THE POLITICAL INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS' ASSOCIATIONS IN MADRID

Laura Morales, University of Murcia (lauramdu@um.es).
Amparo González, University Pompeu Fabra (amparo.gonzalez@upf.edu).

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ABSTRACT: The political integration of migrants has frequently been assessed at the individual level. In this article we explore the notion of political integration and apply it to the organisational or collective level. With data coming from a survey to 67 migrant associations in Madrid we analyse whether the patterns of inclusion of migrant groups in this city conforms to the multicultural model of political integration. Our results show that, whereas migrant organisations are given relatively equal rights of access to decision-making processes as autochtonous associations, their capacity to effectively engage in the public arena is seriously curtailed. We also show that this limited involvement in the host polity is primarily due to a generalised lack of resources and to a limited interoganisational connectivity within the migrant camp. Thus, our study supports past research on the relevance of organisational resources and social capital for political involvement. However, our results provide little evidence to claim that political integration in Madrid substantially differs according to the ethnic or regional origin of migrants.

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INTRODUCTION

Contemporary western democracies are facing an intense public debate over the integration of migrant-origin populations in their host societies. Frequently, this discussion focuses around social and economic aspects. However, with the realisation that these populations are here to stay and the gradual expansion of ethnically and culturally diverse communities within host societies, the political dimension of integration has become ever more relevant. Scholars have increasingly felt the need to systematically incorporate a civic and political dimension into their analyses of integration in diverse settings.

This article wishes to contribute modestly with this intelectual debate by focusing on the concept of political integration and adapting it to the organisational or collective level. Are migrants integrated into the civic and political life of their host communities? To what extent are they (not)? Are there relevant differences across the various ethnic and national groups? If so, why? These are several of the questions we wish to approach, and for that purpose in this article we will only focus on the organisational or collective level of migrants' civic and political integration. This choice does, obviously, not imply that we neglect or disdain the individual level of civic and political integration. We are convinced of its crucial relevance. We believe, however, that the organisational level may act as a potent mediating factor in determining the political integration of individuals of migrant origin.

The main goal of this article is, thus, to offer a preliminary theoretical and empirical approach to the study of civic and political integration of migrants –or, rather, their associations- in Spain, using the city of Madrid as a case study. We first summarise the main elements of the concept of political integration and of its more standard definition when applied to individuals, and we discuss the alternatives to apply this concept to organisations. Secondly, we briefly present the data and the methodology applied to collect them. In the third section we describe in some detail how we measure empirically the various dimensions of the political integration of migrants' associations. The final section explores to what extent three different types of characteristics of the organisations –their identitarian definition, their organisational structure, and their network links to other migrant organisations- can account for the variations in levels of political integration of migrants' associations in Madrid. We conclude with a summary of the main results and findings and with some suggestions for further research on this subject.[1]

THE POLITICAL INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS' ASSOCIATIONS: A CONCEPTUAL DISCUSSION

Most of the approaches to the study of the political integration of migrant-origin populations depart from Marshall's (1992) classical notion of citizenship, which is defined as the "status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed". These works frequently limit their analyses to ascertain how do different regimes of attribution of civil, political and social rights impinge upon the way migrant-origin populations are incorporated to the *demos* and, thus, to the political community[2]. In the last decade, however, several scholars have started to include an additional dimension of political integration: the effective participation of migrants in the public sphere.[3] Both approaches are not mutually exclusive, but rather complementary, and they reflect the inherent bi-dimensionality of the concept of political integration. We can, thus, identify two main elements that define full integration into the community, into the *demos*: (1) the fulfilment of the requirements to access citizenship, and (2) the dominant notion shared in that community about how should citizenship be fully implemented. Figure 1 presents a basic typology of political integration that takes into account this bi-dimensionality.[4]

Figure 1. Notions of citizenship and types of political integration of the migrant-origin populations

		What gives access to the *demos*?	
		Rights (based on universalistic criteria)	Rights + sharing core values or identities
What is the prevailing notion of the role reserved to citizens within the political community?	Minimalist	**Formal political integration** Equality of political rights	**"Patriot" political integration** Acceptance and respect of the core values or identities of the host society (distinctive values and identities are tolerated)
	Commited / active	**Multicultural political integration** Equality of power and of effective use of political rights	**Assimilationism** Total adaptation to host society identities and values, and abandonment of distinctive values and identities

Own elaboration from Tillie & Slijper (2003 & 2006).

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[2] See, for example, Baldwin-Edwards & Schain (1994); Bauböck (1994); Bauböck et al. (1996); Costa-Lascoux & Weil (1992); Hammar (1985); Kastoryano (1996); Kubat (1993); Lapeyronnie (1992 & 1993); Layton-Henry (1992); Rex (1996); Rex & Drury (1994); Schnapper (1991, 1992 & 1994); Soysal (1994).
[3] See a summary in Tillie and Slijper (2003 and 2006).
[4] This typology is a modified and adapted version of a similar one proposed by Tillie & Slijper (2003 & 2006).

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With regard to the first dimension –access to the *demos*- the main distinction is between those regimes that only require the fulfilment of certain universalistic criteria that are unrelated to the values or identities of individuals who will be granted citizenship, and those that link this access to the fulfilment of additional requirements that imply sharing certain values or identities.[5]

The second dimension revolves around the role reserved to citizens in the polity, and the main distinction is between those that limit it, mainly, to the capacity to elect political representatives (without needing even to effectively make use of this right every time)[6] and those that attribute citizens a more active role in the survival of the political community, either through the effective use of political rights, or through the active commitment to the core values and identities of the community.

Accordingly, the specific notion of citizenship that combines minimal requirements for becoming a full member of the community with a maximalist approach to what citizenship implies, might be termed multicultural political integration (Kymlicka 1995; CLRAE 1992; Vertobec 1996). Certainly, these are four diverging normative conceptions of how should immigrants be incorporated into the host societies, and they are – consequently- the object of intense public dispute in current democracies. They are also, clearly, ideal types, and real cases will depart substantially from any given type. We think, nevertheless, that this classification will prove useful to guide our empirical analyses of the extent to which immigrants' associations in Madrid are more or less integrated into the civic an political life of the host society. Degrees of political integration need to be compared to specific standpoints, especially in what regards effective participation in the public sphere, and in this sense the standpoint we use to evaluate the political integration of migrants in Madrid is the multicultural model.[7]

Clearly, the typology presented in Figure 1 is valid for migrants as individuals, and not as collective groups. However, in this paper we want to focus on the study of migrants' associations and, thus, our main aim is to translate the notion of political integration to the organizational level. In other words, how can we determine if migrant-origin populations, as collective groups that are organised in associations, are politically integrated in their host societies?

We believe that the concept of political integration can successfully be adapted to organisations, by refocusing the two main dimensions previously presented. Even if access rights are restricted to individuals, we can find functional equivalents for organisations that will determine different "statuses" to migrant groups. Knowing which associations had access rights to decision-making processes by either their legal register

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[5] See, among others, Soysal (1994) and Weil (1995).

[6] These are procedural definitions of democracy, as developed by Schumpeter (1957) or Sartori (1988).

