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**Active Civic Participation  
of Immigrants in  
Spain**

## **POLITIS – a European research project**

### **Project information**

POLITIS is short for a research project with the full title: *Building Europe with New Citizens? An Inquiry into the Civic Participation of Naturalised Citizens and Foreign Residents in 25 Countries*. The European Commission funds the project that mainly seeks to improve our understanding of different factors that promote or inhibit active civic participation of immigrants. A unique project construction is developed that includes workshops with foreign-born students who are recruited as discussants and interviewers. National experts in all 25 EU countries have prepared country reports on the contextual conditions and state of research concerning civic participation of immigrants. These reports can be downloaded from

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## **Abstract**

The research on the civic participation of the immigrants in Spain is very recent and there are still many aspects of the matter to be explored. This is in consonance with the youthfulness of the immigration in Spain: immigration only became socially visible in the mid-nineties and half the immigrants in Spain have lived here for less than two years. The first important paper on the subject dates from 1999 (Veredas 1999) and the first quantitative study which was non-regional in scope is currently being carried out (Morales, González and Sánchez, 2004). Given the lack of research, there are very few things that we can affirm with reliability regarding the civic participation of immigrants in Spain. We do not know what “the main fields of civic activities that immigrants engage in” are as there are no quantitative studies with surveys done on immigrants which enable us to answer this question. The majority of the immigrants in Spain are still in very precarious situations as they have been in the country for too short a period of time and this hinders any kind of civic participation. Probably belonging to a Church (Islamic, Catholic, Orthodox, Adventist) is the only “civic” activity which is common among immigrants. The few studies which exist and have been summarized here are focused on the immigrants’ associations. Therefore, we can speak of the activities of these associations, but not the activities of the immigrants in general. With regard to the associations, their main field of activity, as can be deduced from the studies, is social assistance given to the immigrants, which materializes in legal aid for obtaining “papers”, and all types of assistance such as finding a room, finding a job, connecting with the social and charity services, etc. In the second place, the other large area of activity are the claims filed generally against the Central Administration and the demands for new regularization processes and modifications to the legislation on aliens. In third place are the activities related to leisure and the maintenance of the customs of the culture of origin.

When the immigrants’ associations are compared against each other depending on their national origins, there is only a clear difference in favour of the Senegalese. This group has been highlighted in several studies as especially active in the formation of associations, which tend to be explained by the intense associative and communal life in

Senegal. There are no other noteworthy differences among the associations due to national origin. Although ATIME, the main Moroccan immigrants' association in Spain is also the main association of immigrants in general, its pre-eminence may be due to two factors unrelated to its national idiosyncrasy: the immigration of Moroccan workers is the oldest type of economic immigration in Spain and for many years this was the most numerous community. It may be surprising that the associations of Ecuadorians, who are now the most important national group among immigrants, has received little qualitative attention, but we must take into account the fact that immigration is growing and changing in its composition at a very fast pace in Spain. Probably if Sonia Veredas, the main Spanish expert on the matter, had written her doctoral thesis on the subject four years later, she would have dealt with the Ecuadorians instead of the Peruvians who are now a minor group.

Neither can we reply reliably to the question, "What is the relation between engagement in ethnic or migrant organisations compared to mainstream society organisations?", as there are no quantitative studies among immigrants and the autochthonous population to provide us with the required information. However, we could suggest the hypothesis that the type of engagement in both types of associations is different given their differing functions: the basically assistential nature of the immigrants' associations at the present time and the autochthonous associations which are involved mainly in making claims, providing non-basic or leisure services. To sum up, it could be said that many immigrants can feel the necessity to joint an association, especially when they have just arrived in the country and are in difficult situations, while for the autochthonous population life is perfectly possible without belonging to any type of association.

There are signs that the immigrants tend to associate more than the autochthonous population in Spain, which is one of the European countries with the lowest rates of political association (Morales, 2004). However, this cannot lead to the deduction that the immigrants will contribute a revitalising of the associative fabric as, until now and as shown by the studies which have been described, the main function of these associations is assistance, which implies that the reason for associating may vanish when the situation of need disappears. Furthermore, as was stated above, we lack information of the participation of immigrants in types of civic activities other than

belonging to their own associations. We also do not know how the social differences between immigrants as regards education, occupation, level of income, gender, age and period of time in the country affect the patterns of civic participation.

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## **Part I. Understanding the conditions for immigrant participation**

### **1.- Key events in the migratory history of Spain**

Since the XIX century, Spain was a country of emigrations and only recently, at the beginning of the nineties in the XX century, it became a host country for immigration. During the sixties, Spain sent approximately 100,000 emigrants abroad annually, and this fell to about 25,000 annually from the crisis of 1973. In 1991 less than 10,000 people left the country as migrants. Despite this reduction in the number of exits and the return of about 650,000 immigrants since 1975, there are still approximately two millions Spaniards abroad.

In 1981, only 200,000 aliens were resident in Spain, and the majority of these were Europeans from Germany, the United Kingdom and other countries of central and northern Europe, who had settled permanently on the coasts and islands of Spain and were mainly retired people. Besides the Europeans, there was a small group of Latin Americans, most of whom had fled from the dictatorships of South America. As from 1985-86, after the entry of Spain into the European Union, there began a period of continuous growth in the number of immigrants, which accelerated sharply in the first few years of the new century. In fact, the number of immigrants has triplicated between the years 2000 and 2004 and has quadruplicated between 1998 and 2004. At the beginning of 2004, aliens represented 7% of the total number of persons included in the Local Registers in Spain, and throughout 2003 and 2004 Spain was the main host country for immigrants in the European Union, followed by Italy.

The immigrants who have arrived in Spain since 1985 are from a greater variety of geographical origins than those included in the previous stage – Moroccans, Chinese, sub-Saharan Africans, Ecuadorians, Colombians, Dominicans, Western and Eastern Europeans – and they are basically workers, that is to say, not retired people nor victims of political repression. Furthermore, number of immigrants from developing countries has substantially increased as regards their proportion of the total number of immigrants. At the end of the eighties, the aliens from the European Union accounted for half the total, they now do not even constitute a quarter (22% in 2003), and the rest come mainly from developing countries or countries in crisis, basically from Latin



America and Africa. Moroccans formed the biggest group of non-EU immigrants in the nineties but they have been overtaken in number by the rapid growth in immigrants from Latin America during this century. Among the non-EU aliens, the Ecuadorians and Moroccans are dominant, both of which make up 18% of the total, followed by the Colombians (11.7%), Rumanians (6.6%), Argentineans (5.2%), Peruvians (2.7%), Bulgarians (2.5%) and Chinese (2.5%) (INE [National Institute of Statistics], 2003 Municipal Registers)

Table I

Number of aliens residents in Spain	
1953	59,483
1960	64,660
1970	148,400
1980	182,045
1990	276,796
1992	402,350
1994	461,364
1996	538,984
1998	719,647
2000	1,034,210
2001	1,370,657
2002	1,977,944
2003	2,664,168
2004	3,050,847

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Ministerio del Interior [National Institute of Statistics and Interior Ministry]<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Data up to 1998 refers to legal residents. As from the year 2000, the data refers to persons registered in the census of the municipalities, and includes irregular immigrants. The 2000 Aliens Law granted irregular immigrants the right to free health care with the single condition that they were registered in the municipal register, which led to the statistic “blossoming” of a large portion of this population. The number corresponding to 2005 is the provisional data provided by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística in February 2005.

Table II

Main nationalities of extra-Community aliens. January 1, 2003			
	Total in thousands	Percentage	Accrued Percentage
Ecuador	390.3	18.7	
Morocco	379.0	18.2	36.9
Colombia	244.7	11.7	48.6
Rumania	137.3	6.6	55.2
Argentina	109.4	5.2	60.5
Peru	55.8	2.7	63.1
Bulgaria	52.8	2.5	65.7
China	51.2	2.5	68.1
Total non-EU	2,085.3		100

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Padrón Municipal de Habitantes, [National Institute of Statistics. Municipal Registers of Inhabitants] 2003

In January 2004, aliens represented 7% of the population although it is impossible to establish the number precisely due to the high percentage of irregular immigrants. In January 2004, almost half the immigrants included in the Municipal Registers (46%) lacked a residence permit. However, all the experts agree that the data in these Registers magnify the alien population as many immigrants are simultaneously registered in different municipalities since this is a prerequisite for obtaining the health card, and they are not removed from the registers when they leave the municipality or the country. At the end of 2004, faced with an imminent further process of regularization, the more quoted calculations estimate the irregular immigrant population to be between 800,000 and 1,300,000 persons.

The great majority of immigrants –around 90%<sup>2</sup>– who are legal today previously went through a period involving an illegal stay in the country, which makes illegality a previous stage to legality in the eyes of anyone who is familiar with the matter. In fact, according to current norms, after a five years' illegal stay, it is possible to obtain regularization (three years in the case of immigrants that can show integration in the

<sup>2</sup> See Miguel Pajares (2004) and Juan Díez Nicolás and María José Ramírez Lafita (2001)

work market or family ties with Spaniards or regular immigrants) . In addition, administrative practices, and not only legislation, turn into illegal the situation of many immigrants who were staying legally in the country. The departments in charge of processing the renewal of residence and work permits for aliens are understaffed, which leads to long delays and the impossibility for immigrants of obtaining the renewal of their permits within the compulsory period. The interminable queues at the doors of the Offices of the Interior Ministry which renew the permits, the delays amounting to months as regards obtaining the administrative response to an application, the telephones for arranging previous appointments almost always engaged, etc., all this leads to “befallen illegality” originating from administrative practice. Thus, in June 2004, the offices of the Government Delegations throughout Spain accrued 374,749 unresolved dossiers referring to applications for residence or work permits for immigrants with delays of up to nine months. Half of these were applications for the renewal of permits <sup>3</sup>, that is to say, during those months, about 200,000 immigrants who were in legal situations became “irregulars” due to administrative delays. Although, according to Spanish administrative norms, the lack of an answer in these cases is equivalent to a positive one, in practice, if immigrants cannot demonstrate with a document the renewal of their permits, they will face difficulties even with other State agencies, such as the Social Security or the Border Police.

