UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

Mobilizing Abroad, Citizenship, and Legacies of the Past: The Case of Ecuadorian Immigrants in Madrid and New York City.

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

by

María Cristina Fernández Gutiérrez

Committee in charge:

Professor David S. FitzGerald, Chair
Professor John D. Skrentny, Co-Chair
Professor Isaac Martin
Professor Pamela Radcliff
Professor Carlos Waisman

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The Dissertation of Cristina Lacomba is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

Co-Chair

Chair

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Federación Regional de Vecinos de Madrid	FRAVM
Movimiento 15 de Mayo	15M
Iniciativa Legistaltiva Popular	ILP
Social Movement Organizations	SMOs

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VITA

University of California, San Diego
Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology 2014

Dissertation: "Mobilizing Abroad, Citizenship, and Legacies of the Past: The Case of Ecuadorian Immigrants in Madrid and New York City."

Committee: David S. FitzGerald (Chair), Isaac Martin (Co-Chair), Pamela Radcliff, John D. Skrentny, Carlos Waisman

Antonio De Nebrija University, Madrid
Master of Arts in Applied Linguistics 2007

University of Alcala de Henares, Madrid
Bachelor of Arts in History, 2004

PAPERS PRESENTED

American Sociological Association, 2013. Roundtable Session Immigrant Collective Engagement Practices: The Case of Ecuadorian Immigrants in New York and Madrid Cities.

UCLA Graduate Student Conference, 2012, Repertoires of Contention in Comparative Perspective: The Experience of Ecuadorian Immigrants in Madrid and New York City.

NYLON (NYU), 2011 Conference at the London School of Economics. Establishing Ways of Belonging: Ecuadorian Immigrant Political Engagement in New York City and Ecuador.

Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, 2009, University of California, San Diego. Reshaping Community Participation: Tunkaseños in a Bi-national Context

FELLOWSHIPS AND AWARDS

Dissertation Advancement, Department of Sociology, UCSD (2014)

Dissertation Writing Award, Department of Sociology, UCSD (2013)

Dean of Social Sciences Travel Award Fund, UCSD (2012)

Latino Initiative Fellowship, UCSD (2010)

Mutua Madrileña, Spain (2009-2010)

Fulbright Scholarship, Spain (2007-2009)

Pre-Dissertation Travel Grant, Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies, UCSD (2009)

Graduate Student Support Fellowship, Department of Sociology, UCSD (2007-2009)

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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by

María Cristina Fernández Gutiérrez

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

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Professor David S. FitzGerald, Chair
Professor John D. Skrentny, Co-Chair

In this work I analyze how the political engagement of Ecuadorian immigrants takes place in New York City and Madrid. In so doing, I ask what features of Ecuador appear in the context of settlement, and how these features shape immigrant political engagement. I argue that tensions among immigrants of the same nationality unintentionally lead to their incorporation into the larger civil society organizations of the receiving context. Then I turn the focus of my attention to New York City and Madrid to understand how the contextual features of these cities shape the participants' political incorporation. In Chapter 2, I take on issues of citizenship and membership to demonstrate that the differences in the demographic composition,

language, political institutions, and religious organizations of Madrid and New York City shape the way in which Ecuadorian immigrants collectively mobilize to make demands on the government**.** In chapter 3, I describe the formal political structures of these cities and show how participants in this study gained access to them. In chapter 4, I focus on the collective action repertoires of participants as vessels of bridging social capital. I show that trust and cooperation can develop between first-generation Ecuadorian immigrants and other social groups. Lastly, in chapter 5 I describe the gender differences in political behavior that I found in these two contexts. I argue that in Madrid language similarities allowed male participants to be employed in posts which require interaction with the rest of society. Also, under a less restrictive context of immigration law, the participants in Madrid were able to regularize their immigration status sooner, spending little or no time in an undocumented status and accessing the larger labor market. I show that the women participants engaged in political organizations due to concerns with social issues involving abuses in housing or salary payments and through friends, rather than through their children as the literature had emphasized.

Introduction

On April 10, 2006, immigrants in the US took to the streets of major cities and converged on Washington D.C. to protest against a proposed legislation known as H.R. 4437, which would have increased penalties for unauthorized immigration and categorized undocumented immigrants in the US as criminals. In addition to their rejection of the bill, protestors also sought a comprehensive reform of US immigration laws so as to provide undocumented immigrants with a path to citizenship. In New York City, immigrants who convened on this day at City Hall Park were received in Spanish, Chinese, French, and Korean, and heard invocations by religious leaders including Catholic priests, ministers from various Protestant denominations, a rabbi, and the leader of a Buddhist temple.[1] The demonstrations have continued into the present year, although with less media coverage than that offered during the 2006 rallies.