[7] The concept of political integration applied to individuals has been seldom used as an extension of the concept of social integration (see Runciman 1966) as a way to refer to the form in which individuals relate to the political domain and how they understand their own role within the polity. In this regard, political scientist have favoured a behavioural notion of political integration based on attitudes and behaviours rather than on citizenship rights. Citizens are politically integrated if and when they display positive attitudes towards the political community and participate in the political process. Political exclusion is, thus, the opposite of political integration; but this exclusion can be unrelated to rights and be motivated by social inequalities or by disaffection. Almond and Verba (1963: 104ff) describe this very notion as part of the participant political culture.

with public administrations, and/or their formal and informal inclusion in decision-making bodies (forums, councils, committees, etc.) may be considered as an equivalent indicator of access rights to the *demos* from an individual perspective. In what regards effective participation, it is possible to measure the degree of involvement organisations have by their responses about their political activities, their political contacts, and their participation in decision-making processes (once they are granted access). Figure 2 summarises the main elements that form our concept of multicultural political integration when applied to migrants' associations.

Figure 2. The concept of political integration applied to immigrants' associations

Dimension of rights of access	Dimension of effective participation
- Legal existence (administrative register) - Formal inclusion in bodies and mechanisms of decision-making - Informal inclusion in bodies and mechanisms of decision-making	- Involvement in political activities - Contacts with autochtonous political organisations - Contact with politicians and officials in host country
	- Effective participation in bodies and mechanisms of decision-making

Own elaboration.

In summary, in this article we propose a way to operationalise the concept of political integration in such a way that it will be adapted to the specificities of the organisational level of analysis. We, thus, think that it is possible to study this additional aspect of migrants' political integration. It is, therefore, feasible to go beyond the individual level of analysis and to ascertain to which extent the process of integration is (also) successful at the collective level. We believe that this is important not just in itself, as an additional indicator of integration or lack thereof, but also to the extent that political integration at the collective level is quite likely to have a relevant impact on individuals' social and political integration.[8]

METHODS AND DATA

The study of migrants' associations in Madrid was carried out in two different stages. First, we elaborated a census of all existing organisations –as no reliable list was available- and at a second stage we organised interviews with organisational leaders and

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[8] For example, Diehl and Blohm (2001) show that the focus of activities of Turkish organisations in Germany is likely to have some impact on individual Turks' interest and involvement in German politics. Membership of ethnic-based organisations alone might not be sufficient to foster individual political integration, and the degree to which these organisations serve to link migrants to the host polity is likely to interact in this process. See related arguments in Fennema and Tillie (1999) and Togeby (1999). Furthermore, Leighley (2001) shows that mobilisation and organisational factors are much more determinant for the political involvement of ethnic and racial minorities than for the mainstream populations.

administered a face-to-face questionnaire of approximately one hour of duration. The interviews took place between October 2003 and March 2004.[9]

Our mapping census of migrants' associations of all origins was created by combining the available information from various official registers, from embassies, from privileged informants (NGOs, trade unions, etc.), and through systematic searches on the internet. This process resulted in detecting 215 organisations that seemed initially to be the product of the self-organising of migrants and foreigners in the city of Madrid.

We then sifted this initial list and used as our main criterion to define an organisation as an "migrants' association" that at least around half the members or half the board members were of migrant origin (even if 2nd generations). We, thus, used a relatively wide definition of the term "migrant" –including other EU citizens- but we did not include those mainly devoted to work with or for immigrants but mostly formed by Spanish natives. With this definition, we had to drop 43 associations that did not meet these requirements. We then also had to drop those associations that were identified but for which we could establish with certainty that they were no longer active (14.5 per cent).

The final census included a total of 147 organisations of migrants in the city of Madrid that were eligible for our study. We were able to achieve an interview with 67 of these, which is a response rate of 45 per cent. This response rate should be considered acceptable, especially if we take into account that a similar (but postal) survey was carried out in parallel to autochtonous associations in two districts of Madrid by the same research team and its response rate was 13 per cent.[10] In addition, we can not assure that some of the assocations that were never located were still active or eligible. Table 1 summarises this multi-stage field process.

Table 1. Summary of the fieldwork process

Associations in the initial list	215
Sifted list without known ineligibles	172
Sifted list without known inactive assocaitions	147
"Mortality" rate	*14.5%*
Interviewed associations	67
Response rates	*45.6%*

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004)

If we consider the population census in Madrid in the closest available date (1st January 2004), our results indicate that there are 3.5 immigrants' associations per 10,000 foreign-nationals, and 3 per 10,000 foreign-born residents (Table 2). The survey carried out to autochtonous associations in two districts indicated that there are around 34 associations per 10,000 inhabitants in Madrid. Thus, as we can clearly see –and as we could expect-

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the associational density of migrant-origin populations is substantially lower than the autochtonous one.

Table 2. Levels of organisational density of migrants in Madrid

Final list of organisations	147
Foreign-national population	432,470 (Padrón 1/1/2004)
Foreign-born population	487,628 (Padrón 1/1/2004)
Associational density of the immigrant population (per 10,000 foreign-nationals)	*3.4*
Associational density of the immigrant population (per 10,000 foreign-born)	*3*

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004) & Local population register (Padrón)

To what extent does the nationality or regional origin of certain migrant groups have a clear impact on their likelihood to form associations? The questionnaire we employed allows to distinguish the main origin, whether single-country or regional, of the members of the associations. The great majority of the associations included in the study were easily classified as pertaining to the same country. However, a significant 14 per cent of them were joined by citizens of various nationalities or mixed origins. Thus, a substantial number of organisations are joined both by Spaniards and by citizens of varied origins (what we term "general" or "mixed" assocations), while quite a number of other organisations are formed around a specific regional or religious identity (African, Scandinavian or Muslim).

In addition, the results presented in Table 3 show that there is no direct link between the size of a given group in the city and its associational capacity (or fragmentation). Thus, for example, the Peruvian people show a disproportionately higher share of organisations, which is much higher than that of the most numerous group: Ecuadoreans. Also sub-Saharian Africans are much more prone to form multiple associations than Moroccan citizens (see also Table 4).

Table 3. Associations by main nationality or origin of its constituency

	Frequency	Percentage	% over total population in Madrid
Peruvian	9	14	5
Dominican	5	8	4
Ecuadorean	5	8	34
Argentinean	4	6	3
British	4	6	1
Colombian	4	6	12
Uruguayan	3	4,5	0,3
Venezuelan	3	4,5	1
Chilean	2	3	1
French	2	3	1,5
Moroccan	2	3	6
Romanian	2	3	4
German	1	1,5	1
Australian	1	1,5	0,04
Capeverdian	1	1,5	0,2

Cuban	1	1,5	1,5
Guatemalean	1	1,5	0,1
Guinean	1	1,5	0,4
Dutch	1	1,5	0,2
Mexican	1	1,5	1
Polish	1	1,5	1,4
Portuguese	1	1,5	1,4
Senegalese	1	1,5	0,2
Thai	1	1,5	0,01
Chinese	0	0	3
Bolivian	0	0	2
Bulgarian	0	0	2
Filipino	0	0	2
General or mixed	5	8	
African	1	1,5	
Muslim	2	3	
Scandinavian	1	1,5	
Total	66	100	

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004).

Table 4. Associations by main World regions of origin of their constituency

	Frequency	Percentage	% over total population in Madrid
Latin America	39	57,4	66,6
Africa	6	8,8	1,5
Muslim	2	2,9	
UE-15 & Australia	11	16,2	7,2
Mixed	6	8,8	
Other	4	5,9	
Total	68	100,0	

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004).

These figures stimulate some reflection on the real meaning of associational density. To what extent is a higher associational density a valuable social resource? Or, put differently, to what extent does forming more associations translate into having greater stocks of social capital for that specific group (in our case, African individuals)? When does associational plurality and diversity transform into organisational fragmentation that deprives otherwise weak social groups from coordinated action? This aspect –diversity versus fragmentation- may have a substantial impact on the capacity of different migrant groups to become politically integrated into the public sphere in their host communities.[11] In the next section we discuss how we measure empirically the concept of political integration and its various dimensions when applied to immigrants' organisations.

