'd be in there just getting like a rundown of like what's going up on the *Middleton Gazette* recently… At the Taste, he was around, and he was kind of organizing all the food and stuff… I think he's definitely who I would say is like the day-to-day leader.

Dimitrius was described as one of the leaders who took a hands-on role organizing the day of needs of the event such as food preparations and instructing interns how to interact with the event's guests.

Interviewees were most likely to describe the Deputy Director and the Litigation Director using supportive authority signals in MARA. Both the Deputy Director and the Litigation Director were described as leaders because they are empathetic to members both inside and outside of the office. The Outreach Director was described using the acting as a friend authority signal, but not the leading by example authority signal. While he was often described as a friend to members, he was not often available in the office to help members with organizational tasks.

Both the Litigation Director and the Deputy Director have one thing in common that separates them from other leaders in MARA. Both the Litigation Director and the Deputy Director have Juris Doctorates degrees. This educational status is rare among MARA's members. Only two current members (fellows) also hold Juris Doctorate degrees. These degrees make them uniquely qualified to answer any legal questions members may have. Their legal educational backgrounds make these two leaders invaluable during the day-to-day business of the organization. Without these leaders, MARA's members would not have the access to knowledge they need to complete organizational tasks such as civil rights case in-takes.

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[7] The Taste of Ramadan is an annual fundraising event held in MARA's office space each year. The Taste of Ramadan was originally created by Vincent to encourage the local community to interact with MARA's members informally while breaking the fast of Ramadan.

Interviewees described supportive authority signals as the most effective at establishing credibility with members in MARA. Interviewees were more likely to prefer authority signals that are more hands-on and demonstrate emotional closeness to members. Leaders who use supportive authority signals in MARA communicate their empathy with members during daily interactions in the office demonstrating that they care about members' needs.

The supportive authority signals described by interviewees are similar to some indicators of charismatic leadership in social movements. One indicator on the Conger-Kunungo scale (C-K scale) of charismatic leadership resembles the acting as a friend authority signal. The C-K scale of charismatic leadership is a 20-item questionnaire used to identify charismatic leaders based on their followers' perceptions of their behaviors (Conger et al. 1997). Expressing sensitivity to member needs is very similar to the acting as a friend authority signal. Sensitivity to member needs refers to leaders expressing personal concerns for member's needs and feelings with the intent of developing a relationship of mutual liking and respect (Conger et al. 1997). Both acting as a friend and expressing sensitivity to member needs involve leaders communicating their personal concerns for members and their well-being outside of the parameters of their working relationship.

Role modeling is also often associated with charismatic leader behavior (Larrson and Ronnmark 1996; Sy et al. 2018; Weber and Moore 2014). The leading by example authority signal most closely resembles role modeling. Role modeling refers to instructing members in the norms of the followership through consistent and observable actions (Weber and Moore 2014). Interviewees often associated the leading by example authority signal with leaders being available to answer questions and solve problems in lieu of other leaders not being available when needed.

Inspirational Authority Signals

Inspirational authority signals communicate leaders' credibility in MARA by demonstrating leaders' passion. Interviewees described the importance of leaders dedicating their time and energy to fighting for the rights of Muslims in the United States. Leaders who use inspirational authority signals in MARA communicate their personal investment in the organization by demonstrating their emotional distance from members. This emotional distance allows leaders to focus on their community work and partnerships. Since these leaders are not devoting energy to interacting with MARA's members on a daily basis, they can focus on investing their time and energy into their community work outside of the office. Some examples of

inspirational authority signals include: giving speeches and presentations highlighting previous leadership roles performed in the local community, expressing their intolerance for injustice towards individuals in the local community, dedicating their time to community meetings to further the organization's goals, and working outside of the office's regular hours to complete current community projects. Conviction in beliefs and out of office work were identified by interviewees as two important inspirational authority signals within MARA.

2a- 34% of the 29 interviewees described the importance of leaders discussing their personal beliefs for advocating for justice in the local community.

When interviewees were asked what qualities leaders possess in MARA, many interviewees described the importance of leaders communicating their personal beliefs for advocating for justice for Muslims and Muslim Americans. However, most interviewees did not indicate that a leader's personal beliefs were an important aspect of leadership within MARA. Leaders who use conviction in beliefs authority signals were described as individuals who gave testimonials about their previous work advocating for justice in the local community. Examples of conviction in beliefs authority signals include planned speeches and presentations about leaders' previous community advocacy work. Community advocacy work refers to their participation in rallies and public demonstrations with other local rights organizations in the community. Conviction in beliefs authority signals communicate to members that leaders are personally invested in the work MARA does in the local community.

Miguel, an intern in the Outreach Department, describes a leader as someone who is passionate and is willing to sacrifice and work for what they believe in:

> I would say a leader is someone who is highly motivated, self-driven. They have kind of just this unrelenting drive within them. They're passionate about a certain topic, maybe a group of topics… And I think it's someone who is outspoken as well in addition to everything that I just said. It has to be someone who's outspoken and someone who's willing to sacrifice and work with others to reach the goal that they are looking for.

He goes on to identify both the Executive Director and the Outreach Supervisor as leaders who he thinks exemplify this authority signal.

For instance, Luis describes himself in terms of the conviction he has in his beliefs and MARA's anti-bullying work in the local community:

I have the guts for it. I think I have the strength of character, the drive. The passion. The leadership skills. You have to believe in yourself to be able to do this work and to be able to lead other people to have a belief in you… My passion and my ambition was more for the organization to prove itself right… Those who are in Congress, in the White House, in the media and law enforcement, who abuse the rights of minorities including Muslims. And that does not sit well with me. What I cannot stand. As a boy, ever since I was in high school. So, to me this is anti-bullying work. You stand up to the bullies. But for the most part we protect those who are bullied...

Levi describes the importance of having a leader that pushes you to do your best work and make the most out of the internship experience:

You know I think it's easy to skate through this internship. You get out of the internship what you put into it, and this was my experience. So, if you want to just hang out you know do some research do some googling… and you'll finish the internship and you'll graduate and that's fine … But I think there's a huge amount of potential with what you can do here at MARA. But as an intern, nobody's pushing you necessarily the ways that Vincent will push you. He'll tell you about his experience with the community, about the people they're going to talk to about when you're planning events in particular because obviously Vincent does a ton of events right… He's somebody who's inspiring because of his strong conviction, like his beliefs about what he is doing and what is important you know.

Levi credits Vincent's stories about his experiences working with the community as one of the reasons he was motivated to work at MARA. Without this type of influence, he says that not all interns might get the most out of the internship experience.

2b- 28% of the 29 interviewees described the importance of leaders committing to out of office work to focus on furthering the organization's goals.

When asked about some of the actions that separate leaders from members in MARA, some interviewees described the importance of leaders dedicating their time to advancing the organization's goals outside of the office. However, a majority of interviewees did not see leaders' out of office work as a positive aspect of leadership within MARA. While several interviewees indicated they assumed MARA's leaders are doing important work outside of the office, they still noted the negative impact of their absence in the office during normal business hours. Leaders who use out of office work as authority signals were described as individuals who are often busy with important meetings and tasks in the local community. Out of office work includes meetings with

local government officials, participation in coalition efforts with other local rights organizations, and working at the office outside of regular business hours like during the evenings and on weekends. Out of office work authority signals communicate to members that leaders are willing to sacrifice their time to achieve the organization's goals. However, out of office work often meant leaders were not available to have regular interactions with members on a daily basis.

Omar says that it is easy to identify leaders within the organization based on how often you see them in the office, "You don't really see them too much, they are very clearly the leaders." The Executive Director is often described as running late to staff meetings because he is busy with phone calls or emails with community members.

For instance, Sherlock, a Civil Rights fellow, describes Luis's tardiness to a staff meeting about planning the Annual Banquet.[8] Staff meetings do not start until Luis is in attendance. After the meeting was to have officially started at 1:30pm, ten minutes later, Dimitrius yelled down the hall towards the Executive Director's office. Luis walked in about five minutes later, explaining he was running late because he was finishing some email correspondence. Luis went on to explain his emails took priority over the staff meeting, because he was securing some funding support for the upcoming banquet. Like Sherlock, several of MARA's members described Luis's constant lateness to scheduled meetings. In some instances, Luis would cancel or reschedule meetings without notice when he received a request for a meeting by community donors. As a result, Luis was often unavailable to meet with MARA's members about important and time sensitive issues.

Vincent describes purposely working outside of the office during regular office hours. He says he prefers to work in a "silo" so that he can get all his work done without distractions. He describes his work schedule in terms of finding time to work on all his community projects "in peace." In his dual roles as Intern Supervisor and Outreach Supervisor, Vincent says he feels constantly overwhelmed with the expectations associated with his roles in MARA. He explains that he purposely comes into the office late and stays late after the staff members and interns have left for the day to get more work done.

While out of office work may help MARA's leaders dedicate their time to completing community projects and securing support from local community members, it can have unintended consequences on the working relationships leaders have with members in the organization.

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[8] The Annual Banquet is MARA's largest fundraising event of the year. MARA's leaders and staff spend several months planning the details of the event.

Discussing the difficulty with completing the Get Out the Vote Project[9], one intern in the Outreach Department, Anastasia, explains the stress she felt with Vincent's lack of guidance with details or specifics about what the end result should look like. She describes how Vincent was not available in the office or via email to offer continued guidance on the project after its inception:

> It was hard because like. I wasn't given much guidance with the final outcome, of what we would be doing… We didn't really know what... We didn't really know what the final outcome should have been. I don't know… I don't think that we had that final like vision of what it should have turned out to be. And we were just like putting these parts together… You don't know what it's supposed to look like, you're all kind of just guessing… Definitely a learning experience… It was just very stressful because there was no guidance on what I was supposed to do. There was, there's so many things that I didn't know, that I had to figure out on my own.

Anastasia describes Vincent being very helpful with inspiring potential ideas for the Get Out the Vote Project, but he was not available to help iron out the details of the project. Several interns and staff made similar remarks about Vincent's lack of availability during business hours.

Interviewees were most likely to describe the Executive Director and the Outreach Supervisor using inspirational authority signals in MARA. Both the Executive Director and the Outreach Supervisor were described as leaders because they are both passionate about advocating for justice in the local community. Both the Executive Director and the Outreach Supervisor share several important similarities. First, both Luis and Vincent are openly religious and routinely observe Muslim practices much like the population they serve. Second, both leaders have been working at MARA for the longest span of time compared to the rest of the organization's staff. Vincent started working for MARA shortly after its founding. Finally, both Luis and Vincent hold Communications degrees. These degrees give them the skills to communicate their beliefs to the local community in a convincing manner.

Interviewees considered inspirational signals partially effective at establishing credibility with MARA's members. Inspirational authority signals communicate leaders' passion for the organization and achieving its goals. However, leaders who use inspirational authority signals were often not available to interact with members. Both Luis and Vincent spend most of their time out of the office communicating with potential donors and organizing community events. As a

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[9] The Get Out the Vote Project is a voting campaign to encourage the surrounding community to vote in upcoming regional elections.

result, interviewees were less likely to say they prefer authority signals that are more hands-off and demonstrate emotional distance to members.

The conviction in beliefs authority signal is similar to some of the most common traits associated with charismatic leaders in social movement literature. For instance, charismatic leaders have often been described having strong communication skills and a personally inspired vision for accomplishing the movement's goals (Banks et al. 2017; Conger et al. 1997; Groves 2005a; Morris and Staggenborg 2008). However, only a minority of interviewees described conviction in beliefs as an important authority signal in MARA. The low percentage of interviewees who identified conviction in beliefs as an authority signal suggests that communicating a leader's personal ideology may not be an important factor in motivating member commitment to a social movement organization.

The out of office work authority signal is similar to the personal risk indicator included in the Conger-Kanungo (C-K) scale of charismatic leadership (Conger et al. 1997). Personal risk refers to engaging in activities that are done at a perceived high cost for the benefit of the organization (Conger et al. 1997). Both out of office work authority signals and demonstrations of personal risk are indicators of leaders' high personal investment in social movement organizations. Leaders who commit their personal time and energy to achieve the organization's goals are perceived by their followers as going "above and beyond" the call of duty and are often attributed to acts of heroism (Weber 1947; Weber et l. 2013; Wilson 1973). Some interviewees associated leaders' out of office work with their devotion to completing important tasks related to the organization's goals such as securing funding and community support.

MARA's members prefer supportive authority signals over inspirational authority signals. Supportive authority signals communicate leaders' emotional closeness by being empathetic to members' needs during daily interactions in the office. Supportive authority signals communicate that leaders are concerned with members' needs beyond the needs of the organization. A majority of interviewees described supportive authority signals as indicators of good leaders within MARA. Inspirational authority signals communicate leaders' emotional distance with members by being passionate about the work they do advocating for justice in the local community outside of the office. Inspirational signals communicate that leaders are personally committed to the organization and its goals. However, only a minority of interviewees described inspirational signals as indicators of good leaders in MARA. These findings suggest that charisma in organizational

contexts is underexamined. In social movement organizations, charisma may need to take on a modified form to accommodate the day-to-day needs of its members. Charismatic leaders in social movement organizations need to personalize their interactions with members to maintain their commitment to the organization and its goals.

MARA's leaders use a combination of both supportive and inspirational authority signals to resolve the paradox of distance of charismatic authority. Some leaders in MARA primarily rely on supportive authority signals to establish a close emotional connection with members, so that other leaders can use inspirational authority signals to maintain their emotional distance and mysterious allure. Weber and Moore (2014) argue that charismatic leaders need to address the paradoxes of both difference and distance within social movement organizations to sustain their authority over time. However, there was no evidence that authority signals were used to resolve the paradox of difference in MARA. This suggests that differences between leaders and members may not need to be resolved for charismatic authority to be effective at motivating member participation in CBIROs.

Charismatic Leadership Effectiveness in MARA: Increasing Members' Sense of Belonging

Weber's theory of charismatic authority argues that leaders' interactions with social movement followers will motivate them to participate in social movements (Morris and Staggenborg 2008). Some studies have noted that effective charismatic leaders will transfer their positive emotions to members (Erez et al. 2007). In particular, several studies have indicated that charismatic leadership is effective when members develop a sense of belonging through an emotional connection with the leader (Erez et al. 2007; Griffith et al. 2015; Parry et al. 2019). Belonging is an "affective state… we have the need to develop social ties with others and maintain quality relationships, which in turn, provide us with emotional nourishment such as positive affect" (Parry et al. 2019: 401). Since charismatic leaders develop emotional ties with members to motivate their participation in social movements, increasing a member's sense of belonging is an important part of this charismatic relationship (Parry et al. 2019). Below I will discuss the extent to which supportive and inspirational authority signals increase members' sense of belonging in MARA.

Member Enthusiasm and Trust

Several of MARA's members have expressed positive emotions associated with leaders who use both supportive and inspirational authority signals. Interviewees described inspirational signals increasing their enthusiasm for working at MARA. Interviewees described supportive authority signals increasing their trust in MARA's leaders. Both increased enthusiasm and increased trust among members were related to increased sense of member belonging in MARA.

Several interviewees credited leaders' use of inspirational authority signals with their increased enthusiasm to work at MARA. For instance, Dawn says Vincent's persuasive communication skills help him "pitch" the organization to new members:

> Vincent. He is a natural talker… Since he runs the internship program and he does most of the outreach there he is really experienced pitching the organization, gauging their [potential members] values and like what they can get out of it [the organization] and stuff. I know, I was on the other side. He pitched me and it worked because here I am. So, I would definitely recommend Vincent. Absolutely.

Vincent is the first point of contact for most visitors in MARA. When I first contacted the organization, I was directed to talk with Vincent about setting up a time to tour the office and to meet with other members. Notably, Vincent was credited with most of MARA's recruitment efforts in the local community.

While interviewees were more likely to associate inspirational signals with increased member enthusiasm, interviewees were more likely to associate supportive authority signals with increased member trust in MARA's leaders. For example, Mabel, the Operations Supervisor, says the Deputy Director's attention to her and her work, especially when she was first hired on at the organization, was an important part of developing trust within their working relationship. She describes his focus on her work as a means of developing an understanding relationship with her:

> In the beginning I felt like it was like 'Oh my God' every single day we're talking in his office every day, writing things down… I think after I got a hold of everything and now we understand each other. Now it's like I know we're more working together than working for him… Dimitrius has been here day-to-day trying to make sure that he was very understanding, he thanks me a lot… So, he was actually like really supportive. If he wasn't, I would have quit a long time ago.

Dimitrius describes his role in the organization as handling the day-to-day office operations. This allows Luis to focus on his work, not on the details. He says that staff tend to stay longer at the organization because of his constant presence within the office:

His [Luis] mind doesn't work on those details. I handle it in the office like you know, you do what needs to be done to run this office. The way it needs to be done and we've seen more output. We've seen staff stay longer because they need that consistency of presence. So, some of the younger people, if they need immediate responses or if they need action, like they know to come to me right… That's that balance that we do with the kids.

Leader Emotional Volatility and Member Alienation

While both supportive and inspirational authority signals are associated with positive member emotions, only inspirational authority signals are associated with negative member emotions in MARA. Women interviewees described feeling alienated because of the Executive Director's and the Outreach Supervisor's emotionally volatile interactions with them. Emotional volatility is associated with negative emotions like anger, fear, and contempt (Griffith et al. 2015). Several interviewees described both Luis and Vincent responding negatively to members when they felt their authority was being threatened.

