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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)

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CITY REPORT: MADRID¹

1. METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS

The Madrid data were mostly collected in 2008, but the final dataset combines information gathered through a pilot study done in the city in 2003-2004 – which was updated during 2007-2008 -- and full new data from around other 45 organisations collected in 2008.

The data collection was organised around two different stages. First, we elaborated a census or list of all existing migrant organisations – as no reliable single list was available – and, at a second stage, we organised interviews with organisational leaders and administered a face-to-face structured questionnaire of approximately one hour and fifteen minutes of duration.

This mapping census of migrants' associations of all origins was created by combining the available information from various official registers, embassies, privileged informants (NGOs, trade unions, etc.), and systematic searches on the internet. We then sifted these initial lists by considering ineligible those organisations who did not meet our working definition of "migrant association" and by excluding those that had disappeared in previous years.

'Mortality' and response rates are actually an important issue at this first stage. Official registers and directories in Spain are not regularly updated; that is, associations need to register in order to gain legal existence but they are not obliged to update their information regularly, nor do public administrations set any 'expiry' date of registration to keep the information updated. This means that initial lists always are problematic, as they include many associations that no longer exist. However, we have estimated how many of them were no longer active, when attempting to locate them for an interview: 11 per cent of migrants' associations have disappeared in Madrid. Nevertheless, this 'mortality' rate only includes the organisations for which we have a clear confirmation that they are no longer active while there is a large number of them for which we could get no confirmation but were suspected to be inactive. In fact, out of the 67 associations interviewed in Madrid in 2003-2004, ten were no longer active (15 per cent) in 2008, while for an additional six we could get no final confirmation and were suspected inactive.

Table 1. Mapping process and Mortality rate

Mapping Information	
Total immigrant organisations in mapping	417
Confirmed still active	199 (48%)
Confirmed not active	24 (6%)
No confirmation	194 (47%)
<i>Mortality rate</i> (confirmed not active / all confirmed)	11%
Total organisations interviewed	109
<i>Response rate</i> (total active/ total interviewed)	54.7%

Table 2. Total interviews and mapping method

Mapping method	%	n
Official/ institutional list	82.6	90
Informal snowball	16.5	18
Missing	0.9	1
Total	100	109

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.

In total, we have interviewed 109 organisations. As we have already pointed out, some of them were previously interviewed in 2003. Most of them have been updated (which means that they have answered a new questionnaire, updating some relevant information). Besides, there are 46 new interviews conducted in 2008. Most of the organisations are found through formal processes, using official or institutional lists. However, 16.5% of them were mapped using informal contacts or snowball processes. This means that we have been able to capture as well a portion of the real associational field that is not recorded in official registers because it is less institutionalised.

2. ORGANISATIONAL PROFILE

Most of the 109 organisations interviewed in Madrid are of Latin American background, which reflects also their distribution in the mapping census of immigrant organisations where they also are a majority. However, it is important to point out the relatively high number of non-Moroccan African organisations (in Table 3, Moroccan organisations are included in the African category, but looking across national origins provides this information). Africans are more organised than expected, according to their population.

The Muslim category has been created for cross-national associations that define themselves exclusively as “Muslim” rather than choosing one specific national or regional origin. This does preclude that some other associations here considered as African (Moroccan, for instance) can also be thought of as Muslim organisations, as we will see later on.

Table 3. Origin of the interviewed organisations

<i>Origin</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
EU-15 & Australia	9.2	10
Mixed origins	9.2	10
Latin American	60.6	66
African	10.1	11
Eastern Europe	6.4	7
Other	2.8	3
‘Muslim’	1.8	2
Total	100	109

Due to the high proportion of Latin American organisations in the sample, there are only 40 organisations that do not have Spanish as their mother tongue. Our results indicate that, first, Spanish is more widely used for membership meetings than for the regular activities of the organisations; and, second, concerning the regular activities’ language, Spanish is not generally used as the common language. We distinguish three patterns among organisations:

- 37.5 % prefer Spanish as their working language,
- Around a quarter of the organisations uses both Spanish and their own language
- 40% of the organisations prefer their ethnic group language for their activities

Table 4. Language used by non Spanish speakers associations

	<i>Language used for regular activities</i>	<i>Language used for membership meetings</i>
Only country language	10.0	12.8
Mostly country language	27.5	23.1
About half country language and half ethnic group language	22.5	30.8
Mostly ethnic group language	27.5	20.5

Only ethnic group language	12.5	12.8
Total (N)	(40)	(39)

Table 5. Year of foundation

Year of foundation	EU-15	Mixed Origins	Latin American	African	East Europe	Muslim	Other	All origins
1930-1984	80	10	9.1	18.2	0	0	0	15.6
1985-1989	0	10	3	18.2	0	0	0	4.6
1990-1994	20	0	13.6	18.2	14.3	50	0	13.8
1995-1999	0	20	24.2	9.1	0	0	33.3	18.3
2000-2004	0	40	36.4	18.2	57.1	50	66.7	33.9
2005-2008	0	20	13.6	18.2	28.6	0	0	13.8
(N)	(10)	(10)	(66)	(11)	(7)	(2)	(3)	(109)

The analysis of the year of foundation reflects pretty much the evolution of the arrival of immigrants to Spain. Therefore, in the overall, most of the organisations are recent and have been created between 2000 and 2008 (around 44%) and the period from 2000 to 2004 is the one in which more organisations were created.

This same pattern is confirmed when we split the data in terms of the origin of the organisations. EU-15 organisations are the longest lasting ones: 80% of them were created before 1984. On the opposite case we find the Eastern European organisations, one of the more recent inflows in Spain. This is shown in the creation of their organisations: 86% of them have been active for less than 8 years.

Most of the organisations tend to define themselves as organisations whose primary aim is to defend migrants' interests. In this sense, more than 40 per cent of the organisations choose as most appropriate to define them two categories: immigrant organisation (association in defence of all migrants' interests) or ethnic organisation (association focused on a specific subset of migrants).

The second category to be chosen is that which defines them as a cultural association. 19 per cent of the organisations present themselves as cultural organisations, either musical, dancing or theatre societies, or in defence of their cultural traditions. The rest of the definitions in the list are chosen by a minor number of organisations.

Table 6. Best organisational definition

Definition that best suits the organisation	%	N
Immigrants' organisation	30.3	33
Cultural, musical, dancing or theatre society	19.3	21
Ethnic association	10.1	11
Humanitarian aid or human rights organisation	8.3	9
Professional organisation	6.4	7
Other club or association	4.6	5
Sports club or outdoor activities club	3.7	4
Charity or social-welfare organisation	3.7	4
Business or employers' organisation	3.7	4
Religious or church organisation	3.7	4
Political party	0.9	1
Parents' association	0.9	1

Residents', housing or neighbourhood association	0.9	1
Women's organisation	0.9	1
Not applicable	2.8	3
Total	100	109

We also offered organisations the opportunity to define themselves in multiple ways; so that they could choose not only one but all the definitions that they considered to be applicable to them. The results previously shown and discussed in Table 6 are also corroborated in this case. More than half of the organisations chose to define themselves as an immigrants' organisation. In addition, 22 per cent of the organisations opted for defining themselves as ethnic organisations. The definition as a cultural association comes in second place, very close to the first as immigrants' organisations (around 48% of the organisations chose it). Two other important categories in the list are humanitarian aid and human rights organisations (a third of the organisations considered themselves to be one of them), and charity and social welfare organisations (20 per cent). The latter two types of associations are very much related to the kind of activities organisations are engaged in, as we will comment on further in this report.