HOW TO MEASURE THE POLITICAL INTEGRATION OF ASSOCIATIONS?

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[11] However, we will explore this aspect in future analyses, as it distracts us here from our main focus of interest.

We now turn to the task of proposing specific measurements for the two main dimensions of the notion of political integration that we are using: access and effective participation.

The access to the public sphere in Madrid

Which are the access rights to the public sphere of migrants' associations in Madrid? Table 5 shows how many associations of migrant residents were registered in any official register when we interviewed them, as well as how many claimed to be formally included in any council or forum dealing with issue policies, and how many were informally invited instead. In the latter two cases, we have considered bodies or decision-making mechanisms related to any level of government in Madrid (local, regional or national).

Table 5. Indicators of rights of access of associations

	Percentage	N of cases
Registered in any official register	84	56
Formally included in any council or forum	42	28
Informally invited to any committee or work group	25	17

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004).

Most of the migrants' associations are registered with some public administration, and this assures a minimal capacity to act in the public sphere and to interact with public administrations. Still, 16 per cent are not, and thus lack a minimal visibility for the public managers who design and implement policies that affect them.[12]
In addition, quite a relevant fraction of migrants' associations (40 per cent) are formal members of permanent committees or councils that deal with specific public policies (immigration, social services, women issues, education, etc.). Obviously, inclusion is much more frequent in bodies related to the local (28 per cent) than to the regional (18 per cent) or national (16 per cent) level. However, it is quite relevant to note that this participation is most frequently through formal channels and more rarely through informal invitations. Considering the rigidity of Spanish administrative procedures, this is not very surprising, but it questions the capacity of Spanish public administrations to quickly and efficiently manage social conflicts related to immigration. If any solution requires waiting to set up the formal rulings and committees, responses will not be very quick. However, our data indicate that autochtonous organisations are not much more included in formal bodies and mechanisms of decision-making, but they are more than double as likely to be invited to informal meetings.
As we see, therefore, migrants' associations in Madrid are not generally facing enormous difficulties to access the public sphere, with the only exception of informal mechanisms

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[12] This does not mean necessarily that migrants' associations are less inclined to register and become legal entities. Comparable data with the autochtonous associations in Madrid indicate that, if anything, migrants' associations are clearly more inclined so (84 per cent) than autochtonous ones (70 per cent). This is a reasonable finding if we take into account that migrant associations already start with a substantial disadvantage in obtaining public resources, thus they have more incentives to formalise their legal status.

of access. In this sense, we can argue that the first requirement for migrants' organisations to become politically integrated in the public life of Madrid –access- is granted in general terms, and that their disadvantage in this regard seems to be minor. Nevertheless, in addition to rights of access, political integration requires that migrants' associations effectively use them and that they display the participatory resources they can mobilise. In this sense, we need to check the extent to which these organisations fulfil their external functions of intermediation between individuals (migrant-origin populations) and public authorities and administrations.[13]

Effective participation in the public sphere of Madrid

Associations perform a varied host of activities, some are directed to assure their survival as an organisation (maintenance activities), whereas others are instrumental and directed towards reaching a certain external goal (Lelieveldt, Astudillo and Stevenson 2006). Among the instrumental activities that organisations engage in, we are primarily interested in their functions of intermediation; in other words, those actions performed by organisations that are directed towards having an impact in the political process. In this regard, migrant organisations can act as mediators between the political arena and individual migrants through various mechanisms of linkage and interest representation. Here we will group all these forms in four different sets: (1) political activities, (2) contact with autochtonous organisations, (3) contact with politicians and officials, (4) participation in bodies and mechanisms of decision-making.[14]

Political activities Many studies of individual political participation have shown that political action is multidimensional (see, among others, Verba, Nie and Kim 1971; Parry, Moyser and Day 1992; Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). In the last decade, this approach has been made extensive to organisational political action (Knoke 1990, Lelieveldt and Caiani 2006). Following, thus, past research we have explored this multidimensionality with our data and have identified four forms or types of political action that are used to infuence political decision-makers: traditional lobby activities, mobilising protest, confrontational protest, and electoral action.
As we can see in Table 6, migrant organisations in Madrid are more inclined to resort to various forms of mobilising protest. More than half of them have chosen any of these actions in the two years previous to the survey, and sending petitions to authorities is among the most frequent. Traditional lobby activities come in second place among the most common political activities of migrant organisations, whereas confrontational protest and electoral action is much less frequent.

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[13] Van Deth (1997).

[14] In previous pages we have presented figures on "invitations" to participate (access), but the questionnaire allows to distinguish between invitations and effective participation, as many associations reject invitations to participate (between 7 and 75 per cent depending on the type of mechanism and the level of government).

Table 6. Forms and dimensions of political action in migrants' associations in Madrid

Dimension (alpha value)[15]	Forms of political action	% done at least once in last 2 years
Traditional lobby (0.68)	Contact with media	46
	Lobby activities	33
Average = 0.30	Advocacy activities	31
Median = 0.22	Interest representation	28
Standard deviation = 0.28	Political activities	27
% with value 0 = 27	Mobilization of supporters	25
Mobilising protest (0.70)	Petitions to authorities	69
	Press conferences / notes	60
Average = 0.31	Distribution of leaflets and other	57
Median = 0.26	written materials for public opinion	
Standard deviation = 0.24	Organise or contribute to	37
% with value 0 = 13	demonstrations or public events	
	Collect signatures for petition	37
Confrontational protest (0.83)	Organise or join occupations	13
Average = 0.05		
Median = 0		
Standard deviation = 0.16	Boycott products, institutions or	8
% with value 0 = 85	countries	
Electoral action (0.55)	Organise activities to promote electoral	15
Average = 0.16	participation	
Median = 0	Any member candidate to elections	16
Standard deviation = 0.30	(local, regional, national or home	
% with value 0 = 76	country)	
General scale of political action (0.79)		
Average = 0.25		
Median = 0.22		
Standard deviation = 0.19		
% with value 0 = 10		

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004)

Although migrant organisations in Madrid do not seem to have too wide a repertoire of different forms of political action -average of 0.25 and median of 0.22 on a 0-1 range- the vast majority of them have been at least minimally involved in the political arena in the past two years. Hence, migrant organisations are overall politically active in Madrid, even if the intensity or frequency of their political involvement is not huge.

Contacts with autochthonous political organisations A different aspect of migrant organisations' funcion of political intermediation can be assessed by evaluating the degree to which they are in contact with a variety of local autochtonous organisations that are involved in the political arena.[16] Table 7 shows the distribution of the two count variables that summarise the number of autochtonous political organisations with which migrant organisations have been in contact or have collaborated.

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[15] Cronbach's alpha coefficient. All scales are measured in a 0-1 range.
[16] We considered political autochtonous organisations the following: parties, trade unions, environmental organisations, anti-globalisation organisations, human rights organisations.

Table 7. Contacts and collaboration of migrants' associations with political autochtonous organisations

	Min.	Max.	average	Stand. Dev.	Median	% with value 0	N cases
Contact	0	10	2,5	3,1	1	42	67
Collaboration	0	10	1,0	2,1	0	70	67

Note: theoretical maximum value is 15.
Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004)

Even if contacts are more common than collaborations, both are rare for the typical migrant organisation. 42 per cent of all migrant organisations has had no contact at all with any autochtonous political organisation, and 70 per cent has no experience of collaboration with the latter. The median migrant organisation in Madrid, thus, has contact with only one political organisation and collaborates with none. Given this limited experience of collaborations, it seems more appropriate to focus only on contacts[17] as our second indicator of effective political participation.