Luis and Vincent are both described as having vibrant personalities, capable of inspiring members at MARA. But these "personalities," or authority signals can backfire. For instance, Matilda describes interactions with Luis as potentially volatile in some situations or contexts. She suggests that "almost anything can spark a fire" when referring to the consequences associated with "bruising male egos" in MARA.

Mabel says the Executive Director sometimes disrespects women when he is stressed out. She says he will sometimes say hurtful comments to members while criticizing their work. She describes the differences she has observed between departments that are commonly overseen by the Executive Director, like the Communications Department, compared to her own department, which is commonly overseen by the Deputy Director:

> I feel like it just all comes down to respect. You respect somebody, then I respect you. But some people are just, they're like arrogant or disrespectful... I guess sometimes if he's stressed out, Luis might say the wrong things. Because like in meetings he's, he's said words that kind of hurt before, things I just thought weren't work appropriate …. It's unprofessional to see those things in a meeting especially when more people are listening to you and stuff. So, I just feel like with him... But I mean it's mildly severe, mild. Everyone has like that little moment where you're just… I probably shouldn't say… Sometimes we just feel like the attitude... But sometimes I mean, I think it's more often Matilda, not my department, but I think they face more of like not only 'you did this wrong' stuff but like that type of criticism.

While Mabel describes her dissatisfaction with the Executive Director's tendency to let his emotions inform his interactions with members, she also attempts to explain away his actions. She describes his emotional outbursts as something that comes along with being a long-time authority figure in MARA. In contrast, she says she has not experienced these types of hurtful comments from the Deputy Director in the Operations Department.

Like Luis, Vincent has also had emotionally volatile interactions with members. Sabrina, an intern in the Outreach Department, describes instances where she felt Vincent purposively was passive aggressive in his interactions with her as a response to not feeling respected as a leader in MARA. She discusses several instances where she felt she had to manage her interactions with him within the office:

> I think it's very passive aggressive. I think if you're going to say what you want to say, say it to me in a meeting one-on-one, have the courage to say that. Don't snap at me in front of a bunch of people… Don't embarrass me in front of people because then I'll take that as I don't want to be here anymore… So, to have a personality that's very welcoming is a plus but I don't think that that needs to be there for you to be a leader. I think the main thing is for you to be open and welcoming is to be inclusive... People don't want to follow somebody who makes them feel excluded… I'm just like... I'm like am I the only intern who's having these problems with Vincent? So, then I'm like is it just me because I did talk to another intern and it was like 'no that's never happened.'

Sabrina describes Vincent losing his temper with her when they had disagreements about her work schedule. Rather than address these issues in private, he expressed his dissatisfaction with her publicly in the office. As a result, she felt alienated within the organization. Sabrina expressed confusion throughout this portion of the interview as she was trying to make sense of the negative interactions she had with Vincent compared to the rest of her intern cohort. At times, she second guessed whether these interactions were due to something she was doing wrong or if they were all in her head. At one point in the interview, she mentioned that Vincent's behavior also influenced the likelihood that she would finish her current internship term. She also said she was not considering returning for a second internship term in the future.

Women's feelings of alienation have had a negative effect on their rates of participation in MARA. Across different social identities such as gender, religion, race/ethnicity, class, and educational level, gender was the only characteristic that distinguished "repeat" members from first time members. While women make up the majority of the interviewees in the sample (55% women compared to 45% men), men make up the majority of "repeat" members. For women in

MARA, the passion associated with inspirational authority signals can be a double-edged sword. While this passion allows these leaders to draw on their personal experiences to inspire social movement participation, it also means they are less likely to curb these same emotions during disagreements with MARA's members. In my interviewee sample, women were more likely to disagree with MARA's leaders and their decisions compared to men.

Both the Executive Director and the Outreach Supervisor are polarizing leaders within MARA. Interviewees either loved them or hated them personally. Nonetheless, many of MARA's members still have respect for the work they do in the local community. For example, Omar describes how his perceptions of MARA and Luis's leadership have changed since he first started his internship:

> I don't know what I imagined, but I just imagined like the Justice League or something, you know? … I came in here thinking it's going to be superheroes and it's just regular people with their problems and their faults... Look, this is what I've learned, just because, and I've known this, just because you work in social justice or civil rights, it doesn't mean you are an extraordinary human being… I love everyone, met a lot of good people here, but no one is perfect… Some people have problems with Luis, but he has done a decent job… Illustrating to the world that MARA isn't just about Muslims. It's about everybody. Muslims are people, we are about people, you know what I mean.

Omar admits that Luis has his faults as a leader, but this does not discount all the work he does on behalf of MARA in the local community. In this sense, Omar sees the ends justifying the means.

In MARA, interviewees described inspirational authority signals as necessary, but not sufficient to promote positive and lasting relationships between leaders and members. Inspirational authority signals are necessary for initial member recruitment and motivating members' enthusiasm for working at MARA. However, sometimes inspirational authority signals backfire. Leaders who use inspirational authority signals are described as emotionally volatile by women in the organization. As a result, women were more likely than men to have feelings of alienation in MARA. Supportive authority signals provide a balance to the emotional volatility associated with leaders who use inspirational authority signals. Interviewees described supportive authority signals being effective for sustaining their commitment to MARA after their initial recruitment. In particular, acting as a friend authority signals were overwhelmingly associated with positive feelings about not only MARA's leaders, but also their entire experience working at the organization. As a result, members are more likely to continue working at MARA despite any negative interactions they might have with other leaders.

Conclusion

One task for leaders within community-based immigrant rights organizations (CBIROs) is motivating member participation. Weber's theory of charismatic authority argues that charismatic leaders develop emotional bonds with their followers to inspire social movement participation. However, Weber argues that charisma tends to be volatile and short lived. Contrary to Weber, I argue charismatic authority can be sustained in social movement organizations. CBIROs with charismatic leaders must address the paradox of distance associated with sustaining their authority over time. Charismatic leaders need to develop intimacy with members, while also keeping their emotional distance to maintain their mysterious allure.

In this chapter, I analyzed the extent to which MARA has a charismatic leader and what authority signals he used to overcome the paradox of distance associated with sustaining the authority of his charismatic leadership. Interviewees' descriptions of MARA's authority structure indicate that Luis, the Executive Director, is a charismatic leader. Luis has shaped MARA's values based on his personal vision of founding an anti-bullying organization and uses family rhetoric to form emotional bonds with members. While having a personal vision and using family rhetoric may not be sufficient alone to identify charismatic leaders in all social movement organizations, they are two important indicators that a leader is using charismatic, and not legal-rational or traditional bases of authority as described by Weber (1947). Luis meets these two criteria and more. Luis is described by MARA's members as charming and effective at inspiring community loyalty to both himself and the organization.

This research identified two types of authority signals used to establish leader credibility in MARA: supportive authority signals and inspirational authority signals. Of the four identified leaders in MARA, the Executive Director and the Outreach Supervisor are more likely to use inspirational authority signals to communicate their credibility to members. The Deputy Director and the Litigation Director are more likely to use supportive authority signals. MARA's leaders use a combination of these two types of authority signals to overcome the paradox of distance associated with charismatic leadership in CBIROs. First, supportive authority signals like acting as a friend and leading by example communicate emotional closeness to members by showing empathy for their needs during frequent interactions in the office. Second, inspirational authority signals like conviction in beliefs and out of office work communicate emotional distance to

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members by showing their passion for the organization's goals during planned speeches and limited interactions in the office.

Interviewees described both supportive and inspirational authority signals increasing their sense of belonging within the organization. Inspirational authority signals increase members' enthusiasm for working at the organization. Increased member enthusiasm is important for the initial recruitment of MARA's members. Supportive authority signals increase members' trust that leaders will meet their personal needs. Increased member trust is important for sustaining member participation in MARA after their recruitment. However, inspirational authority signals like conviction in beliefs also led to increased feelings of alienation by women in MARA. Inspirational authority signals were associated with leaders' emotional volatility during their interactions with some women members. The passion associated with inspirational authority signals also increases the likelihood these leaders will be just as passionate in their disagreements with members. Leaders who use inspirational signals were described as angry, hostile, and difficult to talk to when there were disagreements. Women in MARA were more likely than men to say leaders who use inspirational signals disregard them or to lash out against them when leaders feel like their authority is being threatened by their alternative viewpoints. Leaders' emotional volatility has decreased women's sense of belonging within MARA. There are several research implications based on the main findings described above.

First, the authority signals described by interviewees indicate that there may be more than one way of signaling charismatic authority to members in CBIROs. Previous studies of charismatic leadership have either described the attributes and behaviors of charismatic leaders or tested models and their ability to identify charismatic leaders (Morris and Staggenborg 2008; Stutje 2012). My case study adds to charismatic leadership literature by providing a typology of authority signals found in CBIROs with charismatic leaders. Inspirational authority signals communicate passion to members and are effective for initial member recruitment. Supportive authority signals communicate empathy to members and are effective for sustained member participation in CBIROs. Future research should examine the extent to which these two types of authority signals are effective at maintaining the authority of charismatic leaders in other types of social movement organizations. Previous scholars have suggested that charismatic leadership is better suited to smaller organizations rather than larger organizations (Larrson and Ronnmark 1996). MARA is a small-scale community-based organization with no more than 100 active members at any given

time. Scholars should examine if supportive authority signals help counteract the erosion of charismatic authority in larger scale organizations.

Second, leaders who use inspirational authority signals in MARA were also described as emotionally volatile during their interactions with members, especially women. Previous scholarship on charismatic authority in social movement organizations has examined the influence of positive leader emotions on member participation in social movement organizations (Griffith et al. 2015; Sy et al. 2018). However, with the exception of a few studies (Erez et al. 2007; Parry et al. 2019), the influence of negative leader emotions on follower outcomes has not been critically examined in social movements. These findings suggest that inspirational authority signals can have unintended consequences in social movement organizations. While inspirational authority signals encourage increased member enthusiasm for the work MARA does in the local community, they also tend to alienate members. Future research should examine the extent to which inspirational authority signals are significantly related to negative follower emotions in social movement organizations.

Third, my case study relies on exploratory interviews about the influence of leadership in CBIROs. However, my interview protocol did not specifically ask about nonverbal expressions of leadership. Some scholars have suggested "charismatic leaders rely on various non-verbal, emotional skills to influence and motivate followers" (Groves 2005a: 259). Some observed non-verbal communication skills include eye contact, animated facial expressions, body gestures, and posture (Groves 2005a). Future research should examine the extent to which non-verbal communication skills contribute to the effectiveness of authority signals in CBIROs with charismatic leaders.

Fourth, women interviewees were more likely to identify themselves as leaders compared to men. However, all of MARA's agreed upon leaders were men. Previous studies have indicated that women are less likely to be leaders in established and older organizations in the U.S. immigrant rights movement (Milkman and Terriquez 2012). MARA is considered an established CBIRO in Middleton. Many interviewees often remarked that MARA has a well-known reputation in the local community. However, women tend to be associated more with emotional skills than men (Groves 2005b). In turn, emotional skills tend to be associated with charismatic leadership (Groves 2005b). The religious community that MARA serves may be one of the reasons women were not identified as leaders. The cultural norms of the Islamic religious community may not

acknowledge the authority of women within MARA. Since MARA relies on voluntary financial support from the local Islamic community, women leaders may not be perceived as effective as men at gaining local support. Future research should examine if women are more or less likely to be identified as charismatic leaders based on their emotional expression skills versus the organizational contexts in which leadership is imbedded within social movements.

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CHAPTER 3: THE MEMBERS

THE IRON LAW OF OLIGARCHY AND SUSTAINING PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY-BASED IMMIGRANT RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

One dilemma for social movement leaders is sustaining active member participation beyond their initial engagement (Klandermans 2008). While individuals may join social movements to participate in large events such as mass protests and demonstrations, social movements often rely on organizations to keep up with the tasks necessary to organize those large events. Community-based organizations primarily rely on active member participation to sustain activism efforts due to their lack of financial resources (Kahn 1991; Perkins, Brown and Taylor 1996; Tesdahl and Speer 2015). In the U.S. immigrant rights movement, active participation in community-based immigrant rights organizations (CBIROs) is integral for sustaining local immigrant rights efforts (Associated Press 2017; Cordero-Guzman et al. 2008; Engler 2009; Jacobs 2013; Martinez 2008; Moreno 2017).

Scholars have long recognized a dilemma with sustaining active participation in social movement organizations: the "iron law of oligarchy." The "iron law of oligarchy" posits that over time, social movement organizations will become hierarchical in structure, limiting the power to make decisions to a small number of people (Michels 1962; Osterman 2006b). As a result, members have limited opportunities to exercise their own agency within the organization. Decreased member agency leads to decreased member involvement (Osterman 2006b).

However, I argue oligarchic rule within social movement organizations is not inevitable. Leaders can implement inclusion practices to ensure members actively participate in social movement organizations. I define inclusion practices as actions designed to address unequal power relations between leaders and members in CBIROs. Addressing unequal power relations can increase members' agency within social movement organizations, counteracting the consequences of oligarchy. Therefore, it is important to assess the extent to which increasing opportunities for member agency increases member participation and retention in community-based immigrant rights organizations (CBIROs).

This chapter examines the inclusion practices leaders use to overcome the consequences of oligarchy in CBIROs. I address three specific questions. First, what practices do leaders use to include members within CBIROs? Second, to what extent do these inclusion practices lead to the

agency of members in CBIROs? Third, to what extent do these inclusion practices influence sustained member participation in CBIROs? I draw on semi-structured interviews with 29 participants in one CBIRO, the Muslim-American Rights Alliance (MARA)[10], located in the Midwest.

This chapter is organized in three sections. First, I discuss hierarchy and leader domination as evidence of oligarchy in MARA. Second, I discuss the types of inclusion practices used to overcome oligarchy and the extent to which they encourage member agency in MARA. Third, I discuss the extent to which becalming and goal displacement are consequences of oligarchy for MARA. This chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings and implications for future research on oligarchy and its effects on member inclusion within CBIROs.

Evidence of Oligarchy: Hierarchy and Leader Domination within MARA

MARA is a community-based organization that advocates for Muslim rights in the United States. MARA has been an active community-based organization in Middleton since 2005. MARA serves a primarily Muslim constituency made up of both Muslim immigrants and Muslim Americans within the local Middleton community. According to the organization's professional website, MARA focuses on four key issues. First, MARA provides legal representation to address civil rights violations against Muslims. MARA advocates for Muslims' rights to due process and fights against the racial profiling of Muslims in schools, their places of work, and travel to and from the United States.

Second, MARA provides advocacy for Muslim representation in the United States by monitoring local media for bias against Muslims. MARA works on projects that flag bias against Muslims and increase the positive representation of Muslims across different media platforms.

Third, MARA seeks to foster understanding between Muslim and non-Muslim communities in Middleton via partnerships with both local and national public education institutions. The Outreach Department organizes community events, such as informational sessions and educational training workshops, to bring awareness about Islam to the local community.

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[10] The Muslim-American Rights Alliance (MARA) is a pseudonym assigned to the case study organization. Pseudonyms are also used for the interviewees. Middleton is a fictious name for the location of the case study.

Fourth, MARA is committed to empowering local community members "to make the political system work for them." To that end, MARA offers political training on strategies for contacting politicians at local mosques and Muslim community centers. Previous political empowerment initiatives have included voter registration drives and "know your rights" educational campaigns.

According to the Executive Director, MARA is a "community services organization." MARA has several active community service projects that address the key issues described above (See Table 4 below). Most of these community projects are dedicated to meeting MARA's civil rights advocacy goals. For instance, the Prison Project provides aid to Muslims who are experiencing discrimination based on their religion in the U.S. prison system. The Prison Project provides incarcerated Muslims with the resources they need to worship such as congregational prayer accommodation and access to religious material. Dawn, an intern in the Communications Department, says that the Prison Project is especially important for the Muslim community during Ramadan. She says MARA is concerned with "how the Department of Corrections like really facilitates that or if they hinder it in any way and like also if halal food is even offered and like how that works."

Several of these community service projects also address MARA's community outreach goals. For example, the Bookshelf Project provides educational resources on Islam in the Middleton community. The Bookshelf Project is a research project that examines the availability and accessibility of public information on Islam compared to Judaism and Christianity. Bernard, the Research Supervisor, says the Bookshelf Project is a challenging, but worthwhile project:

> We've been trying to like broaden things and look at other questions related to bigotry and racism, but not like just Islamophobia focused. We are doing this library project for instance on how Islam is kind of represented in children's books in public libraries. So that was a real interesting one. And so like, looking at the demographics of our community, converts versus immigrants, and all of that, and that breakdown. It's a challenging project.

Bernard said it is a challenging project because it requires a lot of research across multiple libraries in the Middleton community. However, he says it is ultimately worthwhile because it broadens the scope of the research MARA provides on Islam to the local community.

