

A TOP-DOWN MODEL OF TRANSNATIONAL IMMIGRANT ASSOCIATIONISM: Migrant organizations in the definition of development and integration policies in Madrid

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ABSTRACT: Spain has eased the irruption of migrant organizations in a remarkable short period of time. Migrant associations have had, and still have, a distinguished position *vis à vis* public authorities in designing and influencing the definition of integration policies. Integration plans in Spain have so far given priority to both associations as representatives of stakeholders and to co-development as a key element for the incorporation of immigrants in Spain. As a result, associations have developed intense ties with the public administrations at all levels. We define this whole approach as *top-down* model stimulating the establishment of transnational ties among migrant organizations. The paper analyses the organizational features that give priority access to public resources to some organizations and how this, at its time, eases the implementation of transnational strategies including co-development and contact with officials at the highest level in countries of origin.

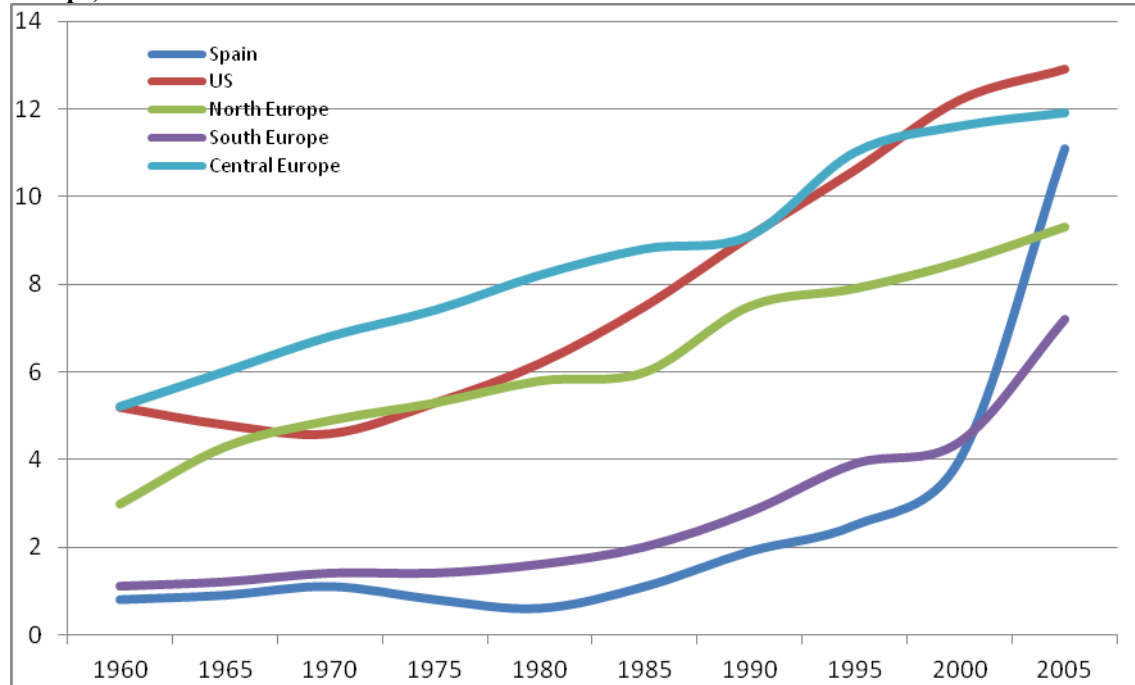
1. A brief history of migration to Spain 2000-2011

Throughout the past decade, Spain has witnessed an unprecedented growth of its foreign born population. The transformation of Spain from an emigration country to an immigration destination implied a convergence with its Western European neighbors that had attracted foreign workers since the 1960s. The way this story has unfolded is familiar to most EU members: after an acceleration of inflows, a crisis raises unemployment, the arrival of immigrants decreases and family reunification becomes the main reason to enter the country.

What makes Spain a striking case study for scholars interested in migration is the speed at which this transformation took place. The figures shown in Figure 1 compare the percentage of foreign born residents in the total population of Spain, the US and Northern, Southern and Central Europe. Over the period 1960-2005 the immigrant population in the major advanced economies increased smoothly and constantly.

Southern Europe as a block began this transformation at the end of the 1980s, with Italy leading and Spain following at the end of the 1990s.

Figure 1. Evolution of the immigrant population stock (Spain, US, Northern, Southern and Central Europe).



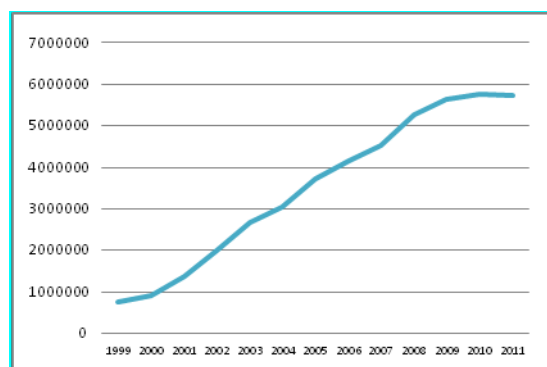
Source: United Nations Population Fund (2007).

The statistics reveal that immigration flows to Spain were extremely intense between 1999 and 2008. In 1999 there were fewer than 750,000 foreign residents in Spain, representing only 1.85 per cent of the population, but by 2011 there were more than 5.7 million immigrants, constituting 12.2 per cent of the population. However, this number does not truly reflect the intensity of the flow, which is even greater if we consider that more than half a million immigrants acquired Spanish nationality in the last decade. The immigrant population grew rapidly from the second half of the 1990s and was particularly intense between 2000 and 2003 and again in 2005, 2006, and 2007 with the percentage of inter-annual variation surpassing 48.36 per cent in some cases. In just one decade, between 2000 and 2010, more than six million immigrants arrived in Spain (see Table 1). In other words, in only a decade, Spain, a country that had historically been excluded from or lagging behind the European migration regime, closed the gap with the main immigration countries.

Table 1. Evolution of foreign population stock in Spain (1999-2011*)

	<i>N</i>	<i>(%) Population</i>
1999	748,954	1.85
2000	923,879	1.86
2001	1,370,657	2.28
2002	1,977,946	3.33
2003	2,664,168	4.73
2004	3,034,326	6.24
2005	3,730,610	7.02
2006	4,144,166	8.46
2007	4,519,554	9.27
2008	5,268,762	11.41
2009	5,648,671	12.08
2010	5,747,734	12.22
2011*	5,730,667	12.22

Figure 2. Stock of foreign population in Spain (1999-2011*)

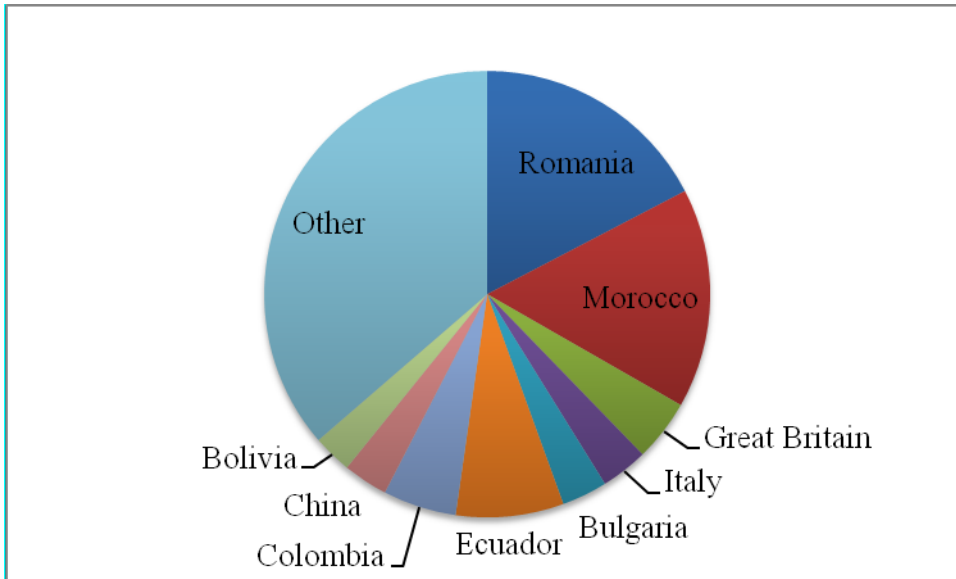


Source: Municipal Register. Foreign Population (thousands). The National Statistics Institute (INE)

*Provisional data.

These intense flows were also very diverse in terms of where they originated, as reflected in the current migrant stock, which also reveals the changes in arrivals and settling over the last decade. Migrations to Spain have combined labor and family-based flows with retiree migrations. During the 1990s the most numerous and steadiest flow of immigrants came from Morocco, one of the main sources of migration to Spain. At the end of the 1990s flows from Latin America increased, especially from the Andes region (Ecuador and Columbia), and were notable during the first half of the last decade. In the second half of the decade new flows have come from Eastern Europe, especially Romania, a flow that has been so intense that Romanians are now the largest immigrant group in Spain¹.

Figure 3. Foreign Population in Spain (2011). Main nationalities.



Source: Ministry of Labor and Immigration (2011)

However, Spain's convergence with its EU neighbors has not ended its historical particularities. As we shall explain, due to its political and economic realities, the country still behaves differently compared to any other relevant comparison term with the exception of Italy and Greece, and probably will continue to do so in the coming years.

Many claim that Italy and Spain are classic examples of the so-called Mediterranean model of immigration (Finotelli 2007). But this model can be difficult to define because it is referred to within different contexts and for different purposes, including in broad criticisms of lax immigration control in Southern Europe made by scholars and officials in EU immigration countries. However, immigration to Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece does share two relevant features:

The first feature is the problem of overstayers, a situation that has made irregularity a structural problem in these countries and is often pointed to as proof that the Southern model is clearly unsuccessful or at least ambivalent towards irregular immigration when it serves to satisfy economic needs.

Another common feature among these countries is that integration has scarcely been mentioned in their immigration policies. In the context of the European obsession with models of integration, these countries have been blamed for lacking an appropriate

integration ideology (Koopmans 2010) or for promoting a differential exclusion between the migrant and native populations (Freeman 2004).

This paper has four main objectives. First, to describe the top-down model used to involve immigrant organizations in the definition and implementation of integration and development policies in Spain and Madrid. Second, to explore which features of these organizations have determined their access to the generous public resources provided over the last few years by different levels of Spanish public administrations in their effort to define their integration and development guidelines. And finally, to analyze the relationships between countries of origin and migrant communities and organizations abroad; we also identify key interventions conducted by significant organizations in countries of origin in order to provide representative results of the type of transnationalism studied.

