

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

**‘Home Away From Home:’ Migrant
Organizations and Transnational Politics
Among Latin American Migrants in Spain**

Master of Arts Thesis – Political Science

Kevin Freudenburg

Defended: April 14, 2011

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

The Thesis Committee for Kevin Freudenburg
certifies that this is the approved version of the following thesis:

**‘Home Away From Home:’ Migrant
Organizations and Transnational Politics
Among Latin American Migrants in Spain**

Master of Arts Thesis – Political Science

Chairperson Juliet Kaarbo

Date approved: April 14, 2011

Abstract:

Mass immigration into Spain is a relatively new phenomenon. Additionally, the country's recent economic boom and ties to Latin America put it in the unique position of being home to millions of Spanish-speaking migrants. This paper analyzes the role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in encouraging or discouraging transnational political action and citizenship acquisition directed toward Latin American countries. The author traveled to Madrid, Spain in the summer of 2010 and performed qualitative interviews with CEOs and employees of numerous South American NGOs. The results of the interviews indicate that individual transnational action by migrants is rare compared to the lobbying and advocacy work of the organizations themselves.

La inmigración masiva hacia España es un fenómeno relativamente nuevo. Por el reciente auge económico en el país, y sus enlaces históricos y culturales en Latinoamérica, España tiene una población migratoria compuesta en gran parte por latinoamericanos. Esta tesis analice el papel de las organizaciones no-gubernamentales en animar o no animar las migrantes a participar en acciones políticas transnacionales hacia sus países de origen. El autor se viajó a Madrid durante el verano de 2010 y allí realizó entrevistas con directores y consejeros del sector no-gubernamental. Los resultados de las entrevistas indican que la acción política transnacional realizada por las migrantes propias es relativamente rara en comparación con la política realizada por las organizaciones mismas.

Table of Contents

1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Organization	6
2 Literature Review.....	8
2.1 Research on Migration, Political Science and International Relations Theory.....	8
2.1.1 Research on Migration	9
2.1.2 Political Science and International Relations	12
2.1.2.1 Early modern International Relations.....	13
2.1.2.2 Recent developments in International Relations and Migration	14
2.1.3 Development.....	17
2.2 Transnational Politics	19
2.2.1 Definitions	19
2.3 Migration as Transnational Politics.....	21
2.2.2 Migration as Transnational Politics.....	21
2.2.3 “Co-Development”	23
2.4 Citizenship.....	25
2.5 The Case of Spain	27
3 Research Design.....	33
3.1 Research Question.....	34
3.2 Spain as a tough case for transnational politics, citizenship	35
4 Methodology	37
4.1 Qualitative Methods	37
4.2 Explanation of specific methods	39
5 Interview Results	43
5.1 Non-affiliated, non-governmental organizations	44
5.1.1 Rumiñahui (Ecuador)	44
5.1.2 FEDAP (Peru)	45
5.1.3 AESCO (Colombia and South America).....	46

5.2 State-affiliated, non-governmental organizations	46
5.2.1 Federation of Associations of Paraguayans (Consulate of Paraguay).....	47
5.2.2 Centros de Participación e Integración (CEPIs).....	47
5.2.3 SENAMI.....	48
5.3 Casa America Discussion	49
5.4 Transnational Politics	50
5.5 Citizenship.....	56
6 Discussion	62
6.1 Political role of non-governmental associations	62
6.2 Political role of governmentally-affiliated associations.....	64
6.3 Political role of individuals	65
6.4 Associations and co-development.....	68
6.5 Citizenship.....	70
6.6 Directions for future research	71
7 Conclusion	74

Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

Beginning in 1985, Spain witnessed the large scale immigration of workers and families from North Africa, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. In a reversal of centuries of outward emigration from the Iberian peninsula, migrants poured into Spain and rapidly altered the character of what had previously been one of Europe's poorer, less-developed countries. Massive immigration is only one of the changes that have contributed to Spain's transformation; since the country's process of democratization began in 1975, Spain inaugurated a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy, became a full member of the European Union, and witnessed an economic boom which catapulted the country into the ranks of the most developed countries in the world. The massive wave of immigration, beginning in the mid-1980's, was not the cause of Spain's political and economic transformation, but rather one of the most visible expressions of the changes happening in Spain since the mid 1970's.

Nearly every Western European country is home to a substantial migrant population. Following the destruction of World War II, Germany and Austria enlisted the labor of guest-workers from Turkey, Italy, and Greece. Since the process of decolonization began in the 1950's, the United Kingdom and France have welcomed millions of residents of former colonies, as Africans, Indians, and Caribbean islanders used their countries' colonial histories to take up residence in Europe. Yet Spain is unique among large western European countries for two reasons: one, it is a relative latecomer to this group of new countries of immigration, as Spain was a country of emigration and had sent workers abroad to northern Europe as recently as the 1970's, and two, Spain hosts a large portion of its migrant population from its former colonies in

Latin America. Traditionally, Latin American migrants, mostly from Mexico and countries in Central America, headed for the United States and settled primarily in California, Texas, New York, and Florida¹. Their presence in Spain indicates a shift in patterns of emigration from Latin American states and is marked by the unique relationship between the countries of the Iberian peninsula and those of Latin America.

Latin American migrants seemingly ‘fit’ more easily into Spanish society, as they broadly share common cultural characteristics such as language and religious affiliation. The Spanish state also allows for easier access to Spanish citizenship for residents of Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America, granting double-citizenship privileges to those migrants who successfully navigate the citizenship acquisition process in Spain² (Padilla and Peixoto, 2007, Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2010). Yet despite many of the cultural similarities between Spain and its former colonies, it is important not to assume that migrants easily negotiate the migration process or feel a particular kinship toward Spain. The process of attaining citizenship is also difficult to navigate, and for many migrants is never realized. Thus it is unclear how this new, and at 37% of the foreign-born population (Vicente 2009), group of migrants relate to their new home country.

¹ Although recent migration to the United States has greatly diversified as new destination states (such as North Carolina, Nebraska, Kansas, etc.) see similar levels of immigration as those previously mentioned states (Reich and Barth 2010).

² Countries signing a dual-citizenship agreement with Spain include Andorra, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Equatorial Guinea Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, the Philippines, Portugal, and Uruguay.

Although the process of migration has never been as unidirectional as often portrayed in popular media and family accounts³, recent advances in communication technology and transportation have allowed migrants unprecedented access to loved ones and events occurring in their home countries. Engagement with the sending country often takes many forms: economic engagement in the form of remittances and monetary gifts sent home, social engagement in the form of family and kin relationships, and political engagement in the form of political involvement with political parties and organizations in their home countries. As these processes of engagement transcend political borders and occur in multiple sites, they can be referred to as transnational practices. This thesis focuses on the transnational political engagement which migrants undertake and interrogates the exact nature of transnational political processes occurring between Spain and Latin America at the individual and organizational level.

Transnationalism, more strictly defined, “refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation states” (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003, 1). Scholars have referred to transnational practices in a variety of fields, including transnational citizenship (Baubock 1994), transnational social networks (Heisler 2008), and transnational political action (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003). With reference to transnational politics, the actor in question may be the government of the sending state, an organized diaspora movement, or even individual migrants. Yet this study adds to these analyses another relevant actor when examining transnational political action: the non-governmental organization (NGO).

³ See Zolberg (2008) and Devoto (2008) for a discussion of circular migration in the United States and Argentina.

In Spain, as in other migrant-receiving states, the rapid increase in the migrant population creates a demand for information and social services. Non-profit, community-driven organizations often fill this need, and in Spain this sector is comprised of a dense network of cultural, social, and political organizations with diverse aims such as easing migrants' transition into Spanish life and/or advocating for political reform in the sending country. Given that NGOs often facilitate, and even enable, transnational political action, the research question that this thesis addresses is as follows: **do non-governmental organizations serving the Latin American community in Spain encourage transnational political engagement and citizenship activities aimed at the respective home country, or do they instead focus on integrating migrants into the political, social and economic life of Spain?**

This study contributes to several bodies of political science literature. First, by addressing migration as an important process which occurs *between* states and takes place within the context of political interactions, this thesis sheds further light on the importance of migration in conditioning relations between states. Traditionally, migration studies have been the domain of historians, sociologists, and economists, and explanations of political behavior have been neglected (Brettel and Hollifield 2008, 16-17). This study thus contributes to the political understanding of migration by focusing on the politics of immigrant incorporation and citizenship. Second, placing the analytical lens on the role of NGOs focuses attention on an important non-state actor in the political process. Political studies of migration often focus solely on the role of the individual (Chiswick 2008), the social group (Diner 2008) or the migration

policy of the national government (Hollifield 2008⁴). Therefore this thesis further contributes to international relations theory by expanding on the role of non-state actors in transnational political. Finally, by focusing on a country of new and large-scale migration, Spain, this project illuminates the growing pains associated with rapid development and a massive influx of immigration. While each country's individual circumstances are unique, the lessons of Spain's NGO sector may well apply to other countries of new immigration such as Greece, Russia and the United Arab Emirates.

A note on terminology: I employ the terms migrant, receiving country, and sending country. By migrant, I hope to convey a term which indicates the transitory yet often impermanent nature of moving from one country to another. Although migrant, as an umbrella term, is insufficient to appreciate the wide array of experiences and statuses which exist⁵, I rely on this term for the sake of understanding and to acknowledge my own limitations in knowing the legal status of individuals. Whenever possible, however, I discuss legal status in the most specific terms possible. The terms receiving and sending country, although heavily criticized as contributing to the rhetoric of imperialism and global inequality⁶ are used as a clear, concise, and easily understood set of terms to convey the difference between the origin state and (often temporary) destination state.

⁴ James Hollifield is concerned that migration studies fail to realize the important role of the state and the ways in which institutional rules and regulations shape migratory flows

⁵ For example, there is a wide disparity in situation and context between migrants who are undocumented workers and those with visas. There are many different statuses along a spectrum ranging from undocumented worker to fully naturalized citizen, yet I most often use migrant for ease of use and of understanding.

⁶ See examples in Østergaard-Nielsen 2003a, and Parker and Brassett 2005

1.2 Organization

The thesis is organized as follows: **first**, a review of relevant literature will be presented which will address first, immigration studies, political science, and international relations theory. This section will discuss the study of migration and its development through multiple fields of study such as history and sociology. The role of migration studies in political science and international relations theory will also be discussed, including sections on political scientist's analyses of global imbalances and causes of migration, and the contributions and challenges that international migration contributes to development. **Second**, the literature review will discuss the origin and importance of the concept of transnationalism and transnational politics. **Third**, the transnational concept is applied to migration studies and the previous literature in the field is presented and discussed. The fourth section discusses the literature on citizenship and acquisition, and provides the necessary counterpoint to the transnational politics section. The final section of the literature review will discuss Spain and the Spanish state's recent history with international migration. This final section will also flesh out the specific context in which this research project took place. These diverse bodies of literature will set the stage for the research design to follow.

The **second** section of this thesis will lay out the specific research design of the project. The research design section will include a more thorough discussion of the research question and will discuss the positive and negative aspects of focusing on the country of Spain. This section will conclude by arguing that Spain's demographic and political characteristics make it a unique, yet tough, case for examining the role of transnational politics among migrants and migrant NGOs. The **third** section of the thesis presents the qualitative methods used to carry out the

research design and presents a brief justification for the appropriateness of the chosen methods. This methods section will argue for the importance of qualitative data for political science research and its use in developing theory. It will also discuss the specific research methods carried out in the process of gathering data.

The **fourth** section will present the results of the research project. Select interview responses will be presented thematically and each topic will be connected to the literature review themes of transnational politics and/or citizenship. Organization by topic allows for the research question to be explored in-depth and allows for variation across types of organizations to be explored. The **fifth** section is the discussion section, which will discuss the interview results in terms of the political role of non-governmental and governmental organizations, as well as the political role of individuals and directions for future research. The paper will conclude with a brief review of all sections of the paper.

Chapter 2

2 Literature Review

Two concepts in social science literature are central to this project: the first is that of transnational politics as practiced by migrants and migrant NGOs, and the second is that of citizenship and political incorporation. The tension between whether or not migrants and migrant organizations focus their political activities on the receiving country (in this case Spain) or on the sending country (those countries throughout Latin America), is the dichotomy under examination in this project. These two concepts together will frame the examination of the strategies for political motivation and action undertaken by migrant NGOs.

Before discussing the social science literature on transnational politics and citizenship, it is important to understand where the study of migration fits into the social sciences and specifically where it fits into the study of political science. Therefore the literature review will focus on the following bodies of literature: first, I will review the field of migration research and its role within political science. The second section will then discuss the concept of transnational politics as a new and emerging strain of international relations theory. Specific examples of transnational political action by migrants will then follow in a brief section. Third, the literature on citizenship and political incorporation will be discussed in order to lay a framework for the actions of the NGOs in Spain. Finally, a brief section will review the recent history of migration and Spain, and provide the political and economic context for the project and the interviews conducted by the author.

2.1 Research on Migration, Political Science and International Relations Theory

Studies of migration have not historically contributed to either political science or international relations. All three fields have tended to talk past each other (Bleich 2008), despite the fact that migration studies can contribute to a better understanding of how international relations functions and that political science and international relations can contribute to our understanding of how migratory processes function. This section will first discuss migration studies and how it has historically been divided amongst multiple social science fields, before second, briefly discussing both political science and international relations literature. These two sections provide the necessary context for the ensuing discussion of transnational politics and citizenship.

2.1.1 **Research on Migration**

Human migration is an extraordinarily complicated phenomenon. Whether temporary or permanent, the process of uprooting oneself has obvious negative and positive financial implications, and impacts families and individuals in cultural, linguistic, and religious terms. Additionally, migration has a macro impact upon entire societies, as human migration creates economic distortions, and over time, stands to alter the demographic make-up of human societies. Given the complexity of human migration, it is sensible that the study of this phenomenon does not easily fit into one traditional academic discipline or another, and can be studied from a variety of theoretical and methodological angles.

Social scientific methods of examining migration vary across disciplines. Carole Brettel and James Hollifield distinguish academic disciplines in their approach to migration by 1) research question, 2) levels/units of analysis, and 3) dominant theories (Brettel and Hollifeild

2008, 4). These distinctions are important to understand in light of the differences between social science fields and approaches. The following paragraphs will briefly discuss the approach of several social science fields toward migration studies.

One of the first social science fields to develop an interest in migration was that of sociology. Sociological research on migration dates to the 1920s in the Chicago School of Sociology and takes a macro approach in its focus on ethnic groups and social classes in the receiving country (Brettel and Hollifield 2008, 4, Heisler 2008, 83-85). The focus on the receiving country stems from sociology's traditional focus on outcomes instead of causes and in an attempt to understand the complex social relations at work in immigration and incorporation (Brettel and Hollifield 2008, 5). Sociology underwent several theoretical shifts in examining migratory processes, beginning with theories of assimilation in the mid 1950's, before focusing on ethnic group difference and inequalities in the mid 1970s and 1980s before globalizing the migrant experience and developing theories of globalization and transnationalism (Heisler 2008, 84-98). The common thread amongst most sociological studies is the focus on social relations, incorporation, and exclusion.