In order to put an end to this mass of irregular immigrants and also to the administrative malpractice which creates “befallen irregularity” , the Socialist Government ( March 2004-) increased the human resources and the number of offices allocated to the administrative management of permits for immigrants and, in August 2004, it announced a special regularization and modifications to the Aliens Law. After consultations and negotiations, the legislation finally approved stipulates a reduction of the periods of time required to obtain a residence permit, which becomes two years of residence proved by registration in the census and an employment relationship of at least one year. The special regularization to be implemented in January 2005 will benefit the immigrants who have been included in the register of a municipality for at least 6 months and who have been offered a work contract of at least 6 months by an employer (3 months in the case of agricultural employment).

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<sup>3</sup> Department of State for Immigration and Emigration. In El País, June 7 and 8, 2004

Previously other regularization processes had taken place, the main ones in 2000 and 2001, in which 370,000 immigrants had their situations legalized. After the regularization of 2001, the Popular Party Government (1996-2004) announced that it would not offer any more special regularization processes in order to avoid the “call effect”, and maintained this policy until it was defeated in the elections in March 2004.

There are few aliens with the status of political refugees in Spain although there are no official figures on the total number. Successive governments have maintained a very restrictive policy as regards the granting of this status and have accepted an average of less than 5% of the applications. Moreover, the aid offered to refugees is very sparse in comparison with the aid given by other countries. Finally, the opportunities provided for obtaining work in the irregular economy makes illegal immigration a preferable option for possible asylum seekers in Spain. During the previous decade, applications amounted to more than 10,000 annually during the years coinciding with the successive crises in Yugoslavia, and at no time did the figure reach 15,000. Subsequently and up to now the figure has oscillated between 4,000 and 8,000 a year. Thus, in 2003, 7,500 applications for political asylum were submitted but only 370 were successful (CEAR. Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado [Spanish Commission for Aid to Refugees]).

Geographically, the immigrants are distributed very unevenly on Spanish territory, with high concentrations on the Mediterranean coast, the Balearic Islands, the Canary islands and Madrid, and their presence is scant in the rest of the country. In 2001, the aliens resident in Andalusia represented 11.33% of the total, although the majority of these are not immigrants but retired people attracted by the climate, in Catalonia immigrants represented 19.75%, in the Autonomous Community of Valencia 13.5% and in Madrid 23.29%, while in Cantabria and the interior regions of Spain, the percentages are very low (Extremadura 0.72%, Cantabria, 0.55%, Castile-La Mancha 2.59%, Navarre 1.54%, Castile and León, 2.40%, Rioja 0.82%, Asturias, 0.82%, Galicia 2.24%<sup>4</sup>). Even in the regions “of immigration”, the distribution is very unequal and the aliens are concentrated in certain areas. For example, the province of Barcelona is host

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<sup>4</sup>.- Data corresponding to 2001 (Angulo, 2003)

to 15% of all the aliens resident in Spain. Within the provinces, the immigrants are concentrated in certain towns and within the cities they concentrate in certain districts. Thus, in Madrid, in 2003 some districts had over 27% alien population, while others did not reach 5%. The districts where the immigrants are concentrated are of two types: districts of the historical centre where the housing is poor quality (these are the cases of El Raval or Lavapiés) and peripheral districts which are well communicated with public transport and relatively cheap housing, built in the 60's and 70's. The prices of housing and accessibility are obviously the two factors which condition the choice, together with the previous presence of acquaintances or family members who help in the first stages in the country, which also explains the tendency to area grouping of immigrants depending on geographical origin.

The immigrants are found in the areas where there is a strong tourist industry, intensive agriculture or, generally speaking, where there are dynamic economies such as in Madrid or Barcelona. However, there are also political reasons, such as the presence of a violent nationalism, which would explain why areas which are economically rich, such as the Basque Country, are hosts to a small percentage of immigrants (2,35% of the total population in the Municipal Registers of 2003).

The arrival of immigrants in Spain has coincided with a period of economic growth which has enabled an increase in the active domestic population and in the meantime the absorption of this foreign labour force. Between 1991 and 2003 four million new jobs were created, which made it possible to employ a domestic active population which had gone from 49% to 53% in this period; that is to say, during these years, many persons, above all women, who had not sought employment before, now did it and found it. Although unemployment continues to affect 11% of the active population, a large number of unemployed persons are reluctant to work in the sectors where the immigrants find employment, and these fill an "occupational gap" which has been left by the Spaniards. These jobs are often unskilled and involve some of the following features: low wages, long hours of work, hard physical conditions and low social prestige. By sectors, male immigrants are concentrated in agriculture (18% of the total), construction (23%) and services (47%), while females are concentrated in services

(86%), especially domestic service, small businesses and catering and hotels<sup>5</sup>. There is a certain sector specialisation depending on national origin, thus, 28% of East Europeans and Africans (basically Moroccans) are employed in construction, while only 16% of Latin Americans are found in this sector, in comparison with only 12% of Spaniards who work there. On the other hand, 26% of Latin Americans work in domestic service (almost always women), while only 4% of Africans, 18% of East Europeans and 2% of Spaniards work in this sector. The Africans are also concentrated in agriculture (13%) and the Latin Americans in catering and hotels (16%). Due to the concentration in these sectors and the short period of time in the employment market, their rate of temporality is much higher than the average for the Spanish working population, in fact it doubles the Spanish figure and reaches 70% in the cases of contracts for African males<sup>6</sup>. The sectors the immigrants concentrate in are the same as those which feed the underground economy, whose weight in the Gross Domestic Product is estimated to be around 23%, the fourth biggest in Western Europe after Greece, Italy and Belgium, and in the same level as Portugal<sup>7</sup>.

Only about 1% of non-EU immigrants who live in Spain have managed to obtain Spanish nationality (180.000 persons since 1992 until the end of 2004). This percentage will be substantially increased in the next few years as Spanish Law allows those persons coming from countries with special cultural and historical bonds with Spain to obtain Spanish nationality after two years legal stay in the country. This applies to Latin American countries, Andorra, the Philippines, Equatorial Guinea, Portugal, as well as Sephardic Jews. At the present time, as was mentioned above, immigration from Latin America is majoritarian, but the most of these have not yet complied with the two years of legal residence. As regards the immigrants with other origins, Spanish Law requires that they have ten years of legal residence, which is reduced to five years in the case of refugees, in order to get the nationality.

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<sup>5</sup>.- Data from the Report of the Consejo Económico y Social [Economic and Social Council], *Informe sobre la inmigración y el mercado de trabajo en España*, Madrid 2004.

<sup>6</sup>.- Luis Garrido y Luis Toharia (2004)

<sup>7</sup>.- F. Schneider (2002)

Table III

No. of aliens who apply for and obtain Spanish nationality						
	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004 *
Applications	16,838	18,035	23,260	32,778	46,354	50,288
Granted	16,374	11,994	16,735	21,799	26,540	31,388

Source: Ministry of Justice

\* Until 31 October

Spanish nationalization rules are governed by a mixture between *ius sanguinis* and *ius soli*. The principle that the descendents of Spaniards are Spaniards is complemented with the concession of nationality to those born in Spain when the father or the mother was also born in Spain, and the concession of nationality based in residence. The reform of the Civil Code approved in 2002 favours the nationalization of children born in Spain from immigrant parents (they got the nationality after 1 year of continuous legal stay in the country before the application). This reform was also directed to favour the re-nationalization of grandchildren of Spaniards who emigrated to Latin America or other areas during XIX and XX centuries, have failed to maintain the Spanish nationality and now, confronted with the grave economic crisis of some Latin American economies, desire to live in Spain.

The concession of nationality based in residence is subjected to some restrictions, as “good civic conduct” and “sufficient integration in the Spanish society”. The interpretation of this last condition is left to the judges. For instance, a judge has recently rejected the concession of Spanish nationality to a Muslim Moroccan woman, living for many years in Melilla, a small Spanish town in the northern coast of Africa, arguing that her complete ignorance of Spanish language proved her insufficient integration in the Spanish society. The sentence has been ratified by the Supreme Court.<sup>8</sup> In a similar case, the Supreme Court has pronounced against the denegation of nationality to another Moroccan woman in Melilla, because in this case her religion and customs (and not language) were the main arguments for denegation<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup>.- El País, 4 November 2004.

<sup>9</sup>.- El País, 9 June 2004

## 2.- Major issues discussed with relation to immigration

At the time of the drafting of this report, Autumn 2004, public attention and debates related to immigration are focused on two aspects: in the first place, the proposal of the Socialist Government regarding a new special regularisation, together with the modification of the Aliens Law, and secondly, the continual piecemeal information released by the police concerning the participation of Muslim immigrants in the March 11 terrorist attack in Madrid or the preparation of new attacks<sup>10</sup>. In other words, the policy of control of immigration flows and the relationship between Muslim immigration and security comprise most of the newspapers' information on immigration at this time.

If we extend the period under analysis to the last three years, 2002, 2003 and 2004, the information on any facet of irregular immigration prevails: police success in dismantling networks, small boats sinking in the Straits of Gibraltar, cases involving the exploitation of immigrants discovered, cases of extortion and kidnapping among immigrants, etc. Especially during the Summer months, when the arrival of small boats on the coast of Andalusia and the Canary Islands increases, the arrest of their occupants or the sinking of one of these boats are reported almost daily. The news about networks devoted to the trafficking and smuggling of human beings take up a substantial part of the news on immigration appearing in the media. In 2003, 13% of the news on immigration published in the written media, or broadcast on radio and TV dealt with successful police operations in the fight against organised groups involved in smuggling or trafficking (10%) or successes related to these (3%). In 2002, this percentage was 10% and in 2001 it was 9%. On the whole, the news related to illegal immigration took up 20% of the total in 2001, 27% in 2002 and 31% in 2003, with a clear progression showing that everything related to the irregular aspects of immigration is gaining ground with regard to the matter as a whole.<sup>11</sup>

The political debate on immigration over the last three years has focused on the large number of illegal immigrants, with accusations being levelled at the government from

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<sup>10</sup>.- The Spanish Muslim connections of the murderer of the Cinema Director, Van Gogh, in The Hague, have also occupied the newspapers during November 2004

<sup>11</sup> *Inmigración y racismo* (Press Journal), IMSERSO, Madrid, 2001, 2002 and 2003



the left, from the immigrants' associations and the NGO's. These groups reproached the government for its decision not to reopen new special regularisation processes and accused it of benefiting the employers in the underground economy, by putting undocumented and therefore cheaper labour at their disposal.