2. Top-down determinism: immigrant associations in Spain and their role in public policies

As a general rule, the academic literature on immigration in Spain has developed partly as a consequence of a strong and continuous demand from public administrations that wanted to develop different interventions and sought in academic research certain guidelines to face the challenge of incorporating immigrants. Therefore, most Spanish academic research on immigration is strictly empirical (usually qualitative) and informed by policy-oriented considerations, since all levels of public administrations were stimulating applied research to meet their goals. This is especially true of the most recent research on immigrant associationism.

The development of this literature has followed three main axes:

- Literature interested in accounting for the role of associations in the civic and political integration of migrants in Spain (Martín 2004; Morales and González 2006). The basic conclusions of this literature suggest that the context of incorporation does indeed have an impact (for instance, Barcelona has more successfully promoted immigration participation in associations than Madrid and smaller regional capitals) and that Latin American organizations have more heterogeneous patterns of associationism and objectives than Moroccan organizations.

- Research on leadership within immigrant associations (Verdugo and Gómez 2006). Because of the intense participation of associations in the definition of policies and regulations, some scholars have focused on the demands of leaders. Broadly speaking, this literature has identified three types of general demands: cultural and identity; dependency and the impact of center-periphery relations between emitting and host countries; equality of rights between immigrants and natives.
- Finally, a number of studies have analyzed the incentives immigrants have for participating in associations (Veredas 2004). Overall, the conclusions of this line of research point out the existence of strong economic incentives (associations help immigrants consolidate their migration project); social capital incentives (associations provide social resources otherwise not easily available to new arrivals); and political incentives in both the host society and country of origin.

Amparo González and Laura Morales provide a quantitative description of the dynamics of immigrant associationism in Spain, as well as an analysis of how determinant institutional incentives are for understanding the practices of associations and the density of immigrant associationism. The paper includes a census of associations in the cities of Barcelona, Madrid and Murcia conducted between 2004 and 2008. From these censuses we know that “mortality rates” in all three cases are quite high. In Barcelona 465 migrant associations were identified and 417 in Madrid. However, in both cases only 48 per cent of them (223 and 199, respectively) were confirmed to be still active. Of the 74 associations listed in the smaller city of Murcia only 27 per cent could be confirmed as still in existence. The degree of formalization (associations that were registered in local, regional or national registers) was revealed to be somewhat high: 388 in Barcelona, 312 in Madrid and 45 in Murcia. Yet the difference between the number of associations registered and the whole universe of associations identified in each case also suggests that many associations remain informal.

The density and characteristics of migrant associations varied greatly across cities. Density is greater in large cities than in small ones: in Madrid there were 0.7 associations per 1000 migrants (0.3 if calculated for those whose continuity had been confirmed); Barcelona had 1.6 per 1000 (0.8 if restricted to active associations); and Murcia had 1.4 per 1000 (0.3 active). While in Madrid, associations were more likely

to focus on the aspects related to links between the countries of origin and destination, in Barcelona associations generally had more universal aims. The different compositions of these local contexts can explain some of these specificities, as well as the distinctive approach to migrant associations of each local government. With respect to funding, Madrid is the only one offering annual calls for migrant associations to apply for public funding, while in all three cases, migrant associations can apply for the same funding sources available to all other associations. Although migrant associations in Spain generally play an important part in advisory bodies attached to local authorities and collaborate with municipalities in the implementation of local policies, only in Barcelona do they participate in the definition of local migration policies. The regional government of Madrid has also created and funded *casas nacionales* for the largest migrant groups.

2.1. The role of immigrant associations in Spanish integration policies

Although Spanish immigration policy has been mostly reactive over the past several decades, the first legal instruments were adopted before the Spanish border felt any pressure. In 1985 a first organic law was passed to fulfill requirements imposed by the EU on new members (*Ley Orgánica 5/1985*). For France, Belgium, the Netherlands and other EU members with significant populations from Northern Africa, the EU border with Morocco was of utmost importance. Therefore, after its accession, Spain was pressured to adopt the role of inflexible guardian of the EU's Southern border. This is why the first law overemphasized control issues, copying the rigid model of regulation adopted by European immigration countries in the 1970s after the Oil Crisis and the rise of unemployment. Although subsequent regulations rationalized the instruments to control migration to Spain, the recommended equilibrium between integration and control never characterized the Spanish model until fairly recent times. The first law that represented a strong commitment to integration was passed in 2000 (*Ley Orgánica 4/2000*; see Ruiz de Huidobro 2000), which granted equal access for both nationals and foreigners (regular and irregular residents) to basic social benefits such as education and healthcare. Further modifications of this basic regulation have respected this generous and strong acceptance of the principle of equality.

The evolution of integration policy in Spain can be summarized in three steps.

(1) Initially, integration was not an explicit concern of migration officials.

(2) Towards the end of 1994 another phase in Spanish immigration policy began in which integrating immigrants was actively promoted for the first time. Nevertheless, during this period it is more appropriate to speak of integration procedures rather than integration policy in its strictest sense (López Sala 2005). Up to that point, integration had been an area where non-official actors such as trade unions and NGOs deployed innovative but uncoordinated practices (Cachón 1998; Watts 2000). In the mid-1990s trade unions, religious organizations and immigrant associations implemented integration procedures, with resources chiefly provided by the government. Later, local authorities also became involved, particularly municipal and regional governments. Therefore, we may refer to a creative process, which shifted integration policy from civil society to government. This “innovative role of the periphery”, to use the terminology of Giovanna Zincone, allows us to conclude that during this period integration in immigration policy was constructed “from the ground up”, with the financial support of the state. As several authors have mentioned, “this delegation changed the position of these partners, vis-à-vis administrative and political authorities and, to a certain extent, may have altered their very nature. Many organizations that initially consisted almost exclusively of volunteers now have a significant percentage of contracted personnel in order to provide services subcontracted or promoted by the public administration. In many cases such organizations have become very economically dependent on public administration and this has marked their agenda. This explains the emphasis some immigrant associations place on pursuing interventions that have been strategic to the policies implemented by public administrations, such as gender violence and empowerment, political leadership or intercultural relations, which would otherwise be secondary priorities on the agenda of migrant organizations.

(3) In the third stage, the socialist government that came into office in 2004 established a Spanish integration model based on triennial plans, the first of which was presented in 2007 (*Plan Estratégico de Ciudadanía e Integración 2007-2010*, PEI). The PEI adopted all of the EU recommendations in the field (Common basic principles for integration of immigrants in the European Union, adopted by the EU Council, 19th November 2004), describing integration as a bidirectional process of mutual adaptation in the context of a basic respect of EU principles. Three basic principles describe the Spanish model of integration: equality and non-discrimination; the recognition of full

social, economic, cultural and political citizenship for immigrants; and “interculturalism” (promoting interaction between people from different origins and cultures, and respecting cultural diversity).

The PECEI has successfully brought integration to the forefront of public debate on immigration, but it has been less influential in determining specific integration practices. This relative failure can be explained by the complex Spanish model of political decentralization which divides responsibility for immigration policy: immigration control is a competence of the central State administration, while integration policy is in the hands of regional governments and, to a lesser extent, municipalities (De Lucas and Díez Bueso 2006). As a result, almost all subnational administrations have adopted different integration plans.

Although the 2007-2010 PECEI may not be a turning point in the political history of Spain, the way it was adopted and the recommendations it proposed are essential to understanding the role of immigrant association activities in the formulation of immigration policies and also to properly understanding the objectives of immigrant associations and how they function. Initially, discussions were organized in a series of workshops with the participation of different levels of public administration, trade unions, NGOs and most importantly, immigrant associations and the *Foro para la Integración Social de los Inmigrantes*, a consultative body in which immigrant associations play a very active and key role. A draft plan was then adopted and proposed to these actors for further discussion. Among the objectives of the PECEI, immigrant participation is of utmost importance (*Ministry of Labor and Immigration* (MTIN) 2007, 314-23), because it views such participation as a prerequisite for an intercultural society. Furthermore, it identifies immigrant associations as the most straightforward and efficient way to achieve this goal. In this sense, immigrant organizations have acquired the role of mediators between political institutions in the host society and immigrants. This view has promoted the formal participation of some of these associations (the most visible and well-established) in public advisory bodies in which integration guidelines and interventions were defined.

Among its objectives, the PECEI:

- Prioritizes the consolidation of the immigrant association movement and promotes the creation of such organizations, devoting a significant part of the budget to this aim.
- Commits to provide training to the leaders of these organizations and technical assistance in their projects.
- Stimulates the creation of networks of migrant and non-migrant associations at the local level.
- Strengthens the role of consultative bodies in which immigrant associations participate.

In brief, the PEGI reinforced a trend that was inherent to the Spanish approach to integration, prioritizing the inclusion of non-official agents in the formulation of integration policies, increasing the role of immigrant associations and the incentives immigrants had to organize themselves in associations that were supposed to have priority access to public funding for the deployment of their interventions.

Regional governments throughout Spain recently developed integration plans inspired by the broad principles introduced by the PEGI and EU recommendations on integration. For example, the municipality of Madrid published its second integration plan in 2009 (*2nd Madrid Plan on Social and Intercultural Coexistence*), which also resulted from a broad discussion in which the local administration and associations interacted over several stages, similar to how the PEGI was prepared. Its declared objectives may also sound familiar to the reader:

- To guarantee immigrants access to social services,
- provide shelter for new arrivals,
- adapt social services to the needs of the new population,
- implement antidiscrimination measures,
- establish mechanisms to learn about the reality of immigration,
- promote policies and experiences of co-development with the countries of origin of the immigrants,

- promote citizen participation through associations
- and consolidate consultative bodies in which immigrants are represented through associations: *Madrid forum for Dialogue and Coexistence* and the Coexistence boards in each district.

In other words, the Madrid plan, as occurs with almost every other regional and local integration plan, identifies immigrant associations as distinguished representatives of stakeholders and explicitly and implicitly promotes immigrant attachment to associations.