Contacts with politicians and officials Surely, political contacts are not only referred to political organisations. Migrant associations –just as all associations (see Lelieveldt and Caiani 2006)- direct their attention also to individual decision-makers and political institutions whenever they want to have an impact on the political process. Table 8 shows the percentages of contact –either sporadic or frequent- with politicians and officials.

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[17] Which are also more highly correlated with the previous general scale of political action (0.7 vs 0.43). Cronbach's alpha for the contact scale is 0.85.

Table 8. Contacts with politicians and officials of migrants' associations in Madrid

	Contact
Local administration or officials of:	
- Immigration or interculturality department	32
- Social services	42
- Equality and employment	21
- Schools	15
- Local police	21
- Health centres	15
Local government executive or any of its members	18
Local councilors	
- PP	20
- PSOE	15
- IU	14
Local political parties	
- PP	11
- PSOE	11
- IU	9
Regional administration or officials of:	
- Social services	36
- Employment	20
- Education	21
Regional government or any of its members	15
Regional MPs:	
- PP	8
- PSOE	9
- IU	11
Regional parties:	
- PP	2
- PSOE	8
- IU	8
National administration or officials:	
- Work and social affairs	32
- Interior ministry	26
- Education, culture and sports	20
National government or members of government	13
MPs or senators:	
- PP	14
- PSOE	12
- IU	12
Political parties at the national level:	
- PP	9
- PSOE	12
- IU	6
National or regional trade unions	19
European institutions	16
Members of the administration or officials of country of origin	46
Political parties of country of origin	28

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004)

Political contacts are much more common with public administrations –especially local administrations- and with representatives of the country of origin. Furthermore, contacts with politicians are more frequently channelled through personal links (e.g. with

councilors and MPs) than with the parties or the Executive branch within the same political arena. Overall, however, there are no huge differences on the degree of contact with politicians depending on the political party. Nevertheless, more detailed dimensional analyses seem to indicate that organisations tend to specialise in certain types of contacts with politicians and officials (Table 9).[18] Some associations are more prone to contact left-wing politicians and parties (PSOE and IU), whereas others specialise in contacts with public administrations of all three levels of government, and finally others focus their efforts on the Executive branches and the PP, the party in government at all three levels when the data were collected (October 2003-March 2004). Even if contacts with public administrations are substantially more generalised, almost two fifths of migrants' organisations lack any contacts with them, and nearly two thirds have no contact whatsoever with Spanish politicians.[19]

Table 9. Types of contacts with politicians and officials

	Left-wing	**Public administrations**	**Executive branch & PP**
N	66	66	67
Average	0.07	0.18	0.07
Median	0.00	0.08	0.00
Stand. Dev.	0.19	0.22	0.15
Min	0.00	0.00	0.00
Max	1.00	0.75	0.89
% with value 0	70	39	66
Alpha of scale	0.96	0.90	0.90

Note: the three scales have a range of 0-1.
Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004)

Participation in bodies and decision-making mechanisms Finally, we take into account migrants' organisations involvement in decision-making processes (Table 10). As with invitations, involvement is higher at the local level than at the regional or national levels; and it is also more commonly through formal than informal mechanisms.

Table 10. Participation of migrants' associations in mechanisms of participatory decision-making

	Have participated
Local level	
As a permanent member of the district or neighbourhood council	19
As a permanent member of a municipal council on specific issues (social services, women, education, etc.)	22
An occasional invitation to participate in a municipal committee to solve a specific problem	12

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[18] The three components shown in Table 9 account for 58 per cent of the variance of all contact items.
[19] In this case, migrants' organisations seemto be less politically integrated than autochtonous associations. The CID survey of local associations in Madrid show that only 16 per cent of autochtonous organisations have no contact with public administrations, and 36 per cent have no contacts with politicians and parties.

To join a municipal consultation committee or group for a specific policy or issue	9
Regional level	
As a permanent member of a regional council on specific issues social services, women, education, etc.)	13
An occasional invitation to participate in a regional committee to solve a specific problem	6
To join a regional consultation committee or group for a specific policy or issue	6
National level	
As a permanent member of a national council on specific issues (social services, women, education, etc.)	12
An occasional invitation to participate in a national committee to solve a specific problem	1
To join a national consultation committee or group for a specific policy or issue	1

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004)

When we summarise all this information in a single indicator (Table 11), we find that around two thirds of all migrant organisations in Madrid are not involved in decision-making processes through any of these mechanisms, and thus the typical association is excluded from such a capacity of influence.[20]

Table 11. Distribution of the indicator of participation in decision-making mechanisms and bodies

N	67
Average	0,10
Median	0,00
Stand. Dev.	0,19
Min	0
Max	0,8
% with value 0	64
Alpha of scale	0,85

Note: the theoretical maximum value of the scale is 1.
Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004)

Although it is interesting in itself to consider separately these four aspects of effective participation of migrants' organisations in the political arena –political action, contacts with political organisations, contacts with politicians and officials, and participation in decision-making process- a global indicator of effective participation helps to summarise all the information contained in the former (Table 12). Even if the typical migrant organisation effectively participates in the host public sphere in a limited number of ways, almost all of them are minimally involved in the political arena. In the next section we explore various factors that can help to understand why some migrant organisations are more politically integrated than others.

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[20] However, in this regard, migrant organisations do not seem to differ from the autochtonous associations, as only 30-35 per cent of the latter are involved in decision-making process through any of these means (Navarro and Juaristi 2006).

Table 12. Distribution of the global indicator of effective participation

N	67
Average	0,16
Median	0,13
Stand. Dev.	0,13
Min	0
Max	0,6
% with value 0	7
Alpha of scale	0,79

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004)

FACTORS RELATED TO POLITICAL INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS' ASSOCIATIONS.

There are three broad types of factors that we want to address in this article when trying to account for the variations in the degree of political integration of migrants' associations: identity and origin-related factors, organisational traits, and inter-organisational connectivity. Our focus on these three sets of factors does not exclude the relevance of other variables; however, we are primarily interested in these in so far as they have been extensively disscussed in previous accounts of ethnic mobilisation and of organisational activism more generally. Identity issues are known to shape migrants' political action in various ways (see, for example, Koopmans and Statham 1999, and Portes and Rumbaut 2006), whereas recently scholars are paying increasing attention to the network links of migrant organisations and their ethnic-based focus (see, Fennema and Tillie 1999 and Tille 2004). Finally, organisational structures have been repeatedly shown to be connected to the political involvement of associations (see various pieces in Maloney and Rossteutscher 2006a).

Identity and origin-based factors

How migrants construct their identity through organisation-formation might prove crucial for various aspects that are related to the political integration of migrants generally and of their associations more specifically. As Koopmans and Statham (1999: 662) argue, labels or categories through which migrant-origin individuals are collectively identified are not inconsequential and are much more than purely symbolic. On the one hand, these labels (immigrants, ethnic minorities, foreigners, etc.) shape and/or mirror the approach with which state actors address integration and social cohesion policies. On the other hand, the categories around which migrant-origin individuals construct their identities will tend to mould the orientation of their public demands and, thus, the way they participate in the public realm.