Table 4: MARA's Policy Issues and Projects

Policy Projects	Issue 1: *Civil Rights Advocacy*	Issue 2: *Political Empowerment*	Issue 3: *Media Monitoring*	Issue 4: *Community Outreach*
A: *Prison Project*	X			
B: *Citizenship Project*	X			
C: *Asylum Project*	X			
D: *Hate Crimes Project*	X		X	X
E: *Awareness Project*		X	X	X
F: *Bookshelf Project*			X	X
G: *Middleton Schools Project*		X		X
H: *Traveler's Assistance Project*	X			

A. **Prison Project**: providing incarcerated Muslims with the resources they need to worship.
B. **Citizenship Delay Project**: advocating and litigating citizenship delays, denials, and other discriminatory procedures and social biases against Muslims.
C. **Asylum Project**: aid with applying for TPS (Temporary Protected Status), EAD cards (Employment Authorization Documents), and Legal Permanent Residency status (green cards).
D. **Hate Crimes Project**: partnerships with local, state, and federal agencies to protect Muslims against hate crimes.
E. **Awareness Project**: collaborations with community groups to facilitate training workshops on Muslim media activism, diversity, and culture.
F. **Bookshelf Project**: examining the availability and accessibility of public information on Islam and Muslims.
G. **Middleton Public Schools Project:** aiding the local community in understanding Islam with cultural sensitivity training and addressing school bullying.
H. **Traveler's Assistance Project**: providing legal aid to combat the Muslim ban on international travel to the United States.

Hierarchy and Leadership Domination in MARA

In some ways, MARA may not be the ideal case study to examine the consequences of oligarchy. Michels (1962) developed the iron law of oligarchy examining the German Socialist Democratic Party, which he described as a large-scale mass membership organization. However, I argue MARA is a useful case for examining the consequences of oligarchy. Previous scholarship has assumed there is a correlation between organization size and bureaucracy: smaller organizations tend to be informal (Leach 2005), and informal organizations tend to be non-bureaucratic (Staggenborg 1988). It is taken for granted that small-scale organizations will be informal, and therefore, non-bureaucratic. As a result, previous examinations of the iron law of oligarchy have primarily focused on large-scale organizations (Osterman 2006a; Osterman 2006b;

Voss and Sherman 2000). One exception is Staggenborg's (1988) analysis of the effects of informal and formal organizations on member participation in the U.S. pro-choice movement. Her sample included informal organizations that had an average of only 15 active members at any time. Similar to Staggenborg's (1988) analytic strategy, my case study allows for the examination of the consequences of oligarchy within a small-scale bureaucratic social movement organization.

Oligarchy "is a concentration of illegitimate power in the hands of the entrenched minority" (Leach 2005: 329), otherwise referred to as the dominance of the power elite or 'the rule of the few' (Diefenbach 2019). The iron law of oligarchy makes three main claims (Leach 2005). First, bureaucracy develops in social movement organizations. To deal with the day-to-day responsibilities necessary for organizational maintenance, leaders will rely on a hierarchical division of labor. Second, if bureaucracy happens, power rises. Power becomes concentrated among the organization's leaders who have a monopoly on skills, knowledge, and resources. Finally, if power rises, power ultimately corrupts. Leaders will act to preserve their power within the organization by using undemocratic means to stifle any opposition (Leach 2005). Oligarchical organizations tend to have both a stratified division of labor among members and uncontrolled expert leaders who dominate the decision-making process (Diefenbach 2019; Leach 2005; Staggenborg 1988). As a result, oligarchical organizations fail to develop new leaders and/or have individuals in the same leadership positions for a contested length of time (Diefenbach 2019; Drochon 2000).

Interviewees described two factors that indicate that MARA is suffering from oligarchy: a hierarchical division of labor, and a non-electoral hiring process. First, MARA relies on a hierarchical division of labor where decision-making participation is based on job position. According to interviewees, there are three levels of decision-making participation within MARA. First, only directors (leaders) have the authority to make final decisions. Second, staff members and fellows contribute ideas to the decision-making process through staff meetings. Third, interns contribute to the organization through intern projects within their assigned departments. [11] Compared to leaders, members are more likely to describe their roles as 'taking marching orders'. Some interviewees described this in terms of waiting for leaders to either sign off on a plan or deferring to them to end member disputes.

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[11] Interns are not paid. Interns can earn academic credit or community service hours in exchange for work done for the organization during the program.

MARA's physical office space is one of the first clues that there is a hierarchical division of labor within the organization. All interns are assigned communal workspaces in the middle of MARA's floor plan. Directors and department supervisors are assigned private office spaces. However, some office locations indicate more power than others. Matilda, a Communications Supervisor, points out:

> It's like based on who gets what office. You know like ok, well you get the closet office, you're obviously not the Executive Director. And I'm not saying that I'm a fan of this layout. But yeah, that's just the way it is. There's more importance placed on specific figures in the organization even though it's not something that I would do.

Like Matilda, Mabel, the Operations Supervisor, made a point to discuss her dissatisfaction with MARA's current office space layout:

> In the beginning I didn't like it at all. I was just like I wanted to be with the others [interns] in an office together and talking… In March I got really bothered and I was going to quit. I was like they're together, they're doing their work, I want to be able to talk to them for 30 minutes. I'm like okay, I am trapped in my office all day. I know he [Deputy Director] has good intentions because he's a good person… I mean as my boss it can be he feels the need to show that authority.

Mabel sees the division of office space as a means for leaders to exert their authority. However, she sees it as a hinderance to her overall productivity and comfort within the organization.

Second, MARA has a non-electoral hiring process. MARA's leaders and other staff members are appointed by Luis, the Executive Director. Luis was one of the three co-founders of MARA and has made all hiring decisions since he was appointed Executive Director. Bernard describes why he thinks Luis has maintained his position within MARA for so long:

> He's been around since before all of us. One of the founding members of MARA. He's kind of just been in that role for so long and people just take it for granted, I think.

According to Bernard, no one really thinks to challenge Luis's position within MARA. During my time in the field, there were no discussions of appointing a new Executive Director in the future. If MARA were to stop being successful at achieving its local policy goals, it is unlikely that Luis's position as Executive Director would be challenged, at least initially. This may be due to the fact that Luis is also viewed as the face of MARA in the local community. Many members have attributed MARA's positive reputation in Middleton to Luis's longstanding personal relationships

with influential community donors. Without Luis, many members feel that MARA would lose the trust of many of its key donors and cease to exist.

Bernard says the Executive Director often makes hiring decisions based on who he feels is the "best fit" for MARA. For instance, Luis made the decision to hire a previous intern as the Deputy Director without input from the existing staff. Dimitrius, the Deputy Director, joined MARA initially as a Civil Rights intern in 2010. One year later, he was appointed Deputy Director. Both Vincent and Bernard had held staff positions within MARA for years before the new Deputy Director position was created and filled by Luis.

Overcoming Oligarchy: Inclusion Practices and Member Agency

The iron law of oligarchy argues all social movement organizations will become oligarchical over time. However, I argue inclusion practices can be used to overcome the consequences of oligarchy in social movement organizations. Inclusion practices can encourage member agency by giving them opportunities to feel like they are contributing to the organization. Osterman describes agency as individual's "views of their capacities and their drive to transform the future" (2006b: 628). Drawing on Osterman's definition, I define agency as empowerment to affect change within social movement organizations.

Previous examinations of bureaucratic organizations have found that increasing member agency and limiting leader power are important strategies for overcoming the consequences of oligarchy (Osterman 2006b; Staggenborg 1988; Voss and Sherman 2000). Increasing member agency gives members more power to make informed decisions for themselves. Limiting leader power puts constraints on the ability of leaders to make decisions without member approval. However, it remains unclear the extent to which increasing member agency or limiting leader power influences sustained member participation over time. Are both strategies necessary for sustaining member participation in organizations suffering from oligarchy?

Three types of inclusion practices were identified by interviewees: political education inclusion practices; decision-making inclusion practices; and difference recognition inclusion practices (See Table 5 below). Below I discuss each type of inclusion practice in the order of their effectiveness in addressing power differentials between MARA's members and leaders.

Table 5: Types of Inclusion Practices

Inclusion Practice	Description	Utility	Type
Intern Projects	Encouraging members to create and implement community advocacy projects.	Access to opportunities to develop leadership skills.	Political Education Inclusion
Expert Instruction	Providing opportunities for members to become educated in leaders' expertise areas.	Access to leaders' educational resources and community advocacy experience.	Political Education Inclusion
Staff Meetings	Scheduling routine meetings between leaders and members to communicate about decisions made within the organization.	Access to spaces where decisions are communicated within the organization.	Decision-making Inclusion
Diversity Training	Training members how to communicate and understand each other across social identity differences.	Access to tools for interacting with individuals from different social backgrounds.	Difference Recognition Inclusion

Political Education Inclusion Practices

Political education inclusion practices address power differentials between leaders and members based on their access to educational resources. Interns and staff members have the least amount of community activism experience and knowledge compared to MARA's leaders and department supervisors. Interviewees described both intern projects and expert instruction as important political education inclusion practices within MARA.

1a- *52% of the 29 interviewees described intern projects as important experiences for learning leadership skills.*

When asked what practices MARA uses to include new members within the organization, most interviewees described intern projects as an important political education inclusion practice. A majority of interviewees said intern projects gave them opportunities to learn leadership skills while creating and implementing their community advocacy projects. The remaining 48% of interviewees did not discuss the importance of learning leadership skills while working at MARA. Often, when interviewees did not discuss the importance of learning leadership skills, they already

considered themselves leaders prior to working at MARA. Still, most interviewees view intern projects as an important aspect of MARA's internship program.

According to Luis, the internship program was created to provide MARA's members with opportunities to develop leadership skills through grassroots activism. Interns are encouraged to work towards completing two community projects, referred to as 'intern projects', as a part of their internship experience.[12] Intern projects give interns opportunities to gain valuable hands-on experience participating in community leadership roles, learning leadership skills like self-sufficiency and collaboration. Interns are encouraged to be creative and take ownership of their projects, rather than relying on a template or set of agreed upon topics.

Miguel, one of MARA's repeat interns, has completed internships for the Communications, Research, and Outreach Departments. Compared with other internships he has had, leaders within MARA offer Miguel more agency to make project decisions:

> I would say to a higher degree than I've seen anywhere else probably, there is, there is like a level of brainstorming on different projects… I think [MARA] especially with regards to internships allows you, you know, a level of freedom that other internships don't…You are completely free to pursue whatever project you see fit.

When Miguel initially joined MARA, he was interested in local community outreach. For one of his intern projects, he created a podcast with information to "help communities help themselves." Miguel's podcast covered a variety of issues he thinks are important for the local community including community gardens, legal status clinics, and health educational resources. Miguel's enthusiasm about his podcast was clear throughout the interview. We returned to the topic several times and by the end of the interview, we were brainstorming future podcast topic ideas.

Like Miguel, many interns discussed the positive impact of working on intern projects. MARA's collaborative atmosphere allows interns to brainstorm ideas and trouble-shoot problems with other members. Department supervisors help interns think through intern projects and give them ideas on how to improve their project goals. Dawn says she was inspired by the Communications Supervisors to work on projects outside of her comfort zone. Most interns in the Communications Department work towards writing at least two articles to post on the *Middleton*

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[12] Interns are assigned a minimum hours and weeks schedule based on their level of education at the beginning of the internship. Interns with a college education are expected to complete a minimum of 12 hours per week for 12 weeks to fulfill their participation requirements. Interns with a high school level of education are expected to work a minimum of eight hours a week for at least eight weeks.

Gazette.[13] Both of Dawn's intern projects empowered her to seek out journalism topics that she would not have pursued on her own. For one of Dawn's articles, she interviewed a well-known Muslim actor about his role advocating for Muslim rights in the media. She also learned more about Islam while writing another article for the Prison Project. Her article drew media attention to the issue of Muslim rights to halal food within the U.S. prison system.

1b- *41% of the 29 interviewees described leaders and department supervisors as important sources of information for learning about successful community advocacy strategies.*

In addition to intern projects, many interviewees described expert instruction as an important political education inclusion practice for new members. Almost half of the interviewees described leaders and department supervisors as experts in community advocacy within MARA. Both leaders and department supervisors make active efforts to instruct MARA's members in their areas of expertise like civil rights litigation and Islamic studies. The remaining 59% of interviewees were less likely to credit MARA's leaders and department supervisors with contributing to their community advocacy knowledge. However, half of the remaining interviewees were leaders and department supervisors themselves. Gaining access to first-hand knowledge and experience from leaders and department supervisors was often described as a main selling point of the organization.

Omar, a repeat intern in the Research Department, describes MARA's leaders and department supervisors as good resources for a broad and well-rounded political education:

> You know, they are so damn smart and they're so, they are so well read, and you could always have a conversation about anything with that, you know politically. I mean Matilda, she's got her Masters, and she knows so much about Indian history and women's rights… It's not just immigration rights or civil rights, it's history of colonialism. It's, it's Islamic studies. The Research Supervisor, he's getting his Masters [in Islamic studies] on the side.

Agnes, a fellow in the Civil Rights Department, describes learning valuable litigation skills from Atticus, the Litigation Director:

> I handle litigation, employment discrimination types of cases. You know, this is the area of law I want to practice… But Atticus wants me also to have the experience

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[13] The *Middleton Gazette* is an affiliated news, opinion, and commentary publication website of MARA. The *Middleton Gazette* publishes opinion articles, new articles, videos, cartoons, and editorials challenging mainstream coverage of social justice and human rights issues affecting Muslims in the United States.

of different types of cases, not only focus on litigation in my area. I sometimes do immigration, sometimes like hate crimes and discrimination at schools. This is a way of improving my skills.

Atticus encourages Agnes to work on cases outside of her areas of interest, not to limit herself to specific types of litigation. Agnes says this instruction was something she did not expect to get at other non-profits or law firms in the area.

A summer education program, called Immersion Days, offers both interns and staff members access to group opportunities for expert instruction. Immersion Days is a set of educational presentations organized to instruct MARA's members in important community advocacy knowledge and skills.[14] Silvia, an intern in the Civil Rights Department, describes Immersion Days as a form of outreach within the organization itself. She says the presentations are a good way to include all members in MARA's ongoing community projects irrespective of department affiliation:

> [The Research Supervisor], he's doing an Immersion Day tomorrow… That's like outreach to us, which furthers outreach for them [the local community]. We go on and we have more knowledge to spread the information too. So, I think that's really cool…

The content of Immersion Days presentations is often dependent on the topic preferences of MARA's leaders and department supervisors. Some topics discussed during Immersion Days have included: civil rights awareness, Muslim media representation, Black Panther activism history, identity politics awareness, and CPR certification. However, it must be noted that most interviewees did not have the opportunity to participate in the Immersion Days presentations. The summer session is the only time of the year that Immersion Days presentations are organized for MARA's members.

Political education inclusion practices were considered the most effective at addressing power differentials between leaders and members in MARA. Political education inclusion practices increase member agency by giving MARA's members access to educational resources they lack. Previous examinations of oligarchy in bureaucratic organizations suggest encouraging member skill development can help counteract declining member participation (Osterman 2006b;

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[14] During my time in the field, there was no set schedule for Immersion Days presentations. It was commonly understood among interviewees that each department supervisor would be responsible for organizing at least two Immersion Day presentations throughout the summer.

Voss and Sherman 2000). Voss and Sherman (2000) found that participatory education, or the development of member skills, can counteract decreased member involvement within local union labor organizations. Similarly, Osterman (2006b) found that encouraging member skill development through role-playing and behavioral modeling maintained strong member energy within the Southwest Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), a national network of bureaucratic community organizations.

Furthermore, other scholars have noted that political education can address the exclusion of marginalized members within social movement organizations (Payne 1989). Providing members access to political education gives them tools to become self-sufficient with the ability to advocate for themselves (Maulik 2011; Payne 1989). In MARA, political education inclusion practices are the primary means of member skill development. While intern projects teach members leadership skills like self-sufficiency and collaboration, leaders and department supervisors' expertise give members access to their community advocacy experience.

Decision-Making Inclusion Practices

Decision-making inclusion practices increase members' access to knowledge of MARA's decision-making process. MARA does not have a transparent decision-making process. A common response to the question, "How are decisions made within your organization?" was confusion. Instead, MARA's leaders have control over how decisions are communicated with members. Interviewees described participation in staff meetings as an important decision-making inclusion practice within MARA.

2a- *72% of the 29 interviewees described staff meetings as the primary spaces where organizational decisions are communicated with members.*

When asked how decisions are made in MARA, a vast majority of interviewees described staff meetings as an important part of MARA's decision-making process. The remaining 28% of interviewees did not have a clear idea of how decisions are made within MARA or by whom. For the 72%, staff meetings were described as the main forum for communication between members and leaders within MARA. During staff meetings, members from each department communicate with each other about current projects, funding needs, and public relations opportunities. Routinely,

both directors and staff members participate in staff meetings. However, staff meetings only give staff members access to spaces where decisions are communicated, but not made. MARA's decision-making process is based on the Executive Director's discretion, not on an electoral or democratic process. As a result, staff members can offer their input during staff meetings, but there is no guarantee that it will be used.

Agnes describes staff meetings as the primary means of communicating with the Executive Director. She describes the Executive Director as a good listener who takes member suggestions into account:

> Usually, we discuss like what are we doing. Like every other week… the department, what they are working on and what they are going to do like in the next week. Like you know updates, like arrangements for events coming up, making suggestions… he [Executive Director] is not distracted by a decision, but we listen to each other and then we give like give a better opinion about it. And then maybe we can do it in a better way you know.