Continuing this line, the latest national integration plan (PECI 2011-2014) seeks to reinforce integration instruments and policies, such as public services and participation, in order to guarantee that all citizens, foreign and national, have equal access to public institutions and resources. One of the most important objectives of the new PECI is to incorporate new measures to fight against discrimination and to promote equal opportunities, employ integration as a transversal measure in all public policies and to improve social cohesion. For the aim of our paper, we would like to emphasize that the PECI maintains the now traditional public administration aspiration of greater public participation of migrants in all social spheres and institutions. Yet the changing economic environment in which the latest plan is to be developed and implemented may modify some of its explicit objectives. Although the economic downturn has not formally affected the influence of immigrant associations in integration policies (all regional, local and national consultative bodies maintained these organizations in their structure), since 2010 increasing budget constraints have seriously restricted their capacity to provide services and support projects in countries of origin. For instance, the budget of the Social Integration Fund has been reduced drastically in 2012. These cuts have been a death blow to many immigrant associations, especially small and informal ones and those that were established most recently.

2.2. The role of immigrant associations in development and international cooperation aid policies in Spain

Migration studies have focused on the links between migration dynamics and development with a special emphasis on remittances and cooperation as an instrument

on the international political agenda. Immigration has become a part of the vocabulary of development aid and cooperation in Spain since 2007. For instance, the 2007 Annual Cooperation Plan detailed action on migration and development for the first time, but it was centered on two main purposes: to promote new initiatives that increase the impact of remittances on the development of communities of origin and to view migration as a mutually beneficial phenomenon for sending and receiving countries. In 2007 the government established the *Commission on Migration and Development* in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to prepare the future guidelines of the Spanish Cooperation and Development policy. This commission passed a recommendation document that has shaped recent plans². This document promotes the participation of different social and political actors in the preparation and implementation of public policy. The participation of immigrant organizations, along with their promotion and leadership, is considered crucial to achieve several objectives (see Ostergaard 2011)³.

As in the case of other host countries, migrant organizations and their contributions have not been central to the discussion on migration and development until very recently in the literature on migration studies. Some pioneering studies, such as those carried out by Anna Sanmartín and Almudena Cortés (Sanmartín and Cortés 2009) point out the diversity and variety of the objectives of resident immigrant associations. Their actions fundamentally center on providing services, lobbying for rights and providing cultural activities and training. However, researchers have not studied the transnational activities of immigrant organizations through development projects in countries of origin.

3. Data and methods

3.1 Creating an inventory of associations

Various registers were used to build an inventory of immigrant associations. First of all, the association registries provided by the embassies of different countries in Spain and the Centers for Participation and Integration of Immigrants of the regional government of Madrid (CEPIs)⁴ were examined. This information was compared with three other registers: the National Associations Register of the Ministry of Home Affairs; the Religious Associations Register of the Ministry of Justice; and the Non-Governmental Organizations Dedicated to Development Register of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation. A breakdown of the associations that had received financing to carry

out development projects in their countries of origin was solicited from the local government of the Municipality of Madrid, the regional government of the Community of Madrid and the Spanish Agency of Cooperation and Development (AECID) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

BUILDING THE INVENTORY OF ORGANIZATIONS
Institutional registers
Embassies CEPIs (Centers for Participation and Integration of Immigrants. Regional government of Madrid)
Formal registers
National Associations Register (Ministry of Home Affairs) National Religious Associations Register (Ministry of Justice) NGDOs Register (AECID; Ministry of Foreign Affairs)
Immigrant associations receiving funds for development project in countries of origin (Public funding)
Data from regional government of the Community of Madrid Data from local government of the city of Madrid Data from AECID (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

3.2 Selection of the cases and communities studied

The selection of these groups was based on three variables: volume, comparability and internal diversity (the appendix includes a detailed description of these communities and their migration history). First of all, associations representing European Union nationals were discarded since they are not considered to be immigrants by Spanish regulations and are thus not eligible to apply for integration funds (a number of regional exceptions apply). Morocco was selected for its volume and potential to be compared with European countries. Among Latin Americans, the selection included four groups (Columbia, Ecuador, Peru and the Dominican Republic) with diverse histories, migratory sequences and profiles which not only allow for more extensive comparisons

with the United States case, but also provide greater internal diversity, which is useful for extracting conclusions on transnational activities.

SELECTED COMMUNITIES						
Variables for selection: volume, comparability, variability and patterns of associationism						
MAIN CHARACTERISTICS (summary)						
	Migration History to Spain	Origin regions	Background	Destination regions	Formal education	Distribution by sex
Moroccan	Main source of migration to Spain (volume and continuity) starting in the mid 1980's.	Western Riff, Atlantic Morocco, and Tangier Peninsula	Urban and rural, Arabs and Berber	Madrid, Mediterranean regions (Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia) and Andalusia.	Low	Major presence of men: slightly masculinized
Peruvian	Two stages: 1990-1995 2002-2008	Lima	Urban	Madrid	Medium-high	Gender balanced
Dominican	Two stages: 1990-1994 Mainly women 2004-2007 Family reunification	Vicente Noble (Barahona)	Urban and rural	Madrid and Catalonia	Low	Major presence of women (with a tendency toward greater gender balance)
Colombian	Intense migration to Spain (30 per cent of total migration) 1998-2001 2005-2007	Coffee Triangle (CaucaValley, Bogota, Antioquia and Risaralda)	Urban	Madrid and Catalonia	Medium-high	Slightly feminized
Ecuadorian	Very intense migration to Spain 1997-2001 2006-2008	Quito, Guayaquil, Austro regions (Azuay, Cañar and Loja) and Pichincha.	Urban	Madrid and Catalonia	Medium-low	Slightly feminized

Finally, we examined the diversity of associations based on a study carried out by Aparicio and Tornos, which used the National Associations Register to examine the frequency of associationism by nationality and related the number of registered associations with the size of the community (Aparicio and Tornos 2010). Their study

concluded that this rate is above average in the case of Dominicans and Peruvians and average in the case of Moroccans, Columbians and Ecuadorians. The selection of our cases allows us to collect the experiences of communities which create associations in Spain at different frequencies.

The following tables (2.1 and 2.2) summarize some of the characteristics of the communities selected. Our selection allows us to include differentiating elements of the contexts of origin and their influence on the ways that the communities adopt transnational activity, as well as their influence on the countries of origin.

Table2.1. Moroccan, Peruvian, Ecuadorian, Colombian and Dominican immigration: characteristics of countries of origin

	<i>Morocco</i>				
	<i>Peru</i>	<i>Ecuador</i>	<i>Colombia</i>	<i>Dominican Rep.</i>	
Population (in millions)	31.95	29.07	14.46	46.30	9.92
Population density (population per sq. km)	72	23	51	41	205
Urban population (%)	58	77	67	75	69
Percentage aged 0-14 (%)	28	30	30.30	28.70	31.10
Percentage aged 65 or over (%)	5.50	6.10	6.20	5.60	6.30
Median age (years)	26.30	25.60	25.5	26.80	25.10
Population growth rate (%)	1.00	1.13	1.50	1.28	1.22
Life expectancy at birth, both sexes combined (years)	72.50	74.30	75.00	74.00	73.80
Infant mortality rate (infant deaths per 1,000 live births)	28.50	18.30	21.10	16.70	21.60
Mean years of schooling (of adults over 25) (years)	4.4	8.7	7.6	7.3	7.2
Literacy rate (% of people ages 15 and above)	56.0	90.0	84.0	93.0	88.0
GDP per capita (\$)	4,196	8,389	8,170	8,315	8,087
Income Gini coefficient (2007)	40.90	48.00	54.40	58.50	48.40
Unemployment rate (%)	9.4	7.3	7.3	11.4	14.2
Population below national poverty line (%) [2010]	n.a.	31.3	32.8	37.2	50.5*
Human development index (rank)	130	80	83	87	98

*: 2008

Table 2.2. Moroccan, Peruvian, Ecuadorian, Colombian and Dominican immigration: characteristics of migrant communities in Spain.

<i>Immigrants in Spain</i>	<i>Morocco</i>	<i>Peru</i>	<i>Ecuador</i>	<i>Colombia</i>	<i>Dominican Rep.</i>
Number	835,188	140,792	403,864	274,171	92,972
Percentage of total immigration	15.90	2.68	7.69	5.22	1.77
Percentage of total non- EU nationals	32.69	5.51	15.80	10.73	3.63
Rank in total legal immigration	2	7	3	4	15
Male immigrants (%)	60.97	49.17	49.25	44.14	41.66
Percentage 0-15 years-old (%)	26.05	10.25	16.01	12.46	16.25
Median age (in years)	27.7	35.0	31.4	33.5	30.9
Permanent residents (long term resident legal status) (%)	59.14	33.88	36.39	33.06	36.20
Immigrant workers	220,822	69,838	170,638	112,050	31,773
Number of unemployed immigrants	191,417	22,664	79,891	52,698	14,334
Main provinces of residence	Barcelona Madrid, Murcia	Madrid, Almeria, Barcelona	Madrid, Barcelona Almeria	Madrid, Barcelona, Alicante	Madrid, Barcelona, Balears
Acquisitions of nationality (2001-2010)	65,910	82,243	155,279	136,183	27,757
Acquisition of nationality rate (2010)	0.87%	5.85%	5.83%	5.75%	3.17%
Naturalization rate	7.89%	58.41%	38.44%	49.67%	29.85%

Sources:

World Population Prospects: The 2010 Revision. United Nations Statistics Division (2011).

Human Development Report. United Nations (2011).

LABORSTA. ILO (2010).

Work Bank (2010).

Anuario Estadístico de Inmigración (2010). Labour and Immigration Ministry (2011). Last available data (December, 2011) (Labour Ministry).

Anuario de Estadística Laborales. Labour and Immigration Ministry (2010).

Acquisitions of nationality/stock of population (2010).

ΣNumber of acquisitions of nationality (2001-2010)/stock of population.