In Spain, the fact that immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon –at least in massive proportions- as well as the uneasiness with the concept of "ethnic" divisions, has privileged the notion of "immigrants" as the common identifier, especially by state actors. However, as it is quite apparent, this concept is too broad and groups people of many different origins and social status within the host society –let alone its complicated applicability in symbolic and discursive terms to citizens from rich EU countries and other highly developed societies. Hence, unavoidably, many groups and their organisations identify along national or regional lines, rather than the broader adscriptive affiliation to the category of "immigrants". Thus, one of the dimensions that we will analyse is precisely related to this distinction between ethnic-territorial (based on the country or region) and adscriptive (immigrants as the reference group) frames of identity-formation by organisations.

Nevertheless, other dimensions have also been discussed in the past with regard to the relevance of identity in organisation formation. Specifically, the scope of the basis of identification and its degree of inclusiveness –or, put in the "social capital" jargon, its capacity to bridge or bond between social groups- can also prove to be of some importance for the political integration of migrants.

Table 13 classifies the organisations we interviewed in Madrid according to various elements of their declared self-identity. Unlike the results provided in Tables 3 and 4 – which were obtained from classifications done by the research team during data collection and on the basis of the names of the organisations- these categories reflect how organisations view themselves and which constituencies they wish to cater for.

Table 13. Self-identity of the organisations (constituency they claim to represent)

Basis of identification	Scope	Constituency/identity	N	Percentage
No specific identity		No specific constituency	13	19,4
Ascriptive/functional		General professional	4	6,0
		Immigrants	10	14,9
Territorial (country or region)	Latin America (single country)	Argentinean	3	4,5
		Colombian	1	1,5
		Cuban	1	1,5
		Chilean	1	1,5
		Dominican	4	6,0
		Ecuadorean	5	7,5
		Mexican	1	1,5
		Peruvian	2	3,0
		Uruguayan	3	4,5
		Venezuelan	2	3,0
	Latin America (regional)	Mixed Latin American	2	3,0
		Mixed Andean	1	1,5
	EU (15) or "rich" countries (single country)	Australian	1	1,5

		British	1	1,5
		Scandinavian	1	1,5
		French	1	1,5
		Dutch	1	1,5
		Portuguese	1	1,5
		Mixed Anglosaxon	1	1,5
	Eastern Europe (single country)	Polish	1	1,5
		Romanian	2	3,0
	Other (single country)	Senegalese	1	1,5
		Thai	1	1,5
	Other (regional)	Mixed Maghreb	1	1,5
Religious		Muslim	1	1,5
	Total		67	100,0

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004)

Territorial –either based on country or region of origin- identities are clearly dominant. Nearly 60% of all organisations claim to represent a constituency that is defined by the place of origin, and more than 50% are attached to the national identity of the constituency. However, a sizeable proportion of 15% of the organisations construct their identity around the more general label of "immigrants", and even 19% do not claim any clearly defined identity or constituency.[21] This is all the more important if we take into account that a substantial proportion of organisations –especially those of Latin American and EU origin residents- define their identity and constituency in broader terms than their names or external markers would suggest. Thus, our study confirms the complexity and difficulty of attributing identities by external observation alone.

Furthermore, in our survey, some important differences emerge with respect to the political integration of migrants' associations depending on which is the main basis for self-identification (either ethnic-territorial or adscriptive) of the organisation. First of all, associations that primarily embrace the broad label of "immigrants' association" are the ones that appear more integrated both in terms of access and effective participation. On the one hand, all associations of this kind in Madrid declared to be registered in one or more official registers, whereas that was the case only for 80 percent of the rest of associations; in addition, these "immigrants' associations" were also slightly more likely to be informally invited to any committee or work group. On the other hand, the adscriptive label of "immigrants' association" is also significantly associated with higher effective participation in the public sphere, especially with regard to the organization of and participation in political activities, and to their contacts with autochthonous political organizations.

In contrast, territorial identities do not seem to serve as a very good predictor of associations' political integration. When we take into account the specific regional or country origin of the organisation –regardless of their self-identification- no significant

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[21] There is no clear pattern between our pre-classification of the organisations in terms of origin and their neutral self-identification. A few of them were classified by us as "mixed", but some others were clearly identified as based on a single country or regional constituency (African, German, Peruvian, Muslim, etc.).

differences emerge except for Latin-American organisations, which are more likely both to have greater access to and participate in the public sphere than associations from other country and regional origins.[22]

In sum, our study confirms the complexity and difficulty of attributing identities by external observation alone, and rather suggests the need of considering both external and self-identification as potentially relevant and separate aspects in explaining the political integration of migrants' associations.

Organisational characteristics

Organisations –and ethnic or migrant organisations are not an exception- may pursue various types of goals. Pursuing political goals –influencing policy-making or the attribution of political values- requires a certain organisational capacity that is usually associated with formalised internal structures and with greater resources (see Knoke 1990: 61ff.). Moreover, political action generally requires the mobilisation of members. Thus, organisations will be more likely to be engaged in the political arena when they are able to devote some minimal resources to professionalised staff that will contribute to this mobilisation. Consequently, the degree of internal formalisation or differentiation of roles, as well as the level and sources of budget, and the membership structure are crucial aspects that are likely to be connected with the political integration and activism of migrant organisations in the same way that they are for other associations.

Unlike Méndez & Mota (2006) and Torpe & Ferrer (2006) –who employ a similar questionnaire to ours but for all sorts of local associations- we have decided to operationalise the degree of internal formalisation or differentiation by taking into account various aspects of the management structure of the organisations, more in line with Knoke's (1990) approach.[23]

Generally, setting up some sort of fee for members would be a first minimal requirement to start formalising a group or network of peers into an organisation. Defining some internal role structure and a certain hierarchy of authority is a second logical step in organisational differentiation. However, in Spain, having a written constitution (or statutes) of the organisation is almost invariably paramount to having a board, a president, a secretary, a treasurer, and a general assembly, as these are all required formally in order to register the organisation in any public register. Thus, having a written constitution summarises the second minimal stage of formalisation which is common to most associations. Once this minimal degree of differentiation is reached, having work groups or publishing a newspaper or newsletter indicates an internal structuring that

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[22] Associations from EU countries in our sample appeared significantly less likely to have access to and participate in the public sphere than other associations. However, we have preferred not to emphasise this result since the sub-sample of EU associations (10) that we were finally able to interview might be little representative of the entire universe of EU citizens' associations in Madrid. On the contrary, the sub-sample of Latin-American associations (38) is much larger and heterogeneous and, therefore, reliable in terms of representativeness.

[23] Our indicator of formalisation is, thus, a specific type of ordered cumulative scale with eight possible values, and approximately normally-shaped distribution. Details on the scale construction can be obtained upon request.

allows for the internal specialisation of tasks. This formalisation is higher when, additionally, organisations are federated with regional, national or international organisations, and when they hire full-time staff. Table 14 shows the degree of formalisation of migrant organisations in Madrid, according to this operationalization.

Table 14. The elements and the scale of organisational formalisation

Elements	Percentage (N)
Has membership fee	75 (50)
Has written constitution	85 (57)
Has work committees or groups	63 (42)
Publishes a newspaper or newsletter	42 (28)
Member of some federation or confederation	34 (23)
Has full-time staff	18 (12)
Distribution of scale (0-1 range)	
Average	0,56
Median	0,57
Standard deviation	0,21
Assymetry/skewness	-0,38

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004)

Our analysis revealed that a higher degree of formalization among migrants' associations is significantly and strongly associated with both a higher likelihood of being formally included and informally invited to any council or forum dealing with issue policies at any level of government (local, regional or national). Therefore, we can affirm that organizational formalization is clearly associated with better access to the public sphere among migrants' associations in the city of Madrid. However, such relationship becomes even stronger with regard to the second dimension of political integration: more formalized associations scored substantially higher in our overall scale of effective participation, as well as in each of its components -especially in political activities and contacts with autochthonous political organizations, but also in contacts with the public administration and participation in decision-making mechanisms-.