Academics and pundits have discussed the emerging political force that the immigrant population represented. The protestors, though not all undocumented immigrants, were demanding rights for undocumented immigrants who lack formal citizenship in this country and thus the possibility to influence policy by voting in local and national elections. However, the size of the rallies sent the message to politicians on Capitol Hill that they had to consider the potential of a constituency that included a growing number of immigrants.

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[1] "Immigrants Rally in Scores of Cities for Legal Status," *New York Times*, published online April 11, 2006. http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/11/us/11immig.html?pagewanted=all

Among those in the audience of the 2006 protests at New York City Hall were many Ecuadorians who attended along with other immigrants, including from El Salvador, Mexico, and Honduras, who were present as members of immigrant organizations. There they joined Senegalese, Chinese, and Indian immigrants, among others. The participants in this study who reported attending those protests were both undocumented immigrants and new naturalized citizens who demanded immigrant rights.

On the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, in Spain, immigrant protests demanding legal status for the unauthorized had resulted in 2000 in a reform granting a path to citizenship to those irregularly in the country as long as they had a job contract. Ecuadorians, however, until 2003 had mostly entered the country without satisfying visa requirements, finding jobs quickly in the service and construction sectors in the growing economy of the early 2000s. By 2008, many had acquired Spanish nationality, yet this year they were marching in great numbers accompanied only by other Ecuadorians; they marched to the headquarters of the national political institutions in Madrid, including the Parliament and the Moncloa Palace, the Prime Minister's residence. They were not marching for immigrants' rights like their compatriots in the US. Instead, they were denouncing the unemployment status to which the 2008 economic crisis had reduced them, and the default on mortgage payments to which many of them had been driven as a consequence.

These different immigrant protests involving the same immigrant group, Ecuadorians, on both sides of the Atlantic, provide a window through which to understand the interrelations between immigrant collective political mobilization,

citizenship, and the state in liberal democratic societies during a period of intensive immigration flows.

Scholars have raised questions concerning the ways, if any, that immigrant groups transform the societies in which they settle. Do immigrants incorporate themselves into the destination countries? Does the country of origin of an immigrant group in any way shape their practices in the country of settlement? Does citizenship in the country provide unconditional incorporation? How do contextual differences shape the practices of immigrant groups? These questions are important for scholars undertaking comparative analyses.

This study helps answer the last question by showing how Ecuadorian immigrants in the US and Spain, and specifically, in New York City and Madrid, engage in the collective presentation of political demands to influence government policy. Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain profited from less restrictive immigration policies based on a presumed easier incorporation by virtue of cultural similarities. Ecuadorians in New York live under strict immigration laws that limit their path to citizenship. How do these national laws shape the political incorporation of this immigrant group? Additionally, while Ecuadorians in New York City have settled in a traditional gateway city, those in Madrid would likely be the pioneers in Madrid's acquiring this status should present patterns of immigration flows continue. How do these different situations shape the respective political engagement practices of these two groups? How do the different formal political structures which they must work within influence the way they make demands? I explore how Ecuadorian immigrants develop alliances with other social groups by way of participating in political

organizations based on a strict ethno-national identity (Ecuadorian) and a social justice identification involving community organizations whose membership includes multiple nationalities. My goal is to show how political incorporation is embedded in contextual and historical conjunctures that create different ways of belonging and traditions of protest. Immigration scholars, especially in the US, have studied extensively the process of immigrant incorporation; however, the focus on immigrant political incorporation is fairly new. Moreover, the comparative analysis I undertake brings into scholarly inquiry how a country that, like Spain, is a relative newcomer to the set of countries that are major destinations of immigrants deals with its immigrants in the realm of collective action, which is a newer topic of scholarly inquiry.

Scholars of immigrant political behavior are acutely interested in explaining how immigrants participate in the political structures of the destination societies. They focus on political opportunities in the formal system that encourage mobilization and allow the incorporation of immigrant groups. Scholars working on transnational studies have engaged in debates on the effects of immigrants' participation in the politics of their home country in comparison to their participation in the politics of their society of settlement. To date, there is disagreement on the effects of home-country participation on political incorporation in the destination society (Huntington 2004; Portes et al. 2009). Their efforts to explain the political participation of immigrant groups in the US have provided much knowledge on immigrants' organizational behavior in this country, but this has generally been accompanied by a myopic vision of its relation to political processes elsewhere.