However, not all MARA's members agree the Executive Director considers their viewpoints during staff meetings. Several staff members have noted that MARA's leaders often come to a decision amongst themselves prior to asking for staff member input. Bernard says decisions are not typically made during staff meetings. Instead, most important decisions tend to be made by leaders in advance:

> I mean in fairness like I do think it's changed over time from more of an authoritarian bent to one that is a little more democratic… But too often or more often than not there's a position already reached by people who were in leadership and before the conversation is happening… So, it's kind of like you go into the conversation saying that you're going to collectively come up with a solution. Yet the solutions already been thought up…

MARA's decision-making process is often dependent specifically on the Executive Director's willingness to consider and implement other members' viewpoints. While some of MARA's members are comfortable with the current decision-making process, other members (and leaders) have expressed concern with the Executive Director's unchecked power to make decisions. For instance, Vincent describes a disagreement with the Executive Director over the structure of the internship program. In 2012, the Executive Director consolidated the intern positions into specific departments. In the past, internships were individualized based on the current cohorts' research preferences, but it became difficult to manage aligning the internships with the organization's goals. In 2015, Vincent had a "blow-up" argument with the Executive Director. Vincent said he

could not take on more interns in his department with his current workload. As a designated leader (Intern Supervisor) within MARA, Vincent expected Luis to consider and act on his concerns. However, rather than address Vincent's concerns, the internship program remains separated by department to this day.

Decision-making inclusion practices were considered partially effective at addressing power differentials between leaders and members in MARA. Decision-making inclusion practices increased member agency by giving them access to knowledge about MARA's decision-making process. Previous scholarship suggests that the use of routine decision-making processes can be an effective strategy for counteracting oligarchy in bureaucratic organizations (Staggenborg 1988). In her analysis of the pro-choice movement, Staggenborg (1988) found bureaucratic constraints, like a division of labor with positions for various organizational functions and explicit criteria for membership, kept leaders from consolidating power within formal social movement organizations. These routine decision-making processes give members access to consistent rules and procedures to follow, limiting member dependency on leaders to dictate the rules of the decision-making process (Staggenborg 1988). Like Freeman's (2013) observations of the tyranny of structurelessness in the women's rights movement, informal organizational structures can lead to the creation of unaccountable leaders. According to interviewees, staff meetings are the only aspect of MARA's decision-making process that is routine.

Staff meetings are the primary spaces where leaders regularly interact and communicate decisions with members within MARA. Previous scholarship suggests that participation in staff meetings can make members feel they have the power to voice their own viewpoints and have those viewpoints validated by the organization's leaders (Maharawal 2013; Tesdahl and Speer 2015). However, access to staff meetings did not guarantee members' viewpoints would be considered by MARA's leaders. Instead, the Executive Director has exclusive control over how decisions are made, when, and by whom.

Difference Recognition Inclusion Practices

Difference recognition inclusion practices increase members' access to diverse representation and acceptance within MARA. Most interviewees were diverse in terms of race/ethnicity, gender, and religion. Despite its diverse membership base, MARA's leaders rarely engage in identity politics or call attention to member differences. Some interviewees identified

diversity training as an important difference recognition inclusion practice. However, interviewees were more likely to discuss the drawbacks of the current implementation of diversity training in MARA.

3a- 28% of the 29 interviewees described a lack of diversity training offered to members.

When asked to describe the steps MARA's leaders take to include different members in the organization, some interviewees noted the lack of diversity training offered at MARA. They said that MARA's leaders are committed to a diverse representation of identities among its membership base. However, they quickly noted that diversity is not really discussed after the hiring process. The remaining 72% of interviewees did not mention diversity training as an important practice of inclusion within the organization. MARA is known for offering diversity training programs for the local community on Muslim diversity and culture. However, most interviewees could not identify specific diversity training programs that were created for MARA's members when asked. The absence of critical discussions about identity differences within the organization has resulted in conflict and tension between both members and leaders.

The lack of formal diversity training within MARA makes some members feel ill-equipped to deal with misunderstandings based on identity differences. Pablo, a former Civil Rights intern, praises MARA's commitment to diversity during its recruitment process. However, he adds a caveat that not everyone is guaranteed to fit in or get along after they are hired. He describes this as, "You're either in or out." Pablo says the lack of diversity training has led to multiple misunderstandings based on racial and religious differences between members. He says it mostly has to do with a lack of self-awareness of some members during interactions in the office. For example, Pablo described one situation that illustrates his point. During a conversation between several interns, one intern made several comments about Islam that were considered disrespectful and dismissive by the Muslim interns in the group. From Pablo's point of view, the intern who made these comments was probably trying to understand contradictions that he perceived within Islam, such as their treatment of women. However, he had a lack of understanding of what would be offensive to ask Muslim members within the organization. As a result, the conversation became increasingly confrontational and ended when he decided to leave the room. He says he is still uncomfortable around some of MARA's members because of these types of misunderstandings.

The lack of conversations about diversity within MARA have also led to disputes between the Executive Director and staff members. Matilda describes an argument she had with Luis about the representation of historical icons on the office walls:

> I'm sure you heard the Gandhi story. So, there was like a moment in which I was like, 'Oh why do we have a picture of Gandhi on the wall' and our Executive Director was like 'Oh because he was like an anticolonial icon.' And I was like 'Oh but he was also like anti Muslim and anti-black. And kind of a pedophile.'… And I think that's where I hit a nerve... And then that conversation just… it wasn't yelling, but it just exploded, like it got blown out of proportion. … All I was trying to say was we have black workers in the office, you know, like Gandhi got his whole foundation because he started doing civil rights in South Africa because he didn't like being treated like black Africans... I did not mean to incite a fire.

Matilda says she did not mean to incite or stir up negative feelings with her question. She would have rather avoided any conversation with the Executive Director that made him angry and defensive. While describing this interaction, Matilda noticeably lowered her voice to a whisper and took several pauses to collect her thoughts before continuing. It was clear that this interaction left a negative impression. As a result, Matilda says she is sometimes hesitant to communicate with Luis about issues that are important to her regarding identity politics and representation within MARA. "The Gandhi story" is now infamous amongst MARA's members. Several interviewees mentioned this confrontation between Luis and Matilda during their own interviews.

When interviewees did describe diversity training, it almost exclusively was associated with Immersion Days. Summer describes one presentation that left a lasting impression on her intern cohort. Vincent had organized an exercise on identity politics to address identity differences between members. Interns were first asked to list their social identities on a piece of paper according to different categories such as race, sexuality, education, and class. However, they were not aware they would be required to read their lists out loud to the group. She said they [she and the other interns] felt uncomfortable with "outing" some of their chosen identities in front of their peers and supervisor. Towards the end of the presentation, Vincent singled out one of the interns to use as an example of white privilege. This action resulted in an open confrontation between Vincent and the intern. She says that the subject matter was not the issue, it was how Vincent handled the confrontation. Noting Vincent's lack of sensitivity, Summer says he did not have the "rhetorical tools or skills to talk about race and privilege." Instead, he made the intern feel ashamed of his racial identity.

Difference recognition inclusion practices were ineffective at addressing power differentials between leaders and members in MARA. Rarely used, difference recognition inclusion practices did not increase members' access to diverse representation within the organization. Previous scholarship on counteracting oligarchy in bureaucratic organizations does not explicitly refer to difference recognition or diversity practices. Does However, other scholars suggest the recognition of difference between members is important for sustained member involvement within social movement organizations (Laperriere and Lepinard 2016; Southard 2016; Weldon 2006). Encouraging a culture of contestation might come the closest to addressing diversity concerns within social movement organizations. Encouraging a culture of contestation involves "encouraging employees to voice their ideas and their views" (Osterman 2006b: 645). Diversity training provides members with knowledge about how best to interact with others based on perceived social identity differences (Terriquez 2015). Both a culture of contestation and diversity training encourage the incorporation of multiple, and sometimes conflicting, points of view within an organization. However, MARA does not have a formal process for ensuring the incorporation of member viewpoints on diverse representation. There are limited opportunities to discuss what diversity and social representation means for different members.

In MARA, inclusion practices encourage member agency, but do not put limits on leader power. Political education practices like intern projects and expert instruction emphasize the importance of increasing member agency through skill development. Decision-making practices like staff meetings emphasize the importance of increasing member agency through access to knowledge of how decisions are made in MARA and by whom. Difference recognition practices like diversity training are largely absent in MARA. When implemented by leaders, they did not contribute to increased member agency. MARA's leaders tend encourage members to trust leaders' expertise, not to question leaders' motives or reasoning. When the Executive Director does not agree with a member viewpoint, he will often avoid member concerns rather than address them directly.

MARA's leaders use inclusion practices to balance the positive and negative aspects of oligarchy within the organization. MARA's leaders do not want to erase oligarchy from the organization, just counteract its negative consequences on member participation. Oligarchical organizations rely on a hierarchical division of labor that make the roles and responsibilities of both leaders and members clear. Leaders have the decision-making power in the organization,

allowing them to work efficiently towards achieving MARA's goals for Muslim rights advocacy in the local community. However, oligarchical organizations also lead to decreased member involvement due to their exclusion from the organization's decision-making process. MARA's leaders use inclusion practices to counteract decreased member involvement by giving members opportunities to feel like their contributions to the organization matter.

The Consequences of Oligarchy: Becalming and Goal Displacement

Michels (1962) argues there are two main consequences of the iron law of oligarchy: becalming and goal displacement. Becalming refers to the loss of member energy and involvement within social movement organizations (Michels 1962; Osterman 2006a). Goal displacement refers to leaders' disregard of the organization and its members' initial policy goals (Michels 1962; Osterman 2006a). Both becalming and goal displacement lead to decreased member participation in social movement organizations over time. Below I will discuss the extent to which MARA experiences both becalming and goal displacement.

Becalming

According to the iron law of oligarchy, becalming occurs "when organizations have created or found a niche for themselves in the organizational world, but their growth has slowed or ceased. Members do not expect attainment of goals in the near future and the emotional fervor of the movement is subdued" (Zald and Ash 1966: 334). Despite oligarchy, MARA does not seem to be suffering from becalming. In MARA, there is no evidence of a decrease in member involvement or energy. MARA has been successful at maintaining member involvement in the organization's day-to-day responsibilities and community projects.

Despite the consolidation of leader power, members' willingness to work is critical for MARA's organizational maintenance. Without both its regular staff members and rotating intern membership base, MARA would not have the means of providing the services that they are known for within the local community. Especially in terms of pro bono civil rights and media advocacy, MARA's members are necessary for handling the overwhelming workload associated with the organization's main goals. Civil rights advocacy requires both staff members and interns to fill out case in-take forms and communicate with clients daily. Sherlock, a Civil Rights fellow, describes

the similarities between the responsibilities of interns, fellows, and staff members within the Civil Rights Department:

> Literally there is no difference, no real difference. The only difference being she [para-legal] gets paid on the regular, clerks [interns] do not. And they hand me a check for a thousand bucks every month… Now I get my own office, I can shut myself off from people… We all do in-takes, talk, communicate with clients, find out what their issues are… I could, for example, write demand letters to whoever is troubling them. That kind of thing… There's too much work for a single attorney to do all by himself.

MARA's members are also critical to the maintenance of its ongoing community projects. During my time in the field, the Civil Rights Department was the only department to have paid staff members, like a para-legal and fellows. All other departments primarily rely on intern labor to fulfill department responsibilities and contribute to ongoing community projects. Levi, a former repeat intern in the Communications and Outreach Departments, describes some of the community projects he worked on during his time at MARA:

> One of the projects that I was working on with other interns in 2013 was called Open Mosques. This was kind of mapping out the different local mosques in the area… And then the second project like the second summer, it was kind of like even a different project that was like an interface between Christian and Jewish organizations as a sort of study group. I think it was called Common Grounds or something like that.

Levi contributed to the Awareness Project through his work on the two religious community outreach intern projects described above. In addition, he also contributed articles to the *Middleton Gazette*. The *Middleton Gazette* is one of the main forums MARA uses to achieve its media advocacy goals. Many interns contribute articles to the *Middleton Gazette* for one or both of their intern projects.

Interns are MARA's main membership base. At any one time, MARA has less than 10 paid staff members, including directors and department supervisors. In addition, most of MARA's staff members are hired directly from the intern pool. Most of the inclusion practices leaders use within the organization are targeted towards interns. Notably, this does not apply to decision-making inclusion practices in MARA. As a result, while many interns feel like they have active roles within the organization, they do not feel like they have the power to make organization-level decisions like tactical choices.

Goal Displacement

Goal displacement occurs when "the leadership and the membership nominally accept the same objectives for the organization, but the operative goals change" (Osterman 2006b: 626). In oligarchical organizations, leaders become more concerned with organizational survival than achieving the goals the organization was founded on (Osterman 2006b). Organizations experiencing goal displacement will switch their primary focus to tactics that will increase member recruitment and financial stability over tactics that will achieve the organization's initial policy goals. There does appear to be evidence of goal displacement in MARA. MARA's members and leaders tend to disagree on the tactics used to achieve policy goals.

MARA was founded by Luis as an anti-bullying organization. However, MARA's anti-bullying mission has become narrower over time. When MARA was founded, there was a strong emphasis put on grassroots activism. A majority of MARA's time and funds were dedicated to mobilizing community participation in voter registration campaigns, building a youth leadership program for high school students, and building coalitions with other CBIROs in Middleton. Now, MARA primarily focuses on building its internship program and civil rights advocacy efforts in the local community.

One indicator of goal displacement within social movement organizations is the pursuit of increasingly conservative goals with correspondingly nonconfrontational tactics (Voss and Sherman 2000). In oligarchical organizations, leaders are less likely to use confrontational tactics that might hinder their relationships with local community members, including government officials (Osterman 2006b; Voss and Sherman 2000). As a result, members lose faith that leaders will commit to innovative tactics to achieve the organization's goals.

Maintaining tactical innovation can counteract goal displacement within social movement organizations (Leach 2005; Osterman 2006b; Voss and Sherman 2000). Innovative tactics are often associated with community organizing activities such as role playing, door-to-door campaigns, public demonstrations, and identifying new leaders within the local community (Voss and Sherman 2000). However, MARA's members and leaders tend to disagree on what counts as "innovative tactics" for pursuing policy goals. MARA's leaders see the recruitment of interns as an innovative tactic in and of itself. According to Luis, intern recruitment is an important part of MARA's commitment to grassroots activism:

We wish to avoid being a traditional organization, rather we make an effort to enlist maverick approaches in our work… We have set up a powerful system to recruit and place interns in the right place at the right time leading to maximum efficiency… We regard them as community activists, and not simply as interns.

Despite focusing on intern recruitment, some of MARA's members are still dissatisfied with the organization's lack of community organizing focused projects.

Contrary to the Executive Director's statements about MARA's commitment to grassroots activism, there is not much evidence of community organizing in MARA's current policy projects. Many of MARA's current projects are specifically related to civil rights advocacy such as The Prison Project, The Citizenship Delay Project, and The Asylum Project. While MARA is dedicated to projects that involve community outreach such as The Hate Crimes Project, The Awareness Project, and The Middleton Schools Project, a majority of these projects rely on partnerships with local institutions and other organizations to organize large events.

Some interns, like Phoebe from the Outreach Department, thought MARA would engage with more mass member participation strategies for community outreach. Compared to her experiences working at other local community organizations, Phoebe says MARA's leaders are more concerned with their organizational brand than directly engaging with the local community. Echoing Phoebe's concerns, Matilda describes her lack of autonomy to do what she feels is important due to the organization's focus on branding:

I think the only autonomy that is given to us is social media. And the *Middleton Gazette*, but the *Middleton Gazette* slowly only because it is not a part of MARA. It's just the staff. It's like it's like a part of MARA, but it's not a part of MARA. You know what I mean? It's not in our mission… A lot of what we do is actually for brand, like a lot of the stuff we do. And it's like, it's kind of infuriating but that's like a lot of what we do.

As one of MARA's two Communications Supervisors, Matilda oversees MARA's social media accounts and the *Middleton Gazette*. Luis initially created the organization's affiliated journalism website. However, Matilda is now the current Editor in Chief. Bernard and Vincent also regularly serve as editors of the *Middleton Gazette*. Despite their active roles within the organization, MARA's members are still confined to primarily civil rights and media advocacy tactics to achieve policy goals. Nonetheless, goal displacement does not seem to negatively affect sustained member participation within MARA.

From 2006-2019, MARA's member recruitment has remained steady. The internship program is one of the primary ways that MARA recruits new members. On average, MARA has approximately 55 active interns each year. While internships typically last approximately 12 weeks, many interns choose to return for repeat internships or apply for fellow and/or staff member positions when available. For instance, Sherlock describes why he has not looked for a position, as a fellow or staff member, at another organization:

> I want to get more experience especially in terms of immigration law. But also, I just kind of like it here. Like they're my friends now, you know. Atticus is a pretty chill boss. I could actually be working in another place right now for like more pay…

When I first interviewed Sherlock, he had just been awarded a fellowship position within the Civil Rights Department. He had previously been an intern during the summer of 2018. By the time I left the field, Sherlock had passed his BAR exam and was appointed as MARA's new paralegal after Doris left the organization for new job opportunities. Similarly, Agnes says after her fellowship is over, she hopes to be hired on as a full-time staff member:

> It's very inclusive and very like open when it comes to communicating… And that's what MARA represents, is people no matter who they are and what their religion, race, you know. This is the type of experience I really want to have and that's why I came to Middleton… It's my dream actually to come back and work here…

Almost half of the interviewees (45%) were considered "repeat" members. "Repeat" members often start off first as unpaid interns and then are appointed to paid staff member positions over time.

Conclusion

One dilemma for leaders within community-based immigrant rights organizations (CBIROs) is sustaining active member participation. The iron law of oligarchy argues that oligarchical organizations will inevitably result in decreased member involvement due to leader domination. In oligarchical organizations, leaders concentrate their power to make decisions on behalf of all the organization's members. As a result, members lack agency within the decision-making process, leading to decreased member participation over time.