Another trait that may have an impact on the political integration of migrant organisations is their budgetary capacity and their sources of funding. In terms of the size of the budget, past research would lead us to think that –if at all- greater economic resources would not lead to greater political mobilisation. For example (Kriesi 2006) argues that representation and mobilisation activities require less economic resources from organisations than the provision of services. And in terms of the levels of public funding, one could expect that membership-based organisations that are not dependent on public funding can equally be politically active, as their main asset is their membership. Thus, budgetary capacity and its sources may not be too determining of political integration as a whole, and we would expect certain variations depending on the type of political activity we are looking at.

Table 15 shows the main figures that describe the budgetary capacity of migrant organisations.[24] The first thing we notice is that the average value is highly influenced by very few organisations with high budgets, thus the median provides a better

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[24] For associations who did not provide absolute figures but mentioned the range within which their budget lied, we have imputed into a single quantitative scale the average values of the total budget for that range.

summary of the typical situation. Half of the organisations are run with less than 6,000€ per year, and almost 88 per cent with less than 50,000€. As is shown in Kriesi (2006), the Spanish local association system is systematically less resourced than that of other European countries. However, migrant organisations in Madrid are also under-resourced when compared to the local general associations in Spain. Only around 40 percent of Spanish associations have a working budget of up to 6,000€ and 5 per cent have more than 300,000€ available per year (Méndez and Mota 2006: 221).

Table 15. Annual budget of migrant organisations (euro)

Average	25,124.3
Median	6,009.6
Standard deviation	51,953.5
Percentile 90	80,000
Maximum value	250,000
Distribution by intervals	*Percentage*
No budget	5
€0.1- 1,000	15
€ 1,000 - € 2,499	10
€ 2,500 - € 4,999	14
€ 5,000 - € 9,999	15
€ 10,000 - € 49,999	29
€ 50,000 - € 99,999	3
€100,000 - € 149,999	3
€150,000 - € 199,999	0
More than € 200,000	5
No. of cases	59

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004)

In terms of the sources of the budget, public funding coming from any level of the Spanish administration (local, regional or national) is clearly symbolic. 87 per cent of all migrant organisations receive no public funding at all and, for 50 per cent of those who do, this type of aids only make up to 30 per cent of their budgets. This does not mean that migrant organisations heavily rely on membership fees or private donations either. Almost a quarter do not get any relevant funding from fees, and for more than half this source accounts for less than 25 percent of their budget. In the case of donations, the situation is even more acute, as around 50 percent do not receive any money from that source.

As we expected, and in line with Kriesi's findings, the relationship between budgetary capacity and political integration is neither strong nor unidirectional among migrants' associations in Madrid. First of all, a larger budget is not clearly associated with better access to the public sphere since the only significant relationship that emerges is with registration in official registers. However, the likelihood of being formally included or informally invited to councils, forums or working groups dealing with policies issues (just the opposite as with organizational formalization) is independent of budgetary size. Secondly, a larger budget does not appear to affect the effective participation of migrants' associations in the public sphere, with only one exception: richer associations tend to have more contacts with public administrations. However, this result is likely to be related to the fact that richer associations are precisely the most likely to receive public funding. Actually, the fact of receiving some public funding is a much more reliable

predictor of the associations' political integration than their total budget. Migrants' associations that receive public funding had all registered –as this is a legal requirement to receive public subsidies-, and were significantly more likely to be both formally included and informally invited to different types of councils, forums and working groups than others. In addition, better access to the public arena was also accompanied by more effective participation on the part of these associations: although they were not more inclined than the rest of associations to be involved in political activities, they were significantly more likely to have contacts with autochthonous political organizations and public administrations, and to participate in bodies and decision-making mechanisms.

A final crucial aspect of the internal configuration of migrant organisations that we will take into account is the membership structure. Maloney and Rossteutscher (2006b) emphasise the relevance of this membership structure both in terms of the absolute size of the pool of members, active members and volunteers –which they refer to as the *quantity*- and in terms of its relative weight within the organisation –the *quality/efficiency*. With respect to our main focus of interest –political integration- we might assume that both absolute size and the proportion of active members over the total membership should facilitate migrants' organisations integration in the political arena. To a great extent, public administrations tend to have a bias in favour of bigger organisations, and an active membership is more likely to contribute to greater political action from the associations. Table 16 shows the internal organisational structure of the surveyed associations in Madrid by distinguishing between members, active members and volunteers. As we see, again, a few big organisations bias the distribution, but half of the organisations have around 100 members or less, of which around 25 are active and 2 are volunteers. In this regard, migrant organisations seem to be somewhat smaller than the typical Spanish local association, which is closer to 150 members in its median value (Méndez and Mota 2006: 212). And, confirming the Olsonian hypothesis (Olson 1965), the negative effect of the total size of migrant organisations on active engagement within the association –as measured by the ratio of active to total members- is notorious (correlation of -0.49).

Table 16. The membership structure of migrant organisations

	Total members	Active members	Volunteers	Ratio active / total members	Ratio volunteers/ total members
Average	1021	148	11	0.45	0.08
Median	104	25	2.5	0.41	0.00
Standard deviation	2916.7	448.6	27.5	0.32	0.18
Maximum value	15,600	3,000	150	1	1.09
Percentile 90	2,900	260	20	1	0.20
Percentage with value 0	1.6	3	48	-	-

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004)

Overall, however, migrant organisations can count on almost half of their members to be active but, on the other hand they lack a substantial amount of volunteers. Thus, we only expect –if at all- membership and active membership to have some impact on political integration. In fact, preliminary bivariate analyses only partially supported our expectations. On the one hand, associations' absolute size is positively and significantly

associated both with access and effective participation, not only overall but with almost each of its components. However, this positive association is much weaker and only marginally significant when we consider the total number of active members instead of the rough absolute size. In addition, the relationship between size (measured either by members or active members) and contacts with the public administration is not significant, which partially contradicts our expectation with regard to the bias in favour of bigger organizations. Moreover, the relationship with both dimensions of political integration reverses and becomes negative when the proportion of active members over total membership is considered, although this is generally not statistically significant except for the case of contacts with autochthonous political organizations.

In sum, bigger migrant associations seem to be more politically integrated than smaller ones, although the underlying patterns remain somewhat obscure, since neither a clear bias in favour of bigger organizations on the part of public administrations, nor a positive relationship between number of active members and integration has been found.

Table 17. Bivariate correlations of organisational traits and political integration indicators

	Formal inclusion	Informal inclusion	Scale of political action	Contacts with autochtonous political organisations	Contacts with public administrations	Participation in decision-making mechanisms	Global indicator of effective participation
Formalization	0.39**	0.25**	0.41**	0.45**	0.54**	0.32**	0.47**
Full-time Staff	0.43**	0.51**	0.28**	0.30**	0.50**	0.40**	0.41**
Budget	0.17	0.23	0.24	0.31	0.24	0.10	0.26
Public funding	0.32**	0.34**	0.14	0.27**	0.16	0.34**	0.24**
Absolute size	0.44**	0.29**	0.21**	0.30	0.34	0.40**	0.37**
Active Members	0.26**	0.21**	0.04	0.11	0.33	0.24**	0.19
Proportion active/members	-0.21	-0.04	-0.15	-0.26	-0.04	-0.20	-0.21

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004). **Significant for $p \leq 0.05$.