3.3. Data: the profile of associations in the municipality of Madrid

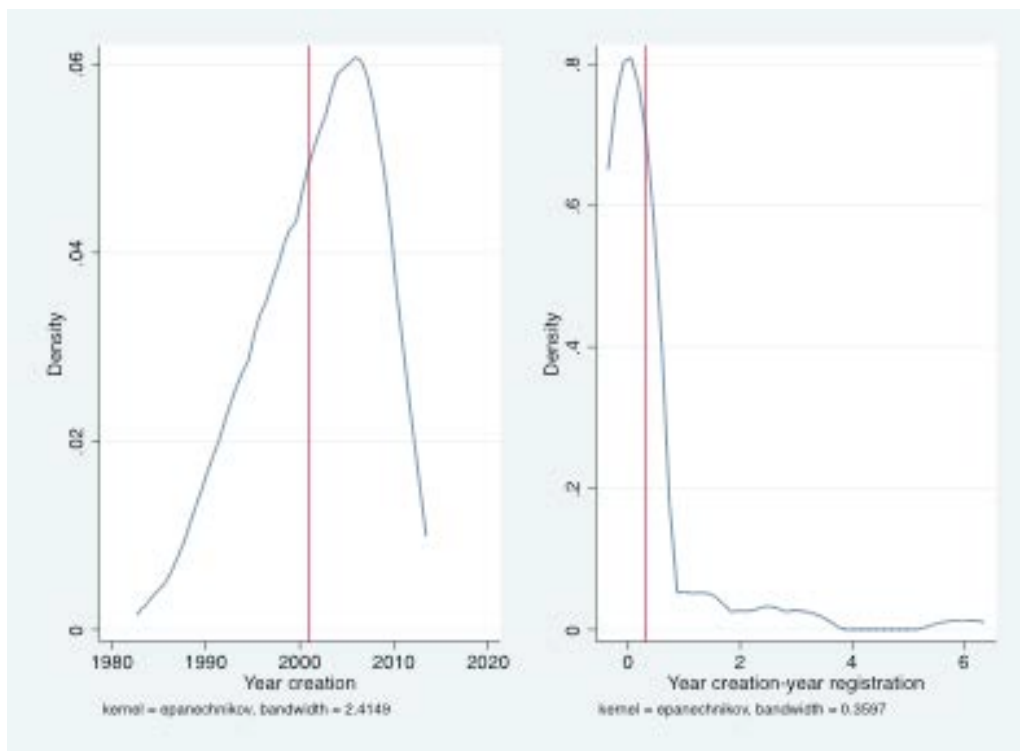
The survey conducted in the municipality of Madrid included 85 associations of Peruvian, Dominican, Colombian, Ecuadorian and Moroccan origin. As the sample size suggests, our survey does not reflect the weight of the number of organizations according to population size or (probably) the whole universe of associations. In the case of Peruvian, Dominican and Colombian organizations, short interviews were supplemented by in-depth interviews and meetings with consular offices, organizations and community leaders and qualitative research of documents and information provided by the associations during the interviews and in the survey.

Apart from these differences, immigrant organizations are fairly similar in other aspects. They declare comparable or identical objectives and are likely to report similar behavior in the country of destination. For instance, because there is such a remarkable consensus among respondents, most of the questions about immigrant integration in Spain and the attitudes of organization leaders are constants, rather than variables.

According to our survey, transnational immigrant organizations in Madrid have two distinctive features: they are highly formalized and, for the most part, have an established presence at the national level.

(A) High degree of formalization: it should be noted that due to the sampling framework (official registers were used to create lists of organizations to be contacted), all 85 organizations studied declared that they were legally registered in Spain as NGOs. Evidently, this is an overrepresentation, because we know that many informal organizations exist in Spain as well. The ages of the organizations in our sample are very heterogeneous. If we consider the year of registration, we can see that on average organizations working in the field of codevelopment are 10 years old, although this estimate is derived from a very diverse distribution and includes several organizations that were formalized long before the intensification of migration inflows. The second graph shows that associations are usually formalized at the time of their foundation. In the sample, 80 per cent of the associations were created on the private initiative of migrants for personal interests, while only 17 per cent exist due to external institutional support from the countries of origin.

Figure 4. Variation on year of foundation and gap between foundation and registration of associations



Dominican associations, which represent one of the earliest immigration inflows to Spain, report having spent more time in an informal status. On average, the gap between the foundation and registration of Dominican associations is 1.4 years, with a standard deviation of 2.2 years, followed by Colombian (0.4), Ecuadorian and Moroccan (0.3) organizations. Peruvian organizations report the highest level of formality; all the organizations interviewed reported registering immediately upon foundation. The high degree of formalization among migrant associations is the result of the conditions in Spain for their creation, implantation and survival. For instance, the evolution of these associations has been influenced by the heavy support they have received from Spanish public administration and diverse civil society organizations (such as trade unions and development NGOs), which has made them highly dependent on national and regional government funding and, by extension, vulnerable to situations in which the funding is significantly reduced, as is occurring at the present time. This dependence on external funding explains the strength and intensity of their ties to the Spanish government to obtain funding and why they are present in advisory roundtables and forums. The

survey reveals the intensity of contact between associations and Spanish government agencies and civil society organizations (trade unions, universities.), as well as links with private foundations (La Caixa, Maphre) and banking institutions (Caja Madrid and Banco de Santander).

(B) Geographic scope: national organizations also differ in their level of implantation. Colombians, Peruvians and Moroccans report the highest national presence (58, 90 and 68 per cent respectively), while Dominicans and Ecuadorians report operating similarly on the local and national levels.

Beyond these differences, immigrant organizations are fairly similar and claim to play comparable roles in countries of origin and destination.

4. Origin and destination dynamics

4.1. Access to public resources in countries of destination

As explained earlier, immigrant associations in Spain have assumed a semi-official role and are often coopted by public administrations, through funding and access to lobbying, as a way to institutionalize the representation of the growing stock of migrants in their territory. In the empirical part of the paper our objective is to identify the features of the associations that facilitate access to public authorities and public funding across selected groups (Moroccans, Peruvians, Colombians, Dominicans and Ecuadorians).

Throughout this section of the paper we use two main dependent variables: *budget/access to public funding* and *contact with authorities*. These are the most important resources to design and implement codevelopment strategies and interventions linking the countries of origin and destination.

The first dependent variable is operationalized using three different sub-dependent variables: *budget size*, *access to public funding* and, most importantly, *percentage of overall budget provided by public funding*. The distribution of the first proxy, *budget size*, is shown in Figure 5. Over 50 per cent of immigrant associations in Spain operate with a budget of less than €500. However, there is a minority of over 17% that have

large budgets of at least €10, 000, due to public subsidies; Figure 6 shows that public funds represent between 80-100 per cent of the budget of this better funded minority.

Fig 5. Description of the organization budgets

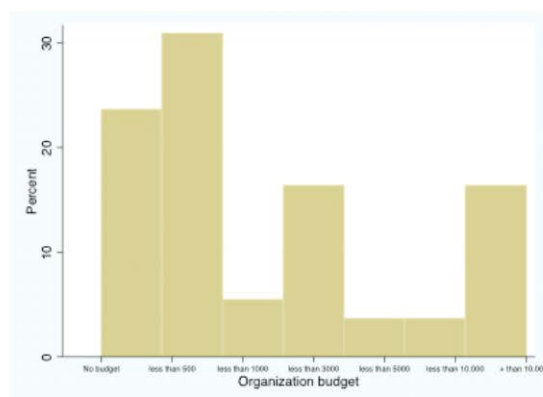
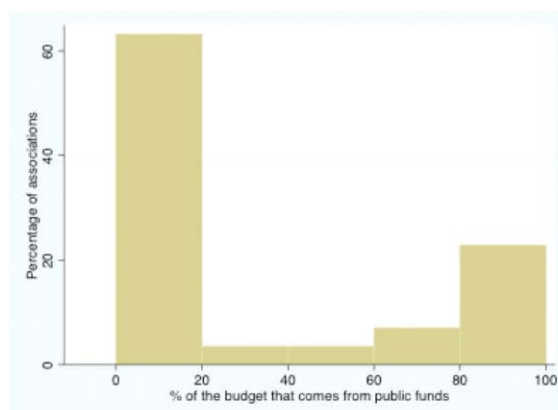


Fig. 6. Description of the dependency of budgets from public funds.



A large group of associations declares low levels of dependency on public funds. Accordingly, 52 per cent of the organizations in our sample declare that they do not have access to public funding.

What are the organizational features that provide *access to public funding*? First of all, *seniority* could be considered a strong predictor of funding for two reasons. (1) We know from previous studies that the mortality rate of associations is very high and is negatively associated with age; in other words, older associations are more stable. The causal mechanism we seek to test in this analysis is similar to a principal-agent framework in which the administration must believe that the prospects of the association are good enough to take the risk of providing it public funds to meet its objectives. (2) Migration inflows to Spain started arriving abruptly at the end of the 1990s. The intensity of these inflows surprised officials at all levels of public administration; they reacted by identifying and consulting representative stakeholders, in this case immigrant associations, to help define public policies of different types.

H1: Older associations will be more likely to receive public funds than younger ones.

The process of cooptation that the public administrations developed at all levels could also be associated with more generous budgets, since the provision of public funds is available at the local (in some cases also provincial), regional and national levels. Thus,

the higher the level of the administration with which the organization has established contacts, the larger the budget we expect.

H2: Contacts with the national government will correlate with larger budgets

We can now seek ethnic residuals. By introducing dichotomous variables for Dominicans, Moroccans, Ecuadorians, Colombians and Peruvians we can find out whether group migration histories are associated with different budget provisions across organizations.

The following table shows the estimates of a stepwise OLS regression analysis (with robust standard errors caused by heteroscedasticity), in which the year of registration, contacts with high level administrations and the nationality of the migrants are introduced sequentially.

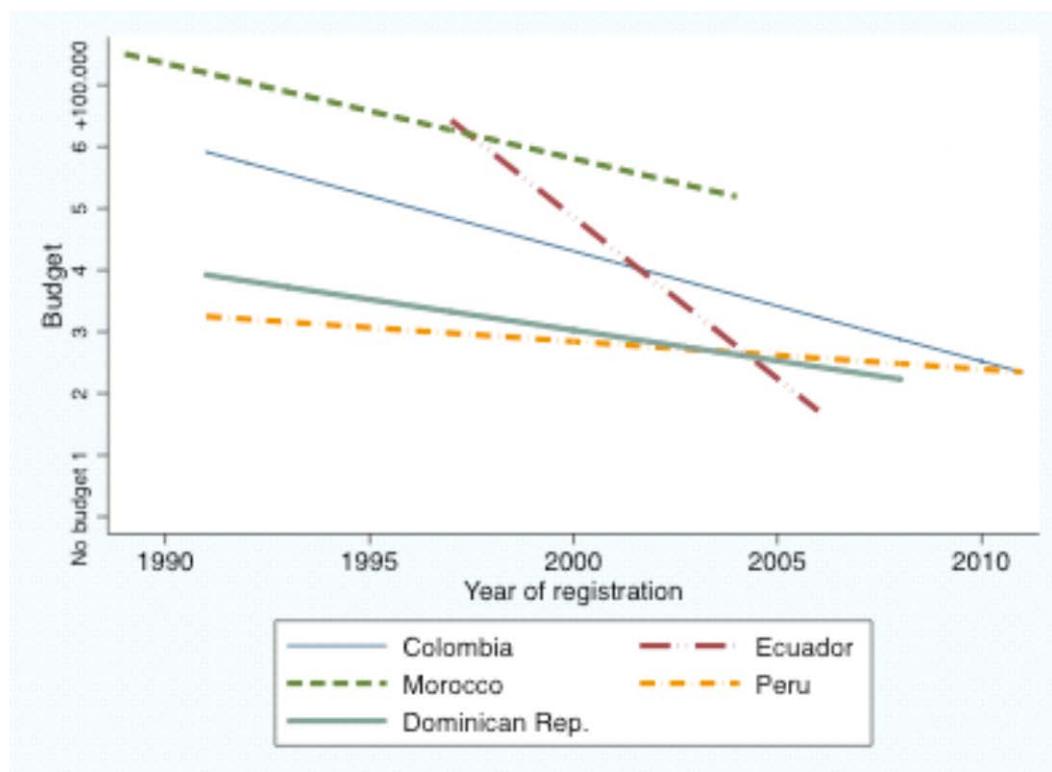
Table 3. OLS. Organization budget

<i>Variable</i>	<i>M1</i>	<i>M2</i>	<i>M3</i>
Year of registration	-0.17***	-0.16***	-0.14***
	0.04	0.04	0.04
Level of contact with authorities		0.26	0.25*
		0.14	0.12
Dominican Rep.			-0.23
			0.76
Ecuador			1.24
			0.97
Morocco			2.50***
			0.48
Colombia			1.13*
			0.50
Constant	338.62***	324.12***	275.14***
	77.40	75.57	71.61
N	67	67	67
F	18.79	13.52	32.96
r ²	0.23	0.27	0.41