Nonetheless, in the past few years, and aware of the need to expand interest in current single-country studies, scholars have turned to comparative analyses of the political engagement practices of immigrants. They have moved from single country or case study analyses of formal political institutions to comparative studies of contexts that have traditionally received immigrants, such as New York City and Amsterdam (Mollenkopf 2014; Vermeulen, Michon, and Tillie 2014). Comparative studies have been undertaken mostly by social movement and immigration scholars interested in the political behavior of immigrants (Koopmans *et al*. 2005; Bloemraad 2006; Wong 2006; Klandermans, van der Toorn, and van Stekelenburg 2008; Okamoto and Ebert 2010; Tyler and Marciniak 2013).

These studies fail to provide an understanding of the process of making political demands by immigrant groups that includes factors such as circumstances in the country of origin and historical conjunctures that shape paths of immigrant incorporation. As I will show, the process of political incorporation may be triggered by mechanisms within an immigrant group. Then, contextual characteristics shape that incorporation, producing different modes of political incorporation. In Madrid, Ecuadorians dealt with a system that hides immigrants' ethnic origins, whereas in New York City, immigrants incorporate into a political system in which ethnic identity is at the forefront of politics, supported by previous immigration waves and their cohorts.

A Chart for the Chapters Ahead

In this work I explain how the political engagement of Ecuadorian immigrants takes place in New York City and Madrid. In so doing, I ask what features of Ecuador

appear in the context of settlement, and how these features shape immigrant political engagement. I consider this in chapter 1, where I focus on how participants in this study engage in home-country politics in Madrid and New York City through grassroots organizations and why the leaders and members of these organizations reach out to non-ethno nationally based associations in making demands upon the receiving society governments. I show that the engagement of Ecuadorian political parties in the host societies heightened distrust among the study's participants, inhibiting their ability to effectively organize at the ethno-national level. As a result, the participants found venues for engagement outside of their nationality group. I argue that tensions among immigrants of the same nationality unintentionally lead to their incorporation into the larger civil society organizations of the receiving context.

Then I turn the focus of my attention to New York City and Madrid to understand how the contextual features of these cities shape the participants' political incorporation. In chapter 2, I take on issues of citizenship and membership to demonstrate that the differences in the demographic composition, language, political institutions, and religious organizations of Madrid and New York City shape the way in which Ecuadorian immigrants collectively mobilize to make demands on the government**.** In chapter 3, I describe the formal political structures of these cities and show how participants in this study gained access to them. In chapter 4, I focus on the collective action repertoires of participants as vessels of bridging social capital. While previous studies on the effects of ethnic diversity on social capital demonstrate that immigration produces, in the short run, isolation among members of immigrant groups, I show that the opposite is also possible: trust and cooperation can develop

between first-generation Ecuadorian immigrants and other social groups. Lastly, in chapter 5 I describe the gender differences in political behavior that I found in these two contexts. I argue that in Madrid language similarities allowed male participants to be employed in posts which require interaction with the rest of society. Also, under a less restrictive context of immigration law, the participants in Madrid were able to regularize their immigration status sooner, spending little or no time in an undocumented status and accessing the larger labor market. I show that the women participants engaged in political organizations due to concerns with social issues involving abuses in housing or salary payments and through friends, rather than through their children as the literature had emphasized.

The Participants in this Study: Who they are and what they Left Behind

The context in which immigrants depart their country and the one in which they are received their destination society is central in understanding immigrants' future incorporation (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). Both the latest Ecuadorian economic crisis and political instability are important factors to take into account when considering the conditions for Ecuadorian emigration. Ecuador has been a country of emigration since the 1950s (Kyle, 2005). Contrary to the global trend of feminization in migration flows since the 1960s, from the 1960s to the mid-1990s migratory movement from Ecuador involved *mestizo* men moving to the US and Venezuela. Later, urban male indigenous people and women started migrating to the US. The economic crisis of the 1990s prompted a wave of migration that by 2004 had resulted in two million Ecuadorians (15 per cent of the entire population) working overseas

(Hall, 2005). From 1999 to 2007, 14 per cent of the working age population left the country (FLACSO-UNFPA, 2008).