In this chapter, I analyzed the extent to which MARA is suffering from oligarchy and what inclusion practices leaders use to overcome its consequences. Interviewees' descriptions of the

decision-making process make it clear that MARA is suffering from oligarchy. There is an unequal power balance between MARA's leaders and members. MARA's leaders dominate the decision-making process and dictate how policy goals are pursued within the local community.

Interviewees identified three types of inclusion practices used to address power differentials between leaders and members within MARA: political education inclusion practices, decision-making inclusion practices, and difference recognition inclusion practices. First, political education inclusion practices like intern projects and expert instruction emphasize the importance of increasing member agency through skill development. Political education inclusion practices were considered the most effective at sustaining member participation in MARA. Second, decision-making inclusion practices like staff meetings emphasize the importance of increasing member agency through knowledge of MARA's decision-making process. Decision-making inclusion practices were described as partially effective at sustaining member participation. Third, difference recognition inclusion practices like diversity training are largely absent in MARA. When implemented by leaders, they did not contribute to increased member agency or sustained participation within the organization.

Despite oligarchy, there is no evidence of becalming in MARA. While the Executive Director has the authority to make all final organizational decisions and often bases his decisions on personal preference, MARA's members still feel like they have important and active roles. The main consequence of oligarchy in MARA is goal displacement. Some of MARA's members feel like the organization does not meet their community organizing goals. However, goal displacement does not seem to negatively affect member recruitment or retention in MARA.

There are several research implications based on the main findings described above.

First, the inclusion practices described by interviewees primarily addressed member agency or empowerment within MARA. I argue inclusion practices that increase member agency can counteract some of the consequences of oligarchy, like becalming, in social movement organizations. Encouraging member agency gives members more power to influence decisions made within hierarchical social movement organizations (McCarthy and Wolfson 1996). When members believe that they have a voice and ability to be influential, they are more likely to remain involved within the organization (Osterman 2006a). Political education inclusion practices were described as the most effective at increasing member agency within MARA. Future research should consider the extent to which increasing member agency with political education inclusion

practices is important across different types of community-based organizations. MARA primarily relies on members who are students seeking higher education degrees. In community-based organizations that do not rely on a student membership base, political education inclusion practices may not be as influential in both encouraging member agency and sustained participation.

Second, MARA's inclusion practices do not appear to limit leader power or prevent goal displacement. Osterman (2006b) argues social movement organizations need to promote both member agency and a culture of contestation to overcome the consequences of oligarchy. However, my case study findings indicate that a culture of contestation or practices that limit leader power may not be necessary for sustained participation in social movement organizations. Future research should investigate the extent to which limiting leader power counteracts goal displacement within social movement organizations. Future research should also critically assess the extent to which goal displacement is an important factor of sustained social movement participation. Leach (2005) makes an argument against measuring goal displacement as a consequence of oligarchy within social movement organizations. Leach argues that there is too much of a focus on whether social movement organizations engage in radical tactics. Instead, she argues oligarchy should be judged "according to the actual distribution of power within the organization, not according to its political program" (Leach 2005: 333). According to Leach (2005), an organization's political program does not determine if it is ruled by a power elite. Oligarchies can exist in organizations with radical goals if the membership does not agree with its leaders (Leach 2005). Radical organizations can become oligarchic when leaders push for organizational changes and goals that members do not want.

Third, MARA primarily relies on interns to make up its membership base. Interns not only contribute to the labor needed to make MARA run, but they also make up the majority of its future paid staff members. MARA's supervisory leadership pool often comes directly from their previous interns. However, work on social movement organizations has seldom discussed interns. Interns can contribute to the success of a social movement, in the short run, by contributing significant labor to the cause. In the longer run, they are training grounds for future activists and social movement leaders. Future scholarship should consider the importance of intern inclusion for organizational maintenance and sustained member participation in community-based organizations.

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CHAPTER 4: THE COMMUNITY

CONTENTIOUS POLITICS AND ORGANIZATIONAL LEGITIMACY IN THE U.S. IMMIGRANT RIGHTS MOVEMENT

A core task for leaders in social movement organizations is to devise tactics that serve their communities (Taylor and Van Dyke 2008). Social movement organizations use their tactical repertoires, or the type of tactical strategies leaders use to achieve the organization's goals, to interact with the public and to make demands (Wilson 1973). It is a leader's responsibility to choose tactics that not only promote social movement participation, but also remain within the bounds of what the public or authorities will tolerate (Wilson 1973). In the U.S. immigrant rights movement, community-based immigrant rights organizations (CBIROs) have used confrontational tactics like protests and demonstrations to mobilize grassroots activism across the United States (Heyman 2014; Martinez 2008; Pantoja, Menjivar, and Magana 2008). However, confrontational tactics can make some immigrant groups appear militant and dangerous. One dilemma for leaders of Muslim-serving CBIROs is choosing tactics that will encourage member participation without confirming the narrative that Muslims are terrorists or religious fanatics (Borchgrevink 2020; Yazdiha 2020).

According to Tarrow (1998), social movements use contentious politics to strategically interact with the public and gain the attention of supporters, opponents, authorities, and potential constituencies. Contentious politics occur when ordinary people join forces to make demands against powerful opponents. Tarrow (1998) argues that confrontational tactics like violent and disruptive protest actions push the public to respond to the demands of social movement participants. Confrontational tactics rely on the mass mobilization of social movement participants to make their claims visible to the public. As a result, the public are more likely to listen to their demands.

I extend Tarrow's examination of contentious politics by examining how leaders use political activism tactics to establish the legitimacy of Muslim-serving CBIROs in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. Organizational legitimacy refers to the public acceptance of an organization's actions (Etter et al. 2018). Organizations rely on the public to provide the human and financial resources necessary to sustain organizational activities. I argue that leaders of Muslim-serving CBIROs use legitimacy tactics to increase the organization's visibility in the

public without relying on confrontational tactical repertoires. Increased organizational visibility increases the likelihood that the public will provide the financial and human resources necessary for organizational survival. I define legitimacy tactics as political activism tactics that leaders use to demonstrate the authenticity of CBIROs among the communities they serve. Authenticity refers to demonstrations that organizations are trustworthy and are not misrepresenting themselves through their actions. Some examples of legitimacy tactics include filing lawsuits to demonstrate the organization's commitment to legally representing the needs of the local community and participating in public protest events to demonstrate the organization's solidarity with other CBIROs and their advocacy goals.

This chapter examines the legitimacy tactics leaders use to establish the authenticity of Muslim-serving CBIROs within the U.S. immigrant rights movement. I address three specific questions: First, what tactics do CBIROs leaders use to establish their legitimacy within the local community? Second, to what extent do these legitimacy tactics increase the visibility of Muslim-serving CBIROs within the local community? Third, to what extent do these legitimacy tactics increase members' commitment to Muslim-serving CBIROs? I draw on semi-structured interviews with 29 participants of one CBIRO, the Muslim-American Rights Alliance (MARA)[15], located in the Midwest.

This chapter is organized into three sections: First, I discuss the constituency MARA serves in the local community and evidence of MARA as a grassroots immigrant rights organization. Second, I discuss the types of legitimacy tactics leaders use to establish MARA as an authentic grassroots organization within the U.S. immigrant rights movement and the extent to which they increase the organization's visibility within the local community. Third, I discuss the extent to which these legitimacy tactics result in increased member commitment to MARA. This chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings and implications for future research on the study of contentious politics and sustained member participation in CBIROs.

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[15] The Muslim-American Rights Alliance (MARA) is a pseudonym assigned to the case study organization. Pseudonyms are also used for the interviewees. Middleton is a fictious name for the location of the case study.

Evidence of MARA as a Grassroots Organization within the U.S. Immigrant Rights Movement: Advocating for Local Muslim Rights

MARA is a Muslim-serving, community-based organization. Despite serving a primarily Muslim constituency, MARA's membership base is very diverse in terms of racial and religious identity. Out of the 29 interviewees, approximately 52% identified as Muslim while 48% identified as non-Muslim. A little over half of interviewees identified as either Asian or Middle Eastern. The remaining interviewees identified as either White, Black, Hispanic, or multi-racial. While MARA's membership base is diverse in terms of racial and religious identity, a vast majority of the interviewees were similar in terms of education, class, and their country of origin. Almost all interviewees come from middle- or upper-class backgrounds, have higher education degrees, and were born in the United States.

MARA's primary goal is to combat Islamophobia in the United States. As a result of the War on Terror, there has been increased discrimination against South Asian, Arab, and Muslim populations (Maulik 2011). After 9/11, Muslims were increasingly framed as anti-American terrorists in the news media (Yazdiha 2020). Matilda, one of MARA's Communications Supervisors, stated that there has been an increase in hate crimes against Muslims in the local community in the last few years. MARA has received increased hate calls with death threats against the organization's staff. As a result, they have had to heighten office security.

According to Levi, a former intern for the Outreach Department, Islam is seen as a religion of violence and fanaticism in the United States. As a result, there is a perception that Muslim-serving organizations are fueling terrorist activity abroad and forcing Islam onto others in the United States. MARA's leaders work to counteract that narrative by branding it as a professional Muslim organization. According to Luis, the Executive Director, MARA actively works to demonstrate that it is not a religious organization. Instead, MARA presents itself as a professional Muslim organization by limiting its focus to civil rights advocacy within the United States. MARA does not take on cases or issue media statements about international issues related to Islam or Muslim rights. MARA also limits its participation in activities that may make Muslims look like they do not support the American government or its laws.

Contentious Politics and Grassroots Participation in MARA

According to Tarrow (1998), social movements use contentious politics to strategically interact with the public in pursuit of their goals. Tarrow (1998) argues social movements engage in three different types of protest actions. First, violent protest actions, like destroying public property and attacking the police, give individuals without access to other forms of political participation the means to express themselves and have their voices heard (Tarrow 1998). Second, disruptive protest actions, like blocking traffic or sit ins, are used to obstruct "the routine activities of opponents, bystanders, or authorities," forcing them to listen to protesters' demands (Tarrow 1998: 96). Third, conventional protest actions, like strikes and demonstrations, are social movement tactics that have become accepted forms of protest within society. Since conventional protest actions are well known in society, "they require relatively little commitment and involve low risk" (Tarrow 1998: 99).

Tarrow (1998) suggests that social movements will use a combination of violent, disruptive, and conventional protest actions to make their claims heard. What all three of these protest actions have in common is their emphasis on confrontational collective action (Tarrow 1998). Conventional, disruptive, and violent protest actions all rely on the mobilization of large numbers of participants to directly interact with the public. By mobilizing participants together in public spaces, "demonstrators signal their identity and reinforce their solidarity" (Tarrow 1998: 96). These public demonstrations in turn, gain the attention of not only authorities and opponents, but also make a social movement's claims visible to the constituencies they represent (Tarrow 1998).

Since Tarrow, social movement scholars have drawn a distinction between insider and outsider tactics (Adams and Shriver 2017; Andrews and Caren 2010; Steil and Vasi 2014; Taylor and Van Dyke 2008). Insider tactics work with current institutional rules and tend to be less confrontational in nature (Adams and Shriver 2017; Andrews and Caren 2010). Examples of insider tactics include: lawsuits, leafleting, letter writing campaigns, lobbying, petitions, and press conferences (Taylor and Van Dyke 2008). By contrast, outsider tactics rely on disruption and direct confrontation with challengers to achieve social movement goals (Andrews and Caren 2010). Examples of outsider tactics include: sit-ins, demonstrations, vigils, marches, strikes, boycotts, and blockades (Taylor and Van Dyke 2008). Outsider tactics most closely resemble the three types of protest actions described by Tarrow. Like violent, disruptive, and conventional protest actions, outsider tactics are confrontational and rely on the mass mobilization of participants at public

events to make a social movement's claims heard. Yet, contrary to Tarrow, MARA does not engage in confrontational tactics.

Scholars argue that grassroots organizations are more likely to use outsider tactics, like those identified by Tarrow (1998), to make their claims public (Adams and Shriver 2017). Grassroots organizations are organizations "that are created by concerned individuals to respond to needs they identify in their own community" (Gaist 2010: 13). In other words, grassroots organizations are community-based organizations that use political activism tactics to directly advocate for the needs of the local constituencies they serve. Grassroots organizations have limited financial resources to advocate for their constituencies (Tesdahl and Speer 2015). Since outsider tactics do not require organizations to have consistent access to financial resources, grassroots organizations are more likely to rely on these tactics to achieve their goals. In addition, outsider tactics do not require social movement participants to dedicate a large amount of time to social movement activities. Outsider tactics like protests and demonstrations allow grassroots organizations to mobilize social movement participation without requiring participants to become full-time members with day-to-day organizational responsibilities. Grassroots organizations have been central to mobilizing participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement (Engler 2009; Escudero and Pallares 2021; Jacobs 2013; Moreno 2017; Pantoja, Menjivar, and Magana 2008). However, previous scholarship on the tactical repertoires of grassroots organizations does not explain MARA's tactical choices within the U.S. immigrant rights movement.

MARA fits three criteria that identify it as a grassroots organization in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. Grassroots organizations in the U.S. immigrant rights movement are community funded, use community-focused tactics, and use their resources to advocate for increased immigrant rights in the United States. First, grassroots organizations are community funded organizations. MARA is a 100% community-funded organization. MARA relies exclusively on community funding and volunteer labor to support the organization's activities. According to Luis, MARA is unique in the local community because of its specific focus on civil rights activism. However, he says MARA is not unique in terms of needing to rely on financial and human resources to survive:

> There's always other not for profit startups right here in Middleton… So, it's very saturated work. So, I mean we have survived so far. We sort of have our own kind of holy ground that nobody touches. You know in terms of what we do… there isn't any other civil rights work right… But in terms of funding, we're not unique

> because everyone really wants funding and needs funding…The community is growing very fast and there are competing efforts right. Some mosques are becoming sort of their own environments… and they're drawing a lot of funding from people that live in the area. It makes it more difficult to survive and prosper. It's becoming harder and harder as a result.

MARA is competing with other local groups, like mosques, which are also trying to provide the same resources to the Muslim community, like education and public relations opportunities. One way organizations can respond to competition from other established groups is by engaging in "strategic differentiation" to stand out (Walker and McCarthy 2010). Organizations use strategic differentiation to "carve out a unique niche in order to make themselves more deserving of resources than their competitors" (Walker and McCarthy 2010: 318-319). As a result, MARA uses its brand as a professional Muslim organization to appeal to the local community. MARA's brand gives it a niche focus as a civil rights expert within the local community. By limiting the organization's focus to civil rights advocacy, MARA's leaders can demonstrate to the local community exactly how they are using their funds and time to fight for the rights of Muslims in the United States. Since grassroots organizations like MARA are fully community funded, MARA's leaders must demonstrate to the local community that their donated funds are being used in ways that address the community's specific needs and interests.

Every year, MARA asks for donations from the local community to fund its advocacy projects. MARA hosts an Annual Banquet and actively campaigns for donor support during the month of Ramadan. According to many interviewees, both the Annual Banquet and the month of Ramadan contribute to almost all the funding for its advocacy work throughout the rest of the year.

Second, grassroots organizations use community-focused tactics. When communities donate funds to grassroots organizations, they have an expectation that these organizations will use these funds to directly benefit those communities. MARA uses community-focused tactics to advocate for Muslim rights in the United States. MARA uses its political activism tactics to advocate for the rights of Muslims specifically within the local Middleton community. Miguel, a repeat intern in the Outreach Department, says MARA's common goal is to combat discrimination in Middleton and the surrounding areas:

> The work that we do is largely based in the Middleton community and so it has the most direct impact here… I mean, and you see it in the work that we do a lot of. The common goal is to allow individuals regardless of race, regardless of religion, regardless of national origin, to feel comfortable and safe living in the communities they live in, here in the Middleton area. That's the common goal. And so whether

that be fighting legal cases on their behalf, whether that be raising narratives in the mainstream media to kind of fight against the idea that Muslims are terrorists. All of those things kind of work together towards that goal of just making Middleton a safer, more inclusive society.

Third, grassroots organizations in the U.S. immigrant rights movement are dedicated to immigrant rights activism. As a part of its Muslim advocacy goals, MARA also actively advocates for immigrant rights. For MARA, immigrant rights activism goes beyond considerations of formal legal status in the United States. Immigrant rights activism also involves anti-discrimination work for groups that are often profiled as non-American. Matilda says that while MARA serves a Muslim constituency, the organization is also very involved with immigrant rights advocacy. She describes MARA as an ally for immigrant rights:

> We show ally-ship with immigrants…Our Executive Director went to the Stop Separating Families Rally. And obviously that wasn't only for Muslim Americans, it was for everyone. It was especially for the Hispanic families that were being separated from their families along the border of Mexico. So, we do show support for immigrants and immigrant rights because you know a lot of our constituency are immigrants… So we definitely stand up for immigrant rights as well as citizens' rights…it's basically human rights. So I don't think a citizen should be given more human privilege than an immigrant...

Like Matilda, most interviewees described immigrant rights as a matter of human rights. In addition, Matilda says that a lot of MARA's constituency is made up of immigrants. As a result, MARA also serves as an immigrant rights advocate in the local Middleton community.

MARA's leaders must reconcile two constraints on local Muslim rights advocacy in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. Anti-Muslim hostility in the United States coupled with competition from other Muslim-serving organizations in the local community affects the tactical choices MARA's leaders can make to advocate for Muslim rights. As a Muslim-serving organization, MARA's tactical repertoire choices are constrained by anti-Muslim hostility in the United States. Therefore, using the confrontational tactics identified by Tarrow may backfire. In addition, as a grassroots organization, MARA must also compete with other local Muslim-serving organizations for funding and member participation. As a result, MARA's leaders need to choose tactics that serve a niche focus within the local community.