The year of registration appears to be a strong and stable predictor of organization budgets. Its first estimate (-0.17) is not altered by the introduction of the level of government (local, regional, national) contacted. This second predictor is also significant and behaves as expected. Note that in Model 3, dummies for national origin are introduced. By doing so, we detract part of the significant impact of the year of registration in Models 1 and 2. Only Colombians and, on average, Moroccans appear to belong to wealthier organizations. This could be due to the fact that they have been the

largest groups in the migrant stock throughout the migratory expansion from 2000 to 2007. No differences are to be highlighted between Ecuadorians and Dominicans against the Peruvians (which is the reference category in this analysis). This does not indicate whether or not older organizations within each group have also managed to become wealthier. In Model 3 an interactive term should be added to the additive ones between year of registration and each of the nationality dummies. We must avoid loading our models because of the small N we are working with. However, in order to provide a more in-depth examination of group differentials we will also present a separate descriptive analysis mapping regression lines for each group between budget and year of registration .

Fig. 7. Regression lines linking Budget and year of registration across nationality.



This figure shows that although the general rule announced by Hypothesis 1 applies to all groups, there are evident differences in the slopes, in other words, important nationality-residuals exist across groups in the way seniority informs organization wealth. The Moroccan associations are older because Moroccans were among the first migratory inflows to Spain in the 1990s. Moroccan associationism in Spain has

developed through few, but large and powerful, associations that organize the vast majority of Moroccan workers in Spain. Accordingly, Moroccan organizations are wealthy (in relative terms, compared to their Latin American counterparts) and do not lose much in terms of budget when year of registration is closer to the present. In the case of Colombians, Peruvians and Dominicans the figure presents almost parallel lines. Younger associations have notably lower budgets, but the difference is not very steep. Finally, the Ecuadorian case presents odd results, as loss of seniority is heavily penalized for this group. As occurs in the Moroccan case, the Ecuadorian association movement has been led by a few large organizations that appear to fill most of the associational space. Ecuadorians are the first migratory group to accelerate migration inflows to Spain. The fact that this inflow was concentrated in time (beginning in 2000 and peaking in 2002), just before the visa requirement was imposed on Ecuadorians entering the Schengen Area) could explain their peculiarity.

Having analyzed this first proxy against our main dependent variable, the following table presents two sets of regression estimates aiming at revealing the characteristics of organizations that receive public funds (Model 1; Dependent Variable, 1: receives public funds, 0: does not receive) and what percentage of the total organizational budget is derived from public resources). For independent variables we use *year of registration* to further test Hypothesis 1 and *level of Spanish government contacts* to test Hypothesis 2. Here a new predictor is introduced, *number of members of the organization*. This variable seeks to discover if public funds are channeled towards the most representative (i.e., largest) associations. We expect larger organizations will be more likely to receive public funds and therefore these funds will represent a larger share of their budget.

H3: Public funds are more likely to be granted to larger or more representative organizations

Table 4.

**Logit (Model 1): receives public funds.
OLS (Model 2) proportion of budget derived from public funds**

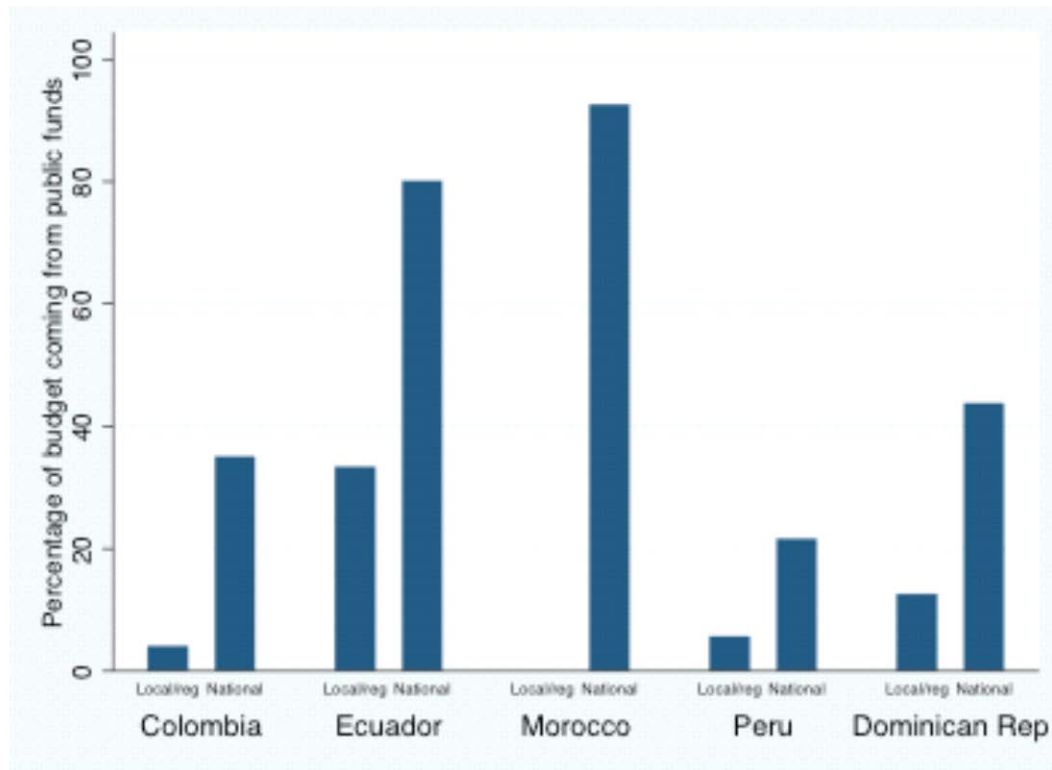
<i>Variable</i>	<i>Model 1</i>	<i>Model 2</i>
Dom. Rep	-0.03	8.08
	1.16	16.06
Ecuador	0.00	46.32**
	0.00	16.88
Morocco	0.77	28.93
	0.86	16.35
Colombia	1.07	13.50

	0.75	9.18
Year of registration	-0.20**	-2.96***
	0.06	0.81
N. members	-0.00	-0.00
	0.00	0.00
Spain: level of government contacted	1.02	22.66**
	0.69	8.09
Constant	3.59**	5.47***
	1.27	1.61
N	75	75
F		10.72
chi2	15.87	
r2		0.42

Model 1 shows that the priority of public funding is to support older organizations. Our expectation that the Spanish government chose organizations early on and maintained their status as representatives of the immigrant communities is fully compatible with this result. It is remarkable that no other predictor appears to be significant. Note that there are no differences in the likelihood that Peruvian, Colombian and Dominican organizations will have access to public funds. The Moroccan and Ecuadorian estimates could not be calculated because these two ascriptions confirm Hypothesis 1, in other words, all the organizations included in our sample received public resources. This again illustrates the privileged status of Moroccan and Ecuadorian associations, as highlighted in the previous analysis. It is remarkable that the number of members reported by organizations is not significantly associated with receiving public resources and could be considered a sound rejection of Hypothesis 3.

This very same hypothesis is also rejected in Model 2. In accordance with the results of the previous model, Ecuadorian and Moroccan organizations should also stand out as having greater access to public resources, since on average 50 per cent of the budgets of their organizations come from public funding. The *year of registration* estimate is also significant and thus H1 is confirmed. Similarly, H2 should be accepted since establishing contacts at high levels of the Spanish administration increases the percentage of public money in the organization budget. The next two graphs help to understand the importance of the last two hypotheses mentioned.

Fig. 8. Percentage of organization funds that come from public resources per nationality and highest level of administration contacted.

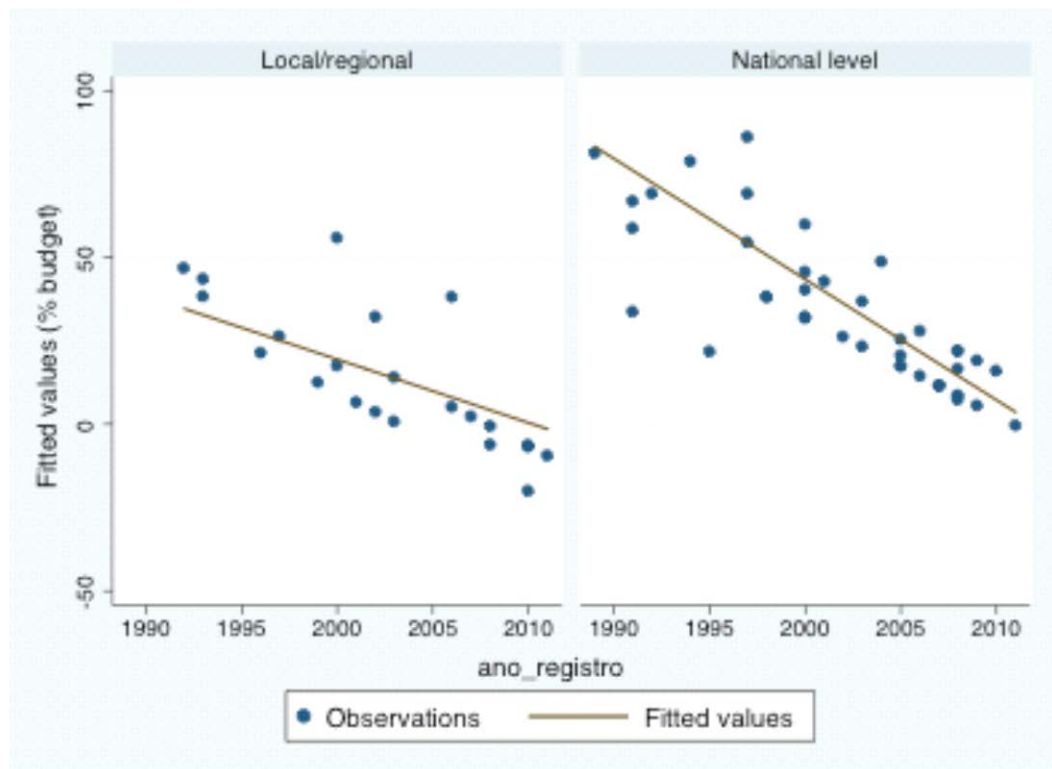


Our elaboration from estimates obtained in Model 2.