There are around 500,000 Ecuadorians in the US, including the unauthorised population, of which 42.5 per cent (more than four in ten) live in New York City (Pew Hispanic Report, 2010). One-fourth of Ecuadorians in the United States live in Queens (Gratton, 2007). According to the Latino Data Project, 202,411 Ecuadorians lived in New York City in 2008. Meanwhile, 68.3 per cent of the foreign-born population lives in Queens and 75.9 per cent in Brooklyn. Some of the undocumented Ecuadorians in this study who arrived before 1982 benefited from the 1986 Immigration Reform Act (IRCA) if they could prove they had been in the country since 1982. Others, through family reunification and employment-based laws, qualified to apply for immigrant status. In general, nearly four in ten Ecuadorian immigrants (37.2 per cent) are US citizens, although many of them remain undocumented.

The literature tends to mark the 1970s as the subtle beginning of Ecuadorian migration to the U.S. with tourist and work visas (Carpio Benalcázar 1992; Preston 1974). Some entrepreneurs with connections to New York through the 'panama hat' business migrated in the late 1950s (Jokisch and Kyle 2005). During fieldwork I interviewed white and mestizo Ecuadorians who had arrived to Queens in the late 1960s. Many economic Ecuadorian migrants (66.2 per cent) arrived in the 1990s during a process of economic decline in Ecuador. In 1998 Ecuador's economy collapsed with the final dollarization of the Ecuadorian currency, the sucre, in 2000.

Ecuadorian migrants arrived in New York to find a city with an hour-glass economy and an ever dwindling factory industry (Mollenkopf, 1999: 414) among other fiscal, social, and political transformations (Mollenkopf and Castells, 1991; Sassen 1991). The service sector was growing instead, producing jobs both in higher and in lower positions (Smith, Cordero-Guzman, and Grosfoguel, 2002: 2). For Ecuadorian men, the building trades are the most salient occupational sectors; however, there are many Ecuadorians represented in management, sales, and office support. Ecuadorian males work in the food service industry, the majority as waiters, cooks and helpers, and more than 10 per cent were found to have managerial, supervisory, and professional occupations (Gratton 2007; Pew Hispanic Center, 2010). Ecuadorian women used to be found in factory work, especially in textiles (Chin, 2005). However, the garment industry is practically non-existent in present-day New York City; it has flown to other states and overseas. Other women work as domestic workers (maids, child-care workers) and janitors. Some have managerial, supervisory and professional positions. Nearly 20 per cent work as book-keepers, teachers, and in other white-collar jobs and many also work as clerks, salespersons, and legal and medical aides (Gratton, 2007).

The harsh economic conditions since the 1990s increased both the rate of unemployment and the poverty levels in Ecuador, prompting the government to dollarize the economy in 2000, which had a strong negative effect on many Ecuadorians. There are two main factors which explain the migratory wave of 1996. The first one is the hardening of the U.S. immigration policy which in the 1990s leads to a change in the Ecuadorian's migration destination. The second one is that the U.S.

measures coincided with economic collapse in Ecuador. Under these conditions, Spain emerged as an alternative. This sudden financial distress affected what would be a new type of migrant – an educated population with urban work experience.

Until 2003, as citizens of a former colony, Ecuadorians did not need a visa to enter Spain; in contrast to travel to the U.S., arrival was both easy and safe. The costs were less too (between $15, 000 and $12,000 for an arranged undocumented trip north, which contrasts with the Spanish alternative ranging between $3,500 and $4,000).

Before 2003, the naturalisation process was relatively easy for Latin Americans in Spain. If they can demonstrate that they are descendants (offspring or great sons/daughters) of Spaniards they may obtain the Spanish nationality after a year of permanent residence in Spain (Título Primero del Código Civil Español). Two years of proved residency in the country was enough to fulfil the prerequisite for a 5-year residency permit, during which they could begin the process for acquiring Spanish nationality, followed eventually by an indefinite time permit (for other immigrants from outside of the EU is 10 years, except for Sephardi Jews and nationals of former Spanish colonies). In 1998, the Spanish registry, known as *el padrón*, counted 7,046 Ecuadorians in Spain (INE, 1998). After Romania's inclusion in the EU in 2007, Ecuadorians became one of the largest groups of non-EU immigrants at an estimated number of 420,000 (INE, 2008). By June 2004, the estimated population of Ecuadorians in Spain registered in the *padrón* was 470,000 of whom 275,000 were undocumented (Gratton 2005).However, as of January 2013, 286,964 Ecuadorians

have been registered in the national territory (INE, 2013). The decrease in this number reflects the effects of the economic crisis in Spain.

Ecuadorians primarily chose the autonomous community of Madrid, and the city in particular, as places in which to settle (Gómez Ciriano, 2007). According to Madrid's civil registry, there are 79,322 Ecuadorians living in Madrid as of January 2013 (C.A.S., 2013) and they form the largest migrant group in the city after Rumanians (Boletín de la Población Extranjera, 2013).