Connections to other migrant organisations

Fennema and Tillie (1999 & 2001) have argued that connections among ethnic –or, in our case, migrant- organisations is conducive to positive effects on immigrants' participation in the host polity.[25] The main reason is that these links act as channels of communication that promote greater collective information and trust. In few words, a high degree of connectivity among migrant organisations multiplies their social capital and this will have an impact on their political participation. Equally, various scholars have shown that organisations that are able to build alliances and coalitions are generally more inclined to have contacts with public institutions and are also more successful in their attempts to

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[25] But see van Heelsum (2005) for a discussion of the generalisability of Fennema and Tillie's results to other cities in The Netherlands.

influence public authorities.[26] Thus, we would expect better connected organisations to be more politically integrated.

Unlike Fennema and Tille (1999), and Fennema (2004) the primary source of our information are not interlocking directorates. Nor do we have information on overlapping memberships. Our links are defined by responses to a question in the survey done to our migrant organisations in Madrid on whether they had collaborated with any organisations included in a list that attempted to cover all migrant organisations located in the city. Table 18 shows the distribution of the two measures of network connectivity: outdegree and indegree.[27] One of the first things that we notice is that our network measurements are highly assymetrical. Many associations claim to have contact with associations that do not reciprocate in mentioning the respective organisation.[28]

Table 18. Network links among migrant organisations (contact or consultation)

	Outdegree (no. of organisations mentioned by *ego*)	Indegree or prestige (centrality) no. of organisations which mention *ego*
Average	6.1	3.5
Median	4	2
Standard deviation	6.9	4.7
Maximum value	32	21
Percentile 75	8	5
Percentage with value 0 (no links to network)	15	27
No. of cases	67	67

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004)

On average, the propensity to mention (outdegree) is double that of the level of prestige or centrality (indegree). In addition, a substantial amount of associations has neither outgoing nor incoming links to other migrant organisations. But, overall, we can say that –even if only using indegree- the density of the network is relatively high (3.5 links per organisation).

Both outdegree and indegree are positively and significantly related to access, at least when access is measured through formal inclusion or informal invitation to councils, fora and so on. The same happens with regard to effective participation; both outdegree and indegree are strongly and positively related to each of its components. In this regard, previous accounts that emphasise the role of organisational conectivity of the migrant

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[26] A summary of these works can be found in Diani (2003: 106ff).

[27] The outdegree measures the number of outward links –in this case how many organisations in the list *ego* mentioned- whereas the indegree measures the number of incoming links –in our case how many organisations mentioned *ego*.

[28] Partly this is also due to the fact that many associations mentioned organisations that we were not able to survey eventually, so the symmetry of the relationship could not be established at all. However, symmetry may not exist even if we would have interviewed all the mentioned associations because it is very likely that different associations tend to recall differently those associations with which they had some contacts or collaboration.

camp seem to be supported by our data. However, we need to ascertain whether such a strong relation remains or is modified once other factors and associations' characteristics are taken into account. In order to do so, the following section sketches a joint explanatory model of migrants' organizations political integration.

Table 19. Bivariate correlations of connectivity and political integration indicators

	Formal Inclusion	Informal Inclusion	Political Activities	Contacts Autochth. Political Org.	Contacts Public Admon.	Particip. Decision-Making	Global Indicator Effective Particip.
Outdegree	0.45**	0.30**	0.25**	0.45**	0.36**	0.43**	0.41**
Indegree	0.52**	0.43**	0.40**	0.54**	0.38**	0.51**	0.58**

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004). **Significant for $p \leq 0.05$.

A joint model of migrants' organisations political integration

In order to offer a more complete and reliable picture of the main factors that influence the political integration of migrants' associations in Madrid, multivariate analyses will allow us to assess the relative impact of identitarian, organisational and connectivity determinants. Following our definition of two main dimensions of political integration – access versus effective participation-, we will test two different sets of multivariate models.

With regard to access, being registered or not was discarded as a not too useful indicator, since a very large majority of the surveyed associations had actually registered and, therefore, there was little variation in our dependent variable. Hence, we focus the analysis on the other two indicators: formal inclusion in councils and forums dealing with policy issues, and informal invitation to working groups and other meetings of the same kind. Secondly, we have analyzed political integration from the perspective of effective participation, both through the global indicator and by considering each of its separate components. Results are summarized in Table 20.

In the case of access to the public sphere, results in columns 1 and 2 indicate that large associations are more likely to be "included" than smaller ones, especially through formal channels. In addition, those associations that are better connected within the local network of migrants' associations are also more likely to be formally included in the existing councils and forums dealing with immigration and other policies issues. Finally, migrants' associations in Madrid seem to enhance their chances of access if they receive public funding. On the other hand, the fact that Latino associations are not more likely to be either formally included or informally invited to the existing councils, forums and working groups than others challenges somehow the common idea that public authorities in the city tend to prefer or favour Latin-Americans compared to migrants from other origins. A final comment related to the access dimension of political integration has to do with the direction of causality. It is difficult to ascertain, for example, whether associations that receive public funding are more likely to be formally included in some councils because they are better resourced, or whether they were able to obtain public funding because they were already granted access to such structures and thus their

members were able to obtain the information and contacts needed in order to successfully apply for those funds.

Results concerning the second dimension of political integration (effective participation) are shown in the right-side of Table 20; column 7 shows the results for the global scale of effective participation, and columns 3 to 6 show the results for each of the components on the basis of which the global scale was constructed.

With regard to the effect of identity and origin-based factors, it is somewhat striking that associations that define themselves as "immigrants' associations" are not more likely to to participate in the public arena than other associations, despite it emerging as a significant factor in the bivariate analyses. This is, at least, the case for the global scale of effective participation, for political activities and for contacts with autochthonous political organizations. A reasonable explanation of such unexpected results is that associations that label themselves as "immigrants' associations" tend to be among the most interconnected and the most formalized ones of our sample. As a result, once we controlled for formalization and interconnectivity, the initially significant effect of "adscriptive identity" vanished. On the contrary, Latin-American associations are more likely to participate in general and to be involved in political activities in particular. However, results in columns 5, 6 and 7 indicate that Latino associations are not more likely than others to have contacts with autochthonous political organizations nor with public administrations. Therefore, the hypothesis of the official preference for Latin-American associations is not supported by our data.

Table 20. Multivariate models of the political integration of migrant organisations in Madrid[29]

	ACCESS		EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION				GLOBAL SCALE EFFECTIVE PARTICIP.
	Formal inclusion (1)	Informal inclusion (2)	Political Activities (3)	Contacts Autocht. Organis. (4)	Contacts Public Admon. (5)	Partic. Decision-Making Mech. (6)	(7)
Identity and origin factors **Adscriptive Identity (ref. other)**							
Latino			0.12** 0.04				0.05* 0.03
Organisational factors							
Formalization	0.26 0.18		0.46** 0.11	0.36** 0.10			0.26** 0.07
Staff full-time (ref. no)					0.22** 0.06	0.17** 0.06	
Budget size (Ln)							
Public funding	0.19* 0.10	0.16** 0.06					
Membership size (Ln)	0.04** 0.02	0.02* 0.01	0.02 0.02	0.03* 0.02		0.02** 0.01	0.02* 0.01
Active Members (Ln)			-0.04* 0.02	-0.03 0.02			-0.02* 0.01
Connectivity to migrant camp							
Outdegree	0.01** 0.00			0.01** 0.00	0.01** 0.00	0.01** 0.00	0.01** 0.00
Indegree							
Constant	-0.23** 0.11	-0.03 0.06	-0.06 0.07	-0.16** 0.06	-0.07** 0.03	-0.10* 0.05	-0.07* 0.04
R2	0.40	0.20	0.36	0.43	0.22	0.41	0.45
N	58	58	62	62	66	64	62

Source: Survey to Immigrants' Associations in Madrid (2003-2004). **Significant for $p \leq 0.05$ *Significant for $p \leq 0.01$.