The graph reveals the extent to which Ecuadorians and Moroccans have greater access to public funds compared to the other groups. Across all communities having established contacts with high ranking officials from the national administration increases the percentage of public resources in the total budget of associations.

Figure 9 illustrates how seniority affects access to public money, discriminating for the highest level of public administration that the organization contacted. It is clear that reporting having contacts at the regional or local level represents an important disadvantage in terms of the regression intercept (i.e. the amount of public funds received by older associations). The opposite happens if we look at the slope of the regression lines since it is steeper in the case of associations with contacts in the central/national administration. This is evident if one compares the prediction for younger associations with and without high ranking contacts (which is pretty similar), and the regression constant for both groups.

Fig. 9. Association between year of registration and percentage of the Budget coming from public resources.



Our elaboration from estimates obtained in Model 2.

5. Dynamics of origin

5.1. Contact with country of origin institutions

As for the analysis of the dynamics in countries of origin, we faced a limited space for quantitative analysis. Our analytical aim was to test whether the top-down model we have just described in the section above affects the extent to which different organizations are also able to establish links with officials in their countries of origin. In this case our dependent variables are dichotomous: 1 for organizations that have contacts at the official level in countries of origin and 0 for those that do not. In order to discriminate between the levels at which organizations dialogue with officials we present separate logistic regressions for contacts at the national-state level and regional or local ones.

For our main independent variable we seek to discover if the preference for senior organizations among Spanish authorities is replicated by those in the country of origin.

Subsequently, we add to the model dummies by modeling whether contacts in Spain happen with authorities at the national or local/regional level, number of members. Finally we are interested in discovering if officials in countries of origin give priority to more representative organizations, as modeled by the number of members in organizations.

Table 5. Logistic regression: Probability of having contact with authorities in countries of origin at different levels

	<i>National level</i>		<i>Regional level</i>	
	M1	M2	M3	M4
Year of registration	-0.07+	-0.05	-0.02	-0.00
	0.04	0.05	0.04	0.05
Spain: contact national level		1.77**		-0.00
		0.66		0.00
Spain: contact reg./local level		-0.33		0.93
		0.86		0.75
N. of members		-0.00		0.75
		0.00		0.67
Constant	139.41	106.49	40.26	9.25
	85.22	104.76	85.01	107.73
N	75	75	75	75
Chi2	2.78	12.40	0.22	5.39

Our results show that the top-down model set as the rule for the relationship between immigrant organizations and Spanish authorities at different levels does affect how associations relate to authorities in their countries of origin. Priority is also given to older organizations and contacts with national Spanish authorities are also a determinant predictor of high ranking contacts with officials in countries of origin. Interestingly, this only applies to contacts with national governments, not with local or regional officials in the countries of origin. We would like to stress that this appears to be the case across all the communities analyzed, as the introduction of the nationality dummies has no impact and does not change our conclusions.

5.2. *Emitting country policies toward their communities abroad*

Throughout the past decade many emitting countries have developed migration policies directed at their communities abroad. These measures have included: a) institutional reforms aimed at improving the attention provided to communities abroad by delivering services and lobbying the countries of destination for rights; b) increasing political rights through two mechanisms: recognizing multiple citizenships and allowing voting from abroad; c) promoting remittances, investment and the performance of productive activities in the country of origin; and, finally, d) reinforcing social ties, cultural identity

and a sense of belonging to the society of origin among emigrants. To date, protecting citizens abroad and reinforcing ties with countries of origin have had greater protagonism in these policies than actions promoting development beyond encouraging remittances. Until recently, the transnational activity of migrant organizations through development projects in societies of origin had been ignored by literature on international migration and also had a secondary role in the migration policies of emitting countries. Although countries of origin have often formally supported migrant associations abroad, in practice their support has been lukewarm, causing immigrant organizations in Spain to create ties with and seek support from institutions and private social organizations in the country of origin. In this section we will focus on the initiatives developed by emitting countries to support their communities using information collected from interviews with members of consulates and community leaders.

Morocco

The Moroccan diaspora has played a crucial role in the economic life of Morocco through remittances, which represent a significant part of the country's gross domestic product and has been a sustainable element of its balance of payments.

Policy aimed at its diaspora has been articulated through the Hassan II Foundation, founded at the start of the 1990s with the goal of protecting Moroccans abroad. This foundation includes the Observatory of the Moroccan Community residing abroad (OCMRE in its French abbreviation). The actions of the foundation can be categorized along six lines: education, cultural exchange, sports and youth; legal aid; social aid; economic promotion; cooperation and partnerships; and communication. In its first few years of existence the foundation focused on promoting language learning, reinforcing ties with communities residing abroad and "religious encouragement". However, at the beginning of the past decade it also started promoting productive investments and supporting migrant organizations abroad.

These actions were complimented by governmental and institutional measures. At the start of the 1990s the Ministry of Moroccans Residing Abroad (MRA) appeared, the body responsible for policy on Moroccans residing abroad. It was created to protect the interests and rights of these communities in their countries of residence, promote cultural, religious and linguistic policies, establish bilateral relations with the countries

of residence, do research on the Moroccan diaspora and favor associationism among its migrants (Belguendouz 2006). Despite the changes that it has gone through over the years, the Ministry of Moroccans Residing Abroad (currently named the Ministry in charge of the Moroccan Community Abroad) has maintained its initial objectives aimed at protecting Moroccan cultural and religious identity and the organization of these communities abroad through organizations. In economic terms, this ministry has developed the MDM Program to encourage Moroccans residing abroad to invest in Morocco by financing 10 per cent of their productive investments and exempting them from taxes on property purchases and the cost of wire transfers.

Another important advance was the creation of the Council of the Moroccan Community Abroad in 2007 as part of a series of reforms in the area of emigration aimed at institutionalizing the participation of the diversified and plural Moroccan diaspora communities in the world. The functions of this council are related to developing Morocco's migration policy and include: serving as an advisory body when emigration legislation is developed; providing direction when designing social and cultural policies; and promoting the participation of residents abroad in Moroccan institutions (Belguendouz 2009; Planet 2011).

Peru

Over the past decade the Peruvian government has also significantly increased its actions in support of the Peruvian community residing abroad. In the middle of the 1990s it approved the Double Nationality Law and in 2001 the Voting Law. Ties with Peruvian citizens residing abroad were greatly strengthened through the "Quinto Suyu" policy, which echoes the "Cuatro Suyos" national discourse as components of the Peruvian Nation.

In 2005 the Secretariat of Peruvian Communities Abroad (SPC) was created within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the first initiative of the Peruvian State aimed at protecting citizens residing abroad at this administrative level (there had been an undersecretariat created in 2001). The objectives of the secretariat are to safeguard the wellbeing of Peruvians residing abroad, promote their protection and lobby for their rights in countries of destination, and foster cultural identity and a sense of belonging to their country of origin. The actions carried out have centered on reinforcing the network of consulates and improving services abroad. In 2005 the Law on Migration Incentives

was approved which aims at promoting the return of Peruvians from abroad by offering them exemption from taxes on investments and properties. During the administration of Alán García the government's discourse highlighted the potential of Peruvian migrants to be entrepreneurs in their country of origin, as well as the need to protect remittances and promote the creation of microbusinesses.

Peruvian citizens residing abroad played a decisive role in the 2011 presidential campaign. The electoral platform of the eventual winner Humala included the creation of a specific body to manage migration policy, the National Institute of Migrants, the establishment of the first electoral district for voters abroad (which can choose five representatives to the Congress of the Republic) and the approval of a return law, which reinforced the Productive Return Program.

Dominican Republic

Like Peru, the Dominican government has recognized the double nationality of its citizens residing abroad and their right to vote in national elections. The government acknowledged the economic and social contributions of these communities at the end of the 1990s, activating a policy to support returns and improve the participation of migrants and their organizations abroad. Political participation has been promoted through the latest reform of the constitution, which establishes in article 81 the election of seven delegates who would represent and be directly elected by the Dominican community abroad. The past few years has also seen the creation of the National Council for Dominican Communities Abroad (CONDEX) which complements the Consultative Councils of the Presidency for Dominicans Abroad (CCPDE). These agencies have objectives similar to those mentioned in the cases of other countries: to improve the social integration of migrants in countries of destination, promote links between the diaspora and the government of origin and foster their role in developing the country by mobilizing resources, investment and cultural and educational exchange. The program, "dominican@ presente" covers a large part of these initiatives.

Colombia

The Columbian State gave citizens residing abroad the right to vote in the 1960s, a right that is acknowledged in the 1991 Constitution, along with the right to double

nationality. In 1993 a network of consulates was fostered to improve assistance to Colombians abroad.

The Colombian government's migration policy gained momentum in 2003 when the "Columbia Unites Us" program was created, by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as part of the National Development Plan. The objective of the program is to detect the needs of the Colombian diaspora and provide them with resources. The program highlights the essential role of Colombians abroad in the political stabilization and economic progress of the country. However, in the opinion of one of the foremost specialists in this area, Luis Guarnizo, this program has been notably business oriented, focusing on providing the national and multinational private sector direct access to the migrant population's demand for goods and services, particularly in the housing, finance and banking sectors (Guarnizo 2006).