Innovating Grassroots Participation in the U.S. Immigrant Rights Movement: Legitimacy Tactics and Community Visibility

Confrontational tactics rely on public performances of collective action to make a social movement's demands heard and to gain potential constituents from the public. However, activism tactics are not only important for making public demands. Activism tactics can also be used to acquire organizational resources. I argue that leaders can use legitimacy tactics to encourage member participation in social movement organizations without relying on the confrontational tactical repertoires identified by Tarrow. I define legitimacy tactics as political activism tactics leaders use to establish the authenticity of CBIROs among the communities they serve. Leaders can use legitimacy tactics to increase the visibility of organizations within the local community, which in turn, increases the community's trust in the organization's tactical repertoire. Legitimacy tactics increase community trust in social movement organizations by clearly demonstrating to the public how the organization is using community resources to engage in local activism efforts, thereby, increasing the likelihood that the community will contribute the human and financial resources necessary for organizational survival. Legitimacy tactics include filing lawsuits against racial profiling, using the media to publicize research, and participating in public protests and marches.

Some scholars suggest that "one of the most salient features of contemporary immigrant organizations is their willingness to engage in mobilization" (Meyer and Fine 2017: 337). This willingness to engage in public protests and demonstrations has been referred to as "street heat" (Meyer and Fine 2017: 337). As a result, outsider tactics like protests and demonstrations have become publicly linked with CBIROs in the U.S. immigrant rights movement (Cordero-Guzman 2008). However, outsider tactics may backfire for Muslim-serving CBIROs. Instead of demonstrating to the public that participants are mobilizing to fight for their rights, Muslims' use of outsider tactics may serve as further evidence that they are disloyal to the United States. Kucinskas (2014) argues that religious groups may need to use tactics that do not include direct aggression or confrontation with authorities and elites. Kucinskas found that religious movements must develop creative strategies to counteract "normative stigmas about their religious ideology and practices to gain support from other stakeholders" (2014: 538). This begs the question: are outsider tactics necessary for leaders to establish the organizational legitimacy of Muslim-serving CBIROs within the U.S. immigrant rights movement?

I argue that MARA's leaders rely on legitimacy tactics to demonstrate that MARA is an authentic community advocate within the U.S. immigrant rights movement. Two types of legitimacy tactics were identified by interviewees: professional legitimacy tactics and street legitimacy tactics (See Table 6 below). Below I will discuss each type of legitimacy tactic in order of their effectiveness in increasing the visibility of MARA and its political activism tactics in the local community.

Table 6: Types of Legitimacy Tactics

Legitimacy Tactic	Description	Utility	Type
Civil Rights Litigation	Asylum, hate crime, visa status, citizenship status, and discrimination cases.	Protecting Muslims' rights to due process and fighting against Muslim hate crimes and discrimination in the United States.	Professional Legitimacy
Media Awareness Projects	Articles for the organization's affiliated news website, press conferences, interviews, podcasts, and research data.	Increasing positive portrayals and counteracting negative stereotypes of Muslims in the media.	Professional Legitimacy
Coalition Sponsored Events	Public protests and demonstrations for undocumented immigrants and refugees.	Participation in immigrant rights activism outside of MARA's specialty areas and demonstration of solidarity with other CBIROs.	Street Legitimacy

Professional Legitimacy Tactics

Professional legitimacy tactics demonstrate MARA's commitment to immigrant rights advocacy by increasing the organization's impact on influential institutions like the government and the media. Interviewees described the importance of MARA providing legal representation for Muslims in the U.S. court system and counteracting negative stereotypes of Muslims across different media platforms. Professional legitimacy tactics demonstrate to the local community that MARA can advocate for them in spaces that they traditionally do not have their voices heard.

Examples of professional legitimacy tactics include filing religious and racial discrimination lawsuits, assisting Muslims with asylum and citizenship application delays, providing press coverage of hate crimes in the local community, and creating original media content like podcasts and research articles about the Muslim experience in the United States. Civil rights litigation and media awareness projects were identified as two important professional legitimacy tactics that MARA uses to advocate for Muslim rights the local community.

1a- 66% of the 29 interviewees described MARA's focus on civil rights litigation as an important tactic for fighting against Muslim discrimination in the local community.

A majority of interviewees described the importance of providing pro bono legal representation to combat Muslim discrimination in the local community. When interviewees were asked if MARA discussed immigrant rights as a part of their goals for Muslim advocacy in the local community, most responded that the Civil Rights Department addresses several types of immigrant rights as a part of its pro bono work. The remaining 34% of interviewees did not say civil rights ligation was a useful tactic for bringing awareness to immigrant rights issues in the local community. Some interviewees said MARA's focus on civil rights excluded Muslim immigrants who are not afforded legal rights under the United States Constitution such as undocumented immigrants. However, many interviewees conceded that community-based organizations like MARA cannot advocate for all types of immigrant rights. Most interviewees appreciated that MARA has an entire department dedicated specifically to civil rights litigation tactics. Civil rights litigation tactics were described as actions taken to ensure that Muslims receive the legal representation they need to exercise their rights to due process in the United States. Civil rights litigation tactics include: asylum petitions, assistance with citizenship and visa application delays, and assistance with profiling and discrimination at airports, schools, and places of work.

Atticus, the Litigation Director, says MARA is unique compared to other community-based organizations in the area because most non-for-profits do not have an in-house attorney. This allows MARA to take on cases directly rather than having to refer cases to attorneys outside of the organization. Atticus views immigrant rights through the frame of civil rights and looks at the rights afforded to immigrants under the U.S. Constitution. He says that immigrants are guaranteed

due process rights. He explains that the main question he asks when considering immigrant rights cases is: "Was there a denial of due process?"

Doris, MARA's paralegal, says immigrants are the Civil Rights Department's main clientele. Due to the increase in anti-immigrant policies during the Trump administration, MARA has received more and more complaints of immigrant rights violations in the local community. She describes some of the different immigrant rights cases that MARA takes on in the Civil Rights Department:

> The Civil Rights Department is basically serving immigrants as the main clientele… Especially since Trump was inaugurated… It has taken a lot of Muslim clients a lot longer to hear back with decisions than it is supposed to. And maybe because of their religion or whatever. So that's like a project we're looking into and then we get like asylum clients who want to apply for asylum here. We have done a lot of that as well… We help people with like visas bringing their family over… And then on the other hand you'll have people who come in with discrimination cases that are about perceived bias or perceived immigration status that may or may not be true.

She says that MARA has helped Muslim clients with immigration paperwork delays, asylum cases, family unification visas, and discrimination cases due to their perceived immigration status. MARA also offers traveler's assistance for Muslims who are wrongly profiled and denied civil rights during their travel to and from the United States.

MARA's Traveler's Assistance Project (TAP) was created to fight for the rights of Muslims traveling to and from the United States after the Muslim ban was signed into law in 2017. MARA's TAP program has a 24-hour hotline devoted to addressing issues of discrimination against Muslims at the local airport. Omar, a repeat intern in the Research Department, describes MARA's Traveler's Assistance Project (TAP) as a very impactful tactic for immigrant rights advocacy in the local community:

> The TAP program, it helps people who are affected by the travel ban... I mean that's a huge impact because we get almost on a daily basis, my wife or my this, my that is in the detention center or whatever. We should be here and they're not letting her go back to her country etc. So of course, this is a big deal…

He says that MARA gets calls almost every day about individuals that need help with being unlawfully detained by immigration officials at the airport. Muslims are detained due to suspicions of terrorist activity irrespective of their immigration status in the United States. The Muslim Ban created a terrorist screening database that includes an airport selectee screening list as well as a

no-fly list. The selectee list subjects its listees to mandatory invasive screening and questioning. The no-fly list prohibits listees from boarding commercial flights. As a result, many of MARA's civil rights clients need help navigating travel to and from the United States.

In addition to providing pro bono legal representation, MARA's Civil Rights Department works with the Communications Department to issue press releases about all of its current civil rights cases. Many of MARA's members said its civil rights litigation tactics are successful because MARA is dedicated to informing the public of its litigation advocacy efforts in the local community.

1b- 48% of the 29 interviewees described MARA's media awareness projects as an important tactic for increasing the positive representation of Muslims in the local community.

Almost half of the interviewees described MARA's media awareness projects as an important community activism tactic. When interviewees were asked to describe the types of immigrant rights advocacy MARA does in the local community, many called attention to MARA's advocacy for positive portrayals of Muslims in the media. Media awareness tactics were described as actions taken to counter the popular narrative that Muslims are terrorists and anti-American. The remaining 52% of interviewees did not mention MARA's media awareness projects as an important tactic for immigrant rights activism in the local community. However, many interviewees did agree that MARA's media awareness projects helped to improve the image of all Muslims in the United States. Media awareness projects include: press conferences, writing local news coverage and interview articles, podcasts, social media posts, and research on Muslim media representation.

For the local Muslim community, immigrant rights activism involves humanizing Muslims across different media platforms. MARA's media awareness projects focus on creating a narrative that Muslims are deserving of equal human rights, in addition to civil rights. The Communications Department works on articles, podcasts, and short videos to bring awareness to the discrimination Muslims experience in the local community. Miguel says that the Communications Department is dedicated to changing the narrative of how Muslim immigrants are viewed in the United States. For example, he says the Communications Department works to convince the public how dehumanizing it is to have families separated by ICE officials:

You know if ICE comes and removes the father, sends him back to wherever country and now the family's here and they have to kind of fend for themselves because the father is in a separate country, you know it's dividing families. And so, there is of course from the legal aspect something to be said about that right. But from the communications, the media, the narrative aspect, there is also something else right. You want people to realize how dehumanizing it is to have a family member taken away or our families torn apart. And so that's something that the Communications Department has worked on in the past and I'm sure we'll continue to work on in the future.

Some other issues the Communications Department has worked on in the past include addressing negative satires made of women in hijabs in local news media and condemning the celebration of offensive events such as "Punish a Muslim Day."

In addition to combatting negative depictions of Muslims in the media, MARA also works to increase positive narratives of Muslims. One way MARA seeks to change narratives of Muslims in the media is by writing articles for the *Middleton Gazette*.[16] Dawn, an intern in the Communications Department, describes one of the articles she wrote during her internship. She says she was particularly excited to have the opportunity to interview Ramy Youseff about his new show "Ramy". "Ramy" is an autobiographical inspired television series based on the life of Ramy Youseff, a Muslim American stand-up comedian and actor. "Ramy" uses comedy to discuss the tensions of being Muslim and living in the United States. In his show, he counteracts stereotypes of Muslims as religious fanatics. According to Dawn, writing an article about the issues Ramy's show addresses is an important part of the work MARA does for Muslim advocacy in the local community:

> Another thing that I was able to do, I reached out to Ramy Youseff, his press people that he used for his show "Ramy". And so I really wanted to talk about Muslim representation... And he got back to me literally the same day and I set up an interview for later that week and we got to talk about Muslim representation on TV and everything… And I just think there's more opportunity for news and like feature stories like that. There's a lack of representation…The show itself did teach me more about Islam right which is like the point of awareness.

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[16] The *Middleton Gazette* is a news website created by MARA, but that stands separate from the organization's official professional website. The *Middleton Gazette* contains original media content made by MARA's staff and interns including opinion editorials, interviews with persons of interest, and coverage of local news about Muslims in the Middleton community.

She says MARA's media awareness projects are important for increasing the representation of Muslims in the media, which is currently lacking. During her interview, she said she did not know a lot about Islam prior to her internship at MARA. For her, interviewing Ramy about his new show was one way that she could contribute to positive media representations of Muslims and their experiences living in the United States.

MARA's Research Department often works with the Communications Department on media projects, offering data to compliment news stories that are featured in the *Middleton Gazette* and information for press conferences. Several interviewees from both departments described working on research articles and larger scale projects together. One project the Research Department has worked on extensively is the Lantern Project. The Lantern Project offers coverage about Islamophobia in the media. Bernard, the Research Supervisor, describes how the Research Department was specifically created to increase knowledge about Islamophobia in the United States:

> There was no research program at that time. I had a blog in which I was writing about Islamophobia because it was an interest of mine and I had noticed that's something that's not being addressed in public. Muslim voices are not being heard. And then when it is being heard you know they're not often knowledgeable or eloquent on any of those things. They're not translated well, you know they don't have a background in Islam… And so I maintain this blog and it was really me breaking down the arguments of bigots and Islamophobia. We eventually would use it for the Lantern Project… And our Research Department was born.

What first started as a blog has transformed into several research projects aimed at increasing data about how Muslims are misrepresented in the media, including the Lantern Project. One aspect of the Lantern Project is assessing how tv shows like the Bill O'Reilly Show capitalize on negative stereotypes about Muslims as terrorists and works to counteract those stereotypes.

The Research Department's office was recently turned into a media studio for recording podcasts and videos to put on the organization's website. MARA still has a Research Department, but Bernard now works remotely. Luis thought the empty office would best serve the organization by becoming an in-house media studio. The new media studio allows MARA to focus on more of its media awareness projects without relying on outside sources for production space.

Interviewees described professional legitimacy tactics as the most effective for increasing MARA's visibility within the local community. Interviewees were most likely to describe professional legitimacy tactics as influential strategies for making Muslim voices heard within the

U.S. court system and across different media platforms. One of the most important aspects of MARA's civil rights litigation is informing the public of its current cases. The Civil Rights Department and Communications Department work together to ensure the organization's current civil rights cases are covered by not only local news media, but also highlighted in MARA's own journalism website, the *Middleton Gazette*. MARA's media awareness projects challenge the public narrative that Muslims are terrorists or security risks in the United States. MARA works on correcting inaccurate portrayals of Muslims in the media in both its Communications and Research Department.

The professional legitimacy tactics described by interviewees are similar to some insider tactics used by other CBIROs to advocate for immigrant rights. Like insider tactics, professional legitimacy tactics work with institutions to advocate for Muslim rights in the local community. MARA's civil rights litigation tactics are similar to tactics that immigrant rights groups have used to combat racial profiling. For example, Schilliger (2020) examined how different groups of activists contested racial profiling as a part of the migrant solidarity movement in Switzerland. Schilliger (2020) found that one group formed an alliance between lawyers, academics, and activists and used strategic litigation to prosecute cases of racial profiling (Schilliger 2020). Similarly, the Korean Resource Center (KRC), a Korean immigrant rights organization in Los Angeles, used legislative advocacy to combat discrimination against Koreans in the local community (Gnes 2016). Both the migrant solidarity alliance group in Switzerland and the Korean immigrant rights organization in Los Angeles emphasized ethnic and racial discrimination against immigrants as a tactic to advocate for immigrant rights. By focusing on racial profiling and discrimination as a matter of civil rights, both groups were able to use litigation focused tactics to have their voices heard in the local community.

MARA's media awareness tactics are similar to tactics that other community-based organizations have used to counter negative narratives about marginalized populations in the United States. For instance, Define American, a non-profit, cultural change organization, uses media as its primary activism tactic. Define American (2021) uses news, entertainment, and digital media to humanize conversations of immigrants in the United States. Some of Define American's projects include assessing immigrant representation and portrayals in popular TV shows like Superstore, Orange is the New Black, and Madam Secretary. Similar to Define American, MARA uses research data to counteract negative stereotypes of Muslims in media. Some scholars have

noted that data collected from scientific research, like surveys and questionnaires, can be an important tool for legitimizing the actions of social movement organizations in the eyes of institutions (Gnes 2016). Organizations can use the data they collect via their own research studies to challenge dominant discourses about marginalized communities, giving them a voice in places of power like the news media (Schilliger 2020). For example, the Koreantown Immigrant Workers Alliance (KIWA) in Los Angeles collected survey data to call attention to unfair working conditions in the Koreantown restaurant industry (Gnes 2016). MARA collects and disseminates its own data about Muslim representation in the local Middleton community through its journalism projects for the *Middleton Gazette* and its research projects like the Lantern Project.

Street Legitimacy Tactics

Street legitimacy tactics demonstrate MARA's commitment to immigrant rights advocacy by increasing the organization's visibility in public community spaces. Interviewees described the importance of MARA participating in publicly planned events with other CBIROs in the local community. Street legitimacy tactics demonstrate to the local community that MARA is an ally of other local immigrant rights campaigns outside of its Muslim advocacy focus. Examples of street legitimacy tactics that MARA participates in include public rallies and protest demonstrations. However, MARA's participation in street legitimacy tactics is selective. MARA will only participate in street legitimacy tactics in the local community when other CBIROs take the lead in organizing these public events. MARA's leaders consciously do not take on leadership roles in public events that do not fit the organization's niche focus on civil rights advocacy in the local immigrant rights community. Instead, MARA forms coalitions with other CBIROs to organize public immigrant rights events. As a result, coalition sponsored events were identified by interviewees as an important street legitimacy tactic MARA uses to interact with the local community.

2a- 38% of the 29 interviewees described MARA's participation in coalition sponsored events as an important tactic for interacting with other members of the local immigrant rights community.