However, apart from the discussions on the regularization of immigrants, the political debate on immigration has been weak up to the present time in Spain. Unlike other European countries with immigration going back further in time, there have been no deep debates on the advantages or inconveniences of immigration, or on the policies needed for their integration or the costs or economic benefits involved, as well as the consequences for the welfare system. The political elite are aware that numerous social sectors in Spain benefit from immigration, as agriculture, construction, small business and catering sectors, and that many companies in these sectors could not subsist without this immigrant work force. Added to these are the large number of middle-class families which hire immigrant workers for domestic service and to look after children or the elderly. This constitutes a social support base for policies which are open to the arrival of more immigrants. In addition, the idea that immigrants are required to save the pension system, which is threatened by the aging of the Spanish population, has become generalised despite the fact that the specialists have not reached a consensus in this regard<sup>12</sup>. On the other hand, the public opinion researches show that the very fast increase in immigration over the last few years is beginning to cause unease among the autochthonous population, which was till recently the least racist and xenophobic in Europe<sup>13</sup>. But Spaniards tend more and more to associate immigration with the increase in criminality which has also occurred over the last few years and this association has been strengthened due to the role played by immigrant Moroccans in the terrorist attack of march 11, 2004, with 191 mortal victims<sup>14</sup>. Distrust and ill feeling are especially strong in the population of the zones where immigration is concentrated, that is to say, in Madrid and the Mediterranean coast, where feelings of rejection towards immigrants appear<sup>15</sup>. Some outbursts of collective violence against immigrants have appeared in

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<sup>12</sup>.- See Several Authors (2003)

<sup>13</sup>.- See Eurobarometer EB 53 carried out with the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, 2000.

<sup>14</sup>.- For the statistical relationship between criminality and immigration in Spain, see Juan Avilés (2004)

<sup>15</sup>.- See the barometer surveys on immigration carried out by the CIS ([www.cis.es](http://www.cis.es)) or the texts of Víctor Pérez-Díaz, Berta Álvarez-Miranda and Carmen González-Enríquez (2002) and Carmen González-Enríquez (2004)

the Mediterranean area, as the attack to Moroccans in El Ejido (Almería) in year 2000, or the sacking of Chinese footwear warehouses in Elche (Alicante) in September 2004.

The period with the greatest growth in immigration (1998-2004) coincided with the period of government by the centre-right Popular party (1996-2004), which was immobilised between these two contradictory pressures: the vast social sectors benefiting from having an immigrant workforce at their disposal, and the increasing social unease due to the growth of immigration; trapped in this blocked situation, the Government made “the fight against the immigration mafias” a rhetorical motto planned to cover up the absence of a real policy in this area. In any case, immigration only became one of the main “issues” in the domestic political debate after the Popular Party went into opposition in March 2004. Until that time, immigration had taken a back seat in the political debate at domestic level.

On the whole, it can be said that Spanish policy with regard to immigration has been restricted to defensive measures which have tried to put a brake on the arrival of immigrants. In the light of the data, these efforts have failed. The fact that between a third and half the aliens residents in Spain are “irregular” is proof of this failure. The government has concentrated substantial resources in an effort to control the illegal immigration which arrives in small boats on the coasts of Andalusia and the Canary Islands from Morocco and the Sahara. The attempts of these immigrants are especially dramatic when we consider the number of deaths and the painful conditions involved. They are also the socially most visible owing to the attention they receive from the media, however, in statistical terms these attempted crossings are small in number in comparison with the main port of entry for immigrants: the international airports and the land borders, through which hundreds of thousands of aliens legally enter Spain annually with tourist visas or as students in order to remain longer than is permitted by the entry document. Thus, in the year 2002, 550,000 Latin Americans entered Spain as tourists, but only 86,000 left<sup>16</sup>.

However, the struggle against illegal immigration, which, in the official rhetoric, was the main feature of the immigration policies of recent Spanish governments, in fact has

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<sup>16</sup> El País, July 11, 2003.

never been a systematic policy involving the expulsion of irregular immigrants from the country. The Spanish State lacks the financial and administrative resources to effectively expel the illegal immigrants detected. Thus, between January 1, 2002 and June 14, 2004, two and a half years, the Administration dictated 117,768 expulsion orders for aliens, but only 32,749 of these orders were executed, that is to say, 72% of the illegal immigrants detected continued to live in the country despite having an expulsion order<sup>17</sup>. The financial cost of expulsion, the cost of the journey of the person expelled and the policemen who must accompany him, is one of the main reasons hindering expulsion and means that there are many more expulsions of Moroccans than of Latin Americans or Asians. The repatriation of a Chinese citizen costs €6,750, that of an Ecuadorian €3,834 and €2,000 that of a Senegalese. Moreover, repatriation is impossible if there is no agreement with the country of origin, and Spain does not have agreements with many of the countries of origin of the immigrants. Finally, the political leaders understand that a large part of the Spanish population would be opposed to a policy involving raids and the massive expulsion of irregular immigrants. Thus, irregular immigration is tacitly accepted in the social and political environment, as is the underground economy in which a substantial part of the immigrants work. Unlike other developed countries which are hosts to immigrants, in Spain a private citizen would hardly ever report the presence of illegal immigrants, and when such reports do occur, they refer exclusively to cases involving forced prostitution or exploitation at work. In this regard, the immigrants benefit from a traditional political culture of tolerance towards illegality.

As concerns the proposal of the Socialist Government which would allow the regularization of about 800,000 immigrants, this has been strongly opposed by the Popular Party, which considers that this regularization will have a substantial “call effect” and that the Spanish welfare system will not be able to support the weight of this added population. The Popular Party, freed now from the responsibilities of government, launches messages which are well received by a good part of the public opinion, since half of Spaniards favour more restrictive immigration policies.

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<sup>17</sup> Secretary of State for Immigration and Emigration. From El País, July 20, 2004

Due to the terrorist attack of March 11, 2004, a debate has arisen on the relationships between the State and the Mosques and Muslim oratories, similar to those developed in other European countries, which has confronted freedom of expression and religious freedom with the demands for security. The Socialist Government has attempted to imitate the French model with the creation of a body representing the Muslim population, but it has come up against the internal division of this community and the reluctance of the main Moroccan immigrants' association, ATIME (Association of Moroccan Workers in Spain), opposed to grant more political weight to the Imams. The Government's intention to promote a moderate Islam and to integrate Muslim immigration through the incorporation of the teaching of Islam to the primary schools and the previous selection of the teachers, has come up against the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church, which argues that Islam promotes the subordination of women, and also the opposition of lay associations of parents of school children who for years have been defending the position that the Catholic Religion –or any other religion- should not be taught as a gradable subject at school.

With regard to the daily information which appears in the media relating Moroccan immigrants with the March 11 attack, this deepens the distrust of the population as regards immigrants from Muslim countries. Before March 11, the Moroccan immigrants, who make up the great majority of Muslim immigrants in Spain, were those least accepted by the population, and this rejection increased notably after the attack.

### **3.- Institutional setting framing immigrant participation**

#### **A) Restrictive conditions**

Rights of foreigners in Spain are regulated by Organic Law 4/2000 on the Rights of Aliens in Spain and their Social Integration. In accordance with this law, the aliens who have a residence permit in Spain have the right to meet, demonstrate, associate, join a Trade Union and professional organisations. As concerns electoral political participation through active and passive suffrage at the municipal and Autonomous Community elections, this right is granted to the nationals of countries which Spain has reciprocal agreements with. This includes all citizens from the European Union, which also can

vote in the European Parliamentary elections. The right to vote in the national elections is only granted to nationalised aliens.

The irregular immigrants in Spain, which at the present time are almost half the total number of aliens, lack political rights, that is to say, all those mentioned in the previous paragraph for regular immigrants. As was stated in the first part of this text, the Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español), which has been in power since March 2004, has announced a special regularisation process and it will also reform the Aliens Act in order to facilitate future regularisation of illegal immigrants who, it is taken for granted, will continue to arrive. When this reform comes into force at the beginning of 2005 and the special regularisation comes into effect, the number of immigrants who will be legally entitled to associate politically will increase substantially (around 800.000 persons, according to the most cited estimates).

In any case, these legal restraints have not prevented illegal immigrants from participating in immigrants' associations or from attending demonstrations or sit-ins requesting "papers". Although the political sectors with more pro-immigrant attitudes protested at the time (in the year 2000) because of the governmental refusal to include in the Aliens Act the right to strike to irregular immigrants, it is difficult to imagine how this can affect persons who, supposedly, cannot work.

#### b) Encouraging conditions

At national level, the subsidies to the associations and their participation in the Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants are the two main encouraging conditions for the civic participation of the immigrants. In several Autonomous Communities and in many Town Halls there are structures for consultation and cooperation with immigrant organisations but there are still insufficient studies at local level to make it possible to compare this variety of structures of political opportunity .

1) The policy of subsidies.

We know of no studies on the policy of subsidies for the immigrants' associations. At national level, the subsidies are regulated by the Order TAS 640/2003, of March 17 2003, whereby the bases for the concession of subsidies are established subject to the general regime for subsidies in the Area of Social Affairs of the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs. Below are the provisions of this Order followed by the only global evaluation we know on this matter, the one made by Sonia Veredas (2001)

As concerns the Order, the following general programmes have been established and receive subsidies:

- a) The programme for the maintenance, functioning and habitual activities of the entities (associations)
- b) Programmes for encouraging the participation and the coexistence of the citizens, as well as the promotion of actions aimed at knowledge and evaluation of the social and employment integration system.
- c) Programmes aimed at employment integration co-financed by the European Social Fund.
- d) Co-financing of the Community initiative, EQUAL

The subsidies are convened annually and are published in the Official State Gazette (BOE). The subsidies for associations of or for immigrants are included in the same budget item as those for attention for elderly persons, incapacitated persons, refugees, asylum seekers and displaced persons. The criteria taken into account in order to evaluate the programmes applying for subsidies are identical for all the areas<sup>18</sup>: Evaluation of the social need, the technical quality of the programme, the territorial impact of the programme, the experience the association has as regards the theme, application of the budget, co-financing (special value is given to the programmes which are co-financed by the entity itself), the participation of volunteers in the execution of the project, and continuity (priority is given to the programmes which had already

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<sup>18</sup> Official State Gazette. March 19, 2004

received subsidies, their execution has been positively evaluated and work on necessities which continue to exist).