The "Columbia Unites Us" program includes diverse initiatives: a) the "RedEsColombia Portal", an online resource which seeks to create a kind of virtual community among Colombian networks settled in different countries; b) the Community Abroad Plan, which promotes meetings with those in charge of consular services and the diffusion of the program itself; c) providing services to emigrants and their families (in areas such as education, the productive channeling of remittances or social security via, for example, the Colombian Security Abroad program; and d) the creation of the Colombian International Migrations Observatory (OMIC)

In 2009 Columbia approved the Positive Return Plan, which seeks the return of skilled migrants and whose general objective is to foster the economic and productive integration of Colombians who wish to return. It includes training initiatives, the creation of a labor exchange and a system of entrepreneurial support to develop business plans and commercialization systems. This program demonstrates that the Colombian government believes there are links between migration and the economic development of the country.

Last year the Colombian government passed the first comprehensive migration law (Law 1465), which highlights the link between development and return migration and anticipates reinforcing the participation of Colombian communities abroad. To date, and in contrast to the Ecuadorian case, the Colombian government has not explicitly supported immigrant organizations abroad. This has been one of the fundamental

demands of the Columbian organizations located in Spain, which have overcome the lack of support from the Columbian government through direct contact with Spanish institutions and NGOs in Columbia.

Ecuador

Over the past decade the Ecuadorian government has fostered many initiatives directed at their communities abroad through an active migration policy. In 1998 it passed a law to allow double nationality, in 2002 it gave Ecuadorians residing abroad the right to vote and in 2005 it reformed the law to allow them to vote in presidential elections. Starting in 2000 Ecuador began to create institutions directed at implementing this policy, the first of which was the Undersecretariat of Consulate and Migration Affairs (and its Directorate-General of Support for Ecuadorians Abroad), attached to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 2001 the National Plan for Ecuadorians Living Abroad was created, proposing three lines of action which became the main directives of Ecuadorian migration policy: the comprehensive protection of migrants residing abroad, assistance to their families and the improvement of relations between Ecuador and countries of destination. In 2002 the Assistance, Savings and Investment Program was also created for Ecuadorian migrants and their families, a program designed to attract and invest remittances that, although it hasn't been implemented, shows that the Ecuadorian government links the development of the country with the investment capacity and economic leadership of its diaspora abroad.

In 2007 the National Secretariat for Migrants (SENAMI) was created, a decentralized, Ministry-rank government body located in countries of destination and the "Ecuadorian Houses" were opened, directed at strengthening the diaspora's national identity and ties to their country of origin.

Currently, Ecuadorian migration policy centers on containing emigration, consolidating ties between Ecuadorian migrants and the country of origin and promoting voluntary return through the "Welcome Home" program⁵. Notable among the latest initiatives is the creation of a Migrants Bank, a financial institution whose objectives are to foster migration policy in financial and investment matters, provide banking services that facilitate the inexpensive transfer of remittances and provide health insurance to migrants and their families.

5.3. Transnational activities in countries of origin

A bottom-up model for emigration policies?

There are two lines of activities carried out by immigrant organizations in societies of origin. First of all, the development of migration policies in emitting countries has led to the creation of advisory bodies and working documents in which migrant associations participate. There are various examples worth mentioning among the communities selected for our work, such as the participation of Columbian associations in the CONPES (National Council on Economic and Social Policy) document and in the creation of the white paper on comprehensive migration public policy, or the Moroccan associations in the Council of the Moroccan Community Abroad. Secondly, legal changes granting political representation to the diaspora has given migrants greater political influence in the countries of origin and strengthened transnational links.

As we have seen in earlier sections, the most established immigrant organizations in Spain have been chosen over newer, less experienced ones to serve as interlocutors and to take an active role in applying migration policy by governments of countries of destination. This explains the intensity of their links with institutions in their countries of origin and has given them greater legitimacy as policymaking actors. However, this process has created certain tensions because many of the strategies and actions of such organizations have been coopted by the governments of emitting countries in order to create a policy directed at their communities residing abroad. Cooptation and conflict have been the results of this dynamic. However, large differences can be observed between associations and groups that have not yet been quantified.

Intervention in countries of origin through development projects

Immigrant organizations in Spain arose with the double vocation of intervention and impact on their societies of origin and destination. However, the agenda of these organizations have gone through some interesting changes, as we have observed in the information collected via interviews. In the early stages of the migration process the associations centered on establishing themselves, adapting to the Spanish institutional environment and strengthening their ties with public administrations, and unions. The intervention emphasized programs directed at providing social and legal assistance to the migrants, as well as some political lobbying for social and economic rights.

Development programs in communities of origin are a much more recent aspect of their intervention agenda. These kinds of programs emerged over the past few years due to a combination of factors. First of all, the specific demand of funding institutions in Spain, as migration flows became part of the agenda of Spanish cooperation and private foundations, as well as some European Union programs. Secondly, they partly resulted from the improved ability of migrants to save for productive investments after they had successfully settled in Spain. Third, the more established migrant associations became mediators of development actions in their countries of origin. Fourth, transnational productive activity increased among some groups, such as the Peruvians and Ecuadorians, due to improved investment opportunities in their countries of origin and the promotion of development actions among immigrants who had returned home.

Just as in the case of integration policy, although development cooperation policy is financed by the state, it is partially implemented by NGOs and migrant associations. This model allows policies to be executed much more flexibly so that they can adapt to changing objectives and resources. One trait of these development programs in Spain that partially explains why it is difficult to trace them using the breakdowns applied for is that although they were often coordinated by Spanish NGOs, they were managed in the countries of origin by partner migrant associations.

In the cases examined, the development projects carried out by immigrant organizations in their countries of origin focused on four main areas of action: a) creating infrastructure, b) developing training programs, c) improving the conditions for productive investment by establishing businesses and using remittances, d) providing assistance to and improving the living conditions of the relatives of migrants. A second, more diverse, group of actions included offering cultural and folkloric activities in countries of origin and destination, strengthening links between migrant networks in different countries, supporting the creation of migrant federations, and finally, organizing training programs in political leadership and gender equality measures⁶.

Although the majority of organizations carry out actions in all areas, certain differences can be observed between nationalities. For example, Dominican associations have put more stress on education and cultural programs, Moroccans on infrastructure projects and Peruvian, Columbian and Ecuadorians on programs to create businesses, train

entrepreneurs and promote productive investment. The following tables present some examples of these kinds of projects.

Despite differences, all the projects have a local focus, given that the majority of the actions concentrate on the municipalities of origin of the main communities residing in Spain. In addition, many affiliates of the associations in the country of origin employ staff with experience migrating to Spain and returning.

The most established associations, despite their dependency on public funds, have diversified their sources of funding over the past few years. For instance, international bodies and European Union programs are among the new resources. There has also been an increase in funding from private and public entities in the countries of origin. The current economic crisis in Spain and the harsh restrictions to policies on immigrant integration and development cooperation present a great deal of uncertainty on the ability of migrant associations to adapt to this situation in which resources are scarce.

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ASSOCIATIONS (Selected cases and development projects)

MOROCCAN			
Name	Main Activities	Institutional links	Activities in countries of origin
ATIME-REMCODE (Moroccan Workers in Spain Association / Euro-Mediterranean Network for Development Cooperation)	Promotes the social integration of Moroccan immigrants in Spain	In Spain ATIME Member of the National Migrations FORUM REMCODE Coordinates development NGO Codevelopment and Immigrant Associations network (REDCO)	Created the Euro-Mediterranean Network for Development Cooperation (REMCODE) in 1997. Although this association emerged in ATIME's shadow, it is an independent, federated entity that specializes in codevelopment between Morocco and Spain.
	Fights against racism and xenophobia		Objectives: to promote socially fair, sustainable human development from a transnational and multidimensional perspective that contributes to the eradication of poverty, the defense of human rights and improving social participation.
			Activities: development projects, mediation between Moroccan and Spanish institutions and NGOs and education for development.
PROJECT			
Making water potable in agricultural regions			
			The goals are to improve the quality of drinking water and supply and reserve water for human, animal and agricultural consumption in the Tamorot villages (commune in the Cahuen municipality) and Beni Ayat (Tadla-Azizal region).

DOMINICAN

Name	Main Activities	Institutional links	Activities in countries of origin
VOMADE-VINCIT (Dominican Mothers Voluntary Work / Integration of Immigrant Worker Communities Voluntary Work)	Promotes social sensitivity	In Spain Member of the National Migrations FORUM	An affiliate was created in the Dominican Republic in 1995 (Dominican VOMADE VINCIT_).
	Carries out educational and cultural activities	In the Dominican Republic (examples)	Located in Santo Domingo and Tamayo.
	Provides services and consultation (social integration and labor for migrants in Spain)	Members of the government, senate, political parties (International Seminar)	International Seminar. Provides advice to prepare women for migration.
	Provides support for returns	UASD (Autonomous University of Santo Domingo)	Microbusiness program (with Economists without borders). Provides advice to future migrants.
PROJECT			Preparing youths for employment in Tamayo Project (CEDECO, Sustainable Development Center)
			Directed at young people over 16 years old of both genders who have completed primary school.
			Professional courses (examples): waiter, soldering, pastry shop assistant, pharmacy assistant, sales, vegetable growing, plumbing, residential electric installations, administrative assistant

PERUVIAN

Name	Main Activities	Institutional links	Activities in countries of origin
<p>ACODIP (Comprehensive Codevelopment of Nations Association)</p>	<p>Assists the immigrant population in the Community of Madrid.</p> <p>Promotes the execution of codevelopment projects which help the poor in Andean countries (Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and Columbia)</p>		<p>Affiliates in Peru and Bolivia, run by returned migrants.</p> <p>Codevelopment projects: reinvesting remittances, productive investments, health and education.</p> <p>Identifies and creates codevelopment projects in Bolivia and Peru that are promoted by immigrants residing in the Community of Madrid.</p>
PROJECT			
“Assets and Connections: converting remittances into savings and entrepreneurship” (in collaboration with the Capital Foundation)			
<p>Converting remittances into savings and productive projects.</p> <p>Directed at: Families living in the municipalities of Huamachuco, Santiago de Chuco, Otuzco and the districts of Cascas Poroto and Simbal (Libertad region) or Cajabamba, Celendín and San Marcos (Cajamarca region) who receive remittances from abroad. Financial education program. Provides advice on investing and creating business plans.</p>			

COLUMBIAN

Name	Main Activities	Institutional links	Activities in countries of origin
<p>AESCO (America, Spain, Solidarity and Cooperation)</p>	<p>Social, labor and cultural integration of Latin American immigrants in Spain</p>	<p>In Spain</p> <p>Member of the National Migrants FORUM</p> <p>Member of the Madrid Regional Forum</p> <p>Coordinates development NGOs in the Community of Madrid</p> <p>In Columbia (examples)</p> <p>Columbian government, mayoralties of the main cities in the Coffee Triangle, businesses and universities.</p>	<p>An affiliate was created in Columbia in 1999 with offices in Bogota, Medellin, Pereira, Cali and Armenia. Delegations in Ecuador and in various Spanish autonomous communities.</p> <p>Provides services and advice to emigrants: information, guidance, preparation and consultation centers for potential migrants in the Coffee Triangle.</p>
PROJECT			
<p>Villa del Lago Housing Plan</p> <p>Construction of 48 (103 m2) duplexes in the municipality of Dosquebras-Risaralda, built with resources provided by migrants in Spain for their families in Dosquebradas.</p> <p>The association procured the transfer of land from the mayoralty of the municipality, as well as resources from the Spanish banking system, and also handled the construction of the homes.</p>			

ECUADORIAN

Name

Main Activities

Institutional links

Activities in countries of origin

RUMIÑAUI

Defends immigrant rights

Promoting the social integration of migrants and seeks to improve the quality of life of their families

In Spain

Member of the National Migrant FORUM

Work Co-ops in Madrid (UCMTA)

In Ecuador (examples)

Government of the Pichincha province

Municipality of Cuenca

Quito Metropolitan District

Institute of Technology Lyceum Aduanero (ITSLA)

Affiliates in Ecuador, with three offices in Quito, Guayaquil and Pichincha.