Table 7. Organisational Definition

Self definition as...	%
Immigrants' organisation	51.4
Cultural, musical, dancing or theatre society	47.7
Humanitarian aid or human rights organisation	33.9
Ethnic association	22.0
Charity or social-welfare organisation	20.2
Sports club or outdoor activities club	13.8
Professional organisation	11.0
Other club or association	9.2
Women's organisation	8.3
Peace organisation	7.8
Anti racism organisation	6.4
Direct action group	6.4
Business or employers' organisation	6.4
Youth association	6.4
Religious or church organisation	5.5
Patient, illness or addiction organisation	3.7
Organisation for the disabled	3.7
Environmental organisation	2.8
Parents' association	2.8
Lodge or service club	1.8
Other hobby club	1.8
Political party	0.9
Organisation for retired people	0.9

Concerning the area of activity, most of the organisations are in some sense nation-wide associations: around 44 per cent are active in the whole country (combining those who are only active in the country and those who are active both in the country and in other areas). It is also important to point out the local or regional rooting of many of them: around a quarter are in some way active in the city, and a similar percentage (24%) are active in the region. On the

other hand, the internationalisation rate is very low, and only 9 per cent of them is also active in other countries.²

Table 8. Area of influence

<i>Field of influence</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
Active only in a part of the city	0.9	(1)
Active only in the city	16.5	(18)
Active in the city and in the country	7.3	(8)
Active in the region	15.6	(17)
Active in the region and in the country	8.3	(9)
Active in the country	19.3	(21)
Active in the country and in other countries	9.2	(10)
Other combinations	22.9	(25)
Total	100	(109)

To finish with the organisational profile, we are including some tables on the activities carried out by the organisations. In a first question, organisations could choose every area they have been active in the last 12 months. Cultural activities rise to the top of the list: nearly three quarters of the organisations carried out some kind of cultural activity. They are followed by the activities concerning immigration issues (two thirds of the associations named them). Education also is a very common activity area, and it is mentioned by 60 per cent of the associations. The least frequently chosen are broad areas such as crime and some related to third generation values such as homosexuality, consumer's interests or environmental and animal rights.

Table 9. Activity area, multiple responses possible

<i>Activity area last 12 months</i>	<i>%</i>
Culture, music, theatre, etc.	73.4
Issues related to immigration	66.1
Education	59.6
Discrimination issues	48.6
Ethnic concerns	45
International cooperation	45
Human Rights	44
Charity /welfare	43.1
Employment and training	42.2
Women	39.4
Humanitarian aid	36.7
Sports	34.9
Community development	31.2
Labour relations and professional activities	29.4
Youth, children	28.4
Poverty	26.6
Family	26.6
Health	25.4

² Only one Argentinean association declared to be active only in other countries and not in Spain. It was interviewed in 2003-2004 but in 2008 was no longer active.

Politics	22.9
Hobbies	22.9
Research	22.9
Peace	22
Parents	21.1
Religious activities	17.4
Business relations	17.4
Housing	17.4
Labour relation	15.6
Offering accommodation services	14.7
Pensioners	13.8
Economic development	13.8
Child care	11.9
Other	11
Neighbourhood or local demands	11
Environmental and animal rights	8.3
Disabled	7.3
Consumers' interests	7.3
Crime	6.4
Homosexuality	4.6

When asked to choose only one area of activity as the main one among all they have engaged in, most of the organisations chose again cultural activities as their main activity area. Issues related to immigration also repeat in the second place, and it is chosen by 17 per cent of the organisations. In third and fourth place, far from the first two main activities, we find charity and welfare activities and specific ethnic concerns, both of them chosen by less than 10% of the organisations. In fact, ethnicity loses some of its previously signalled importance when coming into the details of organisational activity.

Table 10. Main activity area

<i>Main activity area</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
Culture, music, theatre,	21.2	22
Issues related to immigration	17.3	18
Charity /welfare	9.6	10
Ethnic concerns	7.7	8
Education	6.7	7
Human rights	6.7	7
Employment and training	5.8	6
Other	3.8	4
Politics	2.9	3
Health	1.9	2
Religious activities	1.9	2
Youth, children	1.9	2
Community development	1.9	2
Business relations	1.9	2
Labour relation	1.9	2
Discrimination issues	1.0	1
Poverty	1.0	1
Sports	1.0	1
Humanitarian aid	1.0	1

Women	1.0	1
Family	1.0	1
International cooperation	1.0	1
Total	100	104

Apart from wide activity areas, we have also asked for more specific types of activities undertaken in the last 12 months. In this case we found a higher dispersion among associations; they do not always coincide in choosing their most important activity. Consequently, the activity which is considered by most of the associations as their main activity (social or local integration) is only mentioned by 15% of the organisations. Other activities that are frequently mentioned are services to members (14%), and services to other individuals or organisations (10%). However when we consider all the activities that had been developed in the last 12 months, and not only the most important one, their order changes (see table 12). 55% of the associations report contacts with the media among their main activities, and around a half also include recreation and sport activities. Nevertheless, contacts with media are considered as the most important organisational activity by only 5% of the associations. This means that even if contacting the media becomes one of the current association's activities, it is not yet considered to be more important than other traditional activities (services, integration).

Table 11. Most important activity in the last 12 months

<i>Most important activity</i>	%	N
Social or local integration	14.7	16
Services to members	13.8	15
Services to others (individuals or organisations)	10.1	11
Recreation or sport activities	8.3	9
Advocacy	7.3	8
Lobby activities	4.6	5
Interest representation	4.6	5
Socializing	4.6	5
Advisory activities	4.6	5
Contacts with media	4.6	5
Other	3.7	4
Fund-raising	2.8	3
Recruiting members or donors	1.8	2
Mobilizing members	0.9	1
Self-help	0.9	1
Refusal	4.6	5
Total	100	109

Table 12. All relevant activities in the last 12 months

<i>Relevant activity last 12 months</i>	%
Contacts with media	55
Recreation or sport activities	51.4
Services to members	46.8
Social or local integration	48.6
Services to others (individuals or organisations)	45
Advisory activities	41.3
Self-help	41.3

Advocacy	38.5
Recruiting members or donors	35.8
Interest representation	33
Socializing	33
Promoting volunteering	32.1
Fund-raising	29.4
Lobby activities	28.4
Mobilizing members	27.5
Other	11.9

3. SIZE AND COMPOSITION

Migrant organisations in Madrid are not big structures and they are little institutionalised, even if they cater for a large public or constituency. Nominal membership can even be sizeable (more than a half of the associations report to have more than 100 members), but when it comes to an active engagement their following considerably decreases. Thus about the same proportion (more than a half) of associations can only count on less than 29 active members to carry out their activities.