As regards programme “a” (Maintenance, functioning and habitual activities of the entities) the purpose of the subsidies is to provide the basic resources for the maintenance and strengthening of the organisations dedicated to immigrants, refugees, displaced persons and asylum seekers. Maintenance includes the payment of the general expenses and the goods and services involving the premises, conservation, maintenance and minor repair work, as well as supplies, consumables, office material, mailing and other similar expenses.

The priorities given to the finalities of the expenses are as follows: the basic expenses arising from the maintenance and functioning of the entity, the activity involved in providing direct attention to the immigrants, the promotion work for the associative movement and the training, implementation and development of quality systems in the organisations and programmes to be developed.

The subsidies granted for 2005 in this programme amount to a total of €6,051,280. This figure is distributed among a total of 57 associations. Concessions range from the €12,500 granted to the “Association of Peruvian Refugees and Immigrants” (ARI-Perú), to the €353,000 granted to the “Spanish Catholic Migration Association Commission” (ACCEM). In the list of concessions there is a predominance of pro-immigrant associations over the associations formed by immigrants.

With regard to programme “b” (Encouragement of citizen participation and the promotion of action aimed at the knowledge and the evaluation of the social integration situation of the immigrants) the subsidies are intended to encourage the incorporation of immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers and displaced persons into the associative movement, as well as to prevent discrimination.

We have dealt with the regulations. The following includes the diagnosis made by Sonia Veredas (2001) on the functioning of the mechanism for subsidies and its effect on the associative life of the immigrants: “Funding decisions tend to run the risk of turning into selective paternalism, strengthening certain groups at the expense of others by

seriously limiting their possibilities to participate in public discourse. Moreover, a committal of substantial funds to very few selected organisations can lead to an overstretching of their structures, a development of bodies whose sizes bear no relation to their actual outputs. Currently, notable differences exist between organisational infrastructures, caused by the widely differing amounts of money organisations receive in public grants. The distribution of these funds is not regularly linked to impact assessments, so that the level of control over the use of funds is low” (p.20). According to Veredas, two types of minority organisations can be distinguished with regard to their funding relationship with the State: Service oriented organisations with a policy approach based on pragmatism and good relations with authorities, and policy oriented organisations with a political agenda based on maximum demands and with difficulties entering into negotiations with the authorities. She presents as examples the demands for political autonomy for the Gypsy community or for open borders allowing the free movement of migrant workers, which reach far beyond negotiation parameters defined by government. The second kind of groups receive much smaller proportion of funds. “This process marks a vicious circle: the precarious financial situation of most organisations propels them to ask for public grants. To obtain these grants they are obliged to adopt a social service model which inflates their infrastructure and weakens their organisational profile. Consequently, their identity-based approach is sacrificed to financial stability: The organisation ceases to mobilise minority communities and instead professionalises its services.. The inevitable risk consists in a weakening of its ties with the very community that legitimates its position as a negotiator with government bodies. However without public grants the survival of most organisations would be threatened in the absence of financial support from the populace” (p.21)

## 2) Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants

Until 1995, there were no bodies to receive the opinions of the immigrants’ representatives and to establish a formal institutionalised relationship with the state institutions. Until that year, the government had unilaterally convened associations and NGO’s in order to deal with certain matters related to immigration. This type of “collaboration” became especially intense with the regularisations of 1991 and the successive convening of immigrants` quotas since 1993.



In 1995 the Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants was set up. On its establishment, it was defined as a “body of a consultative nature, with capacity to issue reports and recommendations and to adopt agreements on its own initiative or by a non-binding consultation with the Administration” (Royal Decree 490/1995). Later, in 2001 it was redefined as a “consultation, information and assessment body of the Government in matters concerning the integration of immigrants” (Royal Decree 367/2001), which meant a reduction on the competences it had in 1995. From its foundation until 2000, the Forum was institutionally ascribed to the Ministry of Social Affairs, but that year it passed to the Interior Ministry, which was an indication that the Government was willing to carry out more restrictive policies in the area of immigration. In 2004, after the electoral victory of the Socialist Party, the Forum was again located in the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs. Below is a description of the nature of the Forum as explained in the official documents and then an evaluation of its real functioning is provided based on the work of Sonia Veredas (2001) already mentioned.

The composition of this Forum is defined as follows: a chairperson, a person of acknowledged prestige in the area of aliens and immigration, a secretary and twenty-four spokespersons, eight of whom are representatives of the Public Administrations, eight representatives of legally constituted immigrants’ associations and eight representatives of non-governmental organisations, trade union and business associations.

The functions in the Forum are to formulate proposals and recommendations on the integration of the immigrants and refugees in Spanish society, to channel the proposals of the social organisations which are active in the area of immigration, to prepare an annual report on the work done and on the situation of immigration, and to draw up reports on the proposals, plans and programmes of other State institutions which might affect integration.

As regards the appointment of spokespersons representing the associations of immigrants and refugees and the social support organisations, the selection is made by the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs through public convening based on the following criteria: the statutory objectives of the association, territorial implementation, experience and trajectory as regards the development of programmes, the efficacy and

efficiency of previous programmes carried out through subsidies, the management structure and capacity, its representative nature in relation to the number of immigrants in Spain.

The above is the official presentation of the Forum. As regards its functioning, Sonia Veredas (2001) writes: “In the past, only very few matters of actual importance to migrants` lives have been addressed by the Forum, which is why a lot of its own members consider it passive and slow. Its effectiveness is in doubt as the government seems to display a lack of commitment to discuss crucial issues.(...) However, an analysis of how dialogue and consultation procedures are managed reveals that consultation is designed to respond more to the requirements of decision-makers inside the authorities than the needs and demands of different minority groups. Any “civil dialogue” is therefore subject to the official agenda and its constraints, and acts as a prop to legitimate official decisions in which the degree of participation by organisations representing minorities is slim” (p.21)

In addition, Veredas (2003) points out that the selection criteria to obtain representation on the Forum tends to favour the structural aspects above the content criteria and some of these requirements are difficult to give weighting to, especially those which have to do with economic capacity and real dimension, and make little reference to the social impact of these associations. Generally the Secretaries of the associations (at least the immigrants` associations) do not certify the number of members but the number of immigrants who pass through the premises of the association each year. It is interesting that the differences as regards the structures of the associations is substantially the result of the policy of subsidies as those who received more financing in the past are those who subsequently receive more financing thanks to the structural and organisational dimension achieved in the first stages of the aid programmes. Thus, there is an unequal distribution between the consolidated associations and those aspiring to receive funds. In fact, if a review is made of the Yearbooks on Migrations of the Ministry of Employment and Social Affairs, it can be seen that this aid is granted to associations which have spokespersons on the Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants (Veredas 2003).

## **Part II. Active Civic Participation of Third Country Immigrants**

### **II. 1.- Studies on civic participation of immigrants**

Research on the civic participation of immigrants in Spain is very recent, in consonance with the short time immigration has been taking place in Spain. No papers were published on this theme previous to 1999, when a doctoral thesis was published in CD format by the Universidad Complutense (Veredas, 1999). Previous to this date only two very introductory articles had been published, one (Crespo, 1997) focused on the associations of immigrants in Barcelona and another (Cachón, 1998) on the participation of immigrants in the trade unions. No papers were submitted on this theme at any of the first three congresses on immigration in Spain (1998, 2000 and 2002), nor were there any papers at the Congress on Political Science in 2001 devoted to the theme: “Citizenship and Integration Policies”, where there were many papers on immigration. No papers on this theme were presented at 2003 Congress on Political Science despite the fact that one of the roundtables discussed “Social Capital, Association and Political Participation”. Importance was first given to the issue in 2004 at the 4<sup>th</sup> Congress on Immigration in Spain held on November, where one roundtable dealt with “Participation, Association and Community Development”.

Due to the scarcity and heterogeneity of studies, it is imposible to offer a general overview of the civic participation of immigrants as deduced from these researches. Instead of that, this chapter will summarize the main findings of each of the publications and papers devoted to the issue. It must be taken in mind that some of these texts were written before 2000, that is to say, when the number of immigrants in Spain was much lower than now. Social and political circumstances surrounding immigration have changed dramatically since then following the increase in the arrival of foreign population.

Spanish literature devoted to civic participation of immigrants has concentrated in the associations of immigrants and has evolved around these main topics:

### **1.- The degree of participation in their associations among immigrants.**

According to Inés García (1998) and her research on immigration in the northern province of Navarra, the majority of the immigrants do not have contacts with any type of association. Only 17.9% say that they habitually attend an association, 43% do not know of any and 35% know of an association but do not participate. The period of stay in Spain positively influences participation in associations as does the level of studies. In fact, the percentage of graduates in the associations is high, while the percentage of persons with no studies is higher among those who do not know of any associations.

Comparative studies have shown that the national origin has some influence in the level of association among immigrants. So, according to Morales et al (2004), the Peruvian community has a level of association which is much greater than would be expected considering its population numbers (14% of the associations in Madrid are Peruvian), while the Moroccan and Ecuadorian communities have rates which are much lower (3% and 8% of the associations) despite the fact that their population is much bigger. The sub-Saharan immigrants also have many more associations than would be expected from their numbers.

Also Ancin (2004), who studies the immigrants associations in the city of Granada, highlights the clear difference between Moroccan and Senegales as regards their tendencies to form associations. While the Moroccan community constitutes 33% of the immigrant population in Granada, it only has two associations, while the Senegalese collective, which constitutes 8%, has five associations. Based on this data, the paper examines the factors which determine this conduct.