The economic motivations of many migrants also drew interest from the field of economics. Long considered to be the primary explanation for migration, economists examine the individual decisions for migration and have historically used individualized rational choice theory to explain why migrants may choose to leave a country of low economic opportunity for one that offers greater individual benefits (Brettel and Hollifield 2008, 4, Chiswick 2008, 65). Economists have developed formal models to explain migration, most often focusing on migrants as human capital, a supply-side approach which explains the individual decision of a migrant to

leave his or her home country (Chiswick 2008, 65-73.) As Chiswick explains, “economic migrants tend to be favorably self-selected on the basis of skills [and] health...[who then] move from one place of work to another...primarily because of their own economic opportunities” (2008, 64). Economic migration, often explained in terms of voluntary migration (Castles and Miller 2003) or forced economic migration (Brettel and Hollifield 2008, 7) is still used as one of the primary explanations for migratory behavior.

The fields of demography and geography also offer coherent explanations for the phenomenon of migration. Demography borrows heavily from economics (Teitelbaum 2008, 51-52), and examines migration in conjunction with birth and death rates to examine how migration affects population change. Geographers are interested in the spatial aspect of migration, studying the relationships between “employment patterns and residential patterns, the formation and development of ethnic enclaves, and the changing segregation patterns of various ethnic and racial groups” (Brettel and Hollifield 2008, 5). Both disciplines use a macro theoretical approach to understanding population change and seek to understand the broader impact of migration upon communities and societies.

Finally, history and anthropology eschew the macro analytical nature of other disciplines and instead seek to illuminate the individual/group experience as unique and valuable. Both disciplines choose to not seek overarching theories of migration, focusing less “on the broad scope of migration flows than on the articulation between the place when a migrant originates and the place or places to which he or she goes. This includes exploration of how people in local places respond to global processes” (Brettel 2008, 114-115). Additionally, anthropologists and historians often focus on culture and cultural change, phenomena which are often individual in

nature. Therefore historical and anthropological work emphasizes the unique, choosing to explain the Chinese experience in California, or the experiences of rural migrants to large cities in Brazil (Mark Lai 2010, Levin and Crocitti 1999, 411-415, 436-446). Historians and anthropologists often stand in opposition to other fields, de-emphasizing any notions of universality. By illuminating the unique individual and group experiences which occur during migratory processes, they, too, contribute to our understanding of migration.

Despite this diversity in viewpoints and methods of inquiry, the all-encompassing nature of human migration as a social process, and therefore one amenable to study by most social scientists, has led to some calls for migration to be “a social science in its own right...strongly multidisciplinary in its theory and methodology (Castles 1993, 30, quoted in Brettel and Hollifield 2008, 3). Adrian Favell, sociologist, argues for “interdisciplinarity, globality, and postdisciplinarity in migration studies...” a call which obviously challenges the normally compartmentalized nature of most university academic departments. Yet rather than take on the thankless task of attempting to unify social science fields, I instead borrow concepts from those fields to bolster the study of migration in the fields of political science and international relations. The following sections review the literature of these fields and will seek to situate migration studies within them.

2.1.2 **Political Science and International Relations**

Neither popular understandings of the political functions of the state nor traditional theories of international relations contained much space for the role of human migration. The core concepts for international relations, the concept of the nation-state and state sovereignty, at

worst preclude the possibility of international movements of people and at best minimizes the effects of human migration on international relations. Following the Treaty of Westphalia, in which the Catholic Church recognized the secular territorial sovereignty of Protestant princes, the notion of the modern nation-state arose and as a result, statehood became intermingled with dominant cultural and linguistic groups. The combination of these elements led to a notion of citizenship and national identity closely tied together with ethnic identity. James Hollifield explains “only with the advent of the nation-state in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe did the notion of legally tying populations to territorial units and to specific forms of government become commonplace” (2008, 187). The following sections will very briefly discuss the evolution of international relations theory in relation to state sovereignty in order to contextualize the discussion of migration within international relations and the concepts of transnational politics and citizenship.

2.1.2.1 **Early modern International Relations**

Early modern international relations theory focused little on migration due to its analytical focus on state sovereignty. Sovereignty can be understood as “the presence of an absolute authority within a society” (Parker and Brassett 2005, 237), and its absence in an international system dominated by sovereign states leads to a system of international anarchy in which states vie for competitive advantage (Waltz 1979) or seek to cooperate and build international institutions (Keohane, 1984). Given that the unit of analysis in early modern international relations theory was the unitary state and its official mechanisms of control, it is sensible that patterns of human migration and the role of individual migrants would be largely ignored by scholars.

The study of international relations theory within political science matured during the Cold War. This period, from the early 1950s to the late 1980s coincided with a time when “levels of immigration, both legal and illegal, were at historical lows” (Hollifield 2008, 183). At the same time, international relations scholars were concerned with the balance of power between states, with the predominant view among scholars being that states are largely homogenous (or ‘unitary’ for the purposes of political analysis) and that the Cold War stand-off between the United States of America and the Soviet Union was neither affected by international migration nor did migration play a large role in determining the nature of the international system (Hollifield 2008, 183-185). As a consequence, migration was largely ignored by political scientists working on international phenomena, and its study was (mostly) confined to the academic fields discussed above.

Theoretical developments beyond realism did not engender a greater role for migration studies until recently. Liberal theorists, emphasizing the possibilities of cooperation and institution-building between states, chose not to focus on migration as a phenomenon. In most cases, liberal theorists chose to debate realists on realist terms, debating the extent to which “interests and identities of international actors [affect] their propensity to cooperate [or not] (Koslowski 2002, 377). As a result, it is unsurprising that Koslowski argues: “Migration has been peripheral to the study of International Relations not because it has been inconsequential to world politics but because it does not easily fit into the state-centric conceptualizations of world politics as an international system of territorially delineated states” (2002, 376).

2.1.2.2 Recent developments in International Relations and Migration

Various world events and the primacy of migratory phenomena have succeeded in bringing migration into the forefront as one of the primary issues of political contention today. The end of the Cold War shifted security-focused scholars to potential threats other than wars between great powers. Some international relations scholars “pointed to the growing importance of ‘*societal* security,’” focusing on existential threats to order and security of states stemming from migration, climate change, and lack of education (emphasis mine, see discussion in Koslowski 2002, 276, Waever et al. 1993). Scholars of international political economy and neoliberal scholars included international migration as an important economic contributor to developed economies in the form of providing labor and as an economic lifeline to developing economies in the form remittances and investment sent to the sending country (Brettell and Hollified 2008, Castles and Miller 2009).

By far the most important events to contribute to the increase in scholarship on migration were the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001. As with many fields in academia, the attacks would feed into the “debates about the clash of civilizations, the value of diversity, and the need for security” (Bleich 2008, 509, see also Adamson 2006, Piazza 2008). The increasing salience of refugee crises and human smuggling rings in various regions has also brought increased interest in migration as a new security issue (Adamson 2006, 32 see also Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2007 and Sinno 2009). Within international relations studies on migration have overwhelmingly focused on the receiving state; that is to say that migrant identity formation studies have focused on Mexican migrants in the United States, or on the effects of refugee crises in Africa on the refugee and human rights regimes of European states. Yet despite the importance of migratory processes and events, the academic study of migration has struggled to

meaningfully connect to broader debates within international relations and political science has caused it to operate along a parallel track, often failing to influence or be influenced by broader trends within political science (Bleich 2008).

Finally, post-positivist scholars, including constructionists, critical theorists, and post-structural theorists, have criticized in recent decades the basis on which traditional studies of migration have taken place. Arguments from this camp often focus on the persistent state-centrism of contemporary international relations theorists (Koslowski 2008, 376-378) and the ways in which this state-centrism sidelines the unseen effects of phenomena such as human smuggling, international norm development, and the ethics of international relations. Other scholars criticize the definitions applied to migrants and refugees, and ask whether these definitions reify the unethical actions committed by states in their classification and regulation of migration. Owen Parker and James Brassett sum up this view by asking “what allows us to justify the distinction between insider and outsider-citizen and non-citizen at all?” (2005, 234).

Migration has clearly come to the attention of scholars of international relations. Given the increasing importance and visibility of migration, and the ramifications the process has on security and diplomatic relations between countries,⁷ international relations scholars have increasingly looked to migration as an important process occurring amongst and between states. Recent scholarship has focused on critiquing the ethical basis upon which scholars and policy makers engage migrants, arguing instead for the contingent construction of migrant identity. Although studies such as these are useful in re-examining the ground on which migration is

⁷ Often, it should be noted, on unequal diplomatic footing (e.g. the diplomatic relations between Mexico and the United States (Massey 2003, Galeano 1997) or the Dominican Republic and Germany (Brennan 2004).

studied, I choose to deal with migrant and NGO identities and actions as commonly understood and as described by the actors themselves.

2.1.3 Development

Along with studies of the effects of migration on the receiving country, scholars have increasingly sought to understand the effect of emigration on sending countries. The study of economic and political development is often fraught with the paternalism associated with modernization theory (Vanden and Prevost 2009, 160-176, Handelman 2003, 14-21, 273-276). Regardless of past academic orientations, migration clearly impacts upon sending societies as much, if not more, than on receiving societies. I focus here on the economic and political ramifications of migration on sending states. The following two sections will lay out the ways in which such development occurs.

In economic terms, studies of migration often examine the development of human capital. Emigration is often seen as a human capital loss for sending countries, as they lose the best and brightest economic prospects which could have (conceivably) contributed to the economy of the sending country (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003, 12 Wiarda and Kline 2007, 439, 500, 530). Conversely, immigration can be seen as a human capital gain for receiving countries, as the benefits of relatively cheap and abundant labor accrue to companies and national tax revenues in the receiving country (Sheffer 2003, 180-188).

However the economic relationships between sending and receiving countries as facilitated by migrants are not so easily characterized in simple terms. Although emigration may be thought of as a human capital loss, it can also be thought of as a method of relieving

population pressures due to the inability of developing economies to provide suitable employment for growing populations (Chiswick 2008, 65). Emigrants may then contribute to the economic development and growth of the sending country economy in the form of remittances and financial gifts sent home by wire. These remittances can literally form the backbone of some developing countries' economies, as up to 50% of the economy of countries such as El Salvador and Nicaragua are comprised of remittance payments from migrants abroad (Chiswick 2008, Migrant Information Source 2010). Similarly, immigration can be seen as a burden on receiving societies; much of the political rhetoric surrounding immigration in the United States focuses on the undocumented nature of many migrants and the (perception) that migrants unfairly take jobs or receive state benefits without equally contributing in tax revenues (for one U.S. comparative analysis, see Reich and Barth, 2010).

Politically, migrants can become a force in sending state politics when the size of the diaspora community becomes a political force worthy of attention. Diaspora communities worldwide have sought to build relationships with governments in their countries of origin, from hometown organizations partnering with the Mexican government in the establishment of an office for Mexicans in the Exterior (Rosenblum, 2004, Østergaard-Nielsen 2003a), to the candidacy of Armenian diaspora candidates in Armenian elections (Joppke and Morawska 2004) and the voting rights extended to Colombians living abroad. Changes emanating from the diaspora community may well be the catalyst for national political change, and at the very least may alter the political priorities of governments by focusing their energies abroad (Itzigsohn 2000).

In the case of Latin American migrants to Spain, their presence clearly alters the economic and political dynamics of both countries. How NGOs and migrants work from Spain toward the development of their community in Spain *or* of their communities of origin is central to this analysis. The strategies employed by these groups may have important implications for the continuing process of democratization in Latin American countries and in the economic development of Latin American states (Dominguez and Shifter 2008, 70-71, 93-96, 148-151, and 206-208).

2.2 **Transnational Politics**

With an understanding of the limited, yet important role of migration studies in the field of international relations, and of the relative possibilities migrant communities have to contribute to the economic and political development of both the receiving and sending countries, I now turn to a review of one of the key concepts for this study: transnationalism. The following section will review the origin of the concept, before then developing transnationalism as it applies to the phenomenon of migration and the actions of migrants and migrant groups.

2.2.1. **Definitions**

The opening of transnational spaces has occurred along with the onset of globalization and the processes that facilitate it. The Westphalian system of state sovereignty and (ideally) perfect control over state borders has been under attack for decades by the rapid spread of people and ideas fostered by advances in the availability and cost of shipping, transportation, and communication. Given that globalization has created the technological and social ability for individuals and groups to functionally operate within multiple states (Parker and Brassett 205,

239), it follows that social and cultural groups with a particular interest in their country of origin would create economic and political links that would foster transnational linkages.

The creation of transnational spaces may have positive and negative benefits for states. For one, linkages between individuals and groups necessarily undercut the ability of states to fully control the flow of information into and out of their countries, and the existence of multiple stakeholders and power brokers complicates the relationship between individual states and their neighbors within the international system. As Steven Vertovec writes in his introduction to a book series on transnationalism, "...many forms of association (systems of relationship and exchange) have been globally intensified and take place paradoxically in a planet-spanning yet common arena of activity. In some instances, transnational forms and processes serve to speed-up or exacerbate historical patterns of activity; in others they represent arguably new forms of interaction. Transnational practices and their consequent configurations of power are shaping the world of the twenty-first century" (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003b, 3).

Transnational networks may take on a variety of forms. International human rights campaigns or social networks organized through new forms of media may share information and coordinate action across borders. More formally, diaspora institutions and groups, such as the Armenian diaspora or the Indian diaspora (Joppke and Morawska 2003, 45, 208), may coordinate to participate in political processes in the sending state or to advocate regulatory and policy change. Non-profit and non-governmental organizations, the unit of analysis for this project, may establish themselves in multiple countries and attempt to influence the bilateral relationship between countries or participate in local development initiatives.

Transnational processes are broadly similar to those of globalization. Yet whereas globalization usually refers to the widespread increase in the availability of technology and goods, transnationalism refers to the creation and maintenance of cross-border connections as facilitated by globalization. Transnational networks may facilitate either benign or harmful purposes, yet their existence and potential impact remain to be seen entirely understood by social science scholars. For the purposes of this project, I choose to explore the existence of transnational linkages between Spain and Latin American countries as fostered by migrant NGOs in Madrid.

2.3 Migration as Transnational Politics

If transnational spaces open up to the benefit of businesses, migrants, and consumers, how do migrants take advantage of transnational opportunities? The key distinction is whether migrants are directing their political activities toward the receiving country, the sending country, or both. Eva Østergaard-Nielsen calls this the “migrant politics or homeland politics?” question (2003b, 21), in which immigrant politics are “the political activities that migrants or refugees undertake to better their situation in the receiving country” while homeland politics “denotes migrants’ and refugees’ political activities pertaining to the domestic or foreign policy of the homeland⁸ (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003b, 21). This distinction is important insofar as it indicates

⁸ I take a broad view of the definition of *politics*. Although some may argue that political processes are only those of governmental advocacy or protest, I argue that politics encompasses broad patterns of advocacy, social support and educational programs. As these activities are meant to empower migrants and inform them of their rights in both the receiving and sending countries, I argue that the NGOs in this study all perform political acts by advocating on behalf of their respective constituent communities through political and social means.

the impact which migration has on international relations and the relevant development of both the sending and receiving country.

As important as the target of migrants' political behavior is the factors which positively or negatively influence their propensity to be involved in political action. Among these are the *mode of migration*, the *length of stay*, the *structural position in the receiving country*, and the *political opportunity structures of the receiving country* (emphasis mine, see Østergaard-Nielsen 2003b, 18-20). The mode of migration may alter migrants' political behavior, as refugee groups, for instance from Bosnia or Eritrea, have shown less propensity to become involved in homeland politics, and we may expect that economic migrants may become "politicized from afar" (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003b, 18-20). The final two factors which influence migrants' political activities are closely related, the structural position of migrants and the political opportunity structures in the receiving country will determine the amount of activity by migrants. If migrants are structurally equipped and able to participate in the politics of the receiving country, they are less likely to participate in homeland politics. If migrants are shut out of the political process in the receiving country, and do not have upward mobility in either the receiving or sending country, they are likely to be entirely alienated from politics (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003b, 18-20). Thus these differences matter, and the extent to which we can expect political activation from migrant communities depends on the institutional context of the receiving countries and the characteristics of the national communities in question.

Him Mark Lai illustrates the way these factors play out in his book *Chinese American Transnational Politics* (2010). The Chinese American community was primarily focused on politics occurring in China; given the politically closed nature of U.S. politics for Chinese-

American citizens in the era of Chinese Exclusion, China became the political focus for Chinese communities living throughout China and New York (Mark Lai 2010, 7). Furthermore, the divide in China between the Taiwanese reform government and the mainland Communist Party created political tensions and interest which carried over to the Chinese communities in the United States (Mark Lai 2010, 134). As a result, the political orientation of the Chinese community in the United States was focused on political debates happening in the homeland.

Thus the politically-motivated nature of migrant and NGO activities in Spain will depend on the composition and structure of each group, as well as the openness of the Spanish political system to the political activities of migrant communities. Additionally, as the experiences of the Chinese in the U.S. demonstrate, there may well be differences amongst national communities in Spain, as some may have greater access to Spanish politics, or conversely, may be cut off from the political process in Spain. The orientation of migrants and migrant NGOs thus may be motivated by all of these factors.

2.3.1 “Co-development”

Transnational actions have been further modified by some in the concept of co-development. Increasingly, migrant communities have envisioned a migratory process that is comingled with development policies in sending countries. These development policies are often initiated in the receiving country, and are designed to facilitate development projects in the receiving country (Østergaard-Nielsen 2011). The concept of co-development recognizes the primacy of migrants as actors in the development of their home countries, as well as the ability

for public policy formulation in the receiving country to recognize the transnational implications of employment policies, remittance payments, and educational opportunity structures.

Examples of co-development may include any planned and executed projects which receive financing and organizational assistance from migrant communities abroad. For example, a migrant may emigrate abroad in order to work and save money for an eventual return to the sending country. If that migrant returns and begins a successful restaurant, thereby creating employment and economic opportunity, the economic benefits do not only accrue to the receiving country in the form of labor and taxes, but the ultimate benefit is accrued to the citizens and economy of the sending country. Other examples may include schools and technical training centers funded from the migrant community abroad or in the linking of local communities through import-export agreements. Co-development as a concept is still developing, and remains vague, but its use in the Spanish context is prevalent throughout the migrant and NGO community and refers almost exclusively to development projects which link local communities to the sending country (see Østergaard-Nielsen 2010).

The evolution of transnational spaces, characterized by economic, social, and political transactions across borders, and enabled by the rapid development of globalization, means that migrants' political opportunities vis-à-vis their home countries are rapidly evolving and are much different than those of centuries, or even decades prior to today. Migrants transnational practices, however, are heavily conditioned by the opportunities (un)available to them in their receiving countries, and the likelihood of their political participation depends upon both their individual and group characteristics (length of stay, structural position in the receiving country) and on the degree of openness of the receiving country's political system.

2.4 Citizenship

In contrast to the concept of transnational politics, which are those political actions that cross borders and exist outside of the boundaries of established states, the concept of citizenship has to do with political (and often social, cultural, and economic) *belonging*. This belonging is most often determined by governments, handed down to citizens and is not easily “earned” or received by supplicants from other countries. Although individual migrants may seek citizenship in their country of residence, they may be denied, or deemed to be unworthy of political membership and participation in the life of the country by the government, the wider society or both. This section will discuss the concept of citizenship as membership, as the guarantor of rights, and as a gendered concept. The section will conclude with a discussion of how citizenship conflicts and supports transnational politics and how NGOs can facilitate (or discourage) the citizenship acquisition process for migrants.

Citizenship is defined as membership in a community, and is characterized as the acquisition of “...basic rights, [that] people exercise control over governments and...that people are equals as members of an inclusive polity” (Baubock 1994, vii). This meaning has been historically tied to territorial boundaries as defined by the Westphalian system (Baubock 1994, 4-21) and has been granted to citizens on the basis of residence, a principle known as *ius soli* and by descent and family membership, known as *ius sanguinis* (Baubock 1994, 31). Finally, citizenship can be granted based on consent, following a process in which migrants, refugees, or otherwise choose to become a citizen of a new country and, in most cases, renounce their previous citizenship. It goes without saying that all three types of citizenship acquisition, based

on territorial residence, descent, and consent depend on the willingness of the state to extend citizenship benefits to applicants.

Many discussions of citizenship revolve around the institutional and legal rights and obligations inherent within citizenship acquisition (see Baubock 1994). These rights and obligations may include the right to vote, protection from arbitrary legal rulings, and the obligation to serve in the military. While I acknowledge the importance of these rights and obligations, I choose to focus on the incorporation aspect of citizenship. Incorporation is the process of making citizenship a process of cultural and social belonging in the context of a local or regional community. As such, policies of citizen incorporation are highly defined by context, and fluctuate from area to area. In the case of Spanish politics, the conception of citizenship incorporation in the nationalist and, to an extent separatist, region of Catalonia is focused more on “consolidating Catalan identity” and “emphasize[s] the importance of newcomers learning the Catalan language” (Østergaard-Nielsen 2010, 26). These policies differ greatly from the national Spanish model, focused on ‘interculturalism,’ mutual respect, and civic participation (Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración 2007).

Citizenship also impacts strongly onto migrant identity. Given the social and political changes inherent in the migratory process, migrant identities are in flux, especially when children and families are involved (Lacsamana 2009, 66). Migrant identity, furthermore, can be subject to various levels of inequality, from national and regional inequalities to gender inequalities. National origin differences are prevalent and easily noticeable among migrant populations, from the relative affluence of the Cuban-American community in Miami to the relative poverty of Dominican-Americans in the New York metropolitan region (Massey 2007,

115). Gender differences are visible in the work available in the receiving countries and the commodification of (mostly) women and children in the global sex-traffic trade (see Ally, Rodriguez, Lacsamana, and Purkayastha 2009). In sum, migrant identity is formed and affected by the migration experience, but also by the openness of the receiving community to granting citizenship to new arrivals. Should states such as Spain gladly welcome foreigners, and in the case of Latin American countries, expedite the citizenship acquisition process, it seems probable that a number of migrants will gladly pair identity with economic opportunity and take up Spanish citizenship.

Citizenship and incorporation provides the counterpoint to transnational politics in this analysis. Whereas transnational politics emphasizes the interconnected nature of communities across borders, citizenship and incorporation policies draw a sharp dividing line between national communities and implicitly encourage involvement in one community over the other. While dual-citizenship policies may facilitate transnationalism by allowing for active involvement and participation in two national communities (Østergaard-Nielsen 2010, 26), the fundamental nature of defining citizenship territorially and in terms of national, localized rights essentially forces migrants to take sides and to define themselves politically, and in terms of belonging in one national community. As always, the question for this thesis is how migrant NGOs encourage or discourage migrant citizenship acquisition and incorporation.

2.5 Case of Spain

Spain illustrates the principle that “historical patterns [such as European colonialism of the New World] linking different regions of the globe continue to be relevant (Padilla 2007).” As

a European power and colonial powerhouse during the 15th and 16th centuries, Spain's imprint on the language and cultural traditions of states in the Americas is undeniable. Yet the modern history of the country is one characterized by relative poverty and emigration.

Spain was one of the largest contributors to the waves of European migrants who left the continent for the United States and Latin America in the late-19th and early 20th centuries. Many of the push-and-pull factors which characterized immigration in the United States, including proactive immigration policies, the availability of labor opportunities and land, and poverty and demographic growth in Europe, were also active in the case of Spaniards migrating to Mexico, Cuba, and Argentina (Padilla 2007). Argentina in particular was an attractive destination for Spaniards fleeing the destruction of World War I and the violent political confrontations of the Spanish Civil War. The Spanish in Argentina, along with that country's prominent Italian population, ultimately comprised up one of the largest European populations in the Americas after the United States (Devoto 2008).

Following the death of dictator Juan Francisco Franco, Spain underwent a rapid economic and political transition. King Juan Carlos instituted a constitutional monarchy characterized by a consensus, parliamentary electoral system (Economist 2010, Vicente 2009, Østergaard-Nielsen 2010). Political liberalization paired with economic liberalization, as Spain's opening to foreign investment and the subsequent development of the tourism and construction industries provided the impetus for rapid economic growth (BBC 2010, Dominguez and Shifter 2008, 27). Spain's entry into the European Union in 1986 added EU-development funds into the national economy and provided a further boost to development as infrastructure projects and tourist facilities popped up throughout the country.

As a result of this economic transformation, Spain became an attractive target for voluntary and forced economic migrants. Beginning in the mid-1980's, Spain began proactively seeking workers for its booming industries, expediting the migration process for migrants in order to provide workers to rapidly expanding firms (Economist 2010). Economic migrants also viewed Spain's membership in the EU, and therefore its open borders, as a pathway to other EU states, including France and Germany (Economist 2010). A large number of these migrants in Spain were, and are, of North African descent. Yet as a result of events in Latin America, Spain's former colonial subjects began to flock to the Iberian peninsula.

The late-1970's and early-1980's were a time of dictatorship in countries from Argentina to Nicaragua (Dominguez and Shifter 2008, 100-104, 178). In order to escape political persecution, intellectuals and academics fled to the relative quiet of Spain and the political freedom afforded by the country's recent democratization (Padilla 2007, Dominguez and Shifter 2008, 18-19). Providing an added incentive, Spanish companies began to demand foreign labor for unskilled labor in the tourism and construction industries, and the relative ease with which Latin American nationals could enter Spain to work⁹ engendered a rapid rise of Latin Americans living in Spain, ultimately forming 37% of the foreign-born population (Vicente 2009).

The economic collapse and recession of 2008 hit Spain particularly hard, in large part due to the make-up of the Spanish economy. Construction was in large part focused on holiday homes for EU citizens and hotels along the coast (Economist 2010). When credit dried up and unemployment began to affect the economies of other European states, Spain's tourism and

⁹ "Latin American migrants are fast-tracked to naturalize after only two years, while other immigrant collectives have to wait for ten years" (Østergaard-Nielsen 2010, 25)

construction industries collapsed virtually overnight (Economist 2010, BBC 2010).

Unemployment reached 20% amongst the general population, and given that migrant employment was concentrated in the construction and hospitality industries, unemployment among foreign workers reached 30% by 2010 (BBC 2010, El Pais 2010).

The rapid rise and widespread nature of the unemployment crisis changed the cost/benefit calculus for many migrants, and many considered returning to their home countries. The Spanish government aided them by establishing a program of return for migrants which promised to pay them a one-time payment of 60% of unemployment benefits¹⁰ and a suspension of their residency permits for a minimum period of three years (Economist 2010, Abend, 2010). However, given that unemployment payments in Spain were assuredly higher than in their home countries, most migrants chose to stay, and the program which planned for a minimum of 80,000-100,000 participants per year had reached only 17,000 participants after three years of existence. Yet the breakdown in the employment situation, and the insufficient payments, left many migrant families in a position of political and economic limbo.

The NGO-sector in Spain arose in part due to Spanish law, particularly the 2002 Law of Association which sought to streamline the process of forming an organization with a social, cultural, or political purpose. The 2002 Law allows any interested social group, migrant or otherwise, to form an association to further the Right to Association found within the Spanish constitution and to foster civil society. The law regulates the way associations are formed and operate, but largely cuts down on paperwork by creating simple forms and easy-to-fulfill

¹⁰ In some cases, this number could be as high as €18,000. Most program participants received somewhere between €10,000 and €15,000 (Abend, 2010).

requirements for associations (Gobierno de España, 2002). The NGOs also have the ability to access Spanish government funds for operation if they can demonstrate that they operate for public benefit. Those NGOs that accept funds must operate as democratic organization, electing a governing board and presiding officer. Through this mechanism, the Spanish state reinforces its commitment to democratic principles and civil society organizations, and has subsequently created a thriving non-profit sector which migrant communities have used to create organizations and socially organize themselves.

How, then, are the social science concepts discussed above relevant to the situation in Spain? The first and most obvious way is that Spain became a major destination for migrants from regions around the world. As such, Spain became home to numerous national communities and NGOs, all of which operate in the international system and were potentially transnational political actors. These NGOs and migrant communities may have developed themselves in Spain, and may have developed transnational political agendas aimed toward their respective sending countries. Furthermore, Spain is an interesting test case in that it is also home to a wide diversity of national communities, from Romania and Poland in Eastern Europe to a number of North African such as Morocco and Tunisia and Paraguay, Peru, and Colombia in Latin America. Furthermore, the members of these communities may be seeking citizenship in Spain and the NGOs with which they interact may be encouraging them to either seek citizenship in Spain or retain the citizenship and identity from their home countries.

This literature review has laid the groundwork for the rest of the project. First, I intend to fill a gap in both migration and international relations literature by demonstrating a clear link between the two; migration is a part of international relations and affects relations between

states, yet international relations also conditions the ways in which migration occurs. Second, my analysis will determine how NGOs mediate transnational political action by migrants, and how NGOs encourage or discourage citizenship and incorporation processes in both the local setting within Spain and internationally in the home countries. Finally, Spain is an excellent test case for these concepts as there are multiple Latin American national groups present who may demonstrate the differences in transnational political action and citizenship across nationalities.

Chapter 3

3 Research Design

With an understanding of the field of migration as an overarching area of research within all social sciences, and an idea of how transnational political action and citizenship and citizen incorporation are relevant for migrants, I can now more fully explain the formulation of the research question. This section will discuss the design of the research project, focusing first on the formulation of the research question, and second on explaining the logic of choosing Spain and how that country compromises a difficult test case for the research question at hand.

3.1 Research question

Given the expectations that different national groups have varying approaches to transnational political action and citizenship based on societal status and the openness of the receiving society, it is reasonable to expect that the motivations that drive migrants' political actions in Spain are varied and complex. Additionally, it is unclear whether migrants want to stay in Spain to continue working or whether they would rather return home to work. At this point is where NGOs enter into the picture. Because of their organizational capabilities and human and financial resources, NGOs form a central node of migrant experience, providing places to meet, learn, and engage in social and political activities in Spain. Similarly, migrant organizations can form and maintain identities, either of new citizens in the Spanish state or of expatriate members of a national community living far from the homeland but maintaining its customs and traditions.

These considerations put together motivate the research question: **do non-governmental organizations serving the Latin American community in Spain encourage transnational political engagement aimed at the respective home country, or do they instead focus on incorporating migrants into the social and economic life of Spain?** This question speaks to the 1) origins of transnational political action, 2) the role of NGOs in organizing diaspora communities' political actions, and 3) the role of NGOs in fostering citizenship incorporation and civic integration.

3.2 **Spain as a tough case for transnational politics, citizenship**

In light of the research question, it is important to consider why Spain is the target country for this study. Spain is a unique case for this study because it differs greatly from the other traditional target country for Latin American migrants: the United States of America. While any case of international migration is full of risks and dangers, including financial ruin, cultural displacement, and exploitation, Spain seems to offer a more hospitable environment to Latin American migrants. Why? The answer can be found by examining the two countries comparatively.

First, the United States is a difficult country for new migrants to negotiate. Douglas Massey argues that the United States' immigration policies have systematically disrupted seasonal migrants' opportunities to return to their home countries and have created structural inequalities which, when coupled with politically charge anti-immigrant rhetoric and occasional sweeps on places of immigrant employment, cause migrants to live in a climate of perpetual fear and insecurity. (Massey et al. 2003, 73-105, Massey 1992. 1-28, 211-242). The lack of social

safety net or any governmental benefits for undocumented migrants makes it furthermore difficult for migrants to survive or continue with dignity should they be injured at work or fired. This racial and class stratification contributes to a hostile environment for migrants in the United States. Massey writes:

The militarization of the Mexico-U.S. border after 1986 dramatically lowered the rate of return migration by illegal immigrants, which increased the number of people living north of the border without social, economic, or political rights. Geographically selective border enforcement, meanwhile, deflected migrant flows away from traditional destination areas and helped transform Mexican immigration from a regional into a national phenomenon. As a result, there are now more exploitable Latinos living in more places under more vulnerable circumstances than at any point in American history.

As America's border policies increased the number of residents living in exploitable social circumstances, immigration policies penalized the same people in ever-harsher ways. The criminalization of undocumented hiring increased discrimination against people who "look Hispanic" and "sound foreign" and fomented a broader shift to labor subcontracting that undermined wages and working conditions for all low-skill workers. Avenues for documented entry were systematically reduced by Congress, and social programs were curtailed for legal as well as illegal immigrants. Hispanic children were pushed out of school and into the labor force to raise family incomes enough to sponsor the entry of family members abroad, and after September 11, police actions against immigrants were extended from the border to the interior of the United States. Not surprisingly, given these trends, during the 1990s Latino incomes fell and poverty rates rose, reaching levels comparable to those historically observed among African Americans" (2007, 247).

In contrast, Spain may pose fewer risks. Spain, as a European-style welfare state, offers a relatively generous package of unemployment and other benefits (Vicente 2009, CEPI 2010).

Second, as previously mentioned, Spain's colonial history with Latin America means for

residents of Spanish-speaking countries that naturalization is fast-tracked to a two-year waiting list from ten years for other migrants groups. The possibility of (quicker) naturalization may induce migrants to hold out for Spanish citizenship and the accompanying benefits. Third, the shared language and similar culture of Spain and Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America may encourage migrant incorporation through familiarity. It should be noted that Latin Americans are not only likely to feel more comfortable in Spain, but that public opinion polls of Spanish citizens find them much more welcoming of Latin American migrants than of nationals of Arab, North African, and Central-East European countries (Vicente 2009). Given these considerations, there may be less incentive for Latin American migrants in Spain to politically, economically, and socially orient themselves on their home countries and focus, rather, on integrating and incorporating themselves into the fabric of Spanish society.

As a result, Spain is an interesting test case for this research question. Given that it should be easier for migrants to adapt to the culture of Spain, and that Spanish authorities and companies actively recruited migrants from Latin America, with the legally-allowed benefit of dual-citizenship benefits, it seems possible that migrants from Spanish-speaking countries in Spain will be less easily induced to orient their political activities toward their home countries and instead be more inclined toward greater incorporation into the political and social life of the receiving country.

Chapter 4

4 Methodology

Not much is known about non-profit organizations and their (lack of) political organization of migrants in European countries. It seems that even less is known about the specific case of Spain, which in comparison to larger, more industrialized European states like Germany and the United Kingdom, and has only been receiving migrants *en masse* for a few decades¹¹. Thus In order to interrogate whether or not NGOs encourage migrants to engage in political action in the sending or receiving state, it was necessary to travel to Spain and perform a series of exploratory interviews with the employees and CEOs of migrant organizations. This knowledge then provides a base from which to develop further theories and empirical tests of NGO and migrant political behavior.

This section will introduce the data collection method for this project, specifically that qualitative interview data were gathered by the author in June and July of 2010 in Madrid, Spain. The first section will discuss the uses of qualitative data in social science and political science research. This section will also discuss the benefits and drawbacks of using interviews as data and source material for a research project. The second section will explain the specific methods undertaken by the author and will be explained in order to detail the limitations of this type of research as well as to detail my process in searching for and gathering data.

4.1 Qualitative data

¹¹ One recent exception is the work of Eva Østergaard-Nielsen on Codevelopment and Citizenship in Spain (2011). Her work examines a similar topic to that of this paper.

Why are qualitative data used? Social scientist and mixed-methods advocate John Cresswell argues that qualitative data are useful for “exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (Cresswell 2009, 5). One of the greatest strengths of qualitative data is that unlike statistical models which obscure real human stories under the numbers, interviews specifically set out to lend a human face to data and to illuminate the personal meaning employed by people within complex social systems (Berg 2009, 2, 5-6, Cresswell 2009, 4-15) . In effect, the results of interviews can provide a richly detailed snapshot of a subject and illuminate the context in which he/she acts. In the case of Spanish NGOs, this interview data reveals the unique difficulties faced by these organizations in light of the global financial crisis which began in 2008 and the subsequent rise in demand for their services. Ultimately, qualitative data of this nature are much more suited to an initial overview of the available universe of Spanish migrant organizations and provided the flexibility to design and redesign the research in response to the interviewees and the topics raised in interviews (Rubin and Rubin 2005, 62).

Second, however, qualitative data can be used to build theories and derive hypotheses for other methods of research and for future research projects (Berg 2009, 21-22, Rubin and Rubin 2005, 68-70). With unclear subjects, or new subject matter, it is often helpful to perform interviews to determine the direction of future research. Often, a researcher’s assumptions are based in his or her biases, rather than in the experiences of the subjects. Furthermore, interview results can provide a clearer direction for quantitative studies, or when paired with quantitative results can provide a fuller, clearer, and more intimate understanding of the process at hand (Rubin and Rubin 2005, 68-70). Ultimately, the conclusions derived from this project may guide

future qualitative or quantitative projects. Suggestions for future research are provided at the end of the paper.

However research of this nature also merits a mention of the difficulties inherent in conducting qualitative research. The first is finding suitable and willing respondents. In order to tackle this difficulty, I engaged in snowball sampling (Berg 2009, 51), relying on referrals from interviewees and personal connections in order to locate potential samples and make contacts within the migrant organization community. One potential drawback of this method, though, is a potentially biased sample of interview subjects, as they are derived entirely from personal contacts and pre-existing relationships. In this way, one risks over-representing certain members of a community and marginalizing others, yet the difficulty in locating subjects more than makes up for the potential for under- or overrepresentation of certain members of the community.

4.2 **Explanation of Specific Methods**

In order to prepare for this project, I attempted to do as much pre-departure work as possible. I first followed Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw's (1995) recommendations in *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes* in order to prepare to observe the experiences and realities of my future interview subjects (4-17, 68-84). I then created a semi-structured interview outline, focusing on creating main questions, while anticipating potential follow-up questions and creating space for specifying and probing questions (Kvale 2007, 60-65, Rubin and Rubin 2005, 134-137). With this interview format, I hoped to address similar topics with all interviewees while allowing for flexibility and uniqueness within responses.

In the months leading up to the trip, I conducted thorough internet searches in order to find as many relevant organizations online as possible. In the case of a website with an e-mail address, I also sent as many introductory e-mails as possible. Unfortunately, one of the difficulties of dealing with interview subjects is dealing with the vagaries of other people's schedules and willingness to respond to e-mail requests from strangers. This difficulty was compounded by the nature of migrant organizations in Spain, which are formed, dissolve, and move location with surprising frequency, causing further difficulty in the inaccuracy of information available. Given that these organizations may not have had accurate contact or location information available, I was ultimately unable to make any contact with actors or organizations prior to departure. Nonetheless, I left with as much information as possible with the intent of physically searching for each targeted organization in Madrid.

After arrival I used the few internet resources I had located to physically search for the organizations. Several addresses were out of date or impossible to decipher. Other addresses were correct and resulted in me locating the organization in question. This process of elimination served to change my original research plan in which I had initially decided to focus on just one Latin American country, Ecuador, as several of the organizations I had identified prior to departure either no longer existed or had moved their offices. However this change in research design turned out to benefit the project as it provided a comparative element to the analysis by introducing multiple *types* of organizations across multiple *countries*.

I did have great success in utilizing several resources on the ground. The first is the spectacular number of free newspapers aimed at the migrant community. These newspapers, from *Si Se Puede* (ww.sisepuede.es), to *Latino* (www.latinomadrid.com), and *El Comercio del*

Ecuador (ww.elcomercio.com/España) are targeted at different regional and national communities and contained a wealth of information on individuals and organizations working on behalf of the community. These newspapers often served as an introduction for me to the main actors in the area. Second, the Casa America, which is a Madrid-based think tank community center focused on Latin America, held several round table discussions which I was able to attend. One such discussion, on the future of migrant organizations, was fortuitously held within a few weeks of my arrival and allowed me to meet several active organizational leaders which I then later interviewed. The results of that round table discussion will be discussed later in the results section.

Finally, one of the easiest and most useful ways to gain access to interview participants was for me to serve as a volunteer workers and assistant in their operations. The most fruitful relationship I had was with the Centro Para Participacion e Integracion Ecuador – the Center for Participation and Integration (CEPI). The CEPI centers are funded by the city of Madrid and exist throughout the city. They are organized by national origin, and are focused on the largest migrant communities in the country. I volunteered with the CEPI-Ecuador, as well as spending time with the Rumiñahui organization as a participant in its adult continuing education workshops in self-esteem and motivation. Ultimately, volunteering opens up a multitude of doors, but creates a complicated researcher-participant relationship which must be interrogated for bias.

There were limitations to my specific research design. One of the roadblocks I encountered was that I was not able to secure interviews with some of the organizations that I had specifically targeted prior to departure. The vagaries of opening hours, staff availability, and

even whether or not an organization still existed, proved to be very challenging. The limited amount of time I had also limited some of my interview options. Yet any qualitative interview project must grapple with these difficulties and find ways to work within the parameters of what is possible.

While no fieldwork experience ever occurs quite according to plan, I believe I did the best with my limited resources and secured a good number of interviews from a variety of organizations that represented a broad group of Latin American countries. While roadblocks were encountered, especially in locating the organizations previously identified prior to departure, the resulting research design is, I believe, stronger than it had been as it was forced to conform to the reality on the ground rather than relying purely on outdated and inaccurate information posted on the internet. The following section will discuss the results of the interviews and provide a basis from which to draw conclusions for this project and for future research.

Chapter 5

5 Interview Results

Interviews were collected for this project in Madrid, Spain during the months of June and July, 2010. Three organizations serving the Ecuadorian community were targeted prior to departure: the Hispano-Ecuadorian Rumiñahui Association, the Federación Nacional de Asociaciones de Ecuatorianos en España (National Federation of Associations of Ecuadorians in Spain, also known by its acronym: FENADEE), and the cultural association Puriccuna. Two of these turned out to be impossible to find, as the FENADEE was undergoing an institutional process of reorganization and the addresses and contact information for the Puriccuna association were inaccurate and seemed outdated. The Rumiñahui Association had moved to a new location, but was still operational.

Given these difficulties, I decided to expand the research design from a single-country focus among migrant NGOs from Ecuador to a multi-country design focusing on multiple Latin American communities in Madrid. This change allowed me to introduce two comparative elements to the study: the first is to compare among types of organizations, and the second is to compare among NGOs of different national communities. The types of organizations delineated were among 1) private, non-profits, 2) public, Spanish organizations, 3) public, Latin American organizations, and 4) federations of associations. Using a mix of roundtable discussion and interviews, data were obtained for migrant communities from Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Peru. I contend that the difficulties I encountered in focusing solely on the Ecuadorian community ultimately strengthened the project.

Six organizations were targeted for study, and a total of eleven interviews and roundtable discussions were recorded for analysis. The results of the interviews will be presented in this chapter. The organization of the chapter is as follows: first, the types and characteristics of the NGOs will be discussed to lay out the contextual groundwork for the following section, in which the thematic sections will be discussed. The themes for these sections are transnational politics, co-development, and citizenship and incorporation. A final case study of one individual migrant, Marisol, will be discussed.

5.1 **Non-affiliated, non-governmental organizations**

The first type of organization that was included in the analysis were those private, non-governmental organizations operating in Spain. Most often, these groups arose from the communities which they served, and had a leadership and clientele which reflected a national community such as the diaspora community of Ecuador, Peru, or Bolivia. These groups were also characterized by their diversity, as a plethora of groups existed, from political advocacy organizations to institutions whose specific goal was to preserve a specialized form of dance from the homeland. The diversity of these organizations caused me to seek out the broadest and largest groups, and as a result I came into contact with some of the oldest organizations operating in Spain as well as federations which served as organizing bodies for a number of smaller, more specifically-focused associations.

5.1.1 **Rumiñahui (Ecuador)**

The first organization I came into contact with was the Association Rumiñahui. Rumiñahui has the distinction of being one of the oldest migrant organizations in Madrid, operating since 1997. In the words of the Project Coordinator, Juan Jose Lopez, “our work was

necessary because people arrived [in Spain] without any information.” Their work takes on an added significance when considering that the Ecuadorian population in Spain is the largest amongst all Latin American communities, and the third-largest group of migrants living in the country.

Currently, Rumiñahui is equally engaged between managing programs and activities for migrants in Spain and in attempting to facilitate projects of co-development with returned migrants and the families of migrants in Ecuador. Since 2000, Rumiñahui has operated an office in Ecuador which works in conjunction with the Madrid office to create linkages between the two countries and the migrant population which has ties to both countries

5.1.2 **FEDAP (Peru)**

The second private, non-affiliated organization with which I came into contact was the Federacion de Peruanos en España (Federation of Peruvians in Spain or FEDAP). The FEDAP was founded in 2006 as a joint venture of eight separate Peruvian associations. The FEDAP’s core goal is to function as an umbrella organization, coordinating the work of the Peruvian associations and to serve as a lead organization to unite Peruvians of all backgrounds and interests in Spain.

FEDAP is serving a smaller migrant community than that served by Rumiñahui. Peruvians in Spain have a longer history than other communities, having a solid presence in the country during the mid-1990’s, yet in absolute terms, the number of Peruvians in Spain, at approximately 186,060 is dwarfed by the Ecuadorian (471,425) and Colombian (354,869) populations (Vincent 2009). As such, the relatively small size of the Peruvian community and the

youth of FEDAP have caused the federation's priorities to center around activities in Spain: organizing Peruvian gatherings and activities and coordinating the creation and maintenance of a network of Peruvian associations.

5.1.3 AESCO (Colombia and South America)

The America-España Solidaridad and Cooperación (America-Spain solidarity and cooperation) organization was founded in 1991 and has played a large role in the migration politics of Spain since that time. Although initially founded as an organization for the Colombian community in Spain, AESCO has expanded its role to more broadly encompass the Andean community and has sister sites throughout Spain, in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. AESCO sees its role as one of promoting 1) migrant-development service within Spain 2) transnational understanding of “just and efficient migration policies” (AESCO 2010) and 3) global North-South development and integration.

AESCO's current efforts are more focused on the sending countries, and its establishment of seats throughout South America demonstrates its ideological commitment to creating a broader understanding of the migration phenomenon and of working toward a different, more effective process of migration which benefits communities on both ends of the process. Its efforts in Spain are aimed at informing the community and at educating migrants to be instruments of development in both the receiving and the sending countries.

5.2 State-affiliated non-governmental organizations

In contrast to the private non-governmental organizations, there is a group of organizations that are more formally linked to a governmental entity. Either through a formal

relationships or sponsorship, these organizations are operated as NGOs, yet their formalized links to governmental entities alter the nature of their missions. Two organizations linked to governmental entities were studied, the Federation of Paraguayans in Spain and the Centers of Participation and Integration (CEPIs). One governmental ministry, the Ecuadorian ministry of migrants, known as the Secretaria Nacional del Migrante (SENAMI) was analyzed as well.

5.2.1 Federation of Associations of Paraguayans in Spain (Consulate of Paraguay)

Like the Federation of Peruvian Associations, the Federation of Associations of Paraguayans Resident en Spain (FAPRE) is a relatively young organization serving a relatively small population. Paraguayans are one of the smaller national communities in Spain, with under 100,000 migrants living in the country and the majority comprised by women working in the domestic services industry. The FAPRE was formed in 2009 in order to provide a stronger voice to lobby the Paraguayan government for support of the community in Spain.

The activities of the FAPRE are largely focused on the social conditions of Paraguayans living in Spain. In order to secure diplomatic support, the FAPRE has also put pressure on the Paraguayan government to provide diplomatic support to the community and to help with regularization, naturalization, jobs, and housing. The FAPRE's primary existence is due to the need for a unified voice to coordinate the activities and goals of the Paraguayan community which is less consolidated and unitary than other communities (RAIZ 2009).

5.2.2 Centros de Participación e Integración (CEPIs)

Unlike most other organizations in this study, the Centros de Participacion e Integracion were founded by Spaniards in order to provide counseling and information services to the

growing migrant population in Madrid. The CEPIs are organized according to nationality, so that a CEPI-Ecuador exists, as does a CEPI-Romania and a CEPI-Morocco. The centers and their services are, however, open for use by any foreign national residing in Madrid.

The CEPIs are unique in that they focus almost entirely on immigrant integration and incorporation into Spanish social, political, and economic life. They provide services designed and provided by Spaniards, which make them very different from the private NGOs which arose from the national communities themselves. In addition, the CEPIs receiving financing and sponsorship from the city government of Madrid, a relationship for which the CEPIs have become known as an official liaison between migrants and the city government.

5.2.3 SENAMI

Also unlike other organizations, the Secretaria Nacional del Migrante (SENAMI) of Ecuador is a fully-fledged governmental ministry which has established informational offices in cities and regions around the world in which a number of Ecuadorian citizens live. SENAMI has offices throughout Spain, Italy, and the United States. SENAMI offices perform a role unique from that of a consulate or embassy. They provide unique services to migrants, including summer camps for children with a special curriculum teaching the history and culture of Ecuador to Ecuadorian children abroad. Similarly, SENAMI offices provide adult education classes and advising. These classes and camps are provided in addition to any consulate or embassy services and are meant to create a strong link between migrants abroad and their home country (Secretaria Nacional del Migrante 2011).

As the SENAMI is part of the governmental bureaucracy of a sending state, its interests most clearly align with that state. Rather than support strong integration or citizenship acquisition efforts in Spain, SENAMI provides counseling on how to initiate projects which contribute to the “construction of the society of origin [which] guarantee the rights and liberties of human migration and which incorporate the potential of migrants for human development and quality of life” (Secretaria Nacional del Migrante 2011). These development efforts may influence a migrant’s decision to return to Ecuador and the SENAMI even offers its own plan of return which provides seed money for entrepreneurs who wish to return to Ecuador and start a business (Secretaria Nacional del Migrante 2011). The plan, known as the “Welcome Home Plan¹²” has the “voluntary, dignified, and sustainable return” of migrants as its goals, and facilitates processes of co-development by providing institutional and governmental support to migrants who wish to return to Ecuador and participate in the development of their country of origin.

5.3 Casa America discussion

Another useful source for information was the Casa America, a Madrid-based think tank and forum housed within the Spanish exterior ministry in order to facilitate academic debates and discussions which relate to the Spanish-Latin American diplomatic and political relationships. Its areas of operation include cultural and artistic exchanges such as film screenings and exhibitions of Latin American painters, as well as the social, political, and economic lectures and roundtable

¹² In Spanish, known as “El Plan Bienvenido@s a Casa: Para el Retorno Voluntario, Digno y Sostenible” (Secretaria Nacional del Migrante, 2011).

discussions which are periodically convened to discuss areas of interest between the two regions (Casa America 2011).

I had the luck of being in Madrid when the Casa America held a roundtable discussion entitled “The Future of Immigrant Associations.” The discussion was held on June 22, 2010 and featured representatives from four Madrid-based organizations representing Peruvians (FEDAP), Paraguayans (FAPRE), Bolivians (Asociación Pro Bolivia), and the Andean community (AESCO). Roundtable comments were recorded for use by the author and the comments will be used throughout the discussion in the following sections.

5.4 **Transnational Politics**

In terms of transnational political processes, there are distinct differences among the types of migrant organizations engaged in transnational involvement. In broad terms, organizations started by the local community were more likely to engage in transnational politics, while Spanish organizations were understandably less focused on fostering transnational linkages to the sending country. The following sections will provide comments and quotations from interviewees on the subject.

Amongst those groups engaging in transnational political action, the FAPRE most clearly defined itself in political terms. Irma Perez Vecvort, the president of FAPRE, argued that migrants’ economic weight through the sending of remittances allows them to apply unique political pressure from abroad. She says “Suppose that I have [most] of the money for my household. Clearly I’m interested in how the policies of my home country are affecting my loved ones and the money I send. So I’ll call my home and say "Mama, you have to vote for so-and-so

candidate." Why? Because I have the money!" (Vecvort 2010). Vecvort argues that the Paraguayan diaspora has captured the government's attention, arguing that the creation of a federation (which heads and coordinates the actions of all associations) has allowed for one voice to speak to the Paraguayan government and advocate the positions of Paraguayans in the exterior. Her position seems to work, as her office was housed in the Paraguayan consulate. Of this relationship she says "Our involvement has created a better image of the government [at home] for our citizens because we have important access to the state through our involvement with the consulate. We are an example of government policy that links civil society with the state" (Vecvort 2010).

Both AESCO and Rumiñahui view the transnational process as being a space in which migrants can demand rights and recognition from both countries. Juan Carlos Rois of AESCO argues for a new understanding of transnationalism, stating "[we are] clearly seen as a transnational organization that seeks the creation of a social movement of migration, not of migrants themselves, but of transnational migration that fosters the construction of a transnational citizenship and constructs more just societies. In the long run, that is our approach. We think this model exceeds the others, existing organizations of migrants that try to only represent a national community. Our responsibility, in the long term, is to create something much grander, something more important, [something] more global."

Raul Jiménez of Rumiñahui sees the role of organizations in transnational politics as lobbying governments at both ends of the process to create a more just and efficient system of return for migrants. He says "Of course we are working on projects of return [to Ecuador]. But what happens is that the main problem faced by returnee families is that they are uprooted not

once, but twice, which is very hard on the children. Even worse, when people return, it is seen as a failure because people say ‘hey look, he was in Spain for teen or fifteen years and has nothing to show for it. So we lobby the Ecuadorian government for policies and on immigration issues which also focus on returnees. We also focus on co-development projects to raise funds financed by the European Union so that the returnees will be accompanied with production incentives such as small business classes which are important for these families who have suffered so many years in Spain” (Jiménez 2010).

The SENAMI is a clear example of transnational politics in action. Founded in 2007, the SENAMI is a cabinet level position in the Ecuadorian government which is charged with clearly defining the nation’s stance toward migrants and migration, and in assisting Ecuadorian citizens both overseas and in Ecuador with information and counseling services. The SENAMI was created as a response to the emigration process which broke out in Ecuador in 1999 and which led to the dollarization of the economy and the emigration of up to 20% of the population (Vicente 2009). Thus an institutionalized response, helped along with the lobbying of NGOs, is one of the clearest indicators yet of a transnational space in which governmental service supply is created to meet rising policy demand. To date, SENAMI has assisted some 9,000 Ecuadorian migrants in their return to the country, with approximately half of that number receiving production incentives or small business training in order to effectively reintroduce them into Ecuadorian society (SENAMI 2011). SENAMI has also been active abroad, providing counseling and training abroad to small business owners and responding to approximately 80,000 requests for information or training.

Yet some organizations fear that the transnational political practices of their communities may have gone too far, and that institutionalization may be a bad thing for the community. Raul Jiménez at Rumiñahui worries that NGO success in lobbying governments to create migrant institutions such as the SENAMI may just lead to a faceless bureaucracy, which he characterizes as the opposite of what migrants need. He says:

What has changed a lot, a lot, is in Ecuador. In Ecuador, twelve years ago there was barely any talk of immigration. We knew that people went to the United States, to Italy, it was known, but no thought was given to a policy of defense of the rights of migrants. Then in the wake of the work of the association Rumiñahui, the first House of Migrants (an NGO) in Ecuador was created. We secured the vote from abroad, and we now have an emigration policy. So our work has meaning, though now we fear *that the process has become bureaucratized*. Thankfully now everybody is at least talking about migration. (emphasis mine)

It is clear that the (President) Correa government has had a radical impact on migration issues. He has instituted the National Secretariat for Migrants (SENAMI), there is a migrant development bank proposed a migrant, a series of laws that favor migration. Perhaps the criticism that we can level here is that sometimes people are put into positions of authority who have no knowledge of the subject or who are only bureaucratically-oriented. And we have no need for more bureaucracy, we have plenty of it here [in Spain]. Yet all our work has helped to contribute to an understanding on the part of the Ecuadorian government and the Ecuadorian society in seeing the process of migration and of Ecuadorians living abroad, which has been quite difficult. (Jiménez 2010).

Jiménez's concerns of too much bureaucratic attention to the problem, however, are rare. No other organizational representative expressed concern with the extent of governmental awareness of the concerns and priorities of the migrant community.

These organizations largely arose from national communities and carried with them a sense of responsibility and involvement in the political and economic life of the sending state. Their involvement is a clear indicator of the ways in which transnational political action is carried out, from voting by proxy in Paraguayan elections to lobbying for the establishment of a governmental, institutional response by the sending state government. Yet other communities are not nearly as focused on the response of the sending state nor the community living outside of Spain.

Of homegrown communities, the Peruvian FEDAP was least concerned with projects of co-development. Possibly due to the newness of the Federation, and possibly due to the small size of the Peruvian community in Madrid, the FEDAP was instead focused on fostering the civic engagement of the Peruvian community in Spain. Co-development and transnational political practices were, if anything, a secondary goal. As he stated in the Casa America round table discussion “Until now, the associations have been very weak. They can’t organize, they can’t create institutions, they cannot begin dialogue with each other. Our principle objective is to create an umbrella organization, a federation, for the individual communities, of all types – social, political, economic – to foster connections between Peruvians here in Spain. Our second objective is to become a bridge between the two countries for those who would engage in co-development project. But we must accomplish that by integrating the people here in Spain into the national life of this [Spain] country. We are here contributing to the improvement of Spain.” Perhaps because of the nascent size of the community, FEDAP president Manuel Pinto felt it was necessary to focus first on the consolidation of the community in Spain in order to eventually foster the development of transnational linkages.

The CEPIs, which operate a number of centers across the city of Madrid for a number of communities of different national origin, also focus more on integration into the Spanish community and do not have any political or social link to the countries of origin. As their name implies they are Centers for *Integration* and *Participation*; as such, they function as meeting places for migrants of various national backgrounds to become familiar with Spanish culture and to create a new sense of community within the receiving country.

The director of the CEPI Hispano-Ecuatoriano, Pedro, explains their mission: “What we do is inform them (migrants) of their rights and obligations. We do not want them to forget their roots and traditions of the country of origin, and we inform them of any political or voting rights [they have] in Ecuador, but we are an anchor to the Spanish culture at the state level and have the obligation to inform them of their rights and obligations. What we may do is inform them of what is done in Spain. For example how to cook a paella, or a flan, in order to familiarize them with the culture. In some instances, we inform them of the differences between the two countries. For example, what often happens in Latin America is that it is very common to put a stereo system in a window in order to share music with the neighbors. Here in Spain that would be a catastrophe, so we inform them of the way we do things here” (CEPI 2010). Clearly the focus for the CEPIs is to fulfill their mandate at NGOs affiliated with the community of Madrid and to foster integration and to only inform migrants of rights they may have in their home countries instead of actively promoting an agenda of co-development and transnational politics with the sending country.

Overall, the comments expressed in the interviews clearly reflect the expectations of Østergaard-Nielsen in which she argues that the focus of NGOs will be highly conditioned by

their internal characteristics as well as their place within the community. Organizations started by the community, such as Rumiñahui, were more likely to claim a transnational agenda. Organizations founded and staffed by Spanish nationals followed an overtly national agenda geared toward largely assimilationist aims. Yet in all cases, integration and demands for rights were a vital component of each organization's political action portfolio.

Another lesson that arose out of many of the interviews is that migrants themselves are rarely politically activated. The role of political activist came most often down to the organizational level, as associations were attempting to scale-up to the federation level in order to provide a unified, more-powerful voice with which to coordinate the community (FEDAP with Peruvians) or to advocate for policy change in the sending state (FAPRE in Paraguay). In their role of organizational arbiter and liaison, these organizations coordinate transnational political action on behalf of migrants, and incorporate them into their campaigns, rather than looking for grassroots initiatives to support.

5.5 **Citizenship**

In contrast to transnational political action, citizenship matters in terms of how migrants relate to their countries of origin and to their current country of residence. Whether or not migrants feel 'at home' in Spain, and whether or not migrant NGOs facilitate feelings of *belonging* and assist with the technical aspects of citizenship are key to understanding how migrants relate to . This section explores responses to questions aimed at determining how NGOs mediated the relationship between migrants and their countries. Do NGOs encourage migrants to engage with the culture and community of origin, or instead do they focus on activities within Spain and with improving the situation of migrants within Spain. As with the responses related to

transnational political action, organizational orientation varied highly depending on the make-up of the national community and that community's ability to exert political control in Spain.

Several organizations were clearly more concerned with addressing migrant issues in Spain while working toward normalization of undocumented status or dual citizenship status. Two types of organizations appeared with these characteristics, those associations and federations of the smaller, more vulnerable groups such as Paraguayans, Bolivians, and Peruvians, as well as the Spanish-founded and run CEPI organizations.

As a representative of the Paraguayan FAPRE, Irma Perez Vecvort was most concerned with the day to day problems faced by the community in Spain. These problems have two roots: the first being that the majority of Paraguayans in Spain only the indigenous language of Guarani and are therefore not able to easily navigate Spanish society (Diaz 2009). The second is that the more recent arrival of Paraguayans has resulted in approximately 75% of the Paraguayan community living without papers as undocumented migrants (Diaz 2009). However beyond these day-to-day difficulties, Vecvort see the role of the FAPRE as creating a sense of community first, to enable that community to demand rights and recognition from the Paraguayan and Spanish states. She argues that:

It is not just the country that we defend, it is our race, our principles and our customs. En Paraguay, there is the Guarani race, which is both a race and a language. And the Guaraní language is what creates the nation. It is the language that creates cohesion. Everybody speaks it, around 95% or so speak it; some better than others but most people speak and understand. Fifteen years ago there was a government policy to introduce the study of Guarani in schools. That logically provoked an awakening of identity, apart from anything else. At home I do not speak Guarani. But here, I do, because [through the language] I identify with my community.

When I meet a Paraguayan person, I invite them into community by saying 'how are you?' [in Guaraní]. And this is stronger than saying 'I love you' because I'm touching a certain sensitivity. When we saw all these issues [before the creation of the FAPRE] we decided to really use this mechanism to build union among everyone, and that's the main objective.¹³

Similar to the Paraguayans, the Bolivians are a relatively small and recently-arrived group in Spain. Alejandro Pinto of the Asociación Pro Bolivia argued for preserving the Bolivian culture in Spain, saying that “We prefer to integrate ourselves through [offering up] our culture” (A. Pinto 2010). Thus, his association was a cultural group whose activities revolved around staging Bolivian performance art in order to create a dual-identity of Bolivians in Spain. In both cases, that of the Paraguayan and Bolivian community, the issue at hand was identity maintenance, while focusing on integrating into Spanish society and enriching Spain, rather than following a broadly assimilationist model. At the same time, these associations focus most of their activity on Spain, because the day-to-day struggles of members of their national communities do not allow much energy to focus on more than immediate needs of those outside of Spain.

The Federation of Peruvian Associations (FEDAP) also struggled with establishing an identity in Spain, and rather than focus its activities on Peru, chose to bolster the Peruvian community in Spain. As Manuel Pinto argued to me, the “purpose of the Federation is the encourage the creation of organizations of all types and to institutionalize a Peruvian community in Spain” (M. Pinto 2010). This process was made much easier by Spain's openness to NGOs

¹³ At the time of this interview, the FAPRE was preparing to watch the Paraguayan national team play in the Group of 8 in the 2010 World Cup. Vecvort cited the (somewhat surprising) success of the Paraguayan team as a welcome contributor to national identity formation.

and non-profit organizations. Following the 2002 passage of the Association Law (*Ley de Asociaciones*), the rules for state-recognition (and in some cases, financial support from the state in order to foster civil society) were streamlined and simplified. Pinto's argument was that the Peruvian community "integrates itself very well into the local community. They are very individualistic. But this federation will help us to integrate as a community, and to promote our general interest" (M. Pinto 2010). Yet despite his interest in promoting the Peruvian collective, Pinto's work remains focused on Spain, as he believes that the concept of co-development is "no easy. It doesn't really exist right now because it is so logistically difficult. It's really more of a theory than anything." In this way, Pinto and the FEDAP are also promoting a hybrid identity: one which recognizes the identity inherited from the country of origin, but which tries to integrate that identity into Spain.

The CEPIs also focus on Spain, understandably due to the fact that they were founded by Spaniards and in large part are operated by Spanish citizens. Pedro, the director of the CEPI Hispano-Ecuatoriano, understands integration and citizenship incorporation as "knowing [migrants'] rights and obligations. If you have a job and a roof over your head, you have an obligation to contribute to society." He argues that migrants feel a natural kinship for their home countries, but stay in Spain because of the disparity in available benefits. He says "Of course they want to return. Everyone wants to return to his home country. But, take Ecuador for example, the social protection there is underdeveloped compared to Spain. Better to be poor in Spain than to be poor in Ecuador! We have seen an increase in this behavior in recent years, but of course they still maintain a desire to return."

If those organizations focus on integrating migrants into Spanish society, or on creating a dual identity which fuses the original identity within Spanish society, there are organizations who are focused on doing away with territorial definitions and creating a broader, transnational citizenship. Additionally, there is one organization which resolutely seeks to maintain a homeland-oriented identity. In all cases, those migrant populations with longer histories in Spain have closer ties to a concept of transnational citizenship which is closely defined to rights-seeking.

AESCO prefers to move the definition of citizenship from one that is territorially bound to one that is global in nature and based on human rights and the dignity of the individual. Juan Carlos Rois argues that:

There are some organizations who are specialized in defending one certain group. They say 'I represent Ecuadorians, or I represent this person or that person.' I think it's a mistake. Not only because it's a lie, but because it covers up our institution's ability to be functions as institutions which make our clients more dynamic. If we choose to not understand ourselves of institutions of representation, and focus more on helping taking a group to defend. Well that is, "I represent the Ecuadorian, I represent...well I think it's a mistake. Not only because they pose a lie, but because that hides our ability to function as dynamic institutions. We do not have to understand ourselves as institutions of representation in order to be a pressure group, but rather as entities that energize our communities to make the overall society more dynamic. For example, we have abandoned nationalism completely. We are no longer a Colombian organization. We are an organization in Spain; we have Argentines, Colombians, Ecuadorians, Cubans, Spanish, everyone. And we believe that without losing the identity of an organization of migrants, we can remove the ethnic element and the concept of 'national representation.' In real terms most important for the integration is equal rights, equal access to services, equal ability to participate in the development of the country.

Both the Rumiñahui organization and SENAMI provides services for Ecuadorian citizens in Spain but do so while reinforcing Ecuadorian identity. Raul Jiménez demonstrates Rumiñahui's presence in Ecuador by stating that: "[The organization] retains an important political presence in Ecuador as well as in Spain. Tora [the former president of Rumiñahui] won a seat in parliament in Ecuador and now we are part of the political process there. In Spain we work at the level of advising on immigration policies for the Zapatero government. What we are creating is a work of collective dialogue on behalf of the Ecuadorian community with both the political and social sectors, and that relationship has permitted us to grow and has made us relevant at both the national and international level" (Jiménez 2010). Similarly, Walter Jaromillo of SENAMI argues that the Ecuadorian government does not try to interfere in the politics of the Spanish state, but instead supports migrants, provides services, and rhetorically argues for the rights of migrant people in all contexts.

Somewhat surprisingly, the most established migrant communities are those with the most interest in fostering a citizenship based on transnational ideas. AESCO, Rumiñahui, and SENAMI support the increased awareness of global migrant rights and a conception of citizenship which is more fluid, transnational, and less tied to the identity of a group of people in any one specific country. Those smaller communities in Spain, particularly the Bolivian and Paraguayan community, chose to preserve the cultural traditions of their homeland while in Spain, even while the organizations focused less on transnational projects due to their focus on ensuring access to basic services in Spain.

Chapter 6

6 Discussion

With the results of the interviews complete, I return to the research question: **do non-governmental organizations serving the Latin American community in Spain encourage transnational political engagement aimed at the respective home country, or do they instead focus on integrating migrants into the social and economic life of Spain?** The answer is complicated, and the interview results warrant discussion in light of the political role of NGOs, governmental organizations, individuals, and the concept of co-development within transnational networks. Finally, the section will conclude with a discussion of avenues for future research.

6.1 Political role of non-governmental associations

The political role of non-affiliated NGOs vary widely. Some are absolutely non-political, in that they choose to play a neutral role in migrants' lives and provide only social and legal services. Others are practically political, petitioning governments in both countries for policies which tangibly benefit their communities. Others confine their political activities to the philosophical sphere, only advocating for certain, broad changes.

The CEPI system best exemplifies the absolutely non-political group of NGOs. Pedro, the director of the center, and Sylvia, the project coordinator, adamantly argue that they have no political positions in regards to migrants and simply function as arms of the community of Madrid in order to provide services to migrants. While they may implicitly be working toward an assimilationist view of migrant incorporation, their political involvement with the sending country is virtually non-existent as their activities are entirely focused on providing services to the communities in Madrid.

Rumiñahui takes a practical approach to political activities. By establishing multiple constituent seats in Spain and Ecuador, and lobbying the governments of Spain and Ecuador for policies which benefit the migrant community, Rumiñahui puts the focus of its activities on tangible and achievable goals. In bringing light to the nature and situation of Ecuadorian migrant communities abroad, Rumiñahui and others led to the creation of Ecuador's SENAMI and to the institutionalization of the government's relationship with its diaspora. Through these institutions, Rumiñahui hopes that governmental representation will more effectively aid the community with which it works.

AESCO's activities are more philosophically-oriented. In envisioning a changing conception of transnational and pan-Andean citizenship and political action, AESCO hopes to empower migrants to claim human rights for themselves and demand a more just role in employment and development. AESCO's philosophically political activities have led it to serve in an advisory role to governments in both regions and to advocate policies and governmental orientations to migrants which allow for respect and social justice.

Clearly non-affiliated NGOs can take vastly different stances on the questions of why and how political advocacy should be undertaken. Their vision for political action mediates their engagement with local and foreign officials, and guides the thrust of their actions. Moreover, these organizations largely take over the role of political mediator for migrants, choosing to engage with governments themselves or to ignore the issue of politics altogether. In none of these visions of politics is a strong role for individual migrants envisioned. Thus the actions of non-affiliated NGOs depend widely on their foundation, mission, and place in society.

6.2 Political role of governmentally-affiliated associations

Similar to non-affiliated organizations, associations with a link to the government are often more involved in political advocacy. These organizations range from the more sophisticated and institutionalized operations to the cruder lobbying efforts carried out by less established groups.

Ecuador's SENAMI is a cabinet-level position that was only created after the Ecuadorian diaspora community had achieved a critical mass and lobbying efforts by organizations abroad alerted the government to the potential political and economic power of its citizens living abroad. The SENAMI is fairly sophisticated in its political operations, engaging directly with foreign governments in attempting to redefine migration by focusing on human and civil rights for migrants. SENAMI operates in a number of countries, including the U.S., Italy, and Spain. Its offices not only provide legal counseling, but cultural activities, as it runs children's workshops in Ecuadorian history and subcontracts with social service educators to provide adult education courses in areas such as food safety and preparation. The SENAMI's operations are thus far enabled due to the size of the Ecuadorian community abroad and its widespread nature throughout Europe and North America.

FAPRE, operating out of the Paraguayan consulate, is less sophisticated in its actions, largely due to the relatively small size of the community. Yet it is still active in lobbying its government for recognition, holding a Congress of Paraguayan migrants to discuss issues within the community as well as to lobby the Paraguayan government for rights such as the ability to vote in Paraguayan elections abroad. Yet FAPRE still does what it can to influence politics, by engaging in politics back home by encouraging family members and acquaintances to vote for a

particular candidate. Beyond that, however, Paraguayans are still struggling for recognition in Spain and in securing a minimum amount of economic and personal security. Until Paraguayans gain a foothold in Spain, they will probably remain relatively isolated from the political situation in Paraguay.

Ultimately, the results indicate that we may expect less established groups to focus less on high-minded transnational projects, and more on the immediate needs of their community. This finding has implications for other countries of new immigration and new emigration, as the strength and will of a diaspora community seems to be determined in part by the length of time the diaspora has been abroad and the critical numerical mass of people necessary to provide political clout to their cause.

6.3 Political role of individuals

In contrast to NGOs, individual migrants do not seem to be heavily politically-oriented. An interview was conducted with Marisol, an Ecuadorian migrant and employee at the CEPI Hispano-Ecuatoriano in Madrid. Her interview reveals the complicated emotions which go into the decision to migrate and the often more-difficult decision to return to their home country or to stay.

Marisol came to Spain in 1995 with the intention of working in a scientific field. Yet given her status as a migrant, the only work she was able to find was as a maid and domestic service worker for a wealthy family. In addition she held a number of side jobs as an office assistant and florist while attempting to make ends meet. While dealing with the emotional

impact of being separated from her family, Marisol says that her three goals were to “come, save [money], and immediately leave.” Circumstances ultimately intervened.

As Marisol explains, “in 2000 we in Ecuador experienced a terrible economic crisis, which unleashed an entirely new wave of emigration. That’s when the dollarization [of the Ecuadorian economy] occurred and it was a truly awful time. Those of us who were already in Spain decided that it was better to stay, especially because we had our work permits. After all, it’s better to work some job here than no job in Ecuador.” As is often the case, a few years of staying can often turn into a decade or more, and before she knew it Marisol found herself married and with a young daughter. Now that her daughter is growing, she has conflicted feelings toward her new country, yet her daughter’s identity as an Ecuadorian-Spaniard and her job in the NGO sector working with Ecuadorians create a dilemma of identity for Marisol and her family.

As an Ecuadorian in Spain, Marisol puts up with, rather than participates in, politics. She has little interest in high-minded political ideals, and is instead focused on providing a practical social service to people who need assistance. She worked for other Ecuadorian NGOs in Madrid, but didn’t like them because “they were run by men who imported ideas of male superiority here to Spain. They would always tell me what to do and didn’t allow [me] any flexibility in creating or running programs. It was very demeaning.” For that reason, she prefers to work for the CEPI, which is run and operated by Spaniards. She says “Here I’m allowed to work in a healthy environment where we cooperate with each other. In this environment, here, I feel that I can do provide the best possible services for the people who come here” (Marisol 2010). Rather than

lobby either government, Marisol's immediate focus in her work is in providing social services and helping migrants navigate bureaucratic and political barriers.

Marisol's ultimate goal is to return to Ecuador. The problems of her home country "break [her] heart, especially seeing little kids walking around without shoes and with dirty clothes" (Marisol 2010). She dreams of opening up a social foundation¹⁴ for orphans in Quito, which would function as a summer camp of sorts in which children could stay, be clothed, fed, and have positive interactions with "international students and volunteers that would come to work with kids, read to them, and let them forget about their problems. There are such problems there, but children are the ones who suffer the most" (Marisol 2010).

Ultimately, Marisol envisions participating in co-development projects which benefit from the time and experience she is accumulating in Spain but which would be harnessed to provide anti-poverty programs in Ecuador. Although she is not a political person, her actions are shaped and constrained by the political and economic environment in both Ecuador and Spain. While she would like to return to Ecuador and open a foundation, her day-to-day reality is one of living and working in Spain, while raising a functionally Spanish daughter.

Marisol's story is an individual-level illustration of a phenomena that seems prevalent amongst migrants in Spain. I argue that most migrants have more immediate social and economic concerns with which to grapple. Marisol would like to return to Ecuador and start a foundation for children; as such, her work revolves around the basics of life, such as securing

¹⁴ Named the "Fundación Hada Madrina" or "Fairy Godmother Foundation."

adequate clothing and education for Ecuadorian orphans. She has no interest in creating a new, transnational identity; her concerns are more immediate and tangible.

AESCO, as well, provides assistance to its migrants in carrying out co-development projects and often takes care of local and international paperwork on projects such as well-drilling. While migrants may have the idea for an infrastructure or educational project in their home city or country, AESCO provides the necessary legal abilities to bring this vision to fruition. AESCO, then, enables migrants to carry out political acts, but it does not directly participate in transnational political activities with migrants.

What does this mean? It seems that migrant NGOs, for the most part, only implicitly attempt to manage the political activities of migrants. If anything, these NGOs see themselves as the responsible parties for coordinating political action. Much more than individual migrants themselves, migrant NGOs take the initiative in lobbying governments and in advocating for specific policies. This is most likely due to the (understandable) circumstances in which most migrants find themselves, in which the immediate concerns of life such as finding or keeping a job, paying bills, and raising a family take precedence over political marches and rallies in support of a political ideal such as transnational citizenship or greater support for co-development projects by entities such as the European Union.

6.4 Associations and co-development

Regarding the topic of co-development, there was, yet again, a lot of variation between types of organizations. There are some organizations which simply have no role in co-development beyond not discouraging it. Others are actively attempting to create transnational

spaces and identities through their actions. This variation is again due to the differences inherent in the foundation and operation of these organizations.

Some NGOs, such as those founded in Spain or those with small and vulnerable populations, have neither the time nor the ability to extensively plan and participate in co-development projects. The CEPI and Paraguayan and Bolivian associations fit this description. Because the CEPI is, at its core, an assimilationist organization, it does not participate in co-development projects or advise families...

Others, however, cannot envision a future in which a transnational space is not visible, present, and influential. Rumiñahui and AESCO both advocate projects of co-development in Latin America, choosing sustainable projects such as building and funding schools, digging wells, and financing workshops for individual entrepreneurs. These practical actions fit in with their rhetoric of transnational action and of fostering the well-being of both those migrants within Spain as well as the development of migrants' communities of origin.

What does this mean for the concept of co-development and countries of emigration. It seems from these results that co-development projects, similar to transnational political advocacy, are more likely to occur in well-established migrant communities. This result is especially daunting for countries of new emigration, or of communities with a small diaspora abroad, because the benefits of co-development projects are often most needed by the least-established communities. Ecuadorians benefit from wells and other co-development projects financed and operated by the large Ecuadorian diaspora. Yet the Paraguayan community is only barely beginning to consider that co-development may play a key role in developing Paraguay.

Although Paraguay is worse off than Ecuador, without a large, vocal, and (importantly) well-financed diaspora abroad, it is least likely to benefit from the rhetorical and practical implications of co-development.

6.5 Citizenship

On the topic of citizenship, there was a clear divide amongst the NGOs in their approach to citizenship. While all of the organizations are working within the current citizenship paradigm of their countries, they all have different ideal endpoints for the notion of what citizenship means. Some organizations were characterized by an implicit focus on integration and assimilation, while others were focused on the maintenance of national identity. Still others were philosophically opposed to the idea of territorially-bound citizenship.

The most integrationist and assimilationist organization, somewhat unsurprisingly, is the CEPI. Although Pedro outwardly supported the idea of cultural preservation, touting the Center's cultural programs (art exhibitions, dance lessons, etc.), other comments he made indicated that he felt it was the role of the CEPI to implicitly encourage cultural integration. Marisol, as well, made cultural arguments in favoring the less paternalistic, more democratic and participatory nature of the CEPI as compared to homegrown institutions. It is, of course, difficult for the CEPI system to avoid this orientation, as it is a group of organizations funded by the Community of Madrid and mostly staffed by Spanish citizens.

Other organizations, such as SENAMI, Rumiñahui, the Asociación Pro Bolivia, and the Paraguayan FAPRE, were dedicated to the idea of maintaining cultural and citizenship boundaries. Through programs and representative advocacy, these organizations sought to

maintain the unique cultural identity of their community, even if advocating for their political rights within Spain. Cultural preservation activities such as summer camps for children dedicated to the history and culture of Ecuador, or World Cup watch parties conducted entirely in Guarani, allowed these groups to reinforce and maintain their unique and separate cultural citizenship while still living and working in Spain.

A final group was more concerned with the rhetorical and philosophical redefinition of citizenship. AESCO consciously expanded its network of countries from Colombia to include all of the Andean countries. This was consciously done as an overture toward fostering a movement “of migrants” and not of “this group or that group” (Rois 2010). By advocating for the rights of migrants in general, and removing the territorially-bound nature of the citizenship discussion, Rois and his group hope to reclassify migrant citizenship and create a new definition of migrant which is not bound up in conceptions of the nation-state or the involvement in states or organizations in claiming rights for citizens. Rather, AESCO sees itself as an organ of empowerment and assistance.

6.6 **Directions for future research**

The line of inquiry presented in this project lends itself to further refinement and development of research projects in a number of areas. These are to study 1) other Latin American diaspora communities 2) other migrant communities in Spain and Europe, and 3) further understand the role of NGOs and 4) further develop an understanding of NGOs in other sectors.

First, this analysis could be greatly expanded by comparing the same Latin American communities in Spain to their counterparts in other countries. Large diaspora communities exist in the United States, Canada, Italy, Argentina, and Great Britain. Yet the NGOs in Spain repeatedly argued that the NGO sector in other countries was neither as vibrant nor as active as that in Spain. If that is the case, if U.S. NGOs exert less influence, should we expect migrants themselves to be more politically active (in light of less political activity by NGOs) or to simply have less political representation due to migrants' overall lack of explicitly political behavior. Further research is needed to determine the answer.

Second, if the migrant NGO sector for Latin American communities in Spain is active in lobbying home governments, why is it able to do so? Is it because of a linguistic and cultural affinity for the host country, which enables these NGOs to take advantage of existing bilateral relationships with the sending countries? If so, one may expect that Moroccan, Tunisian, and Algerian NGOs in Spain are less able to politically connect to their sending countries and instead focus more on activities within Spain. Similarly, migrants from EU member states may behave in a similarly transnational way, given that Romanian or Polish migrants, for example, have easy access to their home countries and to the bilateral relationships which their new state has with the previous one.

Third, this research points to several directions for more rigorous testing of migrant NGO activity. Most importantly, this research points to a type of typology for migrant NGOs: those that promote integration and assimilation, those that seek to maintain national identity in the receiving country, and those that argue for a holistic understanding of migrants as global citizens and individuals. A more nuanced classification of migrant NGOs, when paired with survey

research, could quantitatively examine the likeliness of each type of migrant NGO in lobbying foreign governments or in engaging in transnational political action.

Finally, the analysis presented here could be applied outside of migrant NGOs and focus on NGOs in other sectors of advocacy. Transnational politics occurs outside of the areas of migration and international development. Indeed environmental- or health-oriented NGOs may behave in similar or different ways to migrant NGOs, yet further research is needed to determine whether their conception of transnational politics is similar, or whether their strategies differ from those of the migrant NGO sector.

While the analysis presented in this thesis provides a tantalizing glimpse into the strategies and rhetoric pursued by migrant NGOs, the concepts should be further developed to create a more nuanced understanding of those strategies. Survey research on NGOs seems to be the most fruitful avenue for further exploration, and with a more detailed field survey of migrant and other NGOs operating in Spain (or other European countries) a survey could be distributed for future research and analysis.

Chapter 7

7 Conclusion

The role of migrant organizations in transnational politics is one of activation and advocacy. Whereas migrants themselves are often not politically motivated, migrant NGOs often see political advocacy and action as their responsibility, and something which migrant communities entrust to them. The analysis presented here, however, discovered a wide variety of strategies employed by migrant NGOs, and further research should attempt to systematically explore the conditions under which these NGOs undertake certain types of political actions.

What then, are the implications of this study? It is clear that migrant NGOs are comfortable, and even active, in advocating for rights and recognition from their home country. The case Ecuador illustrates this point, in that in ten short years, awareness of emigrants' situations in the country transitioned from one extreme of ignorance to the other extreme of having a cabinet-level seat dedicated to migrants' concerns. At a micro-level, other organizations admit that they have few qualms in attempting to leverage their remittance payments into political capital by influencing family members to vote for certain candidates in elections. Although the extent of this influence must be more accurately measured, it is clear that migrants seek to influence their homelands through migrant organizations.

The ability of these organizations to impact politics is, of course, dependent on their ability to organize. A further finding from this study is that receiving state politics do matter insofar as they enable or handicap the ability of migrant associations and NGOs to form. The 2002 Ley de Asociaciones (Associational Law) was repeatedly mentioned as being a positive contributing factor to the easy founding and operation of migrant associations. From this

baseline, national communities are free to organize themselves in association or federation form and then subsequently reach out to the sending state. Although institutional arrangements in the receiving state may only modify the extent to which migrants organize, certainly the ease of associational foundation and the access to funds provided by Spain has enabled the thriving non-profit sector to form. Whether other countries such as the United States or Italy are as hospitable is an appropriate topic for further research and an important one for researchers of NGO activity and civil society to consider.

Finally, the access to mobilization and funds provided by the Spanish state illustrates the vast differences in mobilization and political orientation of the various migrant communities in Spain. The larger, more well-established groups such as the Ecuadorians and Colombians, were more able to focus on transnational political action and on changing the definition of migrant and citizenship in order to favor new transnational definitions. In contrast, those communities of migrants who more recently arrived in Spain and were smaller in number, groups such as Bolivians and Paraguayans, were more likely to be affected by the global economic recession beginning in 2008 and were more focused on activating the political community and consolidating their national identity and consciousness within Spain. These small groups, in attending to the day-to-day challenges of securing employment and housing opportunities, were less likely to focus on transnational issues and on creating a migrant identity which moved beyond the respective states. This finding suggests that a type of critical mass is necessary for migrants and migrant NGOs to focus on transnational issues and on working for a transnational rights consciousness. More research is needed, however, to determine the contours of that critical

mass and how its formation is impacted by contextual factors such as economic recession or civil conflict.

Following a review of relevant literature, the details of specific research design of the project, a discussion of the qualitative methods used, the results of the interviews, and a discussion of those results, I have attempted to shed more light on the political thought processes and strategies employed by a vibrant sector of NGOs in a country of new migration. Although migration to Spain may be newer than that of migration to Germany, the United Kingdom, or the United States, it is clear that the NGO sector there lacks nothing for sophistication and credibility when advocating for the rights and opportunities of its communities.

References

- 1) Abend, Lisa. "The Problem With Spain's Plan to Pay Migrants to Go Home - TIME." *Breaking News, Analysis, Politics, Blogs, News Photos, Video, Tech Reviews - TIME.com*. 5 Mar. 2011.
<<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2057231,00.html>>.
- 2) Adamson, Fiona B. 2006. "Crossing Borders: International Migration and National Security." *International Security*, 31(1), 165-199.
- 3) Aleinikoff, T. Alexander. "Between Principles and Politics: U.S. Citizenship Policy." Found in Aleinikoff, T. Alexander and Douglas Klusmeyer. 2000. *From Migrants to Citizens: Membership in a Changing World*." Brookings Institution Press: Washington D.C.
- 4) Aleinikoff, T. Alexander and Douglas Klusmeyer. 2000. *From Migrants to Citizens: Membership in a Changing World*." Brookings Institution Press: Washington D.C.
- 5) Ally, Shireen. "Globalization and Regional Inequalities. Regional Divisions of Reproductive Labor: Southern African Migrant Domestic Workers in Johannesburg." Found in Lindio-McGovern and Ligaya and Isidor Walliman. 2009. *Globalization and Third World Women: Exploitation, Coping and Resistance*. Ashgate, Cornwall.
- 6) Baubock, Rainier. 1994. *Transnational Citizenship*. Edward Elgar Publishing Company: Aldershot, UK.
- 7) "BBC News - Spain Country Profile." *BBC News - Home*. 9 Oct. 2010.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/country_profiles/991960.stm>.
- 8) Berg, Bruce L. 2009. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Allyn and Bacon: Boston, MA.
- 9) Besserer, Federico. 2009. "Inappropriate/Appropriated Feelings: The Gendered Construction of Transnational Citizenship." Caldwell, Kia Lilly, et al. 2009. *Gendered Citizenships: Transnational Perspectives on Knowledge Production, Political Activism, and Culture*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York.
- 10) Bleich, Erik. "Immigration and Integration Studies in Western Europe and the United States: The Road Less Traveled and a Path Ahead." *World Politics*, 60(3), April 2008. 509-538.

- 11) Brennan, Denise. 2004. *What's Love Got To Do With It? Transnational Desires and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic*. Duke University Press: Durham, North Carolina.
- 12) Brettel, Caroline B. and James F. Hollifield. 2008. "Introduction." Found in Brettel, Caroline B. and James F. Hollifield. 2008. *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* Routledge: New York, New York.
- 13) Caldwell, Kia Lilly, et al. 2009. *Gendered Citizenships: Transnational Perspectives on Knowledge Production, Political Activism, and Culture*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York.
- 14) Chiswick, Barry R. 2008. "Are Immigrants Favorably Self-Selected." Found in Brettel, Caroline B. and James F. Hollifield. 2008. *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* Routledge: New York, New York.
- 15) Coll, Kathleen. 2009. "Autoestima in Immigrant Latina Community Organizing: Politicizing Self-Esteem, Personalizing Politics." Found in Caldwell, Kia Lilly, et al. 2009. *Gendered Citizenships: Transnational Perspectives on Knowledge Production, Political Activism, and Culture*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York.
- 16) Coppedge, Michael. 2007. "Theory Building and Hypothesis Testing: Large-N Versus Small-N Research on Democratization." Found in Munck, Gerardo L. 2007. *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*. Oxford University Press: London.
- 17) Dahinden, Janine. "Cabaret Dancers: 'Settle Down in order to Stay Mobile?' Bridging Theoretical Orientations within Transnational Migration Studies." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*,
- 18) Degregori, Carlos Ivan. 2008. "Peru: A Missed Opportunity." Found in Dominguez, Jorge I. and Michael Shifter. 2008. *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*. John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.
- 19) Díaz, Natalia Ruiz. "Paraguay: Migrants Mainly Young Undocumented Guaraní-Speakers." *Gáldu - Resource Centre for the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. 12 Mar. 2009. <<http://www.galdu.org/web/index.php?odas=4189&giella1=eng>>.
- 20) Diner, Hasia R. 2008. "History and the Study of Immigration: Narratives of the Particular." Found in Brettel, Caroline B. and James F. Hollifield. 2008. *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* Routledge: New York, New York.
- 21) Dominguez, Jorge I. and Michael Shifter. 2008. *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*. John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.

- 22) Emerson, Robert M., Rachel I. Fretz, and Linda L. Shaw. 1995. *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.
- 23) Favell, Adrian. 2008. "Interdisciplinarity, Globaility, and Postdisciplinarity in Migration Studies." Found in Brettel, Caroline B. and James F. Hollifield. 2008. *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* Routledge: New York, New York.
- 24) Feldblum, Miriam. "Managing Membership: New Trends in Citizenship and Nationality Policy." Found in Aleinikoff, T. Alexander and Douglas Klusmeyer. 2000. *From Migrants to Citizens: Membership in a Changing World.* Brookings Institution Press: Washington D.C.
- 25) Galeano, Eduardo. 1997. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. Monthly Review Press.
- 26) Gamarra, Eduardo A. 2008. "Bolivia: Evo Morales and Democracy." Found in Dominguez, Jorge I. and Michael Shifter. 2008. *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*. John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.
- 27) Gobierno de España. "Ley Orgánica 1/2002, De 22 De Marzo, Reguladora Del Derecho De Asociación." *Noticias Jurídicas*. 22 Mar. 2002.
<http://noticias.juridicas.com/base_datos/Admin/lo1-2002.html>.
- 28) Handelman, Howard. 2003. *The Challenge of Third World Development: Third Edition*. Prentice Hall (Pearson Education): Upper Saddle River, New Jersey.
- 29) Hollifield, James H. 2008. "The Politics of International Migration: How Can We 'Bring the State Back In?'" Found in Brettel, Caroline B. and James F. Hollifield. 2008. *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* Routledge: New York.
- 30) Htun, Mala. 2008. "Political Inclusion and Social Inequality: Women, Afro-descendants, and Indigenous Peoples." Found in Dominguez, Jorge I. and Michael Shifter. 2008. *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*. John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.
- 31) Joppke, Christian (2008) 'Immigration and the identity of citizenship: the paradox of universalism', *Citizenship Studies*, 12: 6, 533 — 546
- 32) Joppke, Christian and Ewa Morawska. 2003. *Toward Assimilation and Citizenship: Immigrants in Liberal Nation States*. Palgrave, MacMillan: Cambridge, MA.

- 33) Koslowski, Rey. "Human Migration and the Conceptualization of Pre-Modern World Politics." *International Studies Quarterly*, 46(3), 2002. 375-399.
- 34) Kvale, Steinar. 2007. *Doing Interviews*. SAGE Publications: London.
- 35) Lai, Him Mark. 2010. *Chinese American Transnational Politics*. University of Illinois Press: Urbana, Illinois.
- 36) Laurence, Jonathan and Justin Vaisse. 2006. *Integrating Islam: Political and Religious Challenges in Contemporary France*. Brookings Institution Press: Washington D.C.
- 37) Lacsamana, Anne E. 2009. "Identities, Nation, and Imperialism: Confronting Empire in Filipina American Feminist Thought." Found in Lindio-McGovern and Ligaya and Isidor Walliman. 2009. *Globalization and Third World Women: Exploitation, Coping and Resistance*. Ashgate, Cornwall.
- 38) Levine, Robert M. and John J. Crocitti (eds.) 1999. *The Brazil Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Duke University Press: Durham, North Carolina.
- 39) Mainwaring, Scott and Anibal Perez-Linan. 2007. "Why Regions of the World Are Important: Regional Specificities and Region-Wide Diffusion of Democracy." Found in Munck, Gerardo L. 2007. *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*. Oxford University Press: London.
- 40) Massey, Douglas S. 2007. *Categorically Unequal: The American Stratification System*. Russel Sage Foundation: New York.
- 41) Massey, Douglas S, Jorge Durand, and Nolan J. Malone. 2003. *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors. Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration*. Russel Sage Foundation: New York.
- 42) Martiniello, Marco. 2000. "Citizenship of the European Union." Found in Aleinikoff, T. Alexander and Douglas Kuslmeyer. 2000. *From Migrants to Citizens: Membership in a Changing World*. Brookings Institution Press: Washington D.C.
- 43) "Ministry of Diaspora." The Government of the Republic of Armenia. Hranush Hacobyanyan. 11 May 2010. <<http://www.gov.am/en/structure/126/>>.
- 44) Morawska, Ewa. "Migration, Class, and Transnational Identities: Croatians in Australia and America." *The American Historical Review*, 115(1), February 2010. 196-197.
- 45) Munck, Gerardo L. 2007. *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*. Oxford University Press: London.

- 46) Østergaard-Nielsen, Eva. 2011 “Codevelopment and citizenship: the nexus between policies on local migrant incorporation and migrant transnational practices in Spain,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34: 1, 20 — 39.
- 47) Østergaard-Nielsen, Eva (ed.) (2003a) *International Migration and Sending Countries: Perceptions, Policies*, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- 48) Østergaard-Nielsen, Eva. 2009. “Mobilizing the Moroccans: Policies and Perceptions of Transnational Co-Development Engagement Among Moroccan Migrants in Catalonia.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*,
- 49) Østergaard-Nielsen, Eva. “The Politics of Migrants’ Transnational Political Practices.” *International Migration Review*, 37(3), *Transnational Migration: International Perspectives* (Fall, 2003b). 760-786.
- 50) Østergaard-Nielsen, Eva. 2003c. *Transnational Politics: Turks and Kurds in Germany*. Routledge: New York.
- 51) Padilla, Beatriz. "Latin American Immigration to Southern Europe." *Migration Information Source*. June 2007. 16 Mar. 2011.
<<http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=609>>.
- 52) Parker, Owen and James Brassett. 2005. “Contingent Borders and Ambiguous Ethics: Migrants in (International) Political Theory.” *International Studies Quarterly*: 49(2).
- 53) Parrenas, Rhacel Salazar. “Transgressing the Nation-State: The Partial Citizenship and ‘Imagined (Global) Community’ of Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers.” Found in Caldwell, Kia Lilly, et al. 2009. *Gendered Citizenships: Transnational Perspectives on Knowledge Production, Political Activism, and Culture*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York.
- 54) Piazza, James A. “Incubators of Terror: Do Failed and Failing States Promote Transnational Terrorism?” *International Studies Quarterly* (2008) 52, 469-488.
- 55) Purkayashta, Bandana and Shweta Majumdar. “Globalization and the Sexual Commodification of Women: Sex Trafficking Migration in South Asia.” Found in Lindio-McGovern and Ligaya and Isidor Walliman. 2009. *Globalization and Third World Women: Exploitation, Coping and Resistance*. Ashgate, Cornwall.
- 56) Reich, Gary and Jay Barth. 2010. “Educating Citizens or Defying Federal Authority? A Comparative Study of In-State Tuition for Undocumented Students.” *Policy Studies Journal*: 38(3).

- 57) Rodriguez, Robyn Magalit. 2009. "Migration, Transnational Politics, and the State: Challenging the Limits of the Law: Filipina Migrant Workers' Transnational Struggles in the World for Protection and Social Justice." Found in Lindio-McGovern and Ligaya and Isidor Walliman. 2009. *Globalization and Third World Women: Exploitation, Coping and Resistance*. Ashgate, Cornwall.
- 58) Rosenblum, Marc R (2004) "Moving Beyond the Policy of No Policy: Emigration from Mexico and Central America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 46.4: 91-125.
- 59) Rubing, Herbt J. and Irene S. Rubin. 2005. *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*. SAGE Publications: New York.
- 60) Schuck, Peter H. 2008. "Law and the Study of Migration." Found in Brettel, Caroline B. and James F. Hollifield. 2008. *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* Routledge: New York, New York.
- 61) Seawright, Jason. 2007. "Democracy and Growth: A Case Study in Failed Causal Inference." Found in Munck, Gerardo L. 2007. *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*. Oxford University Press: London.
- 62) Shifter, Michael. 2008. "Emerging Trends and Determining Factors in Democratic Governance." Found in Dominguez, Jorge I. and Michael Shifter. 2008. *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*. John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.
- 63) Sinno, Abdulkader H. (ed.) 2009. *Muslims in Western Politics*. Indiana University Press: Bloomington, Indiana.
- 64) Sniderman, Paul M. and Louk Hagendoorn. 2007. *When Ways of Life Collide: Multiculturalism and its Discontents in the Netherlands*. Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey.
- 65) Sorensen, Ninna Nyberg, Nicholas Van Hear, and Poul Engberg-Pedersen. "The Migration-Development Nexus, Evidence and Policy Options: State of the Art Overview." Center for Development Research – Copenhagen. Working paper (2002).
- 66) "Spain and Immigration: Bad New Days | The Economist." *The Economist - World News, Politics, Economics, Business & Finance*. 4 Feb. 2010.
<<http://www.economist.com/node/15464909>>.
- 67) Teitelbaum, Michael S. 2008. Demographic Analyses of International Migration." Found in Brettel, Caroline B. and James F. Hollifield. 2008. *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines* Routledge: New York, New York.

- 68) Ulloa, Fernando Cepeda. 2008. "Colombia: Democratic Security and Political Reform." Found in Dominguez, Jorge I. and Michael Shifter. 2008. *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*. John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.
- 69) Vanden, Harry E. and Gary Prevost. 2009. *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, U.K.
- 70) Zolberg, Aristide R. 2008. *A Nation By Design: Immigration Policy in the Fashioning of America*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA.

Appendices

All interviews were conducted in the summer of 2010 in Madrid, Spain. Interviews were conducted, recorded, and transcribed by the author for the purposes of this study alone and were not shared with any other entity or organization than the University of Kansas.

Appendix A:

Interview

Day – 23.6.2010

Place – Headquarters of Rumiñahui

Conducted by: Kevin Freudenburg

Name of the interviewee - Raul Jiménez Zavala (Responsable de Comunicacion – Portavoz)

Raul Jiménez is the spokesperson and media outreach coordinator for Rumiñahui, an association of Ecuadorian migrants in Spain.

Interview transcripts are available from the author.

Appendix B:

Roundtable discussion – “The Future of Migrant Associations”

Day – 22.6.2010

Place – Casa America - Madrid

Name and association of the participants: Juan Carlos Rois (president of AESCO), Manuel Pint (president of the Federation of Peruvian associations), Irma Perez Vecvort (president of the association of Paraguayans in Spain), Alejandro Pinto (president of the association Pro Bolivia)

Roundtable discussions took place at the Casa America think tank and scholarship center in Madrid. The conversation was recorded, with permission, by the author and transcripts are available from him.

Appendix C:

Interview

Day – 1.7.2010

Place – Consulate of Paraguay

Conducted by - Kevin Freudenburg

Name of the interviewee – Irma Perez Vecvort (president of the association of Paraguayans in Spain)

Irma Perez Vecvort is the President of the Federation of Paraguayan Associations. She works out of the Paraguayan consulate in Madrid and is partnered with the government there in providing services to migrants.

Interview transcripts are available from the author.

Appendix D:

Interview

Day – 8.7.2010

Place – Coffee shop in northwest Madrid

Conducted by - Kevin Freudenburg

Name of the interviewee – Manuel Pinto (President of the Federation of Peruvian Associations)

Manuel Pinto is the President of the Federation of Peruvian Associations and is busy encouraging the creation and development of various Peruvian associations which may aid the Peruvian community in fostering a sense of community.

Interview transcripts are available from the author.

Appendix E:

Interview

Day – 17.7.2010

Place – CEPI-Ecuador

Conducted by - Kevin Freudenburg

Name of the interviewee – Pedro (Director of CEPI-Ecuador)

Pedro is a trained lawyer and director of the Centro de Participacion e Integracion Hispano-Ecuatoriano.

Interview transcripts are available from the author.

Appendix F:

Interview

Day – 17.7.2010

Place – AESCO headquarters

Conducted by - Kevin Freudenburg

Name of the interviewee - Juan Carlos Rois (President and CEO of the AESCO)

Interview transcripts are available from the author.

Appendix G:

Interview

Day – 17.7.2010

Place – SENAMI headquarters in Madrid

Conducted by - Kevin Freudenburg

Name of the interviewee – Walter Jaromillo (Communications Manager of the Secretaria de Migrantes Ecuador)

Interview transcripts are available from the author.

Appendix H:

Interview

Day – 20.7.2010

Place – CEPI Ecuador

Conducted by - Kevin Freudenburg

Name of the interviewee – Marisol (Outreach Specialist for the CEPI Ecuador)

Interview transcripts are available from the author.

Appendix I:

Interview

Day – 30.7.2010

Place – CEPI Ecuador

Conducted by - Kevin Freudenburg

Name of the interviewee – Silvia de Antonio (Director of Activities and Special Projects)

Interview conducted through e-mail correspondence.

Interview transcripts are available from the author.