We are hence referring to quite informal structures. This is especially shown by the low numbers of paid staff: three quarters of the associations do not have any paid staff, and therefore depend on the volunteers or on their own members' activity. Around three quarters of the associations report at least one volunteer who works in the association more than 3 hours per week.

Table 13. Membership and human resources, row percentages

<i>Number of...</i>	<i>none</i>	<i>1-9</i>	<i>10-29</i>	<i>30-99</i>	<i>100-499</i>	<i>500 and more</i>
Members	1	3.0	18.8	25.7	29.7	21.8
Active members	2	17.3	35.7	23.5	15.3	6.1
Non members participants	16.7	7.3	26.0	17.7	17.7	14.6
Paid staff, full time	75.2	21.8	2.0	1.0	-	-
Paid staff, part time	77	18.0	4.0	1.0	-	-
Volunteers, less 3 hours/week	45.6	38.8	10.7	2.9	1.9	-
Volunteers, more 3 hours/week	35.1	46.4	13.4	5.2	-	-
Clients	25.8	4.3	7.5	10.8	17.2	34.4

In general terms, women are equally represented between members, clients and participants. However, they are under-represented in the category of paid staff. Only around one out of four hired workers is a woman. However, it is important to point out that there is much variation across the associations, as the large standard deviations show. This suggests the need to consider other variables in further analysis.

Table 14. Female presence

<i>Percentage of... who are women</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>	<i>SD</i>
Members	49.6	50	0	100	23.8
Active members	48.1	50	0	100	26.1
Non members participants	48.2	50	0	100	28.6
Paid staff, full time	27.4	0	0	100	41.3
Paid staff, part time	23	0	0	100	39.8
Volunteers, less 3 hours/week	40.3	40	0	100	39.4
Volunteers, more 3 hours/week	42.2	40	0	100	37.4
Clients	45.6	50	0	100	28.4

The analysis of the membership composition shows interesting results in terms of ethnicity. Are migrant organisations ethnic organisations? The results prove that the answer in Madrid is mostly yes: 70% of the organisations declared that almost all their members are co-ethnics (for instance, Ecuadorians in the case of an Ecuadorian association), while the presence of Spaniards is relatively low, and three quarters of the associations reported none or less than 10% of autochthonous Spaniards.

The age composition reflects that of the overall migrant population: a residual presence of children and retired people. In the case of children, this low proportion is also due to the fact that in many organisations children can not be formally members, even if they attend the organisational activities with their parents. The membership base is made of adults and young adults.

Table 15. Presence of co-ethnics and autochthonous Spaniards, column percentages

<i>Percentage of organisations with ...</i>	Co-ethnic members	Autochthonous Spaniards
None	1.1	20
More than 0% but less than 10%	1.1	56
More than 10 but less than 50%	8.6	14
About 50%	8.6	9
Between 50 and 80%	10.8	0
Almost all members	69.9	1
Total	(93)	(100)

Table 16. Age composition of the membership, column percentages

<i>Percentage of organisations whose members are</i>	Under 16 years old	Between 16 and 30 years old	Between 31 and 64 years old	Over 64 years old
None	60	4	2.6	37.6
More than 0% but less than 10%	33	19	5.3	50.5
More than 10 but less than 50%	4	41	23.7	6.9
About 50%	3	17	23.7	2.0
Between 50 and 80%	-	11	26.3	2.0
Almost all members	-	7	15.8	-
DK /NA	-	1	2.6	1.0
Total (n)	(100)	(100)	(38)	(101)

Concerning religion, the sample is split in two main groups: Catholics and Muslims. However, we have also found organisations which declare a different religion (Protestant). The presence of Catholic members is especially important among Latin American associations (more than half reported that almost all their members are Catholic). It is less relevant in the case of African associations; they actually are the most interreligious group: 20% of their associations are mostly composed by Catholic members but 36% are mostly composed by Muslims (this might be Moroccans, because they are included in the African group as we mentioned before). The percentages of don't knows and refusals, actually hide organisations that are not interested in religion or that are not aware of the religion of their members. The presence of Muslim members is residual in non African or Muslim organisations, in accordance to the low percentages of inter-ethnic mixing.

Table 17. Catholic members by predominant origin of members, column percentages

<i>Percentage of catholic members</i>	EU-15	Mixed Origins	Latin American	African	East Europe	Muslim	Other	All origins
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None	0	12.5	4.3	20	0	50	66.7	10
More than 0% but less than 10%	0	12.5	0	20	0	50	0	5
More than 10 but less than 50%	40	12.5	2.1	0	0	0	0	5
About 50%	20	12.5	8.5	10	0	0	0	8.8
Between 50 and 80%	0	0	10.6	10	0	0	0	7.5
Almost all members	40	12.5	55.3	20	20	0	0	40
DK/ Refusal	0	37.5	19.1	20	80	0	33.3	23.8
(N)	(5)	(8)	(47)	(10)	(5)	(2)	(3)	(80)

Table 18. Muslim members by groups

Percentage of Muslim members	EU-15	Mixed Origins	Latin American	African	East Europe	Muslim	Other	All origins
None	80	25	76	18.2	25	0	33.3	57.8
More than 0% but less than 10%	20	12.5	8	18.2	0	0	0	9.6
More than 10 but less than 50%	0	12.5	0	0	0	0	0	1.2
About 50%	0	12.5	0	9.1	0	0	0	2.4
Between 50 and 80%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Almost all members	0	0	0	36.4	0	100	33.3	8.4
DK/ Refusal	0	37.5	16	18.2	75	0	33.3	20.5
(N)	(5)	(8)	(50)	(11)	(4)	(2)	(3)	(83)

Finally, we have analysed the presence of members who are newcomers to the country, that is, those who have been in Spain for less than 2 years. And the results show a non negligible proportion: around a quarter of the association reported that between 10 and 50% of their members were newcomers. A quarter of the associations are also newcomers' association, as they are mostly composed by recent migrants in Spain.

Table 19. Members newcomers to the country

Percentage of newcomers to the country	% of associations	N
Not applicable	2	2
None	5.9	6
More than 0% but less than 10%	21.6	22
More than 10 but less than 50%	24.5	25
About 50%	11.8	12
Between 50 and 80%	12.7	13
Almost all members	19.6	20
DK/NA	2	2
Total	100	102

4. RESOURCES

The rather informal structure of migrant organisations in Madrid is confirmed by the information on their resources. Hardly any organisation owns its office space, around a half of them rents it, and more than a third actually shares their office space with another organisation.

Table 20. Office space

	% yes	N
Shares office space	37.6	41
Owns office space	5.5	6
Rents office space	51.4	55

The picture is not very different in terms of equipment. Even if the majority of the organisations has a phone number and an address (postal and electronic), the computer materials are far from being generalised. Around a half of the organisations do not have either computers or internet connection, which again means that they depend on the generosity of individual private members.

Table 21. Equipment

Equipment	%	N
Has its own email address	83.5	91
Has its own postal address	78.0	85
Has its own phone number	63.3	69
Has its own computers	54.1	59
Has its own internet connection	52.3	57
Has its own fax machine and fax number	45.9	50
Has its own website	36.7	40

We have found very relevant differences in terms of the annual operating budget (see the standard deviation, SD). Some of the larger organisations in the sample bias the mean substantially to a very high value (almost fifty thousand Euros), and hence the median value provides a more accurate picture of the typical association. The budget is therefore much more reduced, less than ten thousand Euros per year.