The availability of free time does not seem to be too strong a conditioning factor as the interviews made by Ancin show that there are many members participating who have very little free time. Many of these members have just arrived in Spain and are still in the process of adaptation to the environment and are financially at subsistence level.

Neither does the existence of networks of contacts seem to be an explanatory factor as the majority of the associations are created due to the acquaintanceships its members make when they arrive in Spain. Only one of the members interviewed said that he had known of the association before coming to Spain. Moreover, there are no significant

differences in the necessities of the Moroccan and Senegalese communities as the legalisation of their situations and employment are the two main demands of both groups, although the Senegalese seem to have more difficulties with the Spanish language than do the Moroccans.

In an older research carried out in Barcelona, Rafael Crespo (1997) also points out that the immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa make up the community with the most intense associative dynamism, and with a strong tradition of grouping in their societies of origin. The large number of associations is a consequence of the variety of nationalities and ethnic groups which constitute this community in Spain despite the fact that the total number is low. The Moroccan group has a certain organisational weakness but does tend to participate in mixed associations (with autochthonous members). Many of its associations are basically religious and are constructed around oratories, and the female participation in them is scarce.

To similar conclusions arrived García (1998) in her research about immigrants in Navarra. According to her, the sub-Saharan communities are those with a higher level of association (37% habitually attend an association), while the Moroccans are those with the least percentage of participation with 8.3% and have the highest percentage of those who say they do not know of any associations with 60.4%. The Latin-Americans are at the average level with 21% participation.

In a comparison between different geographical contexts, Madrid and Murcia –an agricultural province in the southeast coast- the study of Morales et al (2004) concludes that the level of associationism among immigrants is greater in Murcia but, on the other hand, their rate of demise is also greater in that area. That is to say, the Murcia context encourages the rapid growth of associations, but not their survival, just the opposite of what happens in Madrid. The authors of the study do not pretend to generalize their conclusions, as the research was focused only in these two areas, Madrid city and Murcia (province and city).

In a more qualitative approach, Sonia Veredas (2001) states that the main problem is that a large proportion of the immigrants in Spain “is unaware of any policy debates, including those about their political rights, as they are forced to concern themselves

with their day-to-day survival. Their connection to those organisations which are supposed to represent them is tenuous at best” (p.21)

**.- Their relations with the State institutions.**

According to Sonia Veredas (1999) the participation of the State in the immigrants’ associations is excessive, and there are co-opting processes through which the associations lose much of their capacity for self organisation, and are transformed into NGOs providing services. The policy of subsidies for the provision of services to the immigrant population is the instrument through which the State imposes this conditioning. Veredas shows that the associations are dependent on the State due to the external financing as they lack their own human and material resources. The associations cannot finance themselves due to the limited participation of the members who constitute the associations in their statutes; in fact, the majority of the immigrants who sign the statutes only supply their names and do not participate subsequently in the business of the associations.

Within the immigrants’ associations which are of a social-political nature (not for leisure activities), two types of associations can be distinguished in their relations with the State: the associations which act as intermediaries with the administration (“linking” associations) and those which are more demanding and more independent of the institutions. In Spain the first type of associations predominate, perhaps due to the fact that immigration is recent, and the priority is the satisfaction of basic necessities, and the claims for political and social rights have not yet arisen.

Veredas (2004) also points out that Spanish policy hinders the participation of the immigrants maintaining in the illegality a big percentage of them, curtailing in this way their possibilities of active civic participation (The text was written before the announcement made by the new socialist government of a regularization process).

Another effect of administrative policies in the associative life of immigrants is shown by Crespo (1997), according to whom, the Administration prefers to maintain relationships with a reduced group of interlocutors and this can give to these leaders an excessive control over organisational decisions.

**.- Their activities, specially their role in the adaptation to the country of newcomer immigrants.**

The work of these associations is important in the legal, labour and social assessment, as well as the training and capacitating of workers (Veredas 1999). The associations of an assistance and political nature are set up as a result of the legal and vital precariousness faced by a large part of the migrant population, and they are thus transformed into instruments for processing the regularisation of the legal status, as well as for obtaining a number of aid services for emergencies. The associations seem to deal basically with their own continuance, that is to say, they are interest groups as regards their own defence. At the present time, the associations are predominantly focused in their activities of assistance and there is hardly any contact with the exterior, moreover, no endeavours are made as regards the normalisation of the social relationship of the immigrants and the autochthonous population.

Morales et al (2004) compare the areas of action of the Spanish associations in the districts of Madrid, which they had studied in a previous research, and the immigrant ones. The Spanish associations focus on activities related to education, women, health, sport and culture, while the associations of immigrants focus on culture, immigration, human rights and social assistance. The latter are much more active than the former as far as the work of political mediation is concerned (pressuring the authorities, representation as regards interests and the defence of specific causes) and they never restrict their activity to a single district as do the Spanish associations.

As regards the self-definition of the immigrants' associations, the percentage of associations defined as "immigrant" is the greatest, but this is closely followed by the self-definition as "cultural association" and in third place are the associations self-defined as associations of "human rights and cooperation". Moreover, the majority of the immigrants' associations are identified with a single country although there are some which are identified with religious and regional variables, and which include Spaniards and immigrants (14% in Madrid, 27% in Murcia).

In her research on the Uruguayan associations in Spain, Natalia Moraes (2004) concludes that the objectives of these associations all around Spain coincide: to relate Uruguayans with each other, to preserve the Uruguayan identity, to provide assessment in residence and employment matters, to promote solidarity in the community and with Uruguay, to make Uruguayan culture known in Spain and facilitate integration.

Rafael Crespo (1997) compares the activities of immigrants associations in the seventies and in the nineties: In the first stage, the seventies, this type of immigration was mainly political, from South America, and the associations dealt with political and international affairs rather than the difficulties of adaptation to Spanish life, while in the nineties (like nowadays) immigration was economic, and the demands were of a legal and labour nature.

**.- The relations between Trade Unions and the associations of immigrants.**

Sonia Veredas (2000), in one of the few texts devoted in Spain to this matter, shows the ambiguous policy of Trade Unions as regards immigrant workers, divided between the wish to increase their affiliation and representation base and the fear of losing the support of Spanish workers especially in the sectors such as intensive agriculture, and in the geographical areas where immigration is concentrated. In addition, there is covert competition between Trade Unions and the immigrants' associations in order to flaunt the representation of the alien workers as this means State subsidies and a presence on official settlement bodies.

The text, based on interviews made in 1999 to the two main Trade Unions, Comisiones Obreras and the Unión General de Trabajadores, and to immigrants' associations, describes also the work of the CITE, Centres for Information and Assessment for Migrant Workers, linked to Comisiones Obreras, and the Guide Centres belonging to the Unión General de Trabajadores, which carry out activities related to legal and employment assessment, social assistance and some vocational training and language courses. The author understands that this provision of services to the immigrants conceals the real ambiguity of the Trade Unions with regard to their relations with the immigrant workers and these services are provided because both trade Unions receive State subsidies for this. Moreover, the leaders of the immigrants' associations are given employment at the Trade Union centres, which diminishes their independence as regards Trade Unions.



In Veredas's diagnosis the relation between the Trade Unions and the immigrants' associations is "inevitably of a conflictive nature as both organisations compete for the monopoly of the representation of the immigrants and the subsidies and institutional presence that this implies. At the same time, there is a mutual dependence as the associations are, in fact, a way for the Trade Unions to approach the immigrants, and for the immigrants, the Trade Unions are way to access the institutional area, information and material resources". (Veredas, 2000, p.158) There is a mutual convenience between Trade Unions and immigrants' associations, as the relation with the associations "adds legitimacy to the Trade Unions as regards the treatment of migration and they can, thus, contribute to the reception of more funds". (Veredas, 2000, p.158) On the other hand, the associations get access to official information through their relation with the Trade Unions. But, the associations fear the loss of independence that can be derived from a too close relationship with the Trade Unions and these, on their turn, fear that a too visible presence of immigrants in their ranks can diminish autochthonous affiliation, specially in areas or sectors where immigrants are numerous.

In a previous article, Lorenzo Cachón (1998) showed a more optimistic view of the relations between Trade Unions and immigrants workers. He tried to demonstrate that, unlike what happened in the countries of central and northern Europe in the seventies, the work of the Spanish Trade Unions had always been positive towards the integration of the new workers. [It should be pointed out that its date of publication, 1998, is anterior to the immigration boom in Spain and the rise of employment competition between Spaniards and immigrants which is now detected in the public opinion surveys]. Cachón describes how in 1977 the first specific body within a Spanish Trade Union organisation (Comisiones Obreras) for services to immigrants was set up: the Secretariat for Emigration. However, in 1987, with the inversion of the demographic flows, this was renamed "Secretariat for Emigration and Immigration". The other large Spanish Trade Union, the Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) opened its Confederated Secretariat for Social Action (responsible for immigration matters) in 1990. Since then, the work of the Trade Unions has been focused on four basic activities: individualised attention to immigrants, political work to benefit the employment insertion of immigrants, actions in the job markets and employment of immigrants within the Trade Unions.

In 1998 Cachón observed a growing presence of immigrants in the Trade Unions although the number was still low (Cachón stated that there were 11,000 immigrants affiliated to the CCOO Trade Union). In general, according with Cachón, the immigrants have a certain fear of the Trade Unions which they associate with the State structures. The immigrants who work in the Trade Unions are very concentrated in the specific areas related to attention to immigrants. There are still no immigrants in posts of responsibility in the Trade Unions, which may be due to the fact that they only joined recently.