PROJECT

REDES PROJECT: Remittances and codevelopment

Organizes an efficient use of remittances. Optimizes remittances from migrants by investing them in small family businesses in Ecuador and in local development projects promoted by groups of immigrants.

Partner institutions in the project: UCMTA, Rumiñahui Association, Network of NGOs from Guayaquil, Eugenio Espejo Foundation, LABOS Foundation and the International Cooperative Alliance for the Americas.

Financed by the European Union (EuropeAid), La Caixa, etc. Technical assistance for entrepreneurship and guidance in productive investments.

6. Summary of the main findings and discussion

The Spanish approach to migrant incorporation has, to a significant extent, been the result of a spontaneous dialogue between officials and migrant organizations. In a country such as Spain where the transition from being an emigration to an immigration destination has been abrupt, immigration policies are anything but the result of a reflexive strategy. As a result, public integration plans at all levels (local, regional, and national) have been influenced by trendy concepts and ideas elsewhere. In our opinion this explains the centrality given to concepts such as co-development and transnationalism.

Spanish officials have heavily trusted the view of immigrant organizations regarding what was needed for a fully successful incorporation of migrants. Accordingly, certain associations have had a leading role a huge public visibility in the definition and implementation of public policies. Accordingly, public funds have been prioritarily address to senior organizations whose involvement in public debates and policies has been remarkable. We define this whole approach to migrant associations and organizations as a top-down approach.

In this paper we have been able to unveil some of the consequences of this top-down model empirically. We have managed to reveal that the dependency organizations have had until recently of public funds is greater among senior and more strategically placed associations in the top-down model. This seems to be a cross-nationality regularity since few or none ethnic residuals apply in quantitative analysis or in the qualitative accounts used to illustrate our argument. No only more senior and better institutionalized organizations have extensively benefited across communities of this privileged access to funds and other resources in destination. Our empirical analysis also reveals that they have also managed to export this advantaged position to define contacts with high-rank officials in countries of origin.

To sum up, Spain is probably an interesting case study showing how the context in which migrant organizations develop, shapes their behaviour both in origin and destination. The top-down models is the most influential single factor needed to understand how migrant organizations are and to what extent they have developed transnationalism. The continuation of this top-down model is at stake because of the

current economic downturn hitting the country. Further research is needed to reveal the evolution of a highly subsidized model of migrant associationism.

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APPENDIX

Moroccans: Moroccan immigration is the oldest and has the strongest tradition in Spain's history as a receiving country. This flow started in the second half of the 1980s, became visible at the start of the 1990s after the special regularization process carried out in 1991, and has stayed constant over time ever since. Currently there are more than 800,000 Moroccan migrants in Spain. In general terms, Morocco is the main source of Spanish immigration to date, not only because of its volume, but also due to the continuity of the flows for over more than two decades. Over the majority of this period Moroccans have been the largest migrant group, barely overtaken at the end of 2010 by Romanian immigrants.

The three principle regions emitting Moroccan emigration toward Spain, the Eastern Rif, Atlantic Morocco and the Tangier Peninsula, concentrate around 90 per cent of all Moroccan immigration in Spain, including people from urban and rural areas, Rifians and Arabs. This immigration is principally established in Madrid, the Mediterranean regions (Catalonia, Valencian Community, Murcia) and Andalusia and is characterized by low levels of education, despite the presence of a small sector of skilled workers, artists and students. In fact, it is the community with the lowest level of education among the larger immigrant groups. In terms of distribution, this community has slightly more men than women and 10 per cent are under 15 years old.

Dominican and Peruvian immigration started at the beginning of the 1990s, but the number of arrivals dropped after the middle of the decade as a consequence of worsening economic conditions and the imposition of a visa, and slightly reactivated over the past 10 years due to the combined effect of the action of migratory networks during the economic boom and family reunification.

Dominicans: Dominican immigration to Spain at the beginning of the 1990s was mostly female, the majority of whom were from the municipality of Vicente Noble in the Barahona province. These women were unskilled workers who in the initial years of their settlement in Spain worked in domestic service and informally reunified other women from their nuclear and extended families. The majority settled in the Madrid region, which now contains the largest community of people from Vicente Noble outside of the Dominican Republic. Initially they settled in some of the highest income

municipalities of the Community of Madrid, such as Pozuelo and Aravaca, where female Dominican workers were employed as live-in help. Between 2004 and 2007 there was an upturn in flows, in many cases due to formal family reunification, with the arrival of juveniles and spouses. This family conformation led many women who had resided in Spain for over a decade to quit their jobs as live-in help and enter other sectors, such as services (especially hotel) and commerce (beauty parlors, call shops, supermarkets). Many remain in domestic service, but working on an hourly basis. These changes led to shifts in their geographic location within the Community of Madrid, characterized by greater dispersion in different municipalities and some concentration in the Tetuán neighborhood located near the Cuatro Caminos roundabout, which has become the geographic center of communities from the Caribbean residing in the Madrid region. There are currently just under 100,000 Dominican immigrants in Spain, a population that is slightly feminized and 16 per cent of the total are minor under 15 years old.

Peruvians: Peruvian migration to Spain follows a similar pattern as the Dominican case in terms of its temporal sequence, with flows decreasing in the middle of the 1990s and later reactivating between 2002 and 2008. Before the Ecuadorian, Columbian and Bolivian migrations to Spain, Peruvians were the largest Latin American group and these immigrants settled primarily in the Madrid region. Peruvian migrants are more evenly divided between genders than the earlier groups discussed, with a volume that currently is around 150,000 people. This community is of urban extraction, the majority originally from Lima, and with medium to high levels of education. The first wave of immigration to Spain, at the beginning of the 1990s, resulted from worsening economic conditions and political insecurity in Peru. The low expectations that the quality of life in their country would improve led a large part of the frustrated Peruvian middle class to move abroad. This flow decreased when Spain imposed a visa requirement on Peruvian citizens and the political situation in Peru improved, but later renewed at the turn of the century due to improved labor opportunities in Spain.

Colombians: In the second half of the 1990s, Spain became the destination of one of the largest flows from Latin America, the Columbian migration, with the most intense periods occurring between 1998 and 2001 and between 2005 and 2007. Columbia suffered a severe economic crisis at the end of the 1990s, with a sharp drop in GDP and a fiscal and mortgage crisis, activating a strong migratory movement abroad that had

Spain as the primary destination, attracting 30 per cent of the total immigrants. This emigration originated for the most part from the Coffee Triangle, located in the Midwestern part of the country, specifically, the Valle del Cauca, Bogota, Antioquia and Risaralda departments.

Currently Columbians are the second largest Latin American group in Spain, after Ecuadorians, with a volume of over 275,000 people. It is a slightly feminized, diverse community of urban extraction that has a high average level of education.

Ecuadorians: The Ecuadorian community, the largest Latin American group in Spain, has followed a temporal pattern of settlement similar to that of the Columbians, with highly intense periods of arrivals, between 1997 and 2001, and somewhat of an upsurge between 2006 and 2008. Today there are more than 400,000 Ecuadorians in Spain. This emigration was caused by the economic crisis, a drop in living conditions and political and institutional instability that occurred in the second half of the 1990s. Ecuadorian immigration to Spain is slightly feminized and has concentrated in the provinces of Madrid, Barcelona, Murcia and Almeria. In contrast to earlier flows of Ecuadorians to the United States, this current was more urban, better educated and originally from the “Austral” regions (Azuay, Cañar and Loja provinces) and Pichincha, in the Guayas province and in the two large cities in the country, Quito and Guayaquil. Ecuadorian immigrants have a lower level of education than Columbians and Peruvians, but higher than Moroccans and Dominicans.

¹ The latest available data indicate that the largest group of foreigners in Spain is Romanian (912,526). Among the rest of the EU member states, the largest groups were British (235,052), Italian (180,221) and Bulgarian (175,414). For non-EU countries Moroccans made up the largest group (835,188), followed by Ecuadorians (403,864), Columbians (274,171), Chinese (170,164) and Bolivians (150,702). The most recent flows originate from a diverse range of countries that include Ukraine, Paraguay, Brazil, and Pakistan. Therefore, the current foreign population is composed of an even distribution between Latin Americans, Europeans and Africans.

²Consensus document of the Co-development Work Group (Commission of Cooperation and Development).

³ See the *Plan Director de la Cooperación Española* (2009-2012) in the reference list.

⁴ The CEPs, (Centres for Participation and Integration of Immigrants of Madrid) are places where the local population and resident immigrants can meet which provide services and carry out activities related such as information courses, legal aid, job search workshops and cultural and sports activities. These centers depend on the regional government of the Community of Madrid. Immigrants also have social needs met through the CASI (Social Attention for Immigrants Centers). They both are run by the General Directorate of Immigration of the Community of Madrid.

⁵ This program includes the human development bond for migrants in vulnerable situations, providing productive loans and promoting investment projects through the “El Cucayo” fund.

⁶ An example of the influence of the Spanish agenda and financing on shaping development policies is the fact that some associations manage voluntary return programs, such as those carried out in Ecuador and Columbia, which have been partially managed by immigrant organizations with funding from the IOM. The link in Spanish policy between development and the “orderly regulation” of flows has benefited the financing of training and information programs for future migrants in countries of origin.