In this regard, the main sources of income are members (27%) and donors (21%). This shows once again that most of the associations depend on informal support structures. Returns from sales are at a substantial distance from the previous two with 9% of the budget coming from this source.

Among the financial support from various public and governmental institutions, the support received from the Regional government stands out, as their grants are the fourth main source of income for the organisations. On the contrary, economic support from the government of the country of origin is almost inexistent.

Table 22. Budget

Annual operating budget (in Euros)	
Mean	49124.48
Median	9480
SD	121542.7
Min	0
Max	878400
N	74

Table 23. Budgetary sources

Budgetary sources	Mean %	SD	Min	Max	N
Membership fees	26.9	34.5	0	100	102
Donations from individuals	21.9	34.3	0	100	102
Returns from sales	9.2	21.2	0	100	102
Grant from regional government	9.0	23.6	0	100	102
Returns from events or campaigns for fund raising	8.5	18.9	0	96	102
Sponsoring	6.6	16.0	0	90	102
Grant from national government	5.0	20.1	0	100	102
Grant from municipality	3.0	10.5	0	60	102
Finance from federation or umbrella organisation	1.3	10.4	0	100	102
Grant from EU	0.5	4.0	0	40	102
Grant from city district	0.4	2.3	0	19	102
Grant from country of origin's government	0.3	1.3	0	8	102
Other sources	5.1	16.2	0	100	102

In terms of their internal functioning, almost all the associations interviewed have a board, which is not surprising considering that the presence of a board is required to register the organisation in public registers. The board is composed on average by 7.5 members, a half of which are women. 89% of the associations also have a general assembly.

Table 24. Board

	% yes	N
Has a board	92.7	109
Has a general assembly	89	109

Table 25. Board Composition

	Mean	SD	N
Members in the board	7.5	4	100
Women members of the board	3.4	2.2	100

In spite of the equal presence of women in the boards, the chair persons or main leaders are usually men, even within the most feminised groups (Latin American associations, for instance). In the overall, only 30% of the associations have a woman in the top rank of the organisation. This is especially glaring in the case of African organisations, as none of them have a chair woman. The Eastern European group is the only group that tends to parity in the formal leadership, with 43% of chair women.

Table 26. Chair person by group

	Man	Woman	N
EU-15	77.8	22.2	(9)
Mixed Origins	80	20	(10)
Latin American	65.6	34.4	(64)
African	100	0	(9)
East Europe	57.1	42.9	(7)
Muslim	0	100	(1)
Other	100	0	(3)
All origins	70.9	29.1	(104)

5. ACTIVITIES

In this section we will analyse some variables concerning the different activities of the organisations as well as their frequency. We will pay special attention to the set of public and political activities.

In general terms, associations are most inclined to organise cultural, social and intellectual events, at least once a year. Although the frequency may not be intense (in the case of the social events over a third of the associations only organise them yearly), the number of associations that do not organise any of these events is small, less than 18% of the sample. On the other hand, political events are quite rare for most of the associations, around two third of them never or hardly ever organise them. Only 15% of the associations reported to organise any kind of political activity at least once a month. Something similar happens with religious activities: migrants' associations are not very prone to include religious activity in their agendas. Educational events are a particular case. Around a third of the associations do not organise them, but among the ones that do it, the frequency is high, and they become the most frequently organised activity. This obviously corresponds to the nature of the event (courses and lessons need continuity). Therefore, one out of three associations organises educational activities at least once a month.

Table 27. Frequency of events organised, row percentages

	<i>Weekly</i>	<i>Monthly</i>	<i>2-5 times a year</i>	<i>Yearly</i>	<i>Less often or never</i>
Cultural events	8.3	24.8	22	17.5	17.4
Social events	2.8	19.3	24.8	34.5	14.7
Intellectual events	11.9	28.4	17.4	25.7	16.5
Political events	3.7	11.9	.9.2	11.0	64.2
Educational events	21.1	11.9	13.8	18.3	33.9
Sport and leisure activities	12.8	6.4	11.9	15.6	52.3
Religious activities	2.8	1.8	4.6	7.3	81.7

We have also asked for more specific services provided by the association in order to specify the scope of the organisational activities. Three of the items in the table below (see table 28) are focused on immigrants (immigrants' legal representation, assistance with the immigration process and regularisation, translation and interpretation), the rest are more general and might be provided for a wider public.

Concerning the immigrant-focused services, the most frequently provided is at the same time the most vague or broad: 70% of the associations reported to provide assistance in the immigration process (legal and administrative assistance, etc.). Legal representation is provided by around a half of the associations, while translation services are rarer. This finding matches the fact that the majority of associations are composed of Spanish speakers, but also with the context of ethnic grouping, with a very low number of interethnic organisations, as we have already mentioned.

There is actually a fourth item that could be considered immigrant specific, such as "information on other laws and institutions" of Spain. This service is almost as frequently provided as the assistance in the immigration process and it is even more spread among associations (only 23% do not provide it).

Table 28. Frequency of service providing

<i>Frequency of providing</i>	<i>Weekly</i>	<i>Monthly</i>	<i>2-5 times a year</i>	<i>Yearly</i>	<i>Less often or never</i>
Assistance with immigration process	43.1	18.5	6.2	1.5	29.2
Assistance in searching employment	40.0	16.9	6.2	4.6	29.2
Information on other laws and institutions	38.5	16.9	13.8	6.2	23.1
Assistance with access to welfare system	32.3	18.5	12.3	3.1	32.3
Legal representation of immigrants	26.2	4.6	20	1.5	46.2
Assistance with housing	17.2	10.9	7.8	4.7	57.8
Translation or interpretation	15.4	-	6.2	3.1	73.8
Financial support	4.6	3.1	10.8	3.1	75.4
In-kind support	-	6.3	10.9	10.9	70.3

The Localmultidem project is especially interested in the political involvement of migrants. Therefore, we have included a set of questions specifically focusing on public and political activities. Although the frequency of organising political events is very low (see table 27), the proportion rises when breaking down the item into more specific activities.

It strikes from the data the high frequency of contacting media: almost 90% of the organisations have participated in a local radio or TV program, and only a third has not participated in a national TV or radio program. Besides contacting the media, sending letters to the authorities and press conferences or releases are the most usual public activities of the associations in Madrid. More than three quarters of them reported to have done them at least once in the last 12 months.

More collective public activities, such as organising public meetings or petitioning, are rarer. The most radical activities (building occupations and boycotting) are only displayed by a minority of the organisations (between 12% and 16% of them).