Migration since the 1990s to the EU and Spain, concretely, is also characterized by its feminization. Women travelled as independent workers leaving their families behind. In contrast with migration to the US, Ecuadorian women who migrate to Spain are better educated and left in search of experiences that would liberate them from traditional expectations (Herrera, 2005; Serrano, 2008). Another aspect of this migration is that is socially selective, it is the middle classes who migrate. From 1996 to 2001, the worst affected by the economic crisis were the middle sectors and this composed the bulk of the migration venture. Indigenous people of Ecuador is underrepresented among immigrants, but as it occurs with non-indigenous representatives, it is the wealthier of the indigenous who migrate, as is the case of the Otavaleños, merchants from the North who have put their crafts into European and US markets (Kyle 1999, 2000).

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Notes on Methodology

The evidence informing this study is derived from qualitative interviews and participant observation among Ecuadorian immigrants who have settled in New York City and Madrid, the largest destination cities for Ecuadorian emigration (Jockisch and Pribilsky, 2002). I undertook a pilot study in Madrid during the summer of 2008, did two years of multi-sited ethnographic research from 2010 to 2012 and conducted 97 semi-structured interviews with Ecuadorian documented and undocumented migrant workers who make collective demands through political organisations in these cities.[2] The main focus of the interviews was the participants' engagement in making collective demands of the state, considered in its role as the central organization capable of conferring rights on immigrants. The interviews were accompanied by general questions regarding participants' migration experience and their organizational life in Ecuador. While the samples are representative of participants in this stuy only, they speak to larger processes of immigrant political engagement in contexts of reception with similar characteristics to the ones posed in this analysis. I chose them through snowball methods with multiple points of entry in different organizations in order to elude the built-in risks in snowball sampling procedures of interviewing only close networks of participants, and to cross-check information with other respondents (Cornelius, 1982).

In this study, an immigrant political organization is based on immigrant identity and is normally comprised of members who share an ethnic identity, such as Ecuadorian immigrants. These members may make claims on the home-country

[2] I interviewed 102 people, including political figures and priests, of non-Ecuadorian origin.

government (Ecuador) or on the government of the country where they reside (New York City or Madrid)

As my aim was to provide simultaneous depth to the study of immigrant and home-country politics through participant observation, I have provided an understanding of inter-group alliances and intra-group interaction that informs political incorporation. Thus, my methodology controls for national origin without falling into a narrow, nationality-based analysis (FitzGerald, 2012; Bloemraad, 2013).

I asses the political participation in popular modes of protest through which the participants make collective demands of the sending and receiving states, which grant or remove immigrants' specific rights, such as the right to be physically present in a country, and more generally, workers' rights. I also consider political campaigns, party meetings, student councils, community participation and indigenous organisations or unions as channels of contact with the political representatives of these communities through which to make demands.[3]

I taped all of the interviews, which typically lasted between one and a half and two hours but occasionally ran as long as four hours. Nine of the interviews were concluded in less than an hour and a half. I conducted the interviews in Spanish in places where the respondents felt comfortable, such as in their homes, at their organisations, in restaurants over lunch or dinner or in parks and churches. (See Table 1).

[3] I use pseudonyms for all of the organisations and participants in this study.

The Organisations

Immigrants normally come into contact with the political system by making collective demands through ethnic organisations (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970). Hence, I conducted participant observation at two claims-making organisations in each city, where I also interviewed their members and leaders. One organisation comprises Ecuadorian immigrants who make demands of the Ecuadorian and US government. The other is a community organisation comprising both natives and immigrants of Latin American origin through which, together with the Ecuadorian organisation's members and leadership, collective demands are made of the receiving context government (see Table 2).

The Ecuadorian Organisations

"The Front" is comprised of *mestizo* Ecuadorians – descendants of mixed parentage between European and American populations – who demand emigrant rights from the Ecuadorian government. Jointly with the members of the "Growth" organisation, those in "The Front" demand comprehensive immigration reform from the US federal government. These organisations also join their claims for the betterment of their communities of settlement (rent issues, protection for workers and fair salaries, etc.). The "Action" organisation in Madrid also has *mestizo* members, with the exception of its two leaders, who are indigenous Ecuadorians. Similar to members of The Front, Action members make demands of both the Spanish and the Ecuadorian governments, lobbying the Ecuadorian government to pass legislation protecting emigrants from Ecuadorian bