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LOCALMULTIDEM

Multicultural Democracy and Immigrants' Social Capital in Europe:
 Participation, Organisational Networks, and Public Policies at the Local
 Level

SPECIFIC TARGETED RESEARCH PROJECT (STREP)

PRIORITY 7: Citizens and Governance in a Knowledge Based Society

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CITY REPORT: MADRID¹

INTRODUCTION

1. SAMPLE

The study in Madrid (Spain) has focused on three migrant-origin groups: Ecuadorian, Moroccan and a mixed group of other Andean origins (Bolivian, Colombian, and Peruvian). The sample design stratified by the country of birth of the individuals, with the aim of obtaining around 300 individuals for each of four different groups, the three migrant groups already mentioned plus a control group of autochthonous population.

Individuals were selected on the basis of their country of birth, and not their nationality. Once the individuals were located for interview, the country of birth of their parents was checked. There were some room for re-assignment across groups:

- For the autochthonous group, any individual born in Spain with both parents born elsewhere than the other five countries included in the study qualified as an 'autochthonous'.
- For the autochthonous group if any of the parents had been born in any of our other five countries (Morocco, Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, Peru), then this individual was deemed as a 2nd generation migrant and re-assigned to the corresponding group by the national origin of the parent.
- Individuals who were born in our five countries (and thus classified as migrants) but of both parents born in Spain were re-assigned to the 'autochthonous' group. This situation was very frequent for the sample of individuals born in Morocco (around 20-25% of our Moroccan sample turned out to be autochthonous population that happened to have been born in the former colonial cities of North Africa).

The original design was based on a stratified nominal random sample obtained from the local population register by the municipal statistical office. The gross sample included 2,400 named individuals – 600 per group. However, severe difficulties in fieldwork progression forced us to adapt selection methods to include various modes of respondent selection. The final distribution of the interviews was the following.

Nominal sampling	Substitution within dwelling extracted in nominal sample	Random routes sampling (only autochthonous)	Spatial sampling (only migrants, especially Moroccan)
615	125	180	272

The final distribution of interviews across groups is:

Autochthonous	Moroccan	Ecuadorian	Other Andean origins
307	298	291	277

Fieldwork took place between January 2007 and February 2008, and was mostly organised in-house by a fieldwork network purposefully set up in Madrid for this study by the team of the University of Murcia, and coordinated by Elisa Rodríguez. All interviews were conducted face-to-face and the questionnaire was of approximately one hour of average duration. The respondents of the Moroccan group could choose to do the interview in Spanish or in Arabic.

¹ This report has been produced by Elisa Rodríguez, a member of the LOCALMULTIDEM team, under the guidance and supervision of Laura Morales, the coordinator of the Spanish team.

We will start the report by analysing the sociodemographic characteristics (including age and sex, years in the city, religion, legal situation etc.) of respondents. Next we will move to political dimensions as political interest, political trust and political participation. The following chapter will be dedicated to self-identification and values. Finally, we will look into discrimination feelings and attitudes towards ethnic groups.

PART I: DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS

2. SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC

In this section, we will look into the sociodemographic characteristics of the different national groups, such as gender and sex distribution, religion, educational level and main activity. In the case of our three migrant groups, and considering their special situation, we will also comment issues concerning their arrival (like the year of arrival -- both to the country and to Madrid --, reason of arrival, etc.), their legal situation and access to Spanish nationality, as well as the language and ethnic composition of their households.

The sociodemographic characteristics already show relevant differences among groups. To assess the adequacy of our sample, we have compared the figures of the gender distribution of the population over 15 years old from the local register ("*Padrón*"). The final results obtained in our survey (see table 1) matched the original sample extracted from the local register.

Concerning the gender distribution, we find two very different types of migrant groups. On the one hand, there is a strongly masculinised group, the Moroccan one (6 out of 10 of its members are men). On the other hand, Latin American groups are mostly composed by women, although for the Ecuadorian, the gender differential is not as large as in the Moroccan case (55% and 59% of women in Ecuadorean and Andean groups, respectively). This distribution largely corresponds to the one we find in the local register data. Considering all the population, according to the register, 53% of the Ecuadorians were women, and this percentage rises to 57% for other Andean origins. The Moroccan population shows the opposite gender distribution with only 44% of women.

Table 1. Gender distribution

Respondent's group	Sex	%	n
Autochthonous	male	48.9	150
	female	51.1	157
	Total	100.0	307
Moroccan	male	61.1	182
	female	38.9	116
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	male	45.0	131
	female	55.0	160
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	male	41.2	114
	female	58.8	163
	Total	100.0	277

The minimum age to be included in the study was 15 but there was no upper limit. However the amount of senior people is only noticeable in the autochthonous group: 36% of the autochthonous sample is over 60 years old, while in the migrant groups these percentages are minimal, between 1% and 5% (for the Andean group). This corresponds to an ageing

autochthonous population, clearly captured in the analysis of the average age, which is close to 50 years for Spaniards.

In contrast, migrant groups are young groups, as it is reflected by their age means. In this sense, the youngest group is the Moroccan: its average is 17 years younger than the Autochthonous one.

Table 2. Means of age

Respondent's group	N	Mean	SD
Autochthonous	307	49.7	19.5
Moroccan	296	32.9	8.9
Ecuadorian	291	34.9	10.9
Other Andean origins	276	36.6	12.2

Most of the migrant population is concentrated in the group 26-35 years old. This is the case of almost a half of the Moroccan, 40% of the Ecuadorian, and a third of the Andeans.

Table 3. Age Groups

respondent's group	Age	%	n
Autochthonous	15-22	7.9	24
	23-29	10.5	32
	30-44	23.6	72
	45-59	22.3	68
	60 and more	35.7	109
	Total	100.0	305
Moroccan	15-22	9.5	28
	23-29	31.1	92
	30-44	50.7	150
	45-59	7.4	22
	60 and more	1.4	4
	Total	100.0	296
Ecuadorian	15-22	11.7	34
	23-29	23.7	69
	30-44	45.4	132
	45-59	17.2	50
	60 and more	2.1	6
	Total	100	291
Other Andean Origins	15-22	12.4	34
	23-29	17.5	48
	30-44	44.7	123
	45-59	20.4	56
	60 and more	5.1	14
	Total	100.0	275

When we analyse the year of arrival, we can confirm that migration inflows in Madrid are relatively recent. The main influx took place in the early 2000s, and – of our three groups – Moroccans and Ecuadorians are the ones with the longest time of residence, as they have been settled in Spain for 8 years on average. The Ecuadorian is also the group with the highest cohesion in terms of the time of arrival. Three out of four Ecuadorians have arrived in Spain between 1998 and 2002, and they thus show the smallest standard deviation of all groups. Andeans and Moroccans have larger contingents of recent migrants: around 14% of the Moroccans and 12% of the Andeans have been in Spain for less than 2 years. As we will explain further, the Andean case is rather complex because it mixes three different origin

groups. The large proportion of new arrivals in Spain is due to Bolivians, while both Colombians and Peruvians have been settled in Spain for a longer time.

Table 4. Years since arrival to the country

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>Years since arrival to the country</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Moroccan	2 years or less	13.8	41
	Between 3 and 5 years	22.5	67
	Between 6 and 10 years	42.6	127
	More than 10 years	21.1	63
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	2 years or less	1.7	5
	Between 3 and 5 years	11.0	32
	Between 6 and 10 years	75.9	221
	More than 10 years	10.7	31
	Missing	0.7	2
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	2 years or less	11.6	32
	Between 3 and 5 years	31.8	88
	Between 6 and 10 years	40.4	112
	More than 10 years	14.4	40
	Missing	1.8	5
	Total	100.0	277

Table 5. Average number of years since arrival to the country

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>SD</i>
Moroccan	298	7.9	6.0
Ecuadorian	289	8.0	3.7
Other Andean origins	272	7.2	5.8

We have also enquired about the year of arrival to the city. In this case, the data show that migrants arrived to Madrid slightly later than they arrived to Spain. In other words, in most cases Madrid was not the gate of entrance into Spain, although we did not intend to track the migration path and have no information on previous locations of residence. This time gap is especially pronounced for the Ecuadorian group. Ecuadorians declare an average of 8 years of living in Spain, but only 6.6 years of them where spent in Madrid.

Table 6. Years in the city

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>Years in the city</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Moroccan	2 years or less	14.8	44
	Between 3 and 5 years	25.5	76
	Between 6 and 10 years	36.9	110
	More than 10 years	16.1	48
	Missing	6.7	20
	Total	100	298

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>Years in the city</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Ecuadorian	2 years or less	2.7	8
	Between 3 and 5 years	30.2	88
	Between 6 and 10 years	59.5	173
	More than 10 years	6.2	18
	Missing	1.4	4
	Total	100	291
Other Andean origins	2 years or less	21.3	59
	Between 3 and 5 years	35.4	98
	Between 6 and 10 years	26.4	73
	More than 10 years	13.4	37
	Missing	3.6	10
	Total	100	277

Table 7. Average number of years in the city

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>SD</i>
Moroccan	277	7.2	5.5
Ecuadorian	285	6.6	2.9
Other Andean origins	263	5.9	5.3

With regard to the reason of arrival, work opportunities are by far the first mentioned. Immigration in Madrid is, thus, more about economic immigration than about anything else. Asylum seekers are marginal. Family reasons (reunification) are the second reason to be mentioned. And it is especially important in the case of Ecuadorians, where nearly a quarter of the respondents chose this answer. Educational motivations are not frequently mentioned as a reason for coming to Spain: Andeans are those who chose it the most, and it represents around 9% of the answers.

Table 8. Reason of arrival

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>Reason of arrival</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Moroccan	Job related/work opportunities	75.5	225
	Family reasons/ love	16.1	48
	To study	4.7	14
	Quality of life in general	2.3	7
	Other	1.0	3
	Missing / Not applicable	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	Job related/work opportunities	64.6	188
	Family reasons/love	24.1	70
	To study	4.8	14
	Seeking asylum/protection	0.3	1
	Quality of life in general	2.1	6
	Other	3.8	11
	Missing / Not applicable	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	291

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>Reason of arrival</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Other Andean origins	Job related/work opportunities	66.4	184
	Family reasons/love	15.5	43
	To study	8.7	24
	Seeking asylum/protection	0.4	1
	Quality of life in general	3.6	10
	Other	2.9	8
	Missing / Not applicable	2.5	7
	Total	100.0	277

Regarding the legal situation, there are several aspects to take into consideration. First, the low percentages of refusal show that immigrants are ready and willing to answer this question, even if they are in an irregular or undocumented situation (not applicable cases are related to nationality, because this question did not apply for migrants that have been naturalised). Nevertheless, the relatively high rates of people who declare to be “renewing an expiring permit”, especially between Latin Americans (19% of Ecuadorians), could be concealing cases of respondents in an irregular situation who do not want to acknowledge it. Secondly, we have to point out that most of them actually have a permit. However, most of them are unstable, especially in the Moroccan case: up to 62% of them have a short-term permit of less than 5 years.

Table 9. Legal situation

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>Legal situation</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Moroccan	Short-term permit of 5 or less years	62.1	185
	Long-term permit of more than 5 years	9.1	27
	Renewing my expired permit	6.7	20
	Never had any permit	9.7	29
	Other	0.7	2
	Missing / Not applicable	11.7	35
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	Short-term permit of 5 or less years	43.0	125
	Long-term permit of more than 5 years	10.3	30
	Renewing my expired permit	18.6	54
	Never had any permit	2.7	8
	Other	5.8	17
	Refusal	1.0	3
	Missing / Not applicable	18.6	54
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	Short-term permit of 5 or less years	34.7	96
	Long-term permit of more than 5 years	6.1	17
	Renewing my expired permit	13.4	37
	Never had any permit	18.4	51
	Other	6.1	17
	Refusal	0.4	1
	Missing / Not applicable	20.9	58
	Total	100.0	277

We find a higher rate of undocumented immigrants within the Andeans, who are also those who have most recently arrived in Spain. Nevertheless, this is a complex group, due to its composition. We are considering as 'other Andeans' three different origins (Peruvians, Bolivians and Colombians) whose situation in Spain is far from being similar. This is the reason why Andeans are, at the same time, the group with most illegal residents and the group with most naturalised citizens. On the one hand, Bolivians are the late-comers to Spain, and have thus the highest rates of undocumented residents (44%). On the other, Peruvians are part of an older wave of immigration to Spain – mostly in the 1980s – with high rates of naturalisation (39% of Peruvian respondents had Spanish nationality).

Naturalisation procedures, on the other hand, disadvantage Moroccans. Access to Spanish nationality is easier for Latin Americans: although Moroccans and Ecuadorians living in Madrid have a similar average number of years of residence in Spain, as we have already mentioned, the latter group includes a relatively larger number of naturalised Spanish citizens.

Table 10. Possession of Spanish nationality

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>Spanish Nationality</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Moroccan	No	89.3	266
	Yes	10.7	32
	Total	100	298
Ecuadorian	No	81.8	238
	Yes	18.2	53
	Total	100	291
Other Andean origins	No	80.5	223
	yes	19.5	54
	Total	100	277

This notwithstanding, nationality is highly related to parents' country of birth, which corresponds to the relatively low percentages of naturalisation. However, this is especially relevant in the autochthonous sample, where only 2% have a nationality different from the one of the country of birth of their mothers. In other words, and considering that 100% have Spanish nationality, they are almost all Spaniards born from a Spanish mother. In the three migrant groups, the Spanish is the only important nationality besides the one from the country of origin of the parents. There are very low percentages of third nationalities.

Table 11. Respondents nationality by parents' country of birth, row percentages for each parent

<i>Sample group</i>	<i>Respondent's nationality</i>	<i>Mother's country of birth</i>			<i>Father's country of birth</i>		
		<i>ES</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>ES</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>Other</i>
Autochthonous	ES (n=307)	98.4	-	1.6	97.7	-	2.3
	Other (n=0)	0	-	0	0	-	0
Moroccan		<i>ES</i>	<i>MA</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>ES</i>	<i>MA</i>	<i>Other</i>
	ES (n=32)	0	100	0	0	100	0
	MA (n= 266)	0	100	0	0	99.6	0.4
Ecuadorian		<i>ES</i>	<i>EC</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>ES</i>	<i>EC</i>	<i>Other</i>
	ES (n=53)	1.9	96.2	1.9	0	99.1	1.9
	EC (n= 238)	0	99.6	0.4	0	99.6	0.4
Other Andean origins		<i>ES</i>	<i>Andean (BO, CO, PE)</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>ES</i>	<i>Andean (BO, CO, PE)</i>	<i>Other</i>
	ES (n=54)	1.9	96.3	1.9	5.6	92.5	1.9
	Andean (BO, CO, PE) (n=222)	0	99.5	0.5	0	98.2	1.8
	Other (n=1)	0	0	100	0	0	100

We have already analyzed the gender and age distribution of all groups, as well as the main migratory characteristics of each one. We will now move to wider sociodemographic characteristics (religious denomination, educational level, occupation, etc). The Spanish autochthonous group will provide us with a base for comparison.

Concerning religion, although Spaniards declare to be mostly Catholic (3 out of 4 respondents), they are the most secularised group of all: it has the highest rate of agnostics and atheists (1 out of 5 respondents). Catholicism is also the main religious denomination for Latin Americans. However, Protestants are also present, as an important minority group, especially within Ecuadorians (8%).

On the other hand, Moroccans are almost unanimous in their definition as Muslim (99%). In spite of this high identification with a religious denomination they are the least practicing in terms of religious attendance: 3 out of 4 never go to the Mosque or do it only once a year, apart from celebrations (such as marriages).

Spaniards and Andeans show the highest proportion of very frequent attendants to the church: around a quarter of respondents from each group declare to go to church at least once a week. In the autochthonous case, this is again due to the age distribution of this group, with an important contingent of older and retired people that it is not as yet present in the migrant groups. Therefore, 45% of autochthonous respondents over 65 years declare that they attend church at least once a week while young Spaniards are highly secularised (63% of respondents younger than 35 years old are agnostic or atheist). The Andean case is rather different, as the proportion of religious attendance is consistent through all the age groups (between 21% and 30%). It is larger among the elderly but this cohort is not as proportionally important as in the autochthonous case. Overall, Latin American groups count with a large majority of respondents with a consistent religious practice: around 60-65% attend religious services at least several times a year.

Table 12. Religious denomination

respondent's group	Religious denomination	%	n
Autochthonous	Protestant	0.7	2
	Roman catholic	75.9	233
	Islam	0.3	1
	Hinduism	1.0	3
	Atheist/agnostic	20.8	64
	Other	0.7	2
	Don't know	0.3	1
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	307
Moroccan	Roman catholic	0.3	1
	Jewish	0.7	2
	Islam	98.7	294
	Atheist/agnostic	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	Protestant	7.6	22
	Roman catholic	83.5	243
	Islam	0.3	1
	Hinduism	0.3	1
	Atheist/agnostic	5.2	15
	Other	2.1	6
	Don't know	0.3	1
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Missing	0.3	1
Total	100.0	291	

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>Religious denomination</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Other Andean origins	Protestant	6.9	19
	Roman catholic	81.9	227
	Atheist/agnostic	7.2	20
	Other	3.2	9
	Refusal	0.7	2
	Total	100.0	277

Table 13. Religious Attendance

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>Religious attendance</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Autochthonous	Every day	1.3	4
	Several times a week	2.9	9
	Once a week	20.2	62
	Once a month	7.2	22
	Several times a year	15.6	48
	Once a year	7.5	23
	Never	22.1	68
	Don't know	0.7	2
	Refusal	0.7	2
	Missing/ Not applicable	21.8	67
	Total	100.0	307
Moroccan	Several times a week	1.0	3
	Once a week	3.4	10
	Once a month	2.7	8
	Several times a year	14.8	44
	Once a year	38.3	114
	Never	37.2	111
	Don't know	0.3	1
	Refusal	1.0	3
	Missing/ Not applicable	1.3	4
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	Several times a week	2.7	8
	Once a week	15.5	45
	Once a month	19.6	57
	Several times a year	23.7	69
	Once a year	15.5	45
	Never	16.5	48
	Don't know	0.3	1
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Missing/ Not applicable	5.8	17
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	Every day	0.4	1
	Several times a week	5.1	14
	Once a week	18.8	52
	Once a month	17.0	47
	Several times a year	13.7	38
	Once a year	12.3	34
	Never	24.2	67
	Don't know	1.4	4
	Missing/ Not applicable	7.2	20
	Total	100.0	277

Turning to language usage, Spanish is the first language of Latin Americans, both Ecuadorian and Andean. This means that the influence of indigenous populations is not important within Andean immigrants to Spain. Even if there are a few cases of individuals who declare a second

language, 100% of them consider Spanish as their first native language. Moroccans speak mostly Arabic as their first language, although there is a minority of Berber speakers (4%).

Table 14. 1st native language

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>1st native language</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Autochthonous	English	0.3	1
	Spanish	99.7	306
	Total	100.0	307
Moroccan	Arabic	94.3	281
	Berber	4.4	13
	French	0.7	2
	Spanish	0.7	2
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	Spanish	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	Spanish	100.0	277

Respondents who declare to have a 2nd native language are more frequent among Moroccans and Andean Latin Americans than among Spaniards and Ecuadorians: more than 10% of the respondents from these origins have a second native language. In the Moroccan case, 2nd languages are more spread, with Berber and French the most important. While, for the Andeans the second declared language is mostly Quechua (7.6%). These Andeans are mostly Bolivians and in fewer cases, Peruvian. None of the Colombian respondents declares to have any other language than Spanish. The Bolivian is actually the group with a larger prevalence of indigenous languages: 21% of Bolivians consider Quechua as their 2nd native language.

Table 15. 2nd Native language

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>2nd native language</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Autochthonous	Catalan	0.3	1
	English	1.3	4
	French	0.3	1
	Galician	1.0	3
	Spanish	0.3	1
	Total	3.3	10
	Total group	100.0	307
	Moroccan	Amharic	0.3
Arabic		2.0	6
Berber		2.7	8
French		4.4	13
Spanish		1.3	4
Total		10.7	32
Total group		100.0	298
Ecuadorian	Quechua	1.4	4
	Total Group	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	Aymara	0.4	1
	Catalan	0.4	1
	English	0.4	1
	French	0.4	1
	Italian	0.7	2
	Portuguese	0.4	1
	Quechua	7.6	21
	Total	10.1	28
Total Group	100.0	277	

Percentages of respondents with a 3rd native language are truly marginal, less than 1% of each group.

Table 16. 3rd Native language

respondent's group	3rd native language	%	n
Autochthonous	Chinese	0.3	1
	French	0.3	1
	Total	0.7	2
	Total group	100.0	307
Moroccan	Arabic	0.3	1
	Berber	0.3	1
	Total	0.7	2
	Total group	100.0	298
Other Andean origins	Aymara	0.4	1
	Total group	100.0	277

Consequently, the Moroccan group was the only one to be asked for its proficiency in Spanish. Around a quarter of the Moroccans are fluent in Spanish or speak it as their first language. On the other hand, more than 1 out of 3 Moroccans in Madrid don't speak Spanish or speak it just a little. This percentage rises for Moroccan women. When we take into account respondents' gender, we find out that almost half of the women (46%) don't speak Spanish or speak it only a little.²

Table 17. Proficiency in Spanish

respondent's group	Proficiency in Spanish	%	n
Moroccan	I don't speak it	3	9
	I speak it a little	32.9	98
	I speak it reasonably well	37.6	112
	I speak it fluently	14.8	44
	I speak it like my native language	8.7	26
	Is my native language	0.7	2
	Total	97.7	291
	Total group	100	298

The next sociodemographic characteristic we look into is the level of education. To measure it, we have two different variables in the questionnaire. The first one was an open question where respondent could declare the level of education acquired in their countries (which was not always familiar to the interviewer). We have a second variable – the one we are using for this report – where the answers were recoded into two comparable codes: one using the Spanish education scale, the other one using a standard education scale for all the countries included in the project.

Having completed primary education is the most frequent situation for all groups, including the autochthonous (due to its older average age). However, there are some differences among groups. The Andean is the better educated group among immigrants: one out of five Andeans holds a University degree. Contrarily, Moroccans show the largest percentage of illiterates and of respondents with primary studies not completed (around 18%) and a half of them only have completed primary education.

Table 18. Highest Level of Education

respondent's group	Highest level of Education	%	N
Autochthonous	Illiterate or primary not completed	17.3	53
	Primary completed	36.8	113
	Secondary completed	22.5	69

² However, some interviewers reported that Moroccan respondents tend to underestimate their proficiency in Spanish.

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>Highest level of Education</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
	University degree	23.1	71
	Missing	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	307
Moroccan	Illiterate or primary not completed	17.8	53
	Primary completed	49.7	148
	Secondary completed	24.2	72
	University degree	8.1	24
	Missing	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	Illiterate or primary not completed	4.1	12
	Primary completed	54.6	159
	Secondary completed	30.6	89
	University degree	10.7	31
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	Illiterate or primary not completed	3.2	9
	Primary completed	35.4	98
	Secondary completed	39.7	110
	University degree	20.6	57
	Missing	1.1	3
	Total	100.0	277

Regarding occupation, data show that all immigrant groups are mostly composed of workers. 74% of the Moroccan, 82% of the Ecuadorian and 77% of the Andean are in paid work. And all of these groups have a smaller contingent of people dedicated to housework or family care than the autochthonous population. However, their unemployment rates are larger than that of the autochthonous group. Around 10% of the Moroccan and Andeans are unemployed and actively seeking a job while only 3% of the Autochthonous are in the same situation. The large amount of retirees within the Autochthonous group is related, once more, to the age composition of the groups, as migrant groups have much smaller percentages of people over 65 years old.

Table 19. Main activity in the last 7 days

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>main activity last 7 days</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Autochthonous	In paid work	47.6	146
	In education (not paid by employer)	7.8	24
	Unemployed and actively looking for job	2.6	8
	Unemployed and wanting a job but not actively looking for it	2.3	7
	Permanently sick or disabled	1.6	5
	Retired	25.1	77
	Doing housework, looking after children or other persons	11.7	36
	Other	1.3	4
	Total	100.0	307
Moroccan	In paid work	74.2	221
	In education (not paid by employer)	2.7	8
	Unemployed and actively looking for job	9.7	29
	Unemployed and wanting a job but not actively looking for it	5.0	15
	Permanently sick or disabled	0.7	2
	Retired	1.0	3
	Doing housework, looking after children or other persons	6.7	20
	Total	100.0	298

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>main activity last 7 days</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Ecuadorian	In paid work	81.8	238
	In education (not paid by employer)	7.2	21
	Unemployed and actively looking for job	5.8	17
	Unemployed and wanting a job but not actively looking for it	2.1	6
	Doing housework, looking after children or other persons	2.1	6
	Other	0.7	2
	Missing	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	In paid work	76.9	213
	In education (not paid by employer)	6.1	17
	Unemployed and actively looking for job	10.5	29
	Unemployed and wanting a job but not actively looking for it	1.8	5
	Retired	1.4	4
	Doing housework, looking after children or other persons	2.2	6
	Other	0.7	2
	Missing	0.4	1
	Total	100.0	277

Finally, to conclude this section on sociodemographic characteristics, we asked respondents about their evaluation of the ethnicity of their households. The table below only shows the valid cases (we have not asked this question to autochthonous respondents and there are also some missing cases for the migrant groups). The most endogamous group is the Moroccan, with around 93% of the individuals living only with co-ethnics. Both Latino groups show larger percentages of ethnically mixed households, though still a minority of households are mixed: around a third.

Table 20. Ethnic origin of the household

<i>Respondent's Group</i>	<i>Ethnic origin of household</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Moroccan	similar to respondent's	92.6	263
	Mixed	5.3	15
	different from respondent's	2.1	6
	Total	100.0	284
Ecuadorian	similar to respondent's	66.9	188
	Mixed	29.9	84
	different from respondent's	2.8	8
	don't know	0.4	1
	Total	100.0	281
Other Andean origins	similar to respondent's	65.3	175
	Mixed	32.5	87
	different from respondent's	1.9	5
	Refusal	0.4	1
	Total	100.0	268

3. POLITICAL INTEREST

In this section we will show the results from four different dimensions concerning political interest. First, we will analyze the degree of interest in politics that each group expresses using a four-point scale. Secondly, we assess respondents' evaluations of their own level of information about politics. In contrast to this subjective perception, we also analyze two more objective variables of information such as frequency of talking about politics and frequency of reading newspapers. In each case, we have separated national, local and homeland variables, in order to find out which level attracts more attention from the respondents.

The first result we have to mention is that autochthonous people are more interested in politics, both local and national, than migrants. In every case, national politics gets more attention than local. However, rates of political interest are not very high, not even among Spaniards. Half of the autochthonous population is not interested (not very or not at all) in national politics and 55% is not interested in local politics. Across the migrant groups, Andeans are the ones that seem to be more interested in Spanish politics, both local and national. Their rates of interest in national politics are close to the autochthonous (45.5%) but when we move to the local affairs, the percentage of interest drops to 38%.

Migrants have also been asked about their interest in their homeland country politics. The three groups declare a greater interest in their country of origin than in their host country politics. But again percentages of interest are not very high and none of them goes beyond 50%. Moroccans are, in general, the least interested in politics: only 30% is interested in local politics, 39% in national Spanish politics and 44% in Moroccan politics. Latin Americans are slightly more interested in their homeland politics, and around a half of each group (Ecuadorians and Andeans) declares to be interested in it.

Table 21. Interest in city politics

respondent's Group	interest in city politics	%	n
Autochthonous	very interested	15.0	46
	fairly interested	29.6	91
	not very interested	36.8	113
	not at all interested	18.6	57
	Total	100.0	307
Moroccan	very interested	4.7	14
	fairly interested	25.5	76
	not very interested	48.0	143
	not at all interested	19.8	59
	don't know	1.7	5
	Refusal	0.3	1
Total	100.0	298	
Ecuadorian	very interested	8.2	24
	fairly interested	22.7	66
	not very interested	46.7	136
	not at all interested	20.6	60
	don't know	1.7	5
Total	100.0	291	
Other Andean origins	very interested	9.7	27
	fairly interested	28.2	78
	not very interested	39.0	108
	not at all interested	22.7	63
	don't know	0.4	1
Total	100.0	277	

Table 22. Interest in Spanish national politics

<i>respondent's Group</i>	<i>interest in host country politics</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Autochthonous	very interested	16.3	50
	fairly interested	33.9	104
	not very interested	33.6	103
	not at all interested	16.3	50
	Total	100.0	307
Moroccan	very interested	5.0	15
	fairly interested	33.9	101
	not very interested	42.3	126
	not at all interested	16.8	50
	don't know	1.7	5
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	very interested	8.2	24
	fairly interested	32.3	94
	not very interested	41.2	120
	not at all interested	17.2	50
	don't know	0.7	2
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	very interested	14.8	41
	fairly interested	30.7	85
	not very interested	35.7	99
	not at all interested	18.4	51
	don't know	0.4	1
	Total	100.0	277

Table 23. Interest in home country politics

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>interest in homeland politics</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Moroccan	very interested	9.1	27
	fairly interested	34.7	103
	not very interested	36.0	107
	not at all interested	18.5	55
	don't know	1.3	4
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	297
Ecuadorian	very interested	16.2	47
	fairly interested	33.3	97
	not very interested	33.3	97
	not at all interested	16.5	48
	don't know	0.3	1
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	very interested	18.8	52
	fairly interested	30.7	85
	not very interested	32.5	90
	not at all interested	17.7	49

	don't know	0.4	1
	Total	100.0	277

Regardless of their interest in politics, the autochthonous respondents claim to be mostly well informed (very well and reasonably) about politics, both for local and national politics (54% and 60% respectively). However, we notice an important gap between autochthonous and immigrants in their level of information. Only 31% of the Andeans, 24% of the Ecuadorians and 21% of Moroccans declare to be at least reasonably informed about city politics. Something similar happens when we focus on national politics. Their perceived levels of information are again rather low, although slightly higher: 37% of the Andeans are informed about Spanish national politics, as well as 28% of the Ecuadorian and 31% of the Moroccan.

Table 24. Level of information about city politics

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>informed about city politics</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Autochthonous	Very well informed	7.2	22
	reasonably informed	46.9	144
	only a bit informed	37.8	116
	not at all informed	8.1	25
	Total	100.0	307
Moroccan	very well informed	2.3	7
	reasonably informed	18.5	55
	only a bit informed	66.4	198
	not at all informed	10.4	31
	don't know	2.0	6
	refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	very well informed	4.1	12
	reasonably informed	20.3	59
	only a bit informed	65.6	191
	not at all informed	8.9	26
	don't know	1.0	3
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	very well informed	4.7	13
	reasonably informed	26.4	73
	only a bit informed	60.6	168
	not at all informed	8.3	23
	Total	100.0	277

Table 25. Level of information about Spanish national politics

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>informed about host country politics</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Autochthonous	very well informed	9.8	30
	reasonably informed	50.2	154
	only a bit informed	32.6	100
	not at all informed	7.5	23
	Total	100.0	307
Moroccan	very well informed	2.7	8
	reasonably informed	21.8	65
	only a bit informed	64.8	193

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>informed about host country politics</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
	not at all informed	8.4	25
	don't know	2.0	6
	refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	very well informed	5.5	16
	reasonably informed	22.8	66
	only a bit informed	62.8	182
	not at all informed	7.9	23
	don't know	1.0	3
	Total	100.0	290
Other Andean origins	very well informed	4.3	12
	reasonably informed	32.9	91
	only a bit informed	55.2	153
	not at all informed	7.6	21
	Total	100.0	277

Immigrant groups do not seem to be better informed about their homelands politics either. The proportion of respondents who are well or very well informed about the politics of their countries of origin are similar to or even smaller than those informed about Spanish national politics. The best informed are again the Andeans – a third of them is at least reasonably informed - and the less informed are the Moroccans – only one out of four is well informed.

Table 26. Information about 'homeland' politics

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>informed about homeland politics</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
Moroccan	very well informed	2.4	7
	reasonably informed	23.2	69
	only a bit informed	61.6	183
	not at all informed	10.8	32
	don't know	1.7	5
	refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	297
Ecuadorian	very well informed	4.5	13
	reasonably informed	22.4	65
	only a bit informed	60.7	176
	not at all informed	11.4	33
	don't know	1.0	3
	Total	100.0	290
Other Andean origins	very well informed	5.4	15
	reasonably informed	28.2	78
	only a bit informed	56.3	156
	not at all informed	10.1	28
	Total	100.0	277

From these two sets of variables measuring the perception of the subjects themselves about their interest and information, we move to two new sets of variables which try to measure more objectively these dimensions. First, we will analyze the frequency of talking about politics (as a proxy to measure the interest). Next, we will look into the frequency of reading the political sections in newspapers, as a proxy to measure the level of information.

In the case of autochthonous and Latin American groups, the proportion of respondents who talks very frequently about city politics is actually higher than the proportion of people who declared to be interested in it. The interest of the Moroccans, on the other hand, does not increase with the change of question item, and it is still rather low: only 24% of them talk about city politics at least regularly. National politics again elicits more attention from the respondents. About 56% of the autochthonous group talks about national politics almost everyday or regularly.

Table 27. Frequency of talking about city politics

respondent's Group	talk about city politics	%	N
Autochthonous	almost everyday	11.1	34
	regularly	38.6	118
	Rarely	36.9	113
	Never	13.4	41
	Total	100.0	306
Moroccan	Almost everyday	3.0	9
	Regularly	21.1	63
	Rarely	58.4	174
	Never	15.8	47
	Don't know	1.3	4
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	Almost everyday	7.2	21
	Regularly	30.6	89
	Rarely	46.7	136
	Never	15.5	45
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	Almost everyday	6.9	19
	Regularly	34.3	95
	Rarely	45.1	125
	Never	13.4	37
	Refusal	0.4	1
	Total	100.0	277

Table 28. Frequency of talking about Spanish national politics

respondent's Group	talk about host country politics	%	N
Autochthonous	Almost everyday	15.4	47
	Regularly	40.2	123
	Rarely	30.4	93
	Never	14.1	43
	Total	100.0	306
Moroccan	Almost everyday	3.7	11
	Regularly	25.7	76
	Rarely	54.1	160
	Never	14.9	44
	Don't know	1.4	4
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	296

<i>respondent's Group</i>	<i>talk about host country politics</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
Ecuadorian	Almost everyday	8.6	25
	Regularly	30.2	88
	Rarely	47.1	137
	Never	14.1	41
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	Almost everyday	7.9	22
	Regularly	35.7	99
	Rarely	42.2	117
	Never	14.1	39
	Total	100.0	277

Homeland politics are not always a more frequent subject of conversation for immigrants. Only Ecuadorians declare to talk frequently about it in a larger percentage than they did about Spanish national politics (45%), while Moroccans and Andeans are more interested in talking about Spanish than about their own 'homeland' country politics.

Table 29. Frequency of talking about 'homeland' politics

<i>Respondent's Group</i>	<i>Talk about homeland politics</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
Moroccan	Almost everyday	4.4	13
	Regularly	23.9	71
	Rarely	50.2	149
	Never	19.9	59
	Don't know	1.3	4
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	297
Ecuadorian	Almost everyday	10.3	30
	Regularly	34.7	101
	Rarely	43.6	127
	Never	11.3	33
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	Almost everyday	8.3	23
	Regularly	33.2	92
	Rarely	45.1	125
	Never	13.4	37
	Total	100.0	277

In spite of the perceived level of information not being very high in any group, the fact is that newspaper readership is quite frequent, especially in the case of Latin American groups. We know from the following question in the questionnaire that most of them choose free journals and newspapers that are distributed in the public transportation or in the street. Moroccans are the least likely to frequently read newspapers, but still around 40% of them declare to read regularly or almost everyday local or national news. On the other hand, Latin Americans are usual press readers to a larger extent than autochthonous respondents. Only around a quarter of Ecuadorians and Andeans do not read – or do it only rarely - local or national newspapers. The higher proportion of frequent reading of local press is that of the Andeans: 78% read newspapers about the city regularly or almost everyday (in contrast, the autochthonous percentage drops to 60%).

Table 30. Frequency of reading newspaper about the city

Respondent's Group	Read newspaper about city	%	N
Autochthonous	Almost every day	26.7	82
	Regularly	33.2	102
	Rarely	19.2	59
	Never	20.8	64
	Total	100.0	307
Moroccan	Almost every day	22.8	68
	Regularly	17.4	52
	Rarely	28.5	85
	Never	28.5	85
	Don't know	2.7	8
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	Almost every day	43.3	126
	Regularly	33.0	96
	Rarely	21.3	62
	Never	2.4	7
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	Almost every day	51.6	143
	Regularly	26.4	73
	Rarely	19.1	53
	Never	2.9	8
	Total	100.0	277

Table 31. Frequency of reading newspapers about Spanish public issues

Respondent's Group	Read newspaper about host country	%	N
Autochthonous	Almost every day	29.0	89
	Regularly	36.2	111
	Rarely	14.3	44
	Never	20.5	63
	Total	100.0	307
Moroccan	Almost every day	24.2	72
	Regularly	18.5	55
	Rarely	26.3	78
	Never	28.3	84
	Don't know	2.4	7
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	297
Ecuadorian	Almost every day	41.9	122
	Regularly	34.7	101
	Rarely	20.3	59
	Never	3.1	9
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	Almost every day	49.8	138
	Regularly	24.5	68
	Rarely	20.6	57

	Never	5.1	14
	Total	100.0	277

Concerning the readership of newspapers about migrants' countries of origin, we find two different situations. On the one hand, Latin Americans: around half of the Ecuadorians and Andeans read regularly or almost everyday news about their countries of origin. On the other hand, Moroccans are much less informed about their homeland: 78.5% never read about Morocco in a newspaper. This high proportion is striking when we compare it with the low rates of completely uninformed Latin Americans: only 8% of the Ecuadorians and 11% of the Andeans never read news about their homeland.

Table 32. Frequency of reading newspaper about 'homeland'

respondent's Group	Read newspaper about homeland	%	N
Moroccan	Almost every day	5.4	16
	Regularly	2.7	8
	Rarely	10.8	32
	Never	78.5	233
	don't know	2.4	7
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	297
Ecuadorian	Almost every day	23.4	68
	Regularly	34.7	101
	Rarely	33.7	98
	Never	7.9	23
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	291
Other Andean origins	Almost every day	24.9	69
	Regularly	28.2	78
	Rarely	36.1	100
	Never	10.8	30
	Total	100.0	277

4. POLITICAL TRUST

Political trust is measured with an eleven point scale (minimum 0 “don’t trust at all”; maximum 10 “I totally trust”). We will only show the means for each item and each group, to make comparisons and conclusions easier to summarise.

Schools and teachers are the most trusted institutions and social groups among all those mentioned; only Andeans are similarly supportive of the Spanish Government. Overall, the autochthonous group has a tendency to be more critical of political and social institutions (an average of 5.3). On the contrary, Latin Americans, especially Ecuadorians, have more positive evaluations (6.4 is the Ecuadorian average and 5.9 the Andean). Also Moroccans are more likely to express confidence in Spanish institutions than Spaniards. The least trusted institutions for autochthonous respondents are the Church (although the high standard deviation reflects the confluence of controversial points of view), the city government, and the legal system.

Table 33. Political trust (autochthonous group)

Respondent's Group: AUTOCHTHONOUS	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Trust civil servants	5.3	2.3	301
Trust city government	4.8	2.7	302
Trust school and teachers	6.8	2.0	297
Trust city assembly	5.0	2.3	290
Trust regional parliament	5.0	2.4	292
Trust the police	6.1	2.5	306
Trust regional government	5.1	2.7	301
Trust church host society	4.3	3.2	302
Trust country government	5.2	2.6	306
Trust legal system	4.8	2.5	303
Trust country national Parliament	5.1	2.3	300
Trust institutions of the European Union	5.8	2.2	293

Regarding Moroccans, their least trusted institutions are again the Church (which might be consistent with a non catholic group) and the Parliaments of any kind, local, regional or national. In this sense, it is important to point out that a high proportion of the Moroccans had no opinion about either the city assembly (24%) or the regional parliament (17%), and thus did not evaluate them (the low number of cases reflects this situation). Moroccans also have the highest refusal rates (not shown in the table). Among those Moroccans who do have an opinion, this group stands out for its high trust in the Government (7.5), the legal system (7.6) and even the police (7.1). It is interesting to point out, concerning the legal system, that it is much more trusted by immigrants than by autochthonous who actually rated it on average below 5.

Table 34. Political trust (Moroccan group)

Respondent's Group: MOROCCAN	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Trust civil servants	5.9	1.9	283
Trust city government	5.5	2.5	259
Trust school and teachers	7.6	2.2	272
Trust city assembly	4.7	2.7	190
Trust regional parliament	4.9	2.8	197
Trust the police	7.0	2.5	284
Trust regional government	5.1	2.8	216
Trust church host society	3.8	3.0	255
Trust country government	7.5	2.0	267
Trust legal system	7.6	2.4	259

Trust country national Parliament	4.9	2.5	215
Trust institutions of the European Union	5.4	2.4	218

As we have already mentioned, Latin Americans' average ratings are high and always over 5. However, civil servants are among their least trusted social groups (5.5). Besides schools, both Ecuadorians and Andeans give a high rating to the Spanish government (6.9). They also trust the EU institutions to a larger extent than the autochthonous (6.7 for Ecuadorians; 6.5 for Andeans). The Church is also very trusted among the Ecuadorian group (6.8). The worst scores among the Latin American groups are found for the city assembly and the regional parliament; which again are not very popular: 22% of the Andeans, and 25% of the Ecuadorians have no opinion about the city assembly or the regional parliament.

Table 35. Political trust (Ecuadorian group)

Respondent's Group: ECUADORIAN	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Trust civil servants	5.5	2.6	279
Trust city government	6.0	2.5	278
Trust school and teachers	7.1	2.4	264
Trust city assembly	5.7	2.3	223
Trust regional parliament	5.9	2.2	216
Trust the police	6.8	2.6	284
Trust regional government	6.6	2.4	260
Trust church host society	6.8	3.0	281
Trust country government	6.9	2.4	281
Trust legal system	6.3	2.7	253
Trust country national Parliament	6.0	2.4	247
Trust institutions of the European Union	6.7	2.2	227

Table 36. Political trust (Other Andean origins group)

Respondent's Group: OTHER ANDEAN ORIGINS	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Trust civil servants	5.5	2.5	263
Trust city government	5.7	2.6	256
Trust school and teachers	6.8	2.4	232
Trust city assembly	5.3	2.5	214
Trust regional parliament	5.4	2.5	216
Trust the police	6.4	2.7	271
Trust regional government	5.9	2.5	238
Trust church host society	6.0	3.2	261
Trust country government	6.9	2.5	265
Trust legal system	5.8	2.6	248
Trust country national Parliament	5.5	2.4	233
Trust institutions of the European Union	6.5	2.4	229

5. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

For most forms of political action, migrants in Madrid are substantially less likely to become engaged than the autochthonous population. The political activities that attract a larger number of Spaniards are demonstrations and petition (both around 22%). Demonstrating is in fact one of the forms of participation where the gap between autochthonous and migrants is wider. Among migrants, Moroccans are the least politically mobilised. Their participation rates in most activities are minimal, with the only exception of donating money, in which they are more engaged than the rest.

There are no significant differences in the level of engagement of both Latin American groups. The only important gap between them that we find is the likelihood to contact a government official, which is higher in the Andean group (7.2%). Latin Americans' patterns are more similar to that of autochthonous in contacting politicians and government officials, displaying badges, stickers or posters; contacting media; and in donating money. However, they are less likely to become engaged in party activities, less inclined to join demonstrations and are not as keen to sign petitions.

Table 37. Types of political participation

% yes	Respondent's group			
	Autochthonous	Moroccan	Ecuadorian	Other Andean origins
In the last 12 months...				
Contacted a politician	4.9	0.7	2.1	1.8
Contacted government official	10.7	1.7	3.1	7.2
Worked for political party	2.6	0	0.3	1.8
Worked for action group	4.2	0	1.4	2.9
Badge, sticker, poster	7.2	0	5.2	4.7
Signed petition	22.1	1.3	11.7	11.2
Public demonstration	22.5	2.4	9.3	7.9
Product boycott	11.1	0.3	2.4	5.1
Bought for political reasons	13.0	0	5.5	6.5
Donated money	3.3	3.7	2.4	2.5
Strike	6.2	0.3	2.4	1.8
Contacted media	3.3	0	2.7	2.9
Contacted solicitor	2.9	1.0	2.4	3.6

In Spain, non-nationals who are non-EU nationals are not entitled to vote or run as candidates in any election. Thus, the only access to voting rights is through the acquisition of citizenship. For this reason, our capacity to assess the 'effective' turnout of the migrant groups is very limited, as most of them (between 88% and 94%, depending on the group) are not eligible to vote as yet.

Table 38. Turnout in Spanish national elections

	Respondent's group			
	Spanish	Moroccan	Ecuadorian	Other Andean
Local elections 2003: turnout report, % over eligible voters (N)	84 (289)	47 (17)	31 (16)	61 (31)
Local elections 2003: % not eligible	5.9	94.3	94.5	88.8
Regional elections 2003: turnout report, % over eligible voters (N)	81 (288)	47 (19)	31 (16)	55 (33)
Regional elections 2003: % not eligible	6.2	93.6	94.5	88.1
National elections 2004: turnout report, % over eligible voters (N)	87 (291)	53 (17)	41 (17)	66 (32)
National elections 2004: % not eligible	5.2	94.3	94.1	88.4

Latin Americans' mobilisation is higher in national elections than in regional and local elections. Ecuadorians are less inclined to turn out than Andeans in all types of elections, but it is in homeland elections where Andean migrants show that they are more eager to use their voting rights: 39% voted in their homelands' last elections. The Moroccan case is more complicated. The low participation does not only reflect a low voting mobilisation, but very importantly the fact that Moroccans are not allowed to vote out of Morocco. They are eligible in fact (and that is why the option is selected by 87% of the respondents), but they are obliged to go back to their country to use that right, which results in a very low percentage of people actually voting (2%).

Table 39. Vote in last homeland national elections

<i>Respondent's group</i>	<i>Voted in last homeland election</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Moroccan	Yes	2.4	7
	No, but eligible to vote	87.2	258
	No, not eligible	10.1	30
	Can't remember	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	296
Ecuadorian	Yes	26.6	77
	No, but eligible to vote	57.4	166
	No, not eligible	14.9	43
	Can't remember	0.3	1
	Refusal	0.7	2
	Total	100.0	289
Other Andean origins	Yes	39.0	108
	No, but eligible to vote	45.8	127
	No, not eligible	14.1	39
	Can't remember	0.4	1
	Refusal	0.7	2
	Total	100.0	277

Analysing migrants' vote is not possible with such a reduced number of cases. However, we include the table of vote choice in the last national and local elections for information purposes (while warning about the limits imposed by the number of cases). Latin Americans are more prone to give their vote to PP (centre-right party) than Spaniards. The Andean case contrasts a bit, because in the question of vote intention they preferred the Socialist party, so this may be due to the small number of cases of people that actually voted or maybe mobilisation patterns differ once migrants acquire the Spanish nationality.

Table 40. Vote for party in last Spanish national elections (only voters)

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>party voted for in last national election</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Autochthonous	PP (centre-right)	28.0	71
	PSOE (socialists)	44.5	113
	IU (left)	10.2	26
	Other	3.6	9
	Can't remember	0.4	1
	Refusal	13.4	34
	Total	100.0	254
Moroccan	PP (centre-right)	10.0	1
	PSOE (socialists)	70.0	7
	Refusal	20.0	2
	Total	100.0	10

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>party voted for in last national election</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Ecuadorian	PP (centre-right)	28.6	2
	PSOE (socialists)	14.3	1
	Other	14.3	1
	Can't remember	28.6	2
	Refusal	14.3	1
	Total	100.0	7
Other Andean origins	PP (centre-right)	34.8	8
	PSOE (socialists)	34.8	8
	IU (left)	4.3	1
	Can't remember	4.3	1
	Refusal	21.7	5
	Total	100.0	23

Table 41. Vote for party in last Spanish local elections (only voters)

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>party voted for last local election</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>n</i>
Autochthonous	PP (centre-right)	30.4	73
	PSOE (socialists)	41.7	100
	IU (left)	11.2	27
	Other	2.1	5
	Don't remember	0.4	1
	Refusal	14.2	34
	Total	100.0	240
Moroccan	PSOE (socialists)	66.7	6
	Other	11.1	1
	Refusal	22.2	2
	Total	100.0	9
Ecuadorian	PP (centre-right)	40.0	2
	PSOE (socialists)	20.0	1
	Don't remember	40.0	2
	Total	100.0	5
Other Andean origins	PP (centre-right)	30.0	6
	PSOE (socialists)	35.0	7
	IU (left)	10.0	2
	Don't remember	5.0	1
	Refusal	20.0	4
	Total	100.0	20

Given the small number of migrants that are already naturalised in our three groups, an alternative way to approach turnout gaps is to analyse vote intention, although it is known that in many cases social desirability is likely to be operating with this kind of question. This might be the case of Moroccans that seem to be highly mobilised. But still, we can confirm some of the preliminary patterns: Ecuadorians are again the least inclined to vote.

Table 42. Turnout intention in Spanish local elections if eligible to vote

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>Vote intention in local election</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
Autochthonous	Yes	84.3	257
	No	11.5	35
	don't know	3.9	12
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	305
Moroccan	Yes	81.2	242
	No	11.1	33
	don't know	6.7	20
	Refusal	1.0	3
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	Yes	75.9	220
	No	14.5	42
	don't know	9.0	26
	Refusal	0.7	2
	Total	100.0	290
Other Andean origins	Yes	77.8	214
	No	14.9	41
	don't know	6.2	17
	Refusal	1.1	3
	Total	100.0	275

Table 43. Turnout intention in Spanish regional elections if eligible to vote

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>Vote intention in regional election</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
Autochthonous	Yes	84.9	259
	No	10.8	33
	don't know	3.9	12
	Refusal	0.3	1
	Total	100.0	305
Moroccan	Yes	82.2	245
	No	11.1	33
	don't know	5.4	16
	Refusal	1.3	4
	Total	100.0	298
Ecuadorian	Yes	76.5	221
	No	14.2	41
	don't know	8.7	25
	Refusal	0.7	2
	Total	100.0	289
Other Andean origins	Yes	78.8	215
	No	13.6	37
	don't know	7.0	19
	Refusal	0.7	2
	Total	100.0	273

In Madrid, the Socialists seem to be especially successful in attracting the preferences of the Moroccan group and – to a smaller degree – of the Andean, but Ecuadorians' intentions largely

mirror those of the native Spaniards. Only the Moroccan group shows any substantially differential partisan attachment as compared to the autochthonous Spaniards in Madrid. However, there are two major differences between autochthonous and migrants. The first one is the higher proportion of people who have not decided their vote in all migrants groups, especially in the Andean. The second difference is the very low impact of the minor left wing party (IU) among the migrant groups, who rarely named it.

The results for the regional elections are very similar and don't fundamentally change the conclusions about partisan allegiance of our four groups.

Table 44. Party would vote in Spanish local elections if eligible to vote

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>vote intention for party in local election</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
Autochthonous	PP (centre-right)	31.4	93
	PSOE (socialist)	34.5	102
	IU (left)	9.4	28
	Other	2.7	8
	Don't know	2.7	8
	Refusal	19.3	57
	Total	100.0	296
Moroccan	PP (centre-right)	7.2	20
	PSOE (socialist)	59.9	167
	IU (left)	1.1	3
	Other	3.2	9
	Don't know	8.2	23
	Refusal	20.4	57
	Total	100.0	279
Ecuadorian	PP (centre-right)	35.4	97
	PSOE (socialist)	36.5	100
	IU (left)	2.2	6
	Other	4.0	11
	Don't know	9.5	26
	Refusal	12.4	34
	Total	100.0	274
Other Andean origins	PP (centre-right)	22.8	59
	PSOE (socialist)	44.4	115
	IU (left)	3.1	8
	Other	4.6	12
	Don't know	17.0	44
	Refusal	8.1	21
	Total	100.0	259

Table 45. Party would vote in Spanish regional elections if eligible to vote

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>vote intention for party in regional election</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
Autochthonous	PP (centre-right)	31.5	93
	PSOE (socialist)	34.2	101
	IU (left)	9.8	29
	Other	2.4	7
	Don't know	2.4	7

	Refusal	19.7	58
	Total	100.0	295
Moroccan	PP (centre-right)	8.2	23
	PSOE (socialist)	59.5	166
	IU (left)	1.1	3
	Other	2.5	7
	Don't know	7.9	22
	Refusal	20.8	58
	Total	100.0	279
Ecuadorian	PP (centre-right)	39.5	107
	PSOE (socialist)	33.2	90
	IU (left)	2.2	6
	Other	3.7	10
	Don't know	9.6	26
	Refusal	11.8	32
	Total	100.0	271
Other Andean origins	PP (centre-right)	25.5	66
	PSOE (socialist)	40.2	104
	IU (left)	3.1	8
	Other	4.2	11
	Don't know	18.9	49
	Refusal	8.1	21
	Total	100.0	259

6. ORGANISATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

The organizational involvement measure combines the results of two different variables; current membership in any organisation, and participation in the activities of any organisation in the last 12 months, as there is no need to be a member to participate in an association. We will also analyse the results distinguishing between these two variables.

In general terms, migrants are less involved in any kind of organisation than the autochthonous population. Nevertheless, there are two important precisions to make. The first one is the rate of organisational involvement of the Andean group, which is similar to the Autochthonous (41%). The second one is the special case of Moroccans who show a very low rate: 94% are not involved in any organization. Ecuadorians are closer to the situation of the Andeans than to the Moroccans. Around a third of the Ecuadorians are involved in at least one organisation. The analysis of the average number of organisations respondent's are involved in shows similar results. Autochthonous and Andean groups have thus the highest average.

However, the percentage of Autochthonous people who currently participates in the activities of an organisation drops compared to the rates of involvement and membership, whereas in the Latin American groups the situation is different. Although their rates of current membership compared to their overall involvement are lower than those of Spaniards, their rates of current activity are actually higher (36% for Andeans, 29% for Ecuadorians). This can be related to the fact that some of the associations they are involved in are more informal organisations, where the membership (and thus, paying a fee) is not so important.

Table 46. Current involvement in any organisation

Current involvement in org	Respondent's group			
	Autochthonous	Moroccan	Ecuadorian	Other Andean origins
Involvement in any org	41	6.4	33.3	58.8
Any current membership	36.8	5.0	26.5	33.6
Any current activity	33.9	5.7	28.9	36.1
(N)	(307)	(298)	(291)	(277)

Table 47. Average number of organisations respondent is involved in

Average number of organisations...		Respondent's group			
		Autochthonous	Moroccan	Ecuadorian	Other Andean origins
Respondent is involved in	mean	0.7	0.1	0.5	0.6
	s.d	1.1	0.4	0.8	0.9
Respondent is a current member	mean	0.7	0.1	0.5	0.6
	s.d	1.4	0.4	1.4	1.1
Respondent has a current activity	mean	0.6	0.1	0.5	0.6
	s.d	1.2	0.4	1.5	1.2

We have considered three specific characteristics of the organisations people are involved in: the immigrant composition, the ethnic composition, and the political engagement of the organisations.

Latin Americans are the most involved in migrant and ethnic organisations. A quarter of the Andean and more than 1 out of 5 Ecuadorians are involved in a 'migrant' organisation, that is, one in which more than 50% of the members are immigrants, whatever the activity and objectives of the organisation are (sports, cultural, women, professional...). In most cases, (around 72% in each group) these organisations are in fact 'ethnic' organisations (more than

50% of the members are respondents' co-ethnics). That means that only between 6% and 7% of the Latin Americans are actually involved in mixed migrants organisations, or at least, in organisations where their co-nationals are not the majority. This percentage is even smaller in the case of Moroccans. Their involvement rate is again very low – only 5% are involved in migrant organisations - but mixing with other migrants is very rare (only 21% of those involved in a migrant organisation are involved in one which is not mostly composed by Moroccans). On the whole, only 1% of the Moroccans in Madrid are engaged in a mixed-migrants organisation.

It is important to note that the migrant and ethnic organisations we are talking in this section are different from the ones we will comment on next. As we have said, we are now taking into account any kind of organisation that fulfils the requirement of having 50% of migrants or co-ethnic members while the immigrant and ethnic organisations we report on in table 49 are actually specific organisations that only deal with immigrant or ethnic group issues. The involvement in this kind of organisations is much more reduced in all groups, but this does not mean that there is no immigrant or ethnic interaction, as we are now showing.

Involvement in politically-oriented organisations is very rare among immigrants, with percentages that drop from the involvement in migrant organisations. However, a non negligible 15% of the Andeans are involved in at least one organisation of this sort, which represents only a little less than the engagement in ethnic organisations. Spaniards, on the other hand, are more involved in organisations that take stands in public issues than in organisations where migrants are a majority. 17% of them declare to be involved in at least one politically oriented organisation.

Table 48. Involvement in migrant, ethnic and politically oriented organisations

<i>Involvement in...</i>	<i>Respondent's group</i>			
	Autochthonous	Moroccan	Ecuadorian	Other Andean origins
any immigrant organisation	3.6	4.7	22.0	24.5
any organisations of the respondent's own ethnic group	-	3.7	16.2	17.7
any politically oriented org	17.3	1.7	9.6	15.5
N	(307)	(298)	(291)	(277)

To conclude this section on organizational involvement we show the involvement rates for each type of association.

Table 49. Involvement in each type of organisation, percentages

<i>Involvement (member or participates) in...</i>	<i>Respondent's group</i>			
	<i>Autochthonous</i>	<i>Moroccan</i>	<i>Ecuadorian</i>	<i>Other Andean origin</i>
Sports organisation	11.1	1.3	13.7	8.3
Cultural organisation	2.9	0.7	1.4	4.7
Political party	3.3	0	0.3	1.8
Trade union	9.4	0.3	2.7	3.6
Professional organisation	2.0	0	1.7	1.1
Humanitarian aid organisation	18.2	1.3	7.6	10.8
Environmental org	2.9	0	1.4	1.8
Human rights or peace org	1.6	0	0.7	1.8
Religious org	4.2	0.3	5.8	9.4
Immigrants' org	0	1.0	1.0	4.0
Ethnic org	-	2.0	1.7	7.2

<i>Involvement (member or participates) in...</i>	<i>Respondent's group</i>			
	<i>Autochthonous</i>	<i>Moroccan</i>	<i>Ecuadorian</i>	<i>Other Andean origin</i>
Anti racism org	0	0	0	0.4
Educational org	3.3	0.7	4.1	4.7
Youth org	1.3	0	1.0	1.1
Organisation for retired	3.9	0	0	0
Women org	0.3	0.7	1.0	0.4
Neighbour org	2.9	0	0.7	0.7
Other org	2.6	0.3	1.0	0.7
N	(307)	(298)	(291)	(277)

In general, both Latin American groups show associational preferences that are rather similar to those of the autochthonous population, although usually in a smaller proportions. Sports and humanitarian organisations are thus the ones with the highest rates of engagement. Nevertheless, they show relatively high percentages of involvement in religious organisations (6% Ecuadorians, 9% Andeans). On the contrary, Moroccans do not have any special leaning for religious associations (only 0.3%).

The highest rate of engagement for the Autochthonous group is the involvement in humanitarian organisations (18%). Ecuadorians prefer sports organisations (14%), while Andeans have more spread interests: 10% are involved in humanitarian aid organisations, 9% are involved in religious organisations and 8% in sports organisations. Moroccans are very weakly engaged in any type of organisations, but they also are the most involved in sports and humanitarian organisations (1.3%).

7. PERCEPTIONS OF POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES

To measure the perceptions of political opportunity structures we have asked respondents to express their degree of agreement with a set of statements. The scale goes from 0 (totally disagree) to 10 (totally agree). We show the mean values obtained for each group.

Latin Americans have in most of the items a worse perception than Moroccans. They have a very strong perception of difficulties in the migrant process and are not satisfied with the Spanish structures. They agree, to a very large extent, thus with all the statements that point to the difficult situation of immigrants in Spain.

On the one hand, they consider that immigrants face too many difficulties to obtain legal status (this statement has the largest agreement among Ecuadorians with an average value of 9.3, and of 9 among the other Andeans), and that getting a job is difficult for immigrants. On the other hand, they strongly disagree with the items that assert that getting nationality is easy and that foreigners can easily bring their families. However they tend to trust the activity of the local government in terms of improving immigrants' life conditions (5.6 Ecuadorians, 5.1 Andeans).

Moroccans are also critical with some of the opportunity structures they face. They agree more than any other group with the item that asserts that the cultural and religious traditions of immigrants are not respected. Moroccans and the mixed group of Andeans are also the ones that agree the most with the statement concerning the very negative attitude of society towards immigrants (5.5.)

Table 50. Perception of political opportunity structures
(0=completely disagree, 10=completely agree)

Perceptions of political opportunity structures		Respondent's group			
		Autochthonous	Moroccan	Ecuadorian	Other Andean origins
Immigrants face too many difficulties to obtain legal status	Mean	6.1	7.2	9.3	9.0
	Std. Deviation	3.1	2.9	1.5	2.1
	N	279	293	289	272
Getting nationality is easy	Mean	4.6	3.4	2.3	2.5
	Std. Deviation	3.1	3.4	2.9	3.3
	N	265	291	283	264
We have already too many immigrants	Mean	6.0	2.7	3.8	3.6
	Std. Deviation	3.1	3.0	3.8	3.8
	N	297	287	267	266
Foreigners can easily bring their families	Mean	6.1	4.9	2.9	3.8
	Std. Deviation	3.0	3.4	3.4	3.8
	N	271	287	287	267
Getting a job is difficult for immigrants	Mean	4.4	5.8	6.6	6.0
	Std. Deviation	3.0	2.8	3.2	3.5
	N	296	291	289	274
Immigrants have great difficulties to get access to public health	Mean	2.1	1.2	3.8	3.2
	Std. Deviation	2.4	2.5	3.7	3.8
	N	281	296	290	269
Spain should implement stronger measures against illegal immigration	Mean	7.1	5.9	4.8	4.9
	Std. Deviation	3.1	3.2	3.9	4.0
	N	297	261	269	258
Cultural and religious traditions of immigrants are not respected	Mean	3.3	5.6	4.4	3.9
	Std. Deviation	2.9	3.1	3.7	3.8
	N	284	269	267	260
Local government does a lot to improve immigrant residents' life	Mean	5.8	4.5	5.6	5.1
	Std. Deviation	2.8	2.8	3.5	3.5
	N	272	246	272	256
It is fairly easy for immigrant residents to make their voice heard to the local government	Mean	4.9	3.5	3.0	2.9
	Std. Deviation	3.1	2.8	3.2	3.3
	N	267	240	267	253
Spanish society has a very negative attitude towards immigrants	Mean	4.3	5.5	5.2	5.5
	Std. Deviation	2.9	2.8	3.3	3.5
	N	296	284	277	268

8. SELF IDENTIFICATION AND VALUES

Attachment is measured in an eleven point scale from 0 (no attachment at all) to 10 (very strong attachment). In the table below we show the mean values of each item. The Spanish autochthonous group has not been asked about the attachment to their own group (as we already ask for attachment to host country people, that is, Spaniards) or the attachment to homeland country (Spain).

First, it is important to point out that the city and the country of origin are the two main sources of attachment for both migrants and autochthonous. In the case of the three migrant groups, the identification to their countries of origin is higher than the identification to their co-nationals. It is noticeable that the group that feels closer to the Spanish population (either at the national, the regional or the local level - neighbourhood) is the Moroccan, while the Latin Americans (less disadvantaged and culturally and linguistically linked to Spain) are less identified with the host country, in its different dimensions.

The Moroccan is the group most attached to their co-religionaries, around 2 points over the rest of the groups. Among Latin Americans, Ecuadorians are more attached to religion than autochthonous Spaniards but Andeans are indistinguishable from the latter.

The weaker identity references are social class and the European people, the former especially among immigrants. In this sense, class identity mobilises less sentiments in all groups even than gender and age

Table 51. Attachment to different groups of people

Attachment to...		respondent's group			
		Autochthonous	Moroccan	Ecuadorian	Other Andean origins
People of same religion	Mean	6.4	8.5	6.6	6.3
	Std. Deviation	3.1	1.9	2.7	2.7
	N	293	283	272	256
Spaniards	Mean	8.3	7.1	6.6	6.5
	Std. Deviation	1.9	2.2	2.3	2.3
	N	305	294	279	264
Your neighbourhood	Mean	7.5	7.2	6.7	6.3
	Std. Deviation	2.4	2.3	2.6	2.5
	N	304	292	285	268
People of your same gender	Mean	7.8	6.6	7.7	7.2
	Std. Deviation	1.9	2.2	1.8	2.1
	N	302	293	287	276
People from Madrid (madrileños)	Mean	7.7	7.1	6.7	6.7
	Std. Deviation	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.0
	N	307	289	278	266
Madrid	Mean	8.2	7.8	7.5	7.3
	Std. Deviation	1.9	2.1	2.1	2.0
	N	306	294	288	268
People of your same age	Mean	7.9	6.4	7.7	7.2
	Std. Deviation	1.8	2.6	1.8	2.1
	N	306	291	286	275

<i>Attachment to...</i>	respondent's group				
	<i>Autochthonous</i>	<i>Moroccan</i>	<i>Ecuadorian</i>	<i>Other Andean origins</i>	
People of same ethnic group (Moroccans / Ecuadorians / Bolivians / Colombians / Peruvians, adapted to respondent's origin)	Mean	-	7.9	8.1	7.8
	Std. Deviation	-	2.2	2.0	2.2
	N	-	294	288	277
People of your same social class	Mean	6.6	5.0	5.8	5.7
	Std. Deviation	2.8	2.9	3.5	3.3
	N	292	266	239	210
European people	Mean	7.1	5.1	5.2	5.5
	Std. Deviation	2.1	3.0	3.0	2.9
	N	298	258	246	222
Homeland country (Morocco / Ecuador /Bolivia /Colombia / Peru, adapted to respondent's origin)	Mean	-	9.3	9.0	8.6
	Std. Deviation	-	1.6	1.5	1.6
	N	-	294	286	275

A non negligible proportion of the three migrant groups – 34% of the Moroccan, 16% of the Ecuadorian and 19% of the mixed Andeans - gave the same score in the attachment scale to Spanish people and to their co-ethnics.

However, when these respondents are asked to choose to identify themselves whether as Spaniards or as Moroccans/ Ecuadorians/ Bolivians/ Colombians/ Peruvians, most of them lean for their ethnic group: 89% of the Moroccans, 77% of the Ecuadorians and 75% of the Andeans. The question of self identification is thus only asked to those who gave the same score to their co-ethnics and to Spaniards.

Table 52. Self identification

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>Self identification</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
Moroccan	Autochthonous	4,5	5
	Ethnic group	89,1	98
	Other	4,5	5
	Don't know	1,8	2
	Total	100,0	110
Ecuadorian	Autochthonous	12,8	6
	Ethnic group	76,6	36
	Other	10,6	5
	Total	100,0	47
Other Andean origins	Autochthonous	11,5	6
	Ethnic group	75,0	39
	Other	9,6	5
	None	1,9	1
	Don't know	1,9	1
	Total	100,0	52

Moving to political identities, we also explored respondents' ideological leanings. The left-right scale was measured with an 11 points scale ranging from 0 (Left) to 10 (Right). The

Autochthonous mean value is centred although slightly leaning to the left. It is important to point out that the response rate is very high for the Autochthonous group, with less than 2% of respondents with no position or opinion (don't know). Latin Americans have also centred positions but they are more leaning to the right than Spaniards, especially Ecuadorians. Finally, Moroccans are the most left-leaning group, with a mean value of 1.5. They are also the group with a higher percentages of don't knows.

Table 53. Left-right scale

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>% of no position (DK)</i>	<i>N</i>
Autochthonous	4.4	2.3	1.6	286
Moroccan	1.5	2.9	12.8	207
Ecuadorian	5.1	2.0	9.3	255
Other Andean origins	4.9	2,2	5.1	257

Regarding social trust, we have used a scale from 0 (you can't be trusted or you can't be too careful) to 10 (most people can be trusted). The autochthonous and the Moroccan population have the highest levels of generalised trust, around a point above the central point of the scale. Ecuadorians show levels considerably lower, that do not even reach 5.

The case of the Moroccans is especially interesting, since they are the only group to show less trust in their compatriots than in the general population. And it is not a minor difference, but there is almost one point between the two scores.

Table 54. Social trust

<i>Respondent's group</i>	<i>Social trust</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Std. Deviation</i>	<i>N</i>
Autochthonous	most people can be trusted or you can't be too careful	5,7	1,9	305
Moroccan	most people can be trusted or you can't be too careful	5,9	2,2	284
	most Moroccan people can be trusted or you can't be too careful	5,2	2,3	284
Ecuadorian	most people can be trusted or you can't be too careful	4,8	2,7	286
	most Ecuadorian people can be trusted or you can't be too careful	5,0	2,8	283
Other Andean origins	most people can be trusted or you can't be too careful	5,0	2,7	271
	most (Bolivian / Colombian / Peruvian) people can be trusted or you can't be too careful	5,0	2,7	270

9. DISCRIMINATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS ETHNIC GROUPS

Finally, we have included a number of items regarding inter-group relations and feelings of discrimination.

On the one hand, we have also asked respondents' about their feelings of discrimination concerning eight different aspects: colour and race, nationality and origin, religion, language, age, gender, sexuality, disability and accent or region. Next, we asked if they have personally experienced any discrimination in the last 12 months. This question was only asked to respondents who declared to feel discriminated because of their nationality or origin, and to these respondents we also asked where such discrimination happened.

In Madrid, 40% of the Latin Americans feel discriminated for any reason, while only 23% of the Moroccans perceive any discrimination. They seem to be less sensitive to discrimination, in any of its forms. Concerning the reason of discrimination, the most important for all three groups is the nationality or origin. In other words, they feel discriminated because of their condition of immigrants. This factor of discrimination is mentioned by between 20 and 35% of the respondents in each group. Feeling discriminated due to ones' nationality or origin is followed by the race and the colour, especially among the Latin American groups: 13% of the Ecuadorians named it as a reason of discrimination, as well as 16% of the Andeans. However, interestingly enough, this percentage drops to 4% in the Moroccan group.

For the Moroccans it is their religion and not race what emerges as the second main reason of the perceived discrimination (5%). Finally, it is relevant to point out that around 11-12% of the Latin Americans feel discriminated due to their accent. They rarely say to be discriminated because of the language (3-4%), as Spanish is their main mother tongue (as we have showed in the sociodemographic chapter). Nevertheless, their accent - which is different from the Spaniard's accent -, is linked to their foreign origin and it is perceived as a cause for discrimination. Moroccans, in spite of not being native Spanish speakers, do not feel that either the language or the accent is a reason for discrimination.