When asked about the tactics MARA uses to advocate for immigrant rights, many interviewees also described the importance of participating in coalition sponsored immigrant rights

events with other CBIROs in the local community. Participating in public immigrant rights events organized by other CBIROs is an important part of showing support for other immigrant groups and their rights goals in the local community. However, a majority of interviewees did not feel MARA participates enough in coalition sponsored events. Most interviewees said they did not have enough opportunities to interact with members of the local community outside of MARA's office space. Coalition sponsored events were described by interviewees as actions taken to show support for immigrant rights goals that are not covered by MARA's mission and goals. Some examples of coalition sponsored events include: mass demonstrations organized for refugee rights awareness and protests for undocumented immigrant rights and comprehensive immigration reform in the United States.

Matilda describes some of the past coalition sponsored events that MARA has participated in with other CBIROs in the Middleton community:

> I remember last year we did the whole Abrahamic religions thing where we did a march, just talking about like Abrahamic religion solidarity… It's like, it's like a bunch of stuff like that…We show solidarity with the Syrian community network when they have press conferences, stuff like that… That's like stuff Vincent handles... you know like if we're going to use this space [office space] I talk to Dimitrius and Luis, but if Vincent is doing stuff and Vincent is mostly the one who does that kind of stuff… I don't know how he does it, but he's the one who kind of handles that…

Matilda describes co-sponsoring several different events including marching with other religious communities and participating in press conferences. However, she says Vincent, the Outreach Coordinator, is in charge of organizing these types of events. Matilda says Vincent is the only one in MARA that organizes communication with other organizations about out-of-office street events like protests and demonstrations. As a result, coalition sponsored events are not planned often and not many members know the process that goes into coordinating these events. Doris echoes Matilda's sentiments. She says all of MARA's community outreach efforts are organized by Vincent and "It may be a bit of a problem." She goes on to say that Vincent sometimes seems overwhelmed with planning all of MARA's outreach events on his own.

While MARA regularly speaks at press conferences and informational panels organized by other CBIROs, interviewees were more likely to discuss the importance of coalition sponsored events that are organized outside of organizational office spaces. Summer, an intern in the Outreach Department, describes one of the coalition's sponsored events she participated in over

the summer. During a meeting between Vincent and the summer 2019 cohort of outreach interns, she suggested that MARA should participate as a part of the Annual World Refugee March in Middleton. She said several community organizations would be participating and it would be a good way for the organization to gain exposure in the community. Summer describes MARA's participation in the World Refugee March as an intern self-led event. The interns asked Vincent for feedback and advice when needed, but otherwise they were responsible for how they represented MARA. MARA's interns participated in the World Refugee March by handing out Know Your Rights pamphlets with information about local organizations that specialize in refugee services in addition to marching alongside other participants. She says the interns split themselves up into two groups with half of the interns sitting at the table for the event and the other half walking around as a part of the actual march.

Like Summer, other interviewees described Vincent not taking a hands-on role organizing their participation in coalition sponsored events. Instead, he was available sparingly to answer intern questions. Many interviewees noted that Vincent seemed to handle all of MARA's coalition sponsored events, which often left him without time to dedicate to any one event fully. As a result, many of MARA's members described feeling dissatisfied with MARA's participation in coalition sponsored events.

Interviewees described street legitimacy tactics as partially effective at increasing MARA's visibility within the local community. Street legitimacy tactics demonstrate that MARA is an ally for other immigrant rights organizations and their goals in the local community. Coalition sponsored events also allow MARA's members to interact with other local community members outside of the organization's office space. However, there is no official community organizing position in MARA. Instead, the Outreach Supervisor oversees coordinating public protests and demonstrations with other CBIROs in Middleton. As a result, there were very few opportunities for MARA's members to participate in events that allow them to interact with other members of the local immigrant rights community.

MARA's street legitimacy tactics are similar to many of the outsider tactics used by other CBIROs to advocate for immigrant rights. Like outsider tactics, street legitimacy tactics mobilize members of the local community to participate in public protest events to advocate for Muslim rights. For example, DRUM, a community-based immigrant rights organization that serves South Asian migrants in New York City, mobilizes their members to participate in marches with other

local groups as a way of showing solidarity (Maulik 2011). According to DRUM's leadership, coalition participation is important for their members to "physically show solidarity in the same way we expect of others" (Maulik 2011: 463). In addition, coalition participation can also be used as a tactic to enhance the visibility of organizations that do not engage in direct community mobilization strategies as a part of their own tactical repertoires. For instance, the Immigrant Workers Center (IWC) in Montreal, Canada does not use community mobilization as one of its activism tactics. Instead, the IWC uses broad-based coalition building "as a way to promote a particular issue rather than direct organizing and mobilizing" (Hanley and Shragge 2009: 196).

MARA's members were more likely to describe professional legitimacy tactics than street legitimacy tactics as effective at increasing the organization's visibility in the local community. Professional legitimacy tactics demonstrate that MARA is dedicated to fighting for Muslim voices to be heard in the local community. A majority of interviewees described professional legitimacy tactics as effective for increasing the organization's visibility in influential institutions like the U.S. court system and across different media platforms. Street legitimacy tactics demonstrate that MARA is an ally for other CBIROs and their immigrant rights goals in the local community. Street legitimacy tactics also provide opportunities for member participation in public protests without contradicting MARA's professional brand. However, only a small portion of interviewees described street legitimacy tactics as effective for increasing MARA's visibility in the local community. Many interviewees said that MARA does not dedicate enough of its resources and time to participation in coalition sponsored events.

MARA's leaders use a combination of both professional and street legitimacy tactics to establish MARA as an authentic immigrant rights advocate in the local community. Professional legitimacy tactics make Muslims visible within U.S. institutions. Street legitimacy tactics make Muslims visible in the broader immigrant rights community. MARA uses both types of legitimacy tactics to demonstrate to the local community that it is visibly advocating for immigrant rights. However, MARA dedicates most of its time and resources to using insider tactics like litigation and media advocacy to advocate for Muslim rights.

Evaluating Tactical Effectiveness: Sustaining Funding and Member Commitment

Previous social movement scholarship has noted that a social movement's tactical repertoire can increase participants' commitment to the movement and its goals (Taylor and Van

Dyke 2008; Tarrow 1998; Tesdahl and Speer 2015). Some studies have noted that participating in large scale protests "can be an exhilarating and empowering experience" (Taylor and Van Dyke 2008: 281). Political activism tactics that mobilize a large number of people can motivate individual commitment and as a result, strengthen the capacity of social movement organizations to achieve their goals (Taylor and Van Dyke 2008). Compared to insider tactics like litigation and media advocacy, outsider tactics like public protests and demonstrations are more likely to rely on the mobilization of large numbers of participants (Andrews and Caren 2010). However, there has been little investigation into the effects of insider tactics on sustained member commitment and organizational funding within social movements. Below I will discuss the extent to which professional and street legitimacy tactics sustain MARA's funding and members' commitment to its local Muslim advocacy goals.

Organizational Funding

MARA's professional legitimacy tactics, in particular, its civil rights litigation, are effective for sustaining the organization's funding. Sabrina, an intern in the Outreach Department, says she loves the works that MARA does in the local community:

> MARA is amazing, they do amazing work. I love being part of it. I like seeing interactions between clients, you know, it's genuine… It really is transparent. And I think they have to be that way because their donors are the community, their supporters are the community. The people that they serve is the community. So I think that transparency is naturally there. So I feel like that expectation was upheld.

According to Sabrina, MARA's efforts to make its tactics visible to the local community are effective for the organization's sustained funding. Since MARA is fully funded by the local community, it is in MARA's best interest to demonstrate to the community how those funds are used.

Fundraising efforts are critical for MARA's organizational maintenance. MARA puts a primary focus on fundraising efforts each year, especially at one key event: The Annual Banquet. The Annual Banquet is scheduled during the winter each year to raise funds from prominent public officials. Tickets are sold to the event each year in addition to appeals for more donations throughout the evening. MARA's annual report is also distributed during the Annual Banquet detailing the previous year's raised funds and letters of support from the local community. MARA's annual report details the different advocacy projects the organization has pursued in the

past year and the community funds used to support those projects. Overwhelmingly, most of MARA's funds are dedicated to the Civil Rights Department, followed by the Communications Department.

Member Recruitment and Retention

All of MARA's civil rights litigation is done pro bono. As a result, this activism tactic encourages the recruitment of new members who were previous clients. For example, both Juan and Aurora were previous clients of the organization (either directly or indirectly) and now work in MARA's Operations Department. Juan was helped with his asylum case and Aurora's husband was a client due to travel delays.

Juan decided to volunteer at MARA after being a recipient of its pro bono asylum legal services. Juan says that MARA is dedicated to helping people like him in the local community and he felt compelled to pay that generosity back in any way he could. Today, Juan works as a staff member in the Operations Department. Similar to Juan, Aurora says she first joined MARA after her husband received help traveling to and from Jordan a few years prior:

> So he introduced me to the organization and I admired the value of their organization and what they do. So I was interested to know more about it and to be part of it. So that's why I said I didn't search for other organizations. I was only concerned about this one… because when he wanted to travel in 2016 to Jordan for a visit and with the Travel Ban, he was considering if he can travel and come back to the US. So I think he didn't know about MARA and the TAP Project they had. But yeah, that's I think that's how he knew more about the organization.

Her husband's positive interaction with MARA led him to want to attend the organization's Annual Banquet as a volunteer. Afterwards, she decided to apply for an internship at the organization in the Operations Department. For Aurora, the positive experiences her husband had with receiving pro bono support from the organization convinced her that MARA would also be a good place to meet others in the local community that she could trust.

One drawback of MARA's focus on professional legitimacy tactics is the lack of opportunities its members have to interact directly with other community members. While members of the Civil Rights Department have opportunities to interact with MARA's clients through phone calls and meetings on an individual basis, most of MARA's members have limited opportunities to directly interact with MARA's local constituency. For some of MARA's members,

especially interns in the Outreach Department, this lack of direct community interaction has influenced whether they want to remain members of the organization.

According to Levi, MARA is particularly invested in its public perception in the local community. MARA's leaders work to be transparent about all of its advocacy tactics to counteract any negative conspiracy theories about Muslim political participation in the United States. However, Levi does note that one of the drawbacks of MARA's tactical repertoire is its lack of "on the ground" focus:

> I think that the intersection of religious identity and immigrant identity and ethnic identity is really complex and makes the work of MARA complex… I've worked and interned and volunteered with like a lot of other non-profits in Middleton and every organization is a little bit different… I think MARA is especially invested in the work that they do in terms of how the Muslim community is perceived… I think the work MARA does is challenging. I think it's obviously worthwhile and really important but it's challenging…it's not like MARA is always on the ground… And I feel like Vincent really makes a strong effort to be on the ground as much as possible in terms of his outreach role…

Levi says that he thinks Vincent is doing the best he can, but it is still difficult given MARA's focus on changing how Muslims are perceived in the local community. To counter any negative stereotypes of Muslims being involved in terrorist activity, MARA's leaders dedicate most of the organization's resources to it civil rights litigation and media awareness projects. As a result, Vincent is often left to organize MARA's "on the ground" tactics on his own.

Despite Levi's acknowledgement that MARA does challenging advocacy work in the local Middleton community, he decided to leave MARA to pursue other internships with more of a focus on public community mobilization tactics. However, he still comes back to visit the friends he made during his two internship terms at the organization. Vincent first introduced me to Levi at the organization's annual Taste of Ramadan event. [17] Levi says he tries to attend all the organization's annual events to show support for the organization's goals and to catch up with former coworkers. Nonetheless, he says he is glad that he made the switch to work at other organizations in the area.

Overall, many interviewees considered MARA's legitimacy tactics effective in the local community, despite its lack of focus on public interaction and mobilization tactics. Compared to

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[17] The Taste of Ramadan is an annual fundraising event held in MARA's office space each year. The Taste of Ramadan was originally created by Vincent to encourage the local community to interact with MARA's members informally while breaking the fast of Ramadan.

other CBIROs in the local community, some interviewees described MARA's political activism tactics as "real and dirty activism." Omar discusses the difference between how MARA does activism compared to what is considered popular, "left activism" in the local community:

> What we're doing here, I'm just being real, this is real activism. It's dirty, it's ugly, it's ineffective most of the time…. You know people come out with their signs and they feel better about themselves and then they go home. Go to brunch the next day or whatever. And they checked off their activism for the day. …MARA, it's a PR firm at the end of the day. I mean it's a good PR they're doing good work. You know civil rights obviously is doing legitimate work but of course I mean this is what it is…

Omar believes that many people participate in social movement activities to feel good about themselves, but do not want to do the work that is necessary to affect change over a long period of time. He perceives MARA's tactics as effective because MARA works every day to advocate for the rights of the local community, even if those efforts aren't always successful initially.

Other interviewees described MARA's tactics as a modern form of community outreach. Rather than relying on in-person interactions, MARA uses the media, and in particular the internet, as their primary means of communication with the local community. MARA uses different online platforms such as social media to reach a broader audience and draw attention to the issues faced by the Muslim community in the United States. Several interviewees credited its media awareness projects with making MARA publicly known outside of the Muslim community. Silvia, an intern in the Civil Rights Department, says that making MARA's work public is an important, modern form of outreach. She compares the use of media awareness projects like writing articles for the *Middleton Gazette* to the act of passing out pamphlets on the street:

> I think, so the community in general, not just the Muslim community and then also on the local level, I know that they [MARA] help. As far as outreach goes, just like you know making work public is a form of outreach right. And kind of like passing out pamphlets. The modern new version of that is like you know posting things on Facebook, writing articles, sharing things, reaching out to you know other forms of other outlets that have portrayed maybe like Muslims in a negative light or like not accurately and trying to correct that. I mean this is all outreach right.

Silvia says the local community, outside of just the Muslim community, is aware of the important work that MARA does. This community awareness is due to the work MARA does to make its work public and accessible through multiple different types of media outlets like news websites and social media platforms.

Conclusion

One dilemma for leaders of Muslim-serving community-based immigrant rights organizations (CBIROs) is devising tactical repertoires that are both accepted by the public and encourage Muslim participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. Tarrow (1998) argues that social movements rely on confrontational protest actions, i.e., outsider tactics, like strikes, boycotts, riots, and demonstrations to make their demands heard by the public and encourage member participation. In the U.S. immigrant rights movement, outsider tactics like protests and demonstrations have been successfully used to mobilize grassroots participation in CBIROs (Heyman 2014; Martinez 2008; Pantoja, Menjivar, and Magana 2008). However, Muslim-serving CBIROs in the United States may not benefit from the use of confrontational tactical repertoires. After 9/11, the legitimacy of Islamic organizations in the United States was questioned due to the stigmatization of Muslims as terrorists (Borchgrevink 2020). As a result, leaders of Muslim-serving CBIROs must choose political activism tactics that encourage member participation without confirming the narrative that Muslims are militant or disloyal to the United States.

In this chapter, I analyzed the extent to which MARA is a grassroots organization within the U.S. immigrant rights movement and what legitimacy tactics leaders use to establish MARA as an authentic immigrant rights advocate in the local community. Interviewees' descriptions of MARA's access to resources and advocacy goals indicate that MARA is a grassroots immigrant rights organization. MARA is 100% community funded and dedicates all its resources to local advocacy campaigns which include immigrant rights advocacy.

This research identified two types of legitimacy tactics used to establish MARA's authenticity as a grassroots organization in the U.S. immigrant rights movement: professional legitimacy tactics and street legitimacy tactics. First, professional legitimacy tactics like civil rights litigation and media awareness projects demonstrate to the local community that MARA is dedicated to making Muslim voices heard. Professional legitimacy tactics increase Muslims' visibility in the local community by working directly with institutions like the government and the media. Second, street legitimacy tactics like coalition sponsored events demonstrate to the local community that MARA is an ally of other CBIROs and their immigrant rights goals. Street legitimacy tactics increase Muslims' visibility within public spaces where the local immigrant rights community interacts with each other to challenge anti-immigrant policies.

Interviewees described both professional and street legitimacy tactics contributing to MARA's survival within the local community. Professional legitimacy tactics help sustain MARA's community funding and encourage members' initial recruitment to the organization. Sustained community funding and member recruitment are essential for MARA to maintain both the financial and human resources necessary for its local advocacy projects. The Civil Rights Department needs both funding and staff members to sustain its pro bono work. Both the Communications Department and Research Department need interns to sustain its media and research projects. Street legitimacy tactics help increase member retention within the organization. However, MARA offers limited opportunities for its members to participate in coalition sponsored events. As a result, members who join MARA to participate in community outreach are less likely to become repeat members compared to members of MARA's other departments. There are several research implications based on the main findings described above.

First, most literature focuses on Latino immigrant participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement (Escudero and Pallares 2021; Martinez 2008; Milkman and Terriquez 2012). I add to literature on grassroots participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement by examining how Muslim-serving CBIROs advocate for immigrant rights. MARA primarily uses insider tactics to advocate for immigrant rights in the local community. Previous research has found that CBIROs that serve Latino immigrants in the United States tend to use outsider tactics that rely on mass member mobilization (Moreno 2017; Pantoja, Menjivar, and Mangana 2008). However, in addition to being racially profiled as un-American, Muslims in the United States face the additional stigma of being labeled as terrorists because of their religious ideology (Borchgrevink 2020; Nicholls 2014; Yazdiha 2020). The stigma of legal status combined with the stigma of religious ideology make confrontational political strategies like outsider tactics less available for Muslim advocates in the United States. Future research should examine the circumstances that may lead some immigrant groups to choose to use insider tactics over outsider tactics to fight for immigrant rights in the United States.