Table 29. Frequency of political or public activities

<i>Frequency of (in the last 12 months)</i>	Never	1-3 times	4-6 times	7 times or more
Sending letters to authorities	23.1	29.6	13	32.4
Press conferences or releases	22.2	27.8	22.2	25
Management or implementation of public programs	27.5	31.2	12.8	24.8
Distribution of documents to influence public opinion	34.6	26.2	11.2	24.3
Collecting signatures for petitions	63	22.2	5.6	5.6
Organising public meetings	50.9	27.8	9.3	9.3
Organising boycotts	88	4.6	0.9	3.7
Participating in a building occupation	84.3	8.3	0.9	3.7
Participating in local TV or radio programs	10.6	36.4	18.2	33.3
Participating in national TV or radio programs	33.3	39.4	12.1	12.1

Furthermore, in general terms, organisations in Madrid are not very inclined to call upon their members to participate in political activities. It is very unusual among associations to ask their members to participate in a strike (more than three quarters never did it), to boycott products or organisations (only 14% have ever requested it) and to work in political campaigns (87% of the associations never asked their members to do so). However, associations are less reluctant to call upon their members to participate in some other activities, such as contacting government officials, writing letters to newspapers or signing a petition. In these cases, more than half of the organisations reported to have called upon members to participate in these activities.

Contacting government officials is the activity into which associations most often mobilise their members: one out of five organisations declares to regularly call upon members to participate in this type of activity. Finally, the sample is divided in terms of joining demonstrations. Around half of the organisations calls upon members to participate in demonstrations while the other half never does it.

Table 30. Call upon members to participate in political activities

<i>Call upon members to...</i>	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Regularly
Contact government officials	46.7	10.3	21.5	20.6
Participate in demonstrations	51.4	6.5	23.4	17.8
Sign a petition	43	10.3	28	16.8
Write letters to newspapers	40.2	16.8	28	13.1
Boycott products or organisations	86	3.7	1.9	7.5
Participate in a strike	76.6	10.3	4.7	7.5
Work in political candidates' campaigns	86.9	4.7	2.8	3.7

Promoting turnout is not a frequent activity among organisations either. Just 16% of them promoted turnout during the general elections in 2004. Only the percentages for Eastern European and Latin American associations' rise above the average. The interest has risen in four years: for the general elections in 2008 the proportion of associations which declared to have promoted turnout increased by 10 points. This lack of engagement in the elections is nevertheless understandable in the Spanish context. In Spain, only nationals (or EU nationals in local elections) are allowed to vote. For organisations that are mainly composed by and focused on immigrants it may be thus logical not to feel very concerned about elections, especially when a large majority of immigrants are as yet not Spanish nationals given the recent inflows of immigration to Spain.

However, local elections seem to provoke more interest. 41% of the organisations reported some kind of activity to promote turnout during the last local elections. In this sense, it is important to point out the mobilisation of Eastern European associations (80%). Romanians and Bulgarians were already allowed to vote but needed to be registered, hence the high organisational concern about this particular election. A striking result is the one provided by the African organisations, which were also very concerned by local elections (71% of them promoted turnout) even though there were no changes for the African population and they were not allowed to vote, unless they were naturalised. In any case, these percentages must be interpreted with caution, as the total number of organisations (n) included in these analyses is very small.

Table 31. Promoting turnout, percentages for main origin

<i>Promote Turnout</i>	<i>UE-15</i>	<i>Mixed origins</i>	<i>Latin American</i>	<i>African</i>	<i>East Europe</i>	<i>Muslim</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>All origins</i>
General elections 2004	0	10	21	10	28.6	0	0	16.3
(N)	(10)	(10)	(66)	(10)	(7)	(2)	(3)	(104)
General elections 2008	0	28.6	24.4	42.9	20	100	0	25.8
Local elections	0	42.9	36.6	71.4	80	0	0	40.9
(N)	(3)	(7)	(41)	(7)	(5)	(1)	(2)	(66)

To conclude the section of political activities, we analysed the presence of former candidates in the associations. In 21 associations (19% of the sample) we have found members who have stood as a candidate at least once in any kind of elections (local, national, regional or in the country of origin). More than half of these candidate members were actually elected.

Table 32. Members as candidate in elections

<i>Member ever...</i>	<i>% yes</i>	<i>N</i>
Stood as candidate in elections	19.3	21
Been elected	54.5	12

6. CONTACTS WITH ADMINISTRATIONS AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

In addition to enquiring about their political activities, we have analysed the contacts with political institutions, such as administrations, political parties and executives. In general terms, associations in Madrid do not have much contact with political institutions and when they do, it is an occasional contact. Regular contact is very rare in any case: the most frequent contact is with the Regional Government with which 12% of the organisations reported to have a regular contact. For the rest of the institutions, the percentage of associations reporting regular contact is under 10%.

Executives are the branches of Government most often contacted, at any level (local, regional or national), and much more so than parliamentarians and parties. This is not necessarily related to the party ideology, the national executive being Socialist and the regional and local governments, from the centre-right wing party (PP). 32% of the associations reported some contact with the City council executive, 30% reported some contact with the Regional Government and 22% with the National Government. The links seem thus more widespread at the closest level, the local one, although this is not necessarily translated into frequent or regular contact.

This more common attachment to the local level is reproduced in the rest of the contact patterns. Organisations have more contact with parliamentarians and parties at the local level, than at the regional or the national level. The contact is also more common with the two largest parties (PP and PSOE) and much less so with the third party, the left-wing coalition IU. Concerning the patterns of contact with one or the other party, it is the following: organisations tend to have more contact with parliamentarians from the party who rules at each level (PP parliamentarians at the local and regional level, PSOE parliamentarians at the national level). However, considering only the parties headquarters (and not their elected representatives), the Socialists (PSOE) are at all levels the most contacted by associations.

Table 33. Contacts with executives, politicians and parties

<i>Contact with...</i>	No contact at all	Occasional contact	Regular contact
<i>Local level</i>			
City council executive or its members	66.1	23.9	8.3
Local parliamentarians PP	69.4	20.4	7.4
Local parliamentarians PSOE	71.3	23.1	4.6
Local parliamentarians IU	80.6	14.8	1.9
Local political party PP	76.6	15	6.5
Local political party PSOE	74.1	19.4	5.6
Local political party IU	82.4	11.1	4.6
<i>Regional level</i>			
Regional government	68.5	18.5	12
Regional parliamentarians PP	78.7	13	6.5
Regional parliamentarians PSOE	73.1	16.7	8.3
Regional parliamentarians IU	85	8.4	4.7
Regional political party PP	81.5	12	5.6
Regional political party PSOE	76.9	16.7	5.6
Regional political party IU	88.8	8.4	1.9
<i>National level</i>			
National government	75.2	16.5	5.5
National parliamentarians PP	80.6	12	5.6
National parliamentarians PSOE	79.6	13.9	4.6
National parliamentarians IU	83.2	10.3	4.7
National political party PP	81.5	13	4.6
National political party PSOE	77.8	17.6	3.7
National political party IU	86.9	10.3	1.9

Turning to contacts with public administrations, the local administration is the closest of all three levels of public administration considered and, therefore, it is again the most contacted. Around a half of the associations had some contact with the local departments related to immigrant issues and to welfare issues. In one out of four cases, this contact was regular. However, we must point out that the contact is much more reduced when we consider other local bodies or institutions that are not the main departments. The percentage of associations with some kind of contact with schools, local police and local health centres are under 30%. In addition to the two local departments we have mentioned, there is another important one in terms of contact: the regional department of welfare issues, to which almost half of the associations reported some contact.

Table 34. Contacts with Spanish Public Administrations

<i>Contact with...</i>	No contact at all	Occasional contact	Regular contact
Local department related to immigrant issues (<i>Programa de atención a la inmigración e interculturalidad</i>)	48.1	25.9	25
Local department related to welfare issues (<i>Area de Servicios Sociales</i>)	50.9	23.1	25
Other relevant department (<i>Area de</i>	69.4	13	16.7

<i>promoción de la igualdad y el Empleo)</i>			
Local school	72.2	14.8	12
Local police	70.4	19.4	9.3
Local health centre	73.1	14.8	11.1
Regional Department of Welfare issues	53.7	22.2	22.2
Regional Department of Labour)	69.4	13	15.7
Regional Department of Education	69.4	18.5	11.1
Ministry of labour and social affairs	60.2	20.4	18.5
Ministry of internal affairs	67.6	21.3	10.2
Ministry of Education and Culture	75	14.8	9.3

Finally, we have also asked about contacts with other institutions: European institutions, national or regional trade unions and political parties and Administrations from their country of origin. The main finding at this stage is the spread of the contacts with the homeland Administration: 55% of the associations have some contact with it. In addition, for 36% this was a regular contact. The political parties in the countries of origin are less contacted, but still more than a third of the associations have some kind of link with them. European institutions are still unfamiliar to immigrant associations: 77% did not have any contact with them, and only 5% of the organisations claim to have a regular contact with EU administration.

Table 35. Contacts with other institutions

Contact with...	No contact at all	Occasional contact	Regular contact
National or regional trade unions	66.1	21.1	11.9
European institutions	77.1	16.5	4.6
Country of origin Administration	43.1	19.3	35.8
Country of origin political parties	63.3	17.4	17.4

To conclude the section on political contacts, we included a set of questions about the participation in both formal and informal procedures of decision making. Specifically we wanted to find out whether the organisations have ever been invited to participate in different procedures or not and, in case they were, if they finally accepted to participate. We have separated these procedures in two groups (formal and informal), in which we have included all the levels (local, regional and national).

Table 36. Invitation and participation in decision making

Procedures of decision making	Called to be member	Participated (over those invited)
Formal procedures		
District council	24.8 (27)	85.2 (23)
Municipal council on specific issues	37.6 (41)	80.5 (33)
Regional council on specific issues	31.2 (34)	79.4 (27)
National council on specific issues	27.5 (30)	80 (24)
Informal procedures		
Specific problem municipal committee	23.9 (26)	92.3 (24)
Consultation municipal committee	24.8 (27)	85.2 (23)
Specific problem regional committee	13.8 (15)	93.3 (14)
Consultation regional committee	17.4 (19)	94.7 (18)
Specific problem national committee	13.8 (15)	86.7 (13)
Consultation national committee	17.4 (19)	89.5 (17)

The results show that associations are more frequently called to join formal procedures or bodies than informal ones. Again, the local level is the one with which the organisational links are stronger: 38% of the associations have been invited to join a municipal council. The

percentage is lower for regional (31%) and national councils (27%). The distinction between the local level and the other two is even sharper for invitations to join informal procedures or consultations. Around 24% of the associations have received an invitation to join a municipal committee or group called to solve a specific problem. However, the proportion drops ten points for regional or national committees or groups.

Another finding concerns associations' willingness to participate. Table 36 shows the high rates of participation once they have been invited. Associations are even more eager to participate in informal procedures at any level: acceptance rates are not lower than 85%. If they have the chance to participate in the process of decision making, organisations tend to take advantage of the opportunity.

7. ORGANISATIONAL NETWORKS

The last section of the report is dedicated to the organisational networks. The interviews also provided us with some networking information that we have analysed with social network analysis software.

Associations in Madrid are not very inclined to federate or to be part of "formal" networks of associations. Only 30% of them are affiliated to a national federation, while inclusion in regional and international federations are less frequent (only between 11% and 13% of the associations are part of one of them). One out of four associations also declares to be attached to a network or platform of organisations.

Table 37. Federations and networks

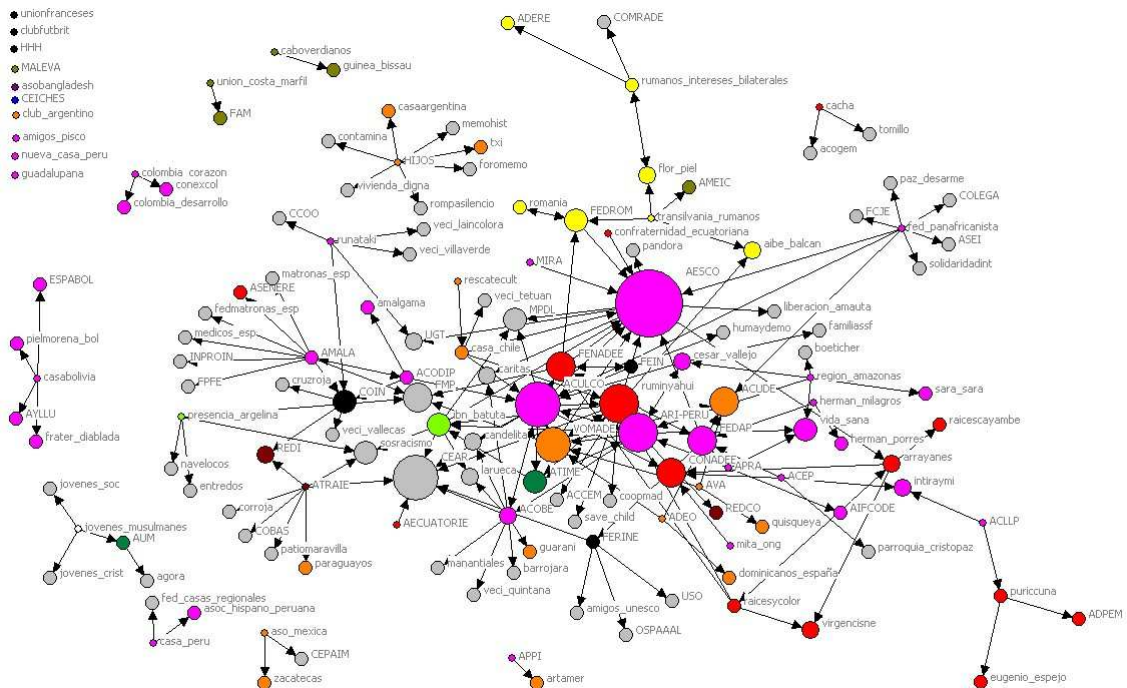
Member of	% yes	N
Regional federation	11	(12)
National federation	30.3	(33)
International federation	13	(14)
Network of organisations	25.7	(28)

When we turn our attention to the patterns of organisational connection with other organisations, we find a relatively well integrated network that provides multiple opportunities for connecting associations of different national origins among them, but also with autochthonous organisations. Figure 1 shows the picture of the network structure for the links with the organisations with which the interviewed migrant associations had most frequent contact.³ This first figure only identifies organisations by the national origin of the majority of their members (colours) and by the number of times they have been mentioned by another organisation (size of nodes).