Secondly, we have analyzed the effect of different organizational traits (formalization, budgetary capacity, and membership structure) on both the overall scale of effective participation and specific types of participation. The positive effect of a higher degree of formalization on effective participation is one of the most robust results shown in Table 20 (see columns 3 to 7). Although formalization does not reveal a significant effect neither for contacts with the public administration nor for participation in decision-making mechanisms (see columns 5 and 6), even in these two cases having full-time staff

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[29] Regression models were initially estimated following a stepwise procedure and included the complete set of independent variables we had previously discussed in the bivariate analyses. In a second step, we re-estimated all the models by including only those independent variables which were found to be statistically (or quasi) significant in the most complete regression model in the stepwise procedure, and checked that overall fitness and estimated coefficients for the included variables did not change substantially. Table 20 shows the estimated coefficients obtained from this last estimation method, which produced more parsimonious models.

(which is one major component included in our formalization scale) increases the probability of participating. We must read these results jointly with the results concerning the budgetary capacity of associations on their level of effective participation in the public arena. Results in Table 20 largely confirms what we said in the bivariate analyses: having more money is not significantly associated with neither overall participation nor any of its components: and receiving public funding does not seem important either.[30] Therefore, it seems that money does not lead to greater more effective participation unless it is spent on professionalized and stable staff. In addition, these results suggest also that the two last two forms of effective participation we have identified (contacts with public administrations and participation in decision-making mechanisms) requires from associations a higher degree of professionalization than the other two.

With regard to the structure of membership and its effects on the participation of migrants' associations in the public sphere, our results indicate that a larger number of members makes associations more likely to participate, especially if participation is measured through contacts with autochthonous political organizations and presence in decision-making mechanisms. This result is in line with what we found in the previous bivariate analyses; however, the opposite happens when we consider the effect of active members. The reason why associations with a larger number of activists appeared to be more participative is not directly related to activism but to the fact that larger associations also have a larger number of activists. However, once absolute size is controlled for, the real effect of activists on effective participation tends to be negative instead of positive (which is actually consistent with the bivariate analysis that indicated a negative relation between the ratio of active to total members and participation). It thus seems that high levels of activism in migrant organisations in Madrid are linked to more in-ward looking approaches and to less integration into the host political arena.

Finally, with regard to the connectivity of migrant organisations with other migrant associations, the effect of outgoing links (outdegree) systematically dominates over the effect of prestige or centrality (indegree) when both were considered simultaneously.[31] It is also important to highlight here that our results are consistent with previous studies in this area that indicate that connectivity becomes particularly important for having contacts with the public institutions and for enhancing the associations' capacity to influence public authorities (see columns 5 and 6).

Finally, we should mention that important variations among forms of participation emerge from our results. While associations of Latin-American origin, highly formalized, large in size, and well connected within the local network of migrants' associations tend to participate more overall, the relative importance of these four aspects varies across forms of participation in the public sphere. Latino origin only makes a difference for involvement in political action proper, but not in the rest of forms of engagement. Formalization matters for political action and contacts with autochthonous political organizations, whereas the availability of full-time staff is the only important resource for establishing connections with public administrations and for participation in decision-making mechanisms. Finally, size increases contacts with autochthonous political

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[30] The impact of having public funding disappears once we control for the fact of hiring full-time staff.
[31] This is partly due to the fact that the organisations with a higher prestige or indegree are precisely those with higher levels of formalization, with full-time staff and with a larger size. Thus, these organisational traits dominate over centrality in the network.

organizations and engagement in decision-making structures, but it is irrelevant for political activities and for contacts with public administrations.

DISCUSSION

The main purpose of this article was to evaluate the degree of political integration of migrant communities in Madrid by focusing specifically on the collective level. We have, thus, assessed the extent to which migrants' associations in Madrid are politically integrated in their host polity using as our standpoint for comparison a multicultural model of political integration. Consequently, we have analysed two main dimensions of the notion of political integration and applied it to the organisational level: the degree of access associations are granted to decision-making processes, and the degree of effective participation in those processes.

In this regard, getting some access to decision-making processes is relatively common for quite a substantial amount of migrant organisations, especially through formal procedures and calls. And in this aspect, their degree of inclusion is equivalent to that granted to autochtonous associations. However, access to informal processes of decision-making is much more selective, and few migrant organisations in Madrid get included through these channels and at lower proportions than the typical autochtonous organisations. To the extent that political decisions are made both through formal and informal meetings, this is a relevant shortcoming for migrants' organisations. Furthermore, access is clearly determined by resources: larger associations, with more formalized internal structures, with public funding, and well connected within the migrant camp are more likely to be formally included in decision-making processes.

The effective use of those rights of access, and effective participation in the public arena is, however, much more restricted. Very few organisations show moderate to medium levels of engagement in the host polity, and their political repertoire is fairly narrow. With regard to specific forms of political action initiated by organisations, traditional lobby activities and mobilisational protest prevails, and only rarely do associations engage in confrontational protest or in electoral activities. Once again, organisational resources –especially internal formalization and size- are the main aspects that promote the political action of associations. Contacts with either autochtonous political organisations or with politicians and officials are uncommon. Whenever migrant organisations in Madrid are in contact with the relevant autochtonous political agents, they mainly are with public administrations. Moreover, contacts with politicians tend to be specialised and polarised around ideological lines, with some organisations focusing on left-wing parties and politicians, and other associations on the center-right party and governments. And, in the end, most of the migrants' organisations are not involved in any form of decision-making structure on the subjects that affect them.

Consequently, our results show that migrants' political integration in the city of Madrid is fairly limited –at least at the collective level- if we use the multicultural model of integration as our standpoint. Although their organisations are granted a fair amount of access rights, their capacity to put effectively in practice those rights is quite limited. To a large extent this seems to be due to their generalised lack of organisational resources.

Most migrant associations are small, with shockingly low budgets and with little internal formalization of roles; and they are also generally isolated and not well connected to each other. And it is, precisely, all these resources that seem to determine the capacity to become integrated in the host polity.

A further interesting finding is that, although, different origin groups show distinct propensities to create multiple associations –for example, Moroccan citizens are much less fragmented than Sub-Saharian Africans- the ethnic or regional origin of migrants (nor their identitarian definitions) does not seem to be of crucial importance in most cases for their political integration. We do only find a consistent differential propensity of Latino organisations to be more engaged in self-initiated political activities (lobby, protest, etc.), but they are not more integrated through other means than associations from other world regions.

Finally, we have only briefly explored the role of interorganisational connections within the migrant camp. Our results show that, indeed, the social capital derived from being in contact with other migrant organisations favours the political integration of migrants at the collective level. In future analyses we will explore further the specific role that this social capital plays. Are all links within the migrant camp equally relevant? Does bridging and bonding social capital really have differential effects? Are strong ties more productive than weak ones? And, finally, how does this organisational social capital translate (if at all) into individual social capital?

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