Second, MARA uses both voter registration campaigns and rights training seminars as a part of its tactical repertoire, but interviewees did not describe them as effective legitimacy tactics in the local community. Many interviewees said that voter registration campaigns and rights training seminars were useful as educational tools for MARA's members, but they were not described as successful tactics for immigrant rights advocacy in the local community. Future

research should consider the extent to which voter registration campaigns and rights training seminars are considered effective strategies for community advocacy in other immigrant rights communities.

Third, students are MARA's main membership base. A majority of MARA's interns are students from local high schools and universities in Middleton. Previous research on student participation in social movements suggests that students are more likely to engage high risk, disruptive forms of protest (Taylor and Van Dyke 2008; Terriquez 2015). However, MARA's student members are diverse in terms of how they evaluate the effectiveness of its legitimacy tactics. Interviewees with law and journalism educational backgrounds were more likely than other interviewees to describe professional legitimacy tactics as effective immigrant rights tactics in the local community. These findings suggest that not all students need to participate in outsider tactics to sustain their participation in CBIROs. Future research should examine under what contexts students prefer to engage in insider tactics compared to more high risk, outsider tactics.

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CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This dissertation examines how leaders navigate the dilemmas of sustaining participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. It examines the dilemmas leaders face sustaining member participation in community-based immigrant rights organizations (CBIROs) when there is increased hostility against immigrants in the United States. This chapter begins with a summary of the research findings from this dissertation. The chapter concludes with my recommendations for future research on leadership and sustained participation in social movements.

Summary of Research Findings

This dissertation examined three dilemmas leaders face sustaining member participation in community-based immigrant rights organizations (CBIROs). First, charismatic leaders must sustain their authority as decision-makers in CBIROs over time. Interviewees identified four leaders in MARA. Of these four leaders, interviewees identified the Executive Director as MARA's charismatic leader. Weber's theory of charismatic authority argues that charismatic leaders develop emotional bonds with their followers to inspire social movement participation (Adair-Toteff 2005). However, charismatic authority tends to erode over time and is often unsustainable in organizational contexts (Weber 1947). Charismatic leaders in social movement organizations struggle with developing social bonds with members while maintaining the social distance they need to sustain their mysterious allure (Weber and Moore 2014). CBIROs with charismatic leaders must address the paradox of distance associated with sustaining their authority in social movement organizations over time.

MARA's leaders use authority signals to overcome the paradox of distance associated with sustaining the charismatic authority of the Executive Director, Luis, among members of the organization. Interviewees identified two types of authority signals used to establish leader credibility in MARA: supportive authority signals and inspirational authority signals. Interviewees described leaders using both supportive and inspirational authority signals to interact with members of the organization. Supportive authority signals facilitate the effectiveness of inspirational authority signals within MARA. Some leaders in MARA use supportive authority signals to establish a close emotional connection with members, so that other leaders can use

inspirational authority signals to maintain their emotional distance and mysterious allure. Supportive authority signals are used to communicate empathy to members. Inspirational authority signals are used to communicate passion to members. Both emotions, empathy and passion, are important for sustaining Luis's charismatic authority in MARA. By communicating empathy to members, MARA's leaders demonstrate to members that they are invested in their members and their personal needs. By communicating passion to members, they demonstrate to members that they are invested in the organization and achieving its goals. However, most interviewees preferred leaders who used supportive authority signals to interact with them compared to leaders who used inspirational authority signals. The Executive Director and the Outreach Supervisor were more likely to use inspirational authority signals while the Deputy Director and the Litigation Director were more likely to use supportive authority signals.

Second, leaders must implement strategies for including marginalized members within CBIROs. CBIROs depend on members to keep up with day-to-day organizational maintenance (Tesdahl and Speer 2015). Without the inclusion of marginalized members, these members may decide to stop participating in CBIROs. As a result, CBIROs may not be able to sustain the participation they need to survive. Furthermore, social movement organizations that rely on hierarchical organizational structures tend to struggle with the inclusion of marginalized members (Jacobs 2013). Interviewees described MARA as an oligarchical organization. MARA's leaders have control of the organization's decision-making process and dictate how policy goals are pursued in the local community. According to the 'iron law of oligarchy', leaders of social movement organizations will rely on a hierarchical division of labor to deal with the responsibilities necessary for organizational maintenance. As a result, the agency to make decisions and affect change within the organization becomes concentrated among the organization's leaders (Diefenbach 2019; Leach 2005; Michels 1962). Michels (1962) argues there are two main consequences of the iron law of oligarchy in social movement organizations: becalming and goal displacement. Becalming refers to the loss of member energy and involvement within social movement organizations and goal displacement refers to leaders' disregard of the organization and its members' initial policy goals (Michels 1962; Osterman 2006). Leaders of hierarchical CBIROs must implement practices that increase marginalized members' agency within the organization to counteract these consequences. Increasing marginalized member agency within social movement organizations gives these members opportunities to make meaningful

contributions to the organization. As a result, members may be more likely to continue participating in these organizations despite leaders' control of the decision-making process.

MARA's leaders use inclusion practices to overcome the consequences of oligarchy on member participation within the organization. Interviewees identified three types of inclusion practices used to address power differentials between leaders and members within MARA: political education inclusion practices, decision-making inclusion practices, and difference recognition inclusion practices. Political education inclusion practices increase member agency in MARA by giving members opportunities for individual skill development. Decision-making inclusion practices increase member agency by giving members access to knowledge of how the organization's decision-making process operates. Interviewees did not describe difference recognition inclusion practices contributing to increased member agency within MARA. Most interviewees found access to political education opportunities more important than explicit inclusion within MARA's decision-making structure for their increased agency within the organization.

Third, leaders must devise political activism tactics that legitimize the CBIRO's actions within the local community. Leaders of CBIROs need to win the trust of the local community to sustain the resources their organizations need to survive. Interviewees described MARA as a grassroots organization in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. MARA is 100% community funded and dedicates all its resources to local Muslim advocacy campaigns. Grassroots organizations in the U.S. immigrant rights movement have become publicly linked with confrontational outsider tactics like protests and demonstrations (Heyman 2014; Martinez 2008; Pantoja, Menjivar, and Magana 2008). Tarrow (1998) argues that social movements rely on confrontational tactics, like strikes, boycotts, riots, and demonstrations to make their demands heard by the public and encourage member participation. However, not all immigrants in the U.S. immigrant rights movement may be able to participate in confrontational tactics like attending public protests and participating in organized civil disobedience. After 9/11, the political engagement of Muslims and Muslim-serving organizations in the United States has been questioned due to the stigmatization of Muslims as terrorists (Borchgrevink 2020). Leaders of Muslim-serving CBIROs must devise political activism tactics that encourage member participation without confirming the narrative that Muslims are militant or disloyal to the United States.

MARA's leaders use legitimacy tactics to win the trust of the local immigrant rights community to sustain the financial and human resources necessary for organizational survival. Interviewees identified two types of legitimacy tactics used to establish MARA's authenticity as a grassroots organization in the U.S. immigrant rights movement: professional legitimacy tactics and street legitimacy tactics. Professional legitimacy tactics demonstrate to the local community that MARA is dedicated to making Muslim voices heard. Street legitimacy tactics demonstrate to the local community that MARA is an ally of other CBIROs and their immigrant rights goals. Interviewees described both professional and street legitimacy tactics contributing to MARA's survival within the local community. Professional legitimacy tactics help sustain MARA's community funding and members' initial recruitment to the organization. Street legitimacy tactics help increase member retention within the organization. However, MARA offers limited opportunities for its members to participate in street legitimacy tactics.

MARA's leaders use authority signals, inclusion practices, and legitimacy tactics to address the dilemmas associated with sustaining local member participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. MARA's leaders use a combination of supportive and inspirational authority signals to maintain the charismatic authority of MARA's Executive Director. MARA's leaders use political education and decision-making inclusion practices to counteract the consequences of oligarchy within MARA. MARA's leaders use a combination of professional and street legitimacy tactics to establish the organization's legitimacy within the local immigrant rights community.

Future Research Recommendations

There are several research recommendations based on the findings of this dissertation. Below I discuss four recommendations for future research on leadership and sustained participation in social movements.

First, this dissertation contributes to the study of leadership dynamics in social movements by identifying typologies of leader actions in CBIROs. I have identified three different typologies of actions that enable the effectiveness of leaders within CBIROs: (1) authority signals used by leaders to establish their credibility amongst organization members; (2) inclusion practices that incorporate members within the organization's decision-making process; and (3) legitimacy tactics that leaders use to establish their authenticity within the local community. Previous scholarship examining the influence of leaders and leadership in social movements has addressed how different

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forms of leadership may emerge within various types of organizational structures and how different types of leaders may influence participant mobilization and organization within social movements (Morris and Staggenborg 2008; Payne 1989; Robnett 1996; Ferree and Roth 1998). Identifying typologies of leader actions brings social movement scholars closer to examining the influence of leadership across different contexts. Rather than limiting the examination of leadership to the identification of different types of leaders and leadership forms, identifying leader actions allows scholars to compare the effectiveness of leadership across cases. Future research on leadership dynamics in social movements should examine how the actions of leaders, specifically their interactions with social movement participants, vary across different types of organizational structures.

Second, the findings from this dissertation suggest that day-to-day, in-person interactions between leaders and members are important for sustaining charismatic authority in social movement organizations. Weber argues that charismatic leaders will use their interactions with followers to motivate them to participate in activities as a part of social movements that they might not otherwise (Morris and Staggenborg 2008; see Weber 1968). MARA's leaders use both inspirational and supportive authority signals to motivate members to follow the Executive Director and his plans for Muslim advocacy in the local community. However, most interviewees preferred when leaders used supportive authority signals during their interactions with members. Interviewees described the importance of leaders being available daily in MARA's office space to not only ask questions about organizational responsibilities, but also to get to know them individually.

The recent COVID epidemic has implications for future interactions between MARA's leaders and members. All fieldwork for this study was conducted prior to the COVID pandemic and resulting quarantine measures in the United States. In response to the COVID pandemic, MARA began to conduct all its organizational affairs remotely. One of the consequences of remote work was the creation of a remote internship program. Interns who were a part of remote internships within MARA undoubtedly had a different internship experience compared to the experiences of interns interviewed in this study. Future research on charismatic authority in social movement organizations should examine the extent to which charismatic authority can be sustained in organizations that have memberships that do not meet in person, such as organizations that primarily engage in internet activism and have memberships that span multiple locations.

Third, this dissertation examined the influence of leadership on member inclusion within a social movement organization's decision-making process. Previous literature suggests that social movement leaders are more likely to rely on decision-making structures that encourage democratic participation rather than hierarchy among its members (Jenkins 1983; Payne 1989). Scholars argue social hierarchy within social movement organizations negatively affects levels of member participation (Tesdahl and Speer 2015). In contrast, scholars suggest that non-hierarchical, democratic led organizations are effective at sustaining member participation over time (Maulik 2011; Payne 1989; Staggenborg 1988). MARA contradicts this assumption in the literature. MARA has an oligarchical organizational structure that limits the extent to which members are involved in the organization's decision-making process. However, MARA does not have difficulty sustaining member participation in the organization's activities. Inclusion practices increase member agency in the organization, preventing the loss of member involvement in the organization over time.

Furthermore, MARA's small membership base gives leaders opportunities to directly engage with members more frequently and offer more opportunities for both group and individual political education. The smaller the scale of membership within the organization, the more likely members will feel like their contributions matter with the organization (Payne 1989). These findings have implications for scholarship on hierarchical leadership and participation in community-based social movement organizations. Future research on the iron law of oligarchy in social movement organizations should examine in what circumstances hierarchy can be beneficial for sustained member participation within community-based social movement organizations.

Fourth, this dissertation examined the influence of insider tactics on grassroots participation in the U.S. immigrant rights movement. Scholars have noted that both insider and outsider tactics are effective at furthering the goals of social movement organizations. While outsider tactics are effective mobilizing social movement participation through protests and demonstrations, insider tactics allow social movement participants to interact strategically with the state through lobbying or litigation (Steil and Vasi 2014). However, many social movements have been torn apart by disagreements over tactical repertoires (Taylor and Van Dyke 2008; Wilson 1973). It is usually an issue of "greater or lesser militancy" (Wilson 1973: 261). When I entered the field, I expected to find a stereotypical grassroots organization, i.e., an organization that participated in "pounding the pavement" activism. As a result, I expected CBIROs to engage in

lots of public demonstrations and group protests to achieve their policy goals and to attract new members. Surprisingly, while MARA identifies as grassroots organization, MARA's leaders primarily use professional legitimacy, i.e., insider tactics, to interact with the local community and to advocate for Muslim rights.

These findings suggest that insider tactics can be used for more than just strategically interacting with the state. Insider tactics can be used to encourage participation in CBIROs that serve constituencies that do not want to or cannot engage in militant political activism tactics. For participants in the U.S. immigrant rights movement, insider tactics may be useful for encouraging participation from immigrant groups who do not want to be labeled as militant or dangerous. Future research on the influence of contentious politics in social movements should examine the extent to which insider tactics can be used to encourage participation across different social movements.

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APPENDIX A. LEADER INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

This interview protocol consists of two parts. Part I asks for information relevant to the profile of the respondent and Part II outlines the main questions to be asked during the course of the interview along with any relevant follow up questions and probes.

Part I: *Profile of the Respondent*

1. Age
2. Gender (Self-identified)
3. Occupation
4. Race/Ethnicity (Self-identified)
5. Socioeconomic Status
6. Education Level
7. Country of Origin

Part II: *Semi-Structured Questions*

A. <u>Legal Status and Immigrant Rights Organizations</u>

Thank you for meeting with me. Can you tell me a little about yourself?
-How long have you lived in the Middleton area?
-Do you have any family or friends that live in the area?
-What do you do for a living?

How did you become introduced to this organization?
-How long have you been involved with this organization?
-Why did you decide to participate in this organization?

Do you discuss immigrant rights in any way as a part of your organization?
-If yes, what kinds of rights?
-Is there an emphasis on certain types of rights over others?
-If yes, why?
-If no, why not?

-If no, are there other topics or concerns you discuss as a part of the organization?

Do you consider legal status when thinking about immigrant rights?
-If yes, in what ways does legal status influence how you think about immigrant rights?
-If no, why not?

B. Leadership Dynamics and Inclusion

I understand that you are considered a leader in your organization? Would you agree?
        -If yes, why?
        -In what ways are you a leader in your organization?
        -What role/s do you perform within the organization?

        -If not, do you have an alternative role in your organization other than as a leader?
        -Can you describe this role?

What qualities or skills do you think a leader should have?
        -What responsibilities do leaders have within your organization?
        -How are leaders similar or different from other participants in the organization?

How do you communicate with others within your organization?
        -Do you communicate primarily in person, by email, or by phone?
        -How often do you communicate with different individuals in your organization?
        -For what purpose/s?

How are decisions made within your organization?
        -Who do you primarily interact with in the organization to make important decisions?
        -Do you have a particular decision-making process or procedure that you follow?
        -Who is included in the decision-making process?
        -How are different social movement members included (or not) in this process?

Is there anything else about immigrant rights and leadership within your organization that you would like to talk about?
        -Is there anything that you feel that we should discuss that we haven't touched on?

Finally, do you know of any other leaders in your organization that would be willing to speak with me about their experiences with leadership and immigrant rights activism in the Middleton area?

APPENDIX B. MEMBER INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

This interview protocol consists of two parts. Part I asks for information relevant to the profile of the respondent and Part II outlines the main questions to be asked during the course of the interview along with any relevant follow up questions and probes.

Part I: *Profile of the Respondent*

1. Age
2. Gender (Self-identified)
3. Occupation
4. Race/Ethnicity (Self-identified)
5. Socioeconomic Status
6. Education Level
7. Country of Origin

Part II: *Semi-Structured Questions*

A. Legal Status and Immigrant Rights

Thank you for meeting with me. Can you tell me a little about yourself?
-How long have you lived in the Middleton area?
-Do you have any family or friends that live in the area?
-What do you do for a living?

How did you become introduced to this organization?
-How long have you been involved with this organization?
-Why did you decide to participate in this organization?

Do you discuss immigrant rights in any way as a part of your organization?
-If yes, what kinds of rights?
-Is there an emphasis on certain types of rights over others?
-If yes, why?
-If no, why not?

-If no, are there other topics or concerns you discuss as a part of the organization?

Do you consider legal status when thinking about immigrant rights?
-If yes, in what ways does legal status influence how you think about immigrant rights?
-If no, why not?

B. Leadership Dynamics and Inclusion

Are there individuals that are considered leaders in your organization?
            -If yes, can you describe the roles they play in your organization?
                -What responsibilities do leaders have?
                -Do they have any particular qualities or skills that other participants in the organization don't have?

What role/s do you perform within your organization?
            -Do you have any leadership roles within your organization?
                -If yes, can you describe them?
            -If no, how do you participate within your organization?
How do you communicate with others within your organization?
            -Do you communicate primarily in person, by email, or by phone?
            -How often do you communicate with different individuals in your organization?
                -For what purpose/s?
            -How often do you communicate with leaders within your organization?
                -For what purposes?

How are decisions made within your organization?
            -Who do you primarily interact with in the organization to make important decisions?
            -Do you have a particular decision-making process or procedure that you follow?
            -Who is included in the decision-making process?
            -How are different social movement members included (or not) in this process?

Is there anything else about immigrant rights and leadership within your organization that you would like to talk about?
            -Is there anything that you feel that we should discuss that we haven't touched on?

Finally, do you know of any other participants in your organization that would be willing to speak with me about their experiences with leadership and immigrant rights activism in the Middleton area.