As we can see, the most 'central' or 'prestigious' organisations (i.e. those most frequently mentioned) are generally organisations of migrants of a Latin American background. In particular, Colombian (AESCO and ACULCO), Ecuadorian (Rumiñahui, FENADEE and CONADEE), Peruvian (ARI-Perú and FEDAP) and Dominican (VOMADE and ACUDE) are the most frequently cited as partners for frequent contact. These Latin American organisations are the ones that structure the network, as they not only link Latin American associations of various origins among themselves, but also with organisations of other migrant backgrounds – in particular, Romanian and Maghrebi.

³ Interviewed organisations could name up to 10 organisations spontaneously, and they could name both migrant and autochthonous organisations.

Figure 1. Network of most frequent contacts, by origin.

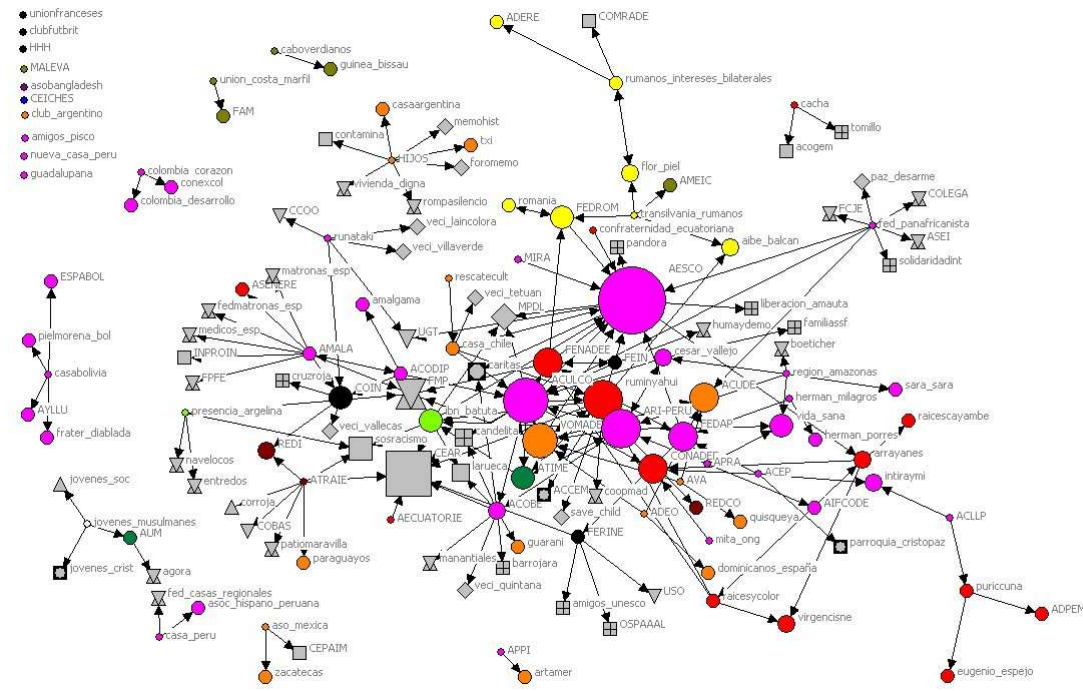


Although interaction with autochthonous organisations among the most frequent partners is quite common, there are not many autochthonous organisations that seem to act as prevalent 'hubs' to structure the networks of relations. Only CEAR (Spanish Committee for the Assistance of Refugees) stands out as quite central in the network.

In this regard, Figure 2 distinguishes the autochthonous organisations also by their type (with shapes). Pro-migrant organisations are more often in central positions and more commonly among those cited, as also are Human rights organisations. It is very interesting to note that the major political parties are fully absent from the network, and that the main trade unions – CCOO and UGT – are not very prominent as the most habitual partners of the migrant organisations interviewed.

All in all, the network is most structured by migrants organisations and their interaction with a large number of autochthonous civil society organisations where pro-migrant associations prevail, together with human rights and development NGOs. And although 'bonding' is very common – as we find a relevant number of migrant organisations that are only connected with other migran organisations – 'bridging' links are also very common.

Figure 2. Network of most frequent contacts, by origin and type.



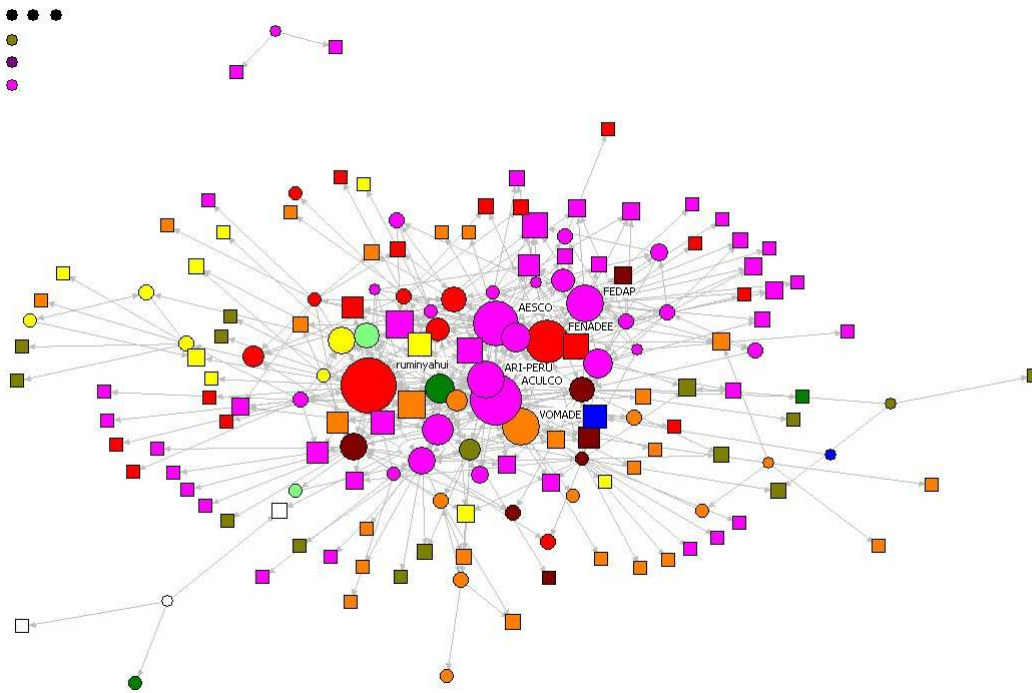
Legend	Colour	Origin	Shape	Type of organisation
	Grey	Autochthonous	Circle	Immigrants
	Dark green	Moroccan	Up-triangle	Party
	Red	Ecuadorian	Down-triangle	Trade Union
	Pink	Andean	Diamond	Peace, Human rights or neighbourhood org
	Light green	Other Maghrebi	Square	Pro-migrants NGO
	Blue	Chinese	Box	Other NGO
	Orange	Other Latin American	Circle in box	Religious organisation
	Purple	Bangladeshi	Double triangle	Other autochthonous org
	White	Mixed Muslim		
	Golden green	African		
	Yellow	East European		
	Brown	Multiple regional origins		
	Black	Other origins		

The outlook of the interaction with autochthonous organisations changes somewhat when we ask explicitly about the nature of the relations that the interviewed migrant organisations have with a list of up to 70 autochthonous organisations of various types.⁴ If we focus our attention on project or event collaborations – a medium to strong tie between two organisations – we find a relatively dense and cohesive network of exchanges between migrant and autochthonous organisations (Figure 3). This is favoured by the fact that a relatively small number of autochthonous organisations concentrate a large number of the links with migrant organisations. Only 10 autochthonous organisations have been mentioned as collaborators by 10 or more migrant organisations (out of 65 that were interviewed), and they alone concentrate already 132 links (out of 366 existing)! We have identified these in the graph: Cruz Roja, UGT, CEAR, PSOE, CCOO, Caritas, SOS Racismo, MPDL, PP and USO.