#### **.- The role of the Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants.**

The non-existence of the right to vote, not even at local level, for non-nationalised aliens means that the Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants is the only channel for political intervention available to immigrants in Spain at domestic level (Veredas 2003). On its creation the Forum was defined as a body of a consultative nature with the capacity to act on its own initiative or in response to a non-binding consultation made by the government. However, at the present time, the definition has been reformulated, limiting some of its functions and leaving it finally defined as a consultant, information and assessment body for the government as regards immigrant integration. It is made up of thirty spokespersons, eight of which belong to immigrant and refugee associations. The process for the designation of the immigrants' associations which are to provide these spokespersons has also been changed since this was constituted. Once designated by seniority, territorial implementation, the number of members and experience in developing programmes, they are now designated depending on the exclusive decision of the Interior Ministry, in principle, according to a number of criteria which are very similar to those used in the past. In the evaluation of Sonia Veredas this means that the Administration rewards the achievements which the Administration itself makes possible (such as experience in developing programmes).

This leads to a relationship of dominance and the neutralisation of the potential the associations have to challenge decisions as a vicious circle is generated and the associations which most adapt to the evaluation criteria of the Administration are

rewarded, which are those with most resources, hindering the appearance of new associations.

The real functioning of the Forum is not published through any channel of communication as the Interior Ministry has imposed silence on its internal processes and the minutes of its meetings are not made public. In fact, these minutes show that matters of real import are not dealt with at the meetings, and often the participation of the immigrants is restricted to approving the measures of the Administration. To sum up, the Forum has become a formalisation body which basically deals with the transfer of the provision of certain services to the associations by the State. In addition, preferential treatment is given to big organisations which are present in the whole national territory.

In the Forum, the integration of the opinion of the immigrants is being carried out through a process which is led from above. Furthermore, as it is assigned to the national level, this hinders the influence of the Forum as regards the real conditions of the lives of the immigrants since the measures on integration will have to take place in the local contexts.

**.- The strength of primary networks as competitors of formal associations.**

Veredas states that the strength of primary networks which function as basic reference groups for the immigrants and create community cohesion can hinder collective organisation. “The density of these networks encourages the maintenance of community cohesion and the reproduction of the patterns of behaviour and the values of the society of origin, which are obstacles to assuming the patterns of the new context, among which is collective organisation as a channel for the defence and promotion of the interests of the group” (Veredas 2004, page 95-96).

Also Ancin, trying to explain the different patterns of associative life between Moroccans and Senegales in the town of Granada, considers that the difference between the social networks formed by the two communities in Spain may explain partly the difference in the associative strength (more intense among the Senegaleses). In the case of the Moroccans, the greater population which has settled in the city makes it possible

for the social network to be broader and more solid, based on very strong family and local links. This availability of social networks could diminish the necessity of associations (Ancin 2004).

**.- The political culture of immigrants.**

The Spanish literature on immigration only deals with the political culture of three groups of immigrants: Peruvians, Moroccans and Senegales. Veredas (2004) compares the two first ones, which the author has studied in depth, and according to her, it is not possible to speak of a participative political culture in these groups. On the contrary, the conditions in the countries of origin orientate the political expectations towards passive conduct and the acceptance of the domination of political and financial elite. Thus, among the inhabitants of the Rif, the area in the North of Morocco where a high number of the immigrants who arrive in Spain come from, the political culture is basically of parish type, following the classification of Almond and Verba (1963). Among the rest of the Moroccan population, the dominant politics is that of the subject-participant. Civil society is very weak in Morocco although, from the middle of the eighties, a wide range of associations have appeared. In any case, the Moroccans were the first to speak out, demanding fair treatment from the Spanish authorities. Moroccans form the oldest economic immigration into Spain and was also the most numerous until a short time ago. Furthermore, they feel wronged in comparison with the other groups of immigrants.

As concerns Peru, there are several political sub-cultures: the indigenous culture isolated in the jungle, the rural culture organised in self-managed communities and the urban culture. These have all survived through a history of authoritarian, populist and elitist regimes. Elitism, authoritarianism and the influence of charismatic leadership, together with the survival of forms of self-organisation of the rural communities mean that there is a mixture of political cultures: parish, subject and participative (Almond and Verba, 1970).

Partly as a result of this type of political socialisation, the participation of immigrants in associations in Spain is scarce and always instrumental.

Danielle Ancin (2004) has compared the political culture of Senegaleses and Moroccans living in Granada. From the interviews she made it can be deduced that both groups perceive that substantial change is taking place in the direction of democracy in their countries of origin, but while the Senegaleses interviewed have a certain confidence in the political evolution of their country, the Moroccans showed little confidence in the future of democracy in Morocco. But, the most important fact is that this evolution towards democracy has centred on channels of participation which are very different in the cases of each of the countries, while in Morocco practically the only legitimated channels are the political parties and the fundamental political act is the ballot, in Senegal the social fabric is full of organisations independent from the political parties, such as associations, religious fraternities, cooperatives, economic groups, NGOs, etc... The author considers that these differences regarding their political culture can explain their different patterns of associationism in Spain.

#### **.- The organisational characteristics of associations.**

From the quantitative research made by Morales et al (2004) comparing the immigrants associations of Madrid and Murcia, some organizational characteristics can be deduced:

A) The size of the associations. The average number of members of the immigrants' associations is 400 in Madrid and 90 in the Murcia region, although the figures are similar if only the two cities are compared, Madrid and Murcia cities. The associations of Latin-Americans are bigger than the rest. These averages are taken by separating three associations from the total number. These three associations are very large and are rare in the world of associations: ATIME, Moroccan, with over 15,000 members in Madrid and 5,000 in the region of Murcia, the Casa de Ecuador in Madrid, with over 12,000 and ARI-Perú, with 9,000 members in Madrid.

B) The profile of the members. 50% of the members are between 16 and 30 years old. There is a predominance of males in the African associations and of females in the Latin-American associations. In addition, 51% claim that their members have arrived in the country recently, in the last five years.

C) Capacity to convoke. The capacity to convoke a special act depends on the size of the town, it is greater in the capital cities than in the smaller municipalities, but the

limit is about 1,000 persons, both in Murcia city and the city of Madrid. There are no differences as regards ethnic groups.

D) Resources: a substantial difference has been noted with regard to the availability of resources in Madrid and Murcia, premises, computers, telephones and hired staff. For example, 31% of the associations in Madrid have a hired person, while only two associations in the Murcia region do. As concerns the budgets, while the average annual budgets of the Madrid associations are €20,000 (excluding the three larger ones), the budgets of the associations of Murcia city is €2,400 and €4,000 in the region. Self-financing is the norm and public subsidies only make up 3% of the budgets in the case of Madrid and 5% in Murcia. [This results contradicts the hypothesis of Sonia Veredas on the co-optation of the associations and their conversion to NGOs financed with public funds, although it should be remembered that Veredas was dealing with the large associations with presence in the Forum for the Social Integration of Immigrants, which, in fact, are precisely the rare cases in this study] . According to this study, the quotas of the members cover 75% of the expenses in Murcia and 38% in Madrid. The average annual quota for Madrid and Murcia is €26 per member. The rest required to cover 100% of the budget comes basically from sales organised by the associations, donations and campaigns to raise funds.

E) Participation in assemblies: It has been detected that there is a decreasing pattern of participation as the size of the association grows. The average participation is 45% of the members.

In a more qualitative and previous approach, Sonia Veredas has described centralisation as one of the main characteristics of these associations (Veredas 1999). The evolution of the association usually depends on the work of one person, which encourages authoritarian mechanisms. The boards or assemblies hardly ever meet to take decisions and the participation of the members is restricted to sporadic meetings for recreation. Veredas points out that this situation keeps the potential of conflict at a low level, as well as the demands of the immigrants. The relationship of the immigrant population with the associations is purely a clientelistic and functional relationship, and there is no real community of interests inside each organization. The immigrants often view them as platforms for the social promotion of their leaders. There is a contradiction in the internal life of the immigrants' associations between the democratising discourse as regards their relations with the exterior and authoritarian internal practice, with a

tendency of those responsible towards elitism and even to despotism. Such practice is one of the reasons for the limited participation of immigrants in associations.

The traditional forms of authority which lead to a hierarchy in some associations, especially the African ones where the oldest person is frequently elected leader, are highlighted by Jabbaz and Simó (2004). Crespo (1997) mentions, as two of the fundamental problems faced by these associations, the lack of premises for holding meetings and the lack of persons with free time to dedicate to the association., and both factors can lead to authoritarian functioning.

#### **.- The political activity of associations**

The immigrants' associations frequently involve political action among their activities, although there are differences in the methods. Morales et al (2004), in their comparison between Madrid and Murcia, state that in Madrid action is usually oriented more towards the media, while in Murcia it is oriented towards mobilisation. In addition, the associations in Madrid diversify their activities while those in Murcia concentrate on the activities involved in local integration and mutual assistance. With regard to the groups of origin, the greater mobilisation of mixed associations is normal (with the participation of nationals and aliens). The reasons for mobilisation show that there is greater conflict involved in multicultural contact in Murcia than in Madrid, with more action in the former focused on claims related to culture, festivals and identity. The authors infer that this difference might be due to the greater presence of Maghrebis and sub-Saharanans among the immigrant population of Murcia, as compared with the predominance of Latin-Americans in Madrid.

#### **.- The inter-organisational networks.**

The Spanish general associations which are contacted most by immigrants are the Red Cross, the Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español) and United Left (Izquierda Unida) and the two main Spanish Trade Unions, the Unión General de Trabajadores and Comisiones Obreras (Morales et al, 2004). In Madrid, the immigrants' associations are also related to the Partido Popular, which is in power at the Town Hall and in the Autonomous Community, while in Murcia, where the Partido

Popular is also in power (Murcia is an Autonomous Community), these contacts do not exist. Moreover, in Madrid, the immigrants' associations have a strong relationship with the Neighbourhood Associations, which is almost non-existent in Murcia, perhaps because the Neighbourhood Associations in Madrid have a greater social impact

With regard to collaboration among immigrants' associations, the centrality of several associations should be pointed out and the fact that the others tend to contact and collaborate with these, which are ATIME, Association of Senegalese, ARI-Perú and VOMADE (Voluntariado de Madres Dominicanas). Morales *et al* also point out the greater isolation of the associations in Murcia, where 29% do not have any contact with other associations (19% in Madrid). Another difference of interest is the types of associations the immigrants' associations relate more with, while in Murcia these are Spanish associations devoted to providing assistance to immigrants, in Madrid, relations are more frequent with other immigrants' associations.