Table 55. Feelings of discrimination for any reason

<i>Discrimination reason</i>	respondent's group			
	Autochthonous	Moroccan	Ecuadorian	Other Andean origins
Colour or race	1.3	3.7	13.4	16.1
Nationality or origin	1.3	19.8	35.4	31.0
Religion	2.0	4.7	2.1	3.7
Language	1.0	2.7	2.7	4.4
Age	3.3	0.3	2.4	3.6
Gender	3.6	0.3	2.4	1.8
Sexuality	1.3	0.0	1.4	0.7
Disability	0.7	0.0	0.7	1.8
Accent or region	1.0	0.7	11.0	11.7

If we focus on the subset of respondents who declared to feel discriminated for their nationality or origin, we confirm that these feelings of discrimination relate to recent personal experiences, especially for Moroccans. 86% of them have felt discriminated because of their origin within the previous 12 months. This was also the case for 69% of the Andeans, but for a much more reduced number of Ecuadorians (56%). Autochthonous are not in the table, as the question did not apply to them.

Table 56. Has experienced discrimination due to nationality or origin in the last 12 months

<i>respondent's group</i>	<i>% felt discriminated due to nationality or origin in the last 12 months</i>	<i>n</i>
Moroccan	86.4	51
Ecuadorian	56.3	58
Other Andean origins	69.0	58

Finally, when we asked the subset of people who felt discriminated for their nationality origin in the last 12 months about the context where they felt such discrimination, we provided them with a list of 12 possible environments and respondents could mention all of those where they had experienced discrimination. Overall, the workplace (in its two variants of actual place of work and the search for a job) is the context where immigrants are more often perceiving discrimination. On the other hand, the church, schools or universities are the places where migrants have felt discriminated the least.

Ecuadorians felt discriminated mostly in two kinds of environments. The first one is the work environment: 44% declare to have been discriminated at work, and 34% have been discriminated when looking for a job. The second environment is less specific; they feel discrimination from the city in a larger sense: 48% have felt discriminated in the street, 34% in their neighbourhoods, and 40% in public transportation. It is also interesting to point out that Ecuadorians are the group that feels more deeply discrimination from the police: 43% as opposed to 26% of the other Andeans, and only 18% of the Moroccans.

The mixed group of other Andean origins follow the same patterns of Ecuadorians, but they emphasize discrimination at the workplace: 60% of them declare to have suffered from discrimination at work, and 41% when looking for a job.

Table 57. Discrimination environment

Discrimination environment %	Respondent's group		
	Moroccan	Ecuadorian	Other Andeans
School or University	0	22.2	22.7
Work	28	43.9	59.6
Health care system	2.0	34.5	31.6
Immigration office	4.0	32.8	28.1
Police	18	43.1	26.3
Church	2.0	7.4	5.5
Looking for a job	22.0	33.9	41.1
Restaurants and bars	8.0	29.3	22.8
Street	40.0	48.3	33.9
Neighbourhood	14.0	33.9	29.8
Shops	8.0	22.8	19.3
Public transportation	10.0	40.4	29.8
N (felt discrimination in the last 12 months)	51	58	58

Finally, there are two measures of attitudes towards ethnic groups in the questionnaire. First, we have a question only for the autochthonous group. We ask Spaniards if they will accept

three different groups of migrants (Moroccans, Ecuadorians and other Latin Americans) as close kin by marriage, as neighbours, as job colleagues, as residents in the city and as Spanish citizens. Second, we have proceeded similarly with the migrant groups, asking them if they would accept Spaniards as close kin, as neighbours and as job colleagues.

The best accepted group by Spaniards is the general Latin American group, followed by Ecuadorians and, finally, Moroccans who get lower rates of acceptance. In general, migrants from any group are better admitted as job colleagues and city residents than as neighbours and citizens. The item that has the lowest average value, as well as a higher variation between groups, is the acceptance of immigrants in one's own family. In this sense, almost a third of the Spaniards would not accept Moroccans as close kin by marriage; 16% would not accept Ecuadorians, and 15% would not accept other Latin Americans. In the rest of the items, the acceptance rates of Latin Americans are above 90%. Moroccans are accepted by less than 90% of the Spaniards in two more items: as neighbours (88% would accept them) and as Spanish citizens (89%).

Table 58. Autochthonous acceptance of different migrant groups

	Autochthonous acceptance of...		
	Ecuadorians	Moroccans	Other Latin Americans
as close kin by marriage	83.5	69.0	84.8
as neighbours	93.1	88.5	94.1
as job colleagues	95.4	91.5	96.4
as city residents	95.8	90.9	96.1
as country citizens	94.1	88.9	94.4
N	(307)	(307)	(307)

The other side of the coin is the acceptance of Spaniards by the three migrant groups. This is relatively higher, but with some important nuances. Andeans are the most prone to a favourable attitude towards Spaniards: more than 95% would accept them as neighbours or job colleagues, while the acceptance as close kin is slightly lower but still over 90%. Ecuadorians also show a high acceptance of Spaniards as neighbours and job colleagues, but not so much as part of their families (the percentage drops until almost 85%). Finally, Moroccans are in a particular situation: they are close to the Latin Americans percentages in terms of acceptance of Spaniards as neighbours or job colleagues; nevertheless, when it comes to the family the percentages are very much reduced: only 36% of the Moroccans would accept to have a Spaniard as a close kin by marriage.

Table 59. Migrant groups acceptance of Spaniards

respondent's group	Acceptance of Spaniards as...			
	close kin by marriage	neighbours	job colleagues	N
Moroccan	36.1	99.3	99.3	(297)
Ecuadorian	87.2	95.9	94.8	(291)
Other Andean origins	91.0	97.1	97.5	(277)

IN SUMMARY

The study in Madrid has focused on three migrant-origin groups: Ecuadorian (291 individuals), Moroccan (298 individuals) and a mixed group of other Andean origins (Bolivian, Colombian, and Peruvian – 277 individuals) to which we added a control group of autochthonous population (307 individuals).

We have started this report by analysing the sociodemographic characteristics of our respondents. In this regard, we have already found differences between the migrants and the autochthonous group, but also across the migrant groups. Immigrants are on average significantly younger than the autochthonous group, and the proportion of senior people is only noticeable among Spaniards.

The gender distribution within the migrant groups follows two different patterns: the Moroccan group is a strongly masculinised group (6 out of 10 of its members are men) while Latin American groups are mostly composed by women.

Concerning the year and reason of arrival, there are two aspects to underline. First, migration inflows in Madrid proved to be relatively recent and the main influx took place in the early 2000s. In addition, in most cases Madrid was not the gate of entrance into Spain. Second, immigration in Madrid is mostly for economic reasons (between two and three thirds of the respondents, depending on the group). Occupation data follow the same pattern showing that all immigrant groups are mostly composed of workers.

Regarding the legal situation, most of the respondents have a permit, although it is a rather unstable one (a short-term permit of 5 years or less) in most of the cases. Bolivians, the late-comers to the country, have the higher rates of undocumented residents. Furthermore, naturalisation rates are low and only important among Peruvians. Consequently, nationality is highly related to parents' country of birth.

Religion splits the sample in two main groups: Latin American and Spaniards are mainly Catholics; Moroccans are almost unanimous in their definition as Muslim. However, Moroccans are the least practicing in terms of religious attendance.

We have also found some differences in terms of levels of education: the Andean is the best educated group among immigrants, while Moroccans show the largest percentage of illiterates and of respondents with primary studies not completed.

The second section of the report concerned political interest. Although rates of political interest are not very high, in general terms autochthonous people are more interested in politics than migrants. Furthermore, the three migrant groups (and especially Latin Americans) declare a greater interest in their country of origin than in their host country politics. However, except for the Moroccans, the proportion of respondents who talks very frequently about politics is actually higher than the proportion of people who declared to be interested in it.

The autochthonous' level of information is also higher, and immigrant groups do not seem to be better informed about their homelands politics either. In spite of this low perceived level of information, the fact is that newspaper readership is quite frequent, especially in the case of Latin American groups who are also well informed about their country of origin.

The third section analysed confidence in political institutions. Schools and teachers are the most trusted institutions and social groups among all those mentioned. Overall, the autochthonous group has a tendency to be more critical of political and social institutions. On the contrary, immigrants have more positive evaluations. We shall highlight their higher ratings of the Spanish government and the legal system, and, in the case of Latin Americans, also to the Church.

From political confidence, we moved into political participation. For most forms of political action, migrants in Madrid are substantially less likely to become engaged than the autochthonous population. This gap is especially wide in participation forms such as

demonstrating or petitioning. Among migrants, Moroccans, whose participation rates in most activities are minimal, are the least politically mobilised.

Analysing vote and turnout happens to be rather difficult considering the low amount of naturalised citizens: in Spain only nationals (or EU nationals in local elections) are entitled to vote. An alternative way to approach turnout gaps is to analyse vote intention, in spite of the social desirability bias which is likely to be operating. But still, we can confirm some of the preliminary patterns and Ecuadorians are the least inclined to vote.

In the fifth section we analysed organisational involvement. Migrants are less involved in any kind of organisation than the autochthonous population, except for the Andean group whose rate of organisational involvement is similar to the autochthonous. Moroccans are a quite special case as hardly any of them is involved in any organization. Those migrants that are involved usually choose organisations that are largely composed by other immigrants or co-nationals and only very rarely politically-oriented organisations.

Concerning the perception of political opportunity structures, we highlighted that migrants have in general terms very strong perception of difficulties in the migrant process and are not satisfied with the opportunities for integration that Spanish structures afford them. In this sense, and in contrast to what could be expected, Latin Americans have an even worse perception of these opportunities than Moroccans.

When measuring attachment and values, it is important to point out that the city and the country of origin are the two main sources of attachment for both migrants and autochthonous. It is noticeable that the group that feels closer to the Spanish population (either at the national, the regional or the local level) is the Moroccan. The Moroccan is also the group most attached to their co-religionaries. Regarding social trust, the autochthonous and the Moroccan population have the highest levels of generalised trust. Moroccans are in addition the only group to show less trust in their compatriots than in the general population.

Finally, in the last section we included a number of items regarding feelings of discrimination and inter-group relations. Latin Americans are more sensitive to discrimination than Moroccans. In any case, the most important reason for discrimination is their nationality or origin. Furthermore, these feelings of discrimination mostly relate to recent personal experiences. The workplace is the context where immigrants more often perceive discrimination. When it comes to inter-group acceptance, Moroccans get the lowest rates among autochthonous. However this distance works in both directions, as only a third of the Moroccans would accept to have a Spaniard as a close kin by marriage.