Pro-migrant (such as CEAR and SOS Racismo) and assistential NGOs (such as Caritas) are quite central to this network of collaborations, in line with their relevance in the overall network of main contacts in Figures 1 and 2. But specifying the type of exchange with autochthonous organisations brings in to the picture the main trade unions and political parties, that were

⁴ We asked respondents whether, for each of the organisations listed, they had had with them in the previous 12 months any (a) meetings, consultations or exchange of information, (b) collaboration in projects or events, (c) sharing of resources, (d) personal links through members, (e) sharing leadership, and (f) major disagreements.

Figure 4. Network of collaborations with other migrants' organisations, by origin and participation in survey.



Legend	Colour	Origin	Shape	Type of organisation
	Dark green	Moroccan	Circle	Interviewed
	Red	Ecuadorian	Square	Not interviewed
	Pink	Andean		
	Light green	Other Maghrebi		
	Blue	Chinese		
	Orange	Other Latin American		
	Purple	Bangladeshi		
	White	Mixed Muslim		
	Golden green	African		
	Yellow	East European		
	Brown	Multiple regional origins		
	Black	Other origins		

8. CONCLUDING SUMMARY

This report summarises the main findings of the organisational survey carried out in Madrid. We have interviewed 109 organisations in two stages: a pilot study conducted in 2003-2004 which was updated in 2008, plus 46 fully new interviews conducted in 2008.

Most of the organisations are of Latin American background, reflecting the distribution of the migrant population in Madrid. The year of foundation of the organisations also reflects the immigration waves in Spain. Around a half of the organisations are very recent (created between 2000 and 2008) and the period from 2000 to 2004 is when more organisations were created.

When asked to self-define their organisations, more than 40 per cent of them chose as most appropriate the category of 'immigrant' or 'ethnic' association. That is, they considered themselves as associations in defence of all migrants' interests or focusing on a specific subset of migrants. However, cultural activities are considered the most important activity by most of the organisations, followed by immigrants' issues. This is reflected in the specific services organisations provide, which are again focused on immigration: 70% of them reported to provide assistance in the immigration process. Providing information on other Spanish laws is also widespread.

The answers about specific areas of activity are less homogenous. The most mentioned are 'social and local integration' and 'services to members'. It is striking that contacting the media becomes one of the most common associational activities. However, it is not yet considered to be more important than other traditional activities (services, integration). A final conclusion about the activities of migrants' associations in Madrid is that they are not very transnational in their focus. Their activity remains local, regional or, at the most, national. Only 9% of them undertake as well any activity in other countries.

There are two main conclusions we can draw concerning the size and composition of the organisations. The first one is that migrant organisations in Madrid are not big structures and that they are little institutionalised. This is reflected in the low figures of active members, and in the fact that only one out of four associations can afford having paid staff. The second one is that migrant organisations prove to be ethnic organisations: 70% of the organisations declared that almost all their members are co-ethnics. Finally, we have pointed out the non negligible presence of newcomers: a quarter of the organisations have between 10% and 50% of members that are newcomers to the country (less than 2 years in the country). In addition, around a quarter of them are mainly composed by newcomers. Concerning the gender composition, women are equally represented among members and in directing boards, but they are under-represented in terms of paid staff. Chair persons are, however, usually men (71%).

The rather informal structure of migrants' organisations in Madrid is confirmed by the information we have gathered on their resources. Hardly any organisation owns its office space, around a half of them rents it, and more than a third actually shares their office space with another organisation. Furthermore, computer materials are far from being generalised: around a half of the organisations do not have computers or an internet connection. We have found substantial differences in terms of the annual operating budget. Given that some of the larger organisations in the sample bias the average substantially, the median value provides a more accurate picture of the typical association: a budget of less than ten thousand Euros per year, the sources of which are mainly informal. In this regard, the main sources of income are indeed based on informal support: members and donors. Only the grants allocated by the Regional Government emerge as a rather important formal source of funding.

We have especially focused on analysing public and political activities of the associations as well as on their contacts with public institutions and Administrations. In general terms, associations are quite inclined to organise cultural, intellectual or social events. In contrast, political events are quite rare for most of the associations. Around two thirds of them never or hardly ever organise them and only 15% reported to organise any kind of political activity at least once a month. However, they do organise or participate in public activities, although they are reluctant to call upon their members to participate in any of them. Besides contacting the

media (mentioned by 90% of the associations), sending letters to the authorities, and press conferences or releases are the most common public activities of the associations of immigrants in Madrid. More than three quarters of them reported to have done them at least once in the previous 12 months.

Promoting turnout is not a frequent activity among organisations either. Just 16% of them promoted turnout during the general elections in 2004. The interest in electoral mobilisation has nevertheless risen in four years: for the general elections in 2008 the proportion of associations that declared to have promoted turnout increased by 10 points. Local elections seem as well to provoke more interest: 41% of the organisations reported some kind of activity to promote turnout during the last local elections

Concerning the contacts with Administrations, we have detected two patterns. First, executives are the branches of Government most often contacted at any level. Second, the links seem more widespread at the local level, although this is not necessarily translated into frequent or regular contact. For example, around a half of the associations has contacts with the local departments related to immigrant and welfare issues.

Besides contacts with Administrations, we have also analysed contacts with political parties. In this sense, organisations tend to have more contact with parliamentarians from the party who rules at each level (either the Socialists or the right-wing party). However, considering only the parties headquarters (and not their elected representatives), the Socialists are at all levels of government the most contacted.

We have also found an important spread of contacts with the 'homeland' Administration: 55% of the associations have some contact with it. In addition, for 36% this was a regular contact. On the other hand, European institutions are still distant for immigrant associations in Madrid: 77% did not have any contact with them.

To conclude on political contacts and engagement, our study also shed some light on the participation of immigrant association both in formal and informal procedures of decision making. Results show that associations in Madrid are more frequently called to join formal procedures or bodies than informal ones. And associations are willing to participate: acceptance rates are not lower than 85%. Again, the local level is the one with which the links are stronger.

Finally, our initial analyses of the outlook of networking patterns by migrants' organisations in Madrid suggest that they are relatively well integrated into a fairly cohesive structure of exchanges that does not hugely cluster by ethnicity and that links autochthonous and migrants' organisations into closely knit webs of exchanges. Only the associations formed by EU-15 citizens are systematically isolated from these networks.