Sonia Veredas also concludes that collaboration between organisations representing different ethnic or national groups is frequent, consisting mainly in developing partnerships for joint programmes (the government prefers to finance programmes carried out in partnership) and cooperating in campaigns to lobby the government or raise public awareness (collaborations is greater in campaigns that deal with issues affecting the whole of the non-EU migrant population). (Veredas, 2001, p.19)

#### **.- The role of religion and ethnic origin in the creation of associations**

Jabbaz and Simó (2004), in their research on 61 associations in the Autonomous Community of Valencia, point out that the non-EU immigrants' associations are seldom multi-national, however this is more frequent among the EU "immigrants'" associations (many of these are made up of retired people with medium to high incomes). Many of the associations are defined by religion, be it Islamic, Orthodox, or Adventist –these two last among immigrants from Eastern Europe-. However, the only associations of immigrants which are exclusively defined by their religion are the Islamic oratories which combine culture and religion, such as the Islamic Cultural Centre in Valencia, the Islamic Community of Valencia and the Islamic Cultural Centre



of Castellón, among others. Citizens with different ethnic cultures and nationalities meet at the oratories.

Another differentiation factor is the ethnic identity, which is particularly relevant in African immigrants' associations as a result of the artificiality of the nation states resulting from decolonisation. Very often the nationality is not recognised as a criterion of identity, while the ethnic origin transcends political borders and this stands out as a criterion for adscription of the first order among the African immigrants' associations.

According to Veredas (2011) the competition marks the relationship between associations devoted to the same ethnic group, as they compete for the same state resources and for the representation of their group. Local and state authorities prefer to consult and to fund only one association in each national group, which reinforces the competition between associations.

#### **.- The trans-nationalism of associations**

This issue has been highlighted by Natalia Moraes (2004) in her research about the Uruguayan associations in Spain. Uruguayan immigrants in Spain claim rights in both societies, the host society and the society of origin. On the one hand, they claim social rights and legal recognition in order to improve their situations in Spain, and on the other hand, they demand to participate politically in Uruguay. As regards the first matter, their claim is based on a treaty of 1870, which establishes equality of treatment as regards the two nations, but this is not admitted as valid by the Spanish Government, although the fact that it is in force as has been recognised by several Spanish Court decisions. Concerning the second aspect, the claims directed at the country of origin, are centred on the right to vote as the State of Uruguay does not allow a postal vote.

With regard to these two claims, it can be seen that the variable "time of stay in Spain" is a key factor for explaining the participation of the members of the associations as the more recently arrived immigrants have a greater tendency to claim social rights in Spain than to participate in the "reconstruction" of the Uruguayan nation through the ballot box.

### **.- The effect of autochthonous attitudes towards immigrants in their associative life**

Trying to explain the different levels of participation in associations in Granada, Danielle Ancin (2004) mentions the current political climate in Spain and in the rest of Europe, where there is hostility and distrust as regards the Muslim population, which can inhibit participation in public life of the Moroccans. Despite the fact that the majority of the Senegalese are also Muslims, Spanish public opinion does not identify them with this religion.

### **.- The effect of gender differentiation and level of education**

The separation of sexes practised by some cultures, specially among muslims, determines the marginalization of women in the associations and the formation of an specifically female associative movement (Veredas, 2003). In the case of the associations of women, their condition as women prevails over their ethnic groups and their countries of origin (Crespo, 1997).

Different studies show that promoters and leaders of immigrant associations are frequently persons of high education level (with University degrees). In this conclusion coincide Jabbaz and Simó (2004) describing the situation in the Autonomous Community of Valencia, Danielle Ancin (2004) speaking about Granada, and Rafael Crespo (1997) analyzing the case of Barcelona. Crespo adds that despite this high level of education, most often, the leaders of the associations are employed in jobs which require a low level of qualifications, as most the base members.

## **II. 2.- Studies in the general field of civic participation**

With regard to empirical contributions, most of the studies on political participation in Spain have restricted themselves to research on the neighbourhood participation in the taking of decisions by Local Administrations and their results are heterogeneous depending on the city or municipality in question. A more ambitious study was made recently on the nature of the associations and their relations with the institutions in several Spanish cities based on a formalised questionnaire, but the results have not yet been published. Associative life has also been dealt with from the perspective of the

“Third Sector” (associations involved in social assistance) where the researchers were mainly interested in the nature and efficacy of their work rather than their participation in decision taking . The most ambitious attempt to characterise the civic participation of the Spaniards in order to relate this to social class is the work done by Miguel Caínzos. Little can be deduced from these studies as regards the civic participation of the immigrants as they do not offer a general characterisation of the structure of opportunities which would facilitate or hinder participation. On the other hand, one of the main results of these studies, the special difficulties which confront low-level social class to take part in civic activities, does not apply to immigrants as they face special needs which are satisfied by their associations.

There are substantial social inequalities concerning political participation in Spain whether the analysis refers to the intensity of the participation or to the differences among the persons who participate and those who do not (Cainzos, 2004; Barreiro, 2004). Although the differences are less as regards electoral political participation (voting), they are substantial when it is a question of participation in political parties or participation in intensive protest activities. The variables which determine these differences are as follows: social class (the middle and upper middle classes participate more), the production sector (public employees participate more), the level of studies (the higher the level, the more the participation), the level of income (very much related to the social class: the middle classes participate more) and age (the young people participate more). However, gender and the size of the municipality of residence do not seem to affect participation. These data coincide with the data obtained in other european countries (Morales, 2004)

The hypothesis put forward by Cainzos (2004) is opposed to the widely held opinion according to which it would be advisable to encourage civic participation in order to democratise political life. In the opinion of Caínzos, however, this encouragement would maintain the differences and would mean that those already participating would do so even more. Participation has material and temporary costs which cannot satisfy all the social groups equally. According to the author, the solution entails a transformation of greater scope, in which social inequalities are corrected first, or the strengthening of electoral participation which, in his opinion, is the most equalitarian form of participation which has existed up to the present time.

### **3.- Prominent immigrants active in public life**

There are only two immigrants whose name appear with some frequency in the media. These are Mustapha El M'rabet, Moroccan, living in Spain since 1990 and leader of ATIME (Asociación de Trabajadores Inmigrantes Marroquíes en España), and Riay Tatari, born in Syria and naturalised Spanish, imán of the mosque of Tetuán (district of Madrid), and leader of one of the two main islamic communities in Spain, UCIDE (Unión de Comunidades Islámicas de España). The other one is FEERI (Federación Española de Entidades Religiosas Islámicas) whose leader, a Spaniard, Antonio Carrasco, is not well known. In Spain there are around 200.000 persons converted to Islam, and they are mainly belonging to this association. Much more known is Mansur Escudero, a Spaniard, 56 years old, ex-communist, psychiatrist, and converted to Islam in 1979, Secretary of the Comunidad Islámica Española, which tries to be the coordination body of the islamic community in Spain in its relations with the Government.

None of the leaders of other immigrants associations is frequently mentioned in the media, neither is any extra-Community immigrant prominent in public political life.

### **Part III. Expert assessment**

The research on the civic participation of the immigrants in Spain is very recent and there are still many aspects of the matter to be explored. This is in consonance with the youthfulness of the immigration to Spain: immigration only became socially visible in the mid-nineties and half the immigrants in Spain have lived here for less than two years. The first important paper on the subject dates from 1999 (Veredas 1999) and the first quantitative study non-regional in scope is currently being carried out (Morales, González and Sánchez, 2004). Given the lack of research, it is impossible for us to respond reliably to the questions asked by the POLITIS research team in the outline.

### **.- Main fields of civic participation**

We do not know what “the main fields of civic activities that immigrants engage in” are, as there are no quantitative studies which enable us to answer this question. My personal opinion is that the majority of the immigrants in Spain are still in very precarious situations as they have been in the country for too short a period of time and this hinders any kind of civic participation. Probably belonging to a Church (Islamic, Catholic, Orthodox, Adventist) is the only “civic” activity which is common among immigrants. The few studies which exist and have been summarised here are focused on the immigrants’ associations. Therefore, we can speak of the activities of these associations, but not the activities of the immigrants in general. With regard to the associations, its main field of activity, as can be deduced from the studies which have been presented, is social assistance given to the immigrants, which materialises in legal aid for obtaining “papers”, and all types of assistance such as finding a room, finding a job, connecting with the social and charity services, etc. In the second place, the other large area of activity are the claims filed generally against the Central Administration and the demands for new regularisation processes and modifications to the legislation on aliens. In third place are the activities related to leisure and the maintenance of the customs of the culture of origin.

### **.- Ethnic and national groups**

When the immigrants’ associations are compared against each other depending on their national origins, there is only a clear difference in favour of the Senegalese. This group has been highlighted in several studies as especially active in the formation of associations, which tends to be explained by the intense associative and communal life in Senegal. There are no other noteworthy differences among the associations due to national origin. Although ATIME, the main Moroccan immigrants’ association in Spain, is also the main association of immigrants in general, its pre-eminence may be due to two factors unrelated to its national idiosyncrasy: the immigration of Moroccan workers is the oldest type of economic immigration in Spain and for many years this was the most numerous community. It may be surprising that the associations of Ecuadorians, who are now the most important national group among immigrants, has received little attention, but we must take into account the fact that immigration is growing and changing in its composition at a very fast pace in Spain. Probably if Sonia Veredas, the main Spanish expert on the matter, had written her doctoral dissertation on

the subject four years later, she would have dealt with the Ecuadorians instead of the Peruvians who are now a minor group.

#### **.- Degree of active civic participation**

There is a lack of quantitative studies which impede answering this question, neither can we reply reliably to the fourth question, “What is the relation between engagement in ethnic or migrant organisations compared to mainstream society organisations?”, also due to the lack of quantitative studies among immigrants and the autochthonous population to provide us with the required information. However, we could suggest the hypothesis that the type of engagement in both types of associations is different given their differing functions: while the immigrants associations at the present time devote mainly to assistencial services, the autochthonous associations are involved in providing to their member non-basic or leisure services, making claims, or offering help to persons with special needs. To sum up, it could be said that many immigrants can feel the necessity to joint an association, especially when they have just arrived in the country and are in difficult situations, while for most the autochthonous population life is perfectly possible without belonging to any type of association.

As regards the issues which, in my opinion, are of special interest in this field, I wish to highlight the political culture of the immigrants. I think that this is a key factor of political importance and we know very little about this. Almost all of the immigrants come from authoritarian countries with political traditions which are very different from west European traditions, and with Welfare States which are much weaker and, sometimes, with failed States incapable of complying with their basic tasks. In addition, many immigrants are from rural societies with traditional models of authority or, in some cases, with an important part of community life governed by assemblies. When they arrive in Europe, or, in this case, Spain, they find themselves in a society which is self-regulating in a different way where the State carries out many more functions than in their societies of origin and relates with the citizens in a regulated way. They also see differences in the sociability of the autochthonous population as compared with their own, which is seen as a lack or deficit in the autochthonous society and becomes another reason for making the immigrants relate with persons of their own nationality. All this leads to a “culture shock”, or “cognitive dissonance” which is more intense in the first generation, but we do not know how the attitudes, opinions and expectations

concerning public, social and State matters transform in order to adapt to the new reality of the host country. We also do not know the effect these cultural differences have on the patterns of political activity or, in a broader sense, civic activity. There are signs that the immigrants tend to associate more than the autochthonous population in Spain, which is one of the European countries with the lowest rates of political association (Morales, 2004). However, this cannot lead to the deduction that the immigrants will contribute to a revitalising of the associative fabric as, until now and as shown by the studies which have been described, the main function of these associations is assistance, which implies that the reason for associating may vanish when the situation of need disappears. Furthermore, as was stated above, we lack information of the participation of immigrants in types of civic activities other than belonging to their own associations. We also do not know how the social differences between immigrants as regards education, occupation, level of income, gender, age and period of time in the country affect the patterns of civic participation.

### **Research Gaps:**

The following is a list of aspects related to the civic participation of immigrants which are little known or unknown throughout Spain. The most ambitious researches carried out till now, those by Sonia Veredas (1999 to 2003) and Morales, González and Sánchez (2004) approach some of these matters, but both focus on Madrid (Veredas) or Madrid and Murcia (Morales, González and Sánchez).

- .- The participation of immigrants in the indigenous civic associations: trade unions, political parties, neighbourhood associations, professional organisations, associations of parents of school children, sports or leisure associations, etc.
- .- The participation of immigrants in their own associations. We know already something about these associations but we ignore how many immigrants are involved on them or on their activities.
- .- The participation of immigrants in acts such as collecting signatures, demonstrations, strikes, sit down strikes, etc.
- .- The influence of social variables, like education, sex, age, occupation, income, size of town of residence or length of stay in the country, on civic participation of immigrants.
- .- The relationships between immigrants' associations and the indigenous associations.

- .- The internal organisation of immigrants' associations.
- .- The participation of the immigrants' associations in bodies for concerted action and assessment in Autonomous Communities and local institutions.
- .- The electoral behaviour of extra-Community immigrants with the right to vote (naturalised).
- .- The influence of the cultures of origin on political behaviour in general and on the civic participation in associations or on the nature of these associations.
- .- The role of the immigrants' associations as providers of services and the establishment of client networks (the paper by Sonia Veredas deals with this aspect in the case of associations of Moroccans and Peruvians in Madrid)
- .- The amounts, origin and use of public funds received by the immigrants' associations.
- .- The role of the religious centers as competitors to the lay associations of immigrants, specially in the case of mosques and Muslim religious communities.

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## **Annex: Mapping of Research Competences in Spain**

### **1.- Active civic participation of immigrants**

There are no institutes involved in this matter as a priority. The main individual or group researchers who have worked on this matter are the following:

Sonia Veredas, currently Professor of Sociology at the University of Salamanca ([sveredas@usal.es](mailto:sveredas@usal.es)) is the author of several papers which have been described here. She is author of the first doctoral thesis on the political participation of immigrants and is the first person to deal with the matter in Spain.

Laura Morales, currently a Professor of Political Science at the University of Murcia ([lauramdu@um.es](mailto:lauramdu@um.es)), has investigated and published papers on political participation from the comparative European perspective and is now involved together with Amparo González, Monica Méndez, Luis Ramiro and Gemma Sánchez in the most ambitious attempt yet made in Spain to characterise the immigrants' associations based on a census and a questionnaire formalised in the municipality of Madrid and in the region of Murcia. Laura Morales is the person responsible in Spain for the coordinated research in the European network "Multicultural Democracy in European Cities: Local Policies, Organizational Networks, and Political Integration", in which studies are being made on the integration and political participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in more than 15 European cities. Coordination of the Network: Meindert Fennema and Jean Tillie (IMES, University of Amsterdam)

Marcela Jabbaz and Carles Xavier Simó, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology of the University of Valencia ([carles.simo@uva.es](mailto:carles.simo@uva.es)). Both are authors of the study on the immigrants' associations in Valencia which has been described here and they are currently participating in a research project financed by the Foundation of the Banco Bilbao Vizcaya (BBVA) directed by the Professor of Philosophy of Law at the University of Valencia, Javier de Lucas Martín ([lucasfra@uv.es](mailto:lucasfra@uv.es)) "Los derechos de participación como elemento de integración de los inmigrantes" [The Rights to Participate as an Integration Factor for Immigrants]. In the team take part also: AnaValero Heredia, Ángeles Solanes Corella, Carles Xavier Simó Noguera, Fernando

José Flores Giménez, Francisco Torres Pérez, José García Añón, José Manuel Rodríguez Uribes, Juan Jesús Aguirre de la Hoz, Mario Ruiz Sanz, María Dolores Hervás Armero and María José Añón Roig.

## 2.- Civic participation

Miguel Caínzos. Assitant Professor on Sociology. Universidad de Santiago de Compostela. [cp13calo@usc.es](mailto:cp13calo@usc.es) He has been working on the relation between social class and political participation

Laura Morales. Professor on Political Science. Universidad de Murcia. [lauramdu@um.es](mailto:lauramdu@um.es) . She is author of several works on political participation of Europeans.

Ramón Adell. Assistant Professor on Sociology. UNED. He has analyzed in an exahustive way the participation in every kind of demonstrations in Spain since 1976. He is working also on radical leftist movements. [radell@poli.uned.es](mailto:radell@poli.uned.es)

## 3.- Immigration

### 3.A.- Research Centers

Instituto de Migraciones y Servicios Sociales (IMSERSO). Madrid.

(<http://www.seg-social.es/imserso>) . This is a governmental agency, belonging to the Ministry of Labour. It sponsors researches, publishes studies and maintains a press review on racism and xenofobia and a good library. Very recently it has lost its competences on immigration, as a new Secretary on Immigration has been created in the Ministry of Labour.

Observatorio Permanente de Inmigración (OPI), Madrid. It belongs to the Ministry of Labour. It mantains statistical information on immigration, sponsors researches and publishes studies. Director: María Isabel Carvajal ([miscarva@amador.mir](mailto:miscarva@amador.mir))

Instituto Universitarios de Estudios sobre Migraciones. Universidad Pontificia de Comillas. Facultad de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales. [www.upco.es](http://www.upco.es). This institute, related to the Jesuit University of Comillas, is the oldest center in Spain devoted to research and teaching on immigration. Leader: Andrés Tornos.

Centro de Estudios sobre Ciudadanía y Migraciones. Leader: Joaquín Arango. This centre belong to the Foundation José Ortega y Gasset. Research on social and demographic issues related to immigration. [www.ortegaygasset.edu](http://www.ortegaygasset.edu). Tf. 34917004101

Centre d'Estudis Demografics. (<http://www.ced.uab.es/>) Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona. Research on demographic issues (immigration among them). Leaders: Anna Cabré and Andreu Domingo.

Consorcio de Recursos para la Integración de la Diversidad (CRID). (<http://www.diba.es/crid/espanol/default.htm>) Diputación de Barcelona. Research on local effects of immigration. This is an official agency, belonging to the Diputación of Barcelona. It promotes researches, meetings and publications.

Colectivo IOE: (<http://www.nodo50.org/ioe/>) Madrid. This group, which form a private enterprise has been devoted for many years to studies on poverty and groups with special needs, and since mid nineties have developed various reports on immigration from a sociological perspective. Leader members: Walter Actis, Carlos Pereda and Miguel Angel de Prada.

Instituto Europeo del Mediterráneo (IEMed). Barcelona. Research on migrations in Southern Europe and Mediterranean area. This institute is a foundation sponsored by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Generalitat of Cataluña and the Town Hall of Barcelona. Director: Andreu Claret. (<http://www.iemed.org/>)

TEIM: Taller de Estudios Internacionales Mediterráneos. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid. Cantoblanco. [teim-uam@uam.es](mailto:teim-uam@uam.es). Leader: Bernabé López, author of numerous studies on the Magreb and the Moroccan immigration in Spain.

Laboratorio de Estudios Interculturales. Facultad de Ciencias de la Educación.  
Universidad de Granada. <http://www.ugr.es/~ldei/document.html>

Mugak. Centro de Estudios y Documentación sobre el racismo y la xenofobia.  
[hiruga01@sarenet.es](mailto:hiruga01@sarenet.es) San Sebastián.

### 3.B. Scholars

It is very difficult to prepare a list of leading scholars in this issue as it is a new “flourishing” field and at this moment a lot of researchers have begun to introduce themselves in the area, many of them preparing or doing important contributions. So the list which is presented here contains the names of the “oldest” and best known in the field, which have been working in this issue since mid nineties:

Joaquín Arango, Full Professor of Sociology. Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

Antonio Izquierdo. Full Professor of Sociology. Universidad de La Coruña

Walter Actis, Carlos Pereda and Miguel Angel de Prada. Sociologists. Colectivo IOE.  
Madrid

Anna Cabré. Full Professor on Geography. Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona.

Javier de Lucas. Full Professor on Philosophy of Law. Univesidad de Valencia

Bernabé López. Full Professor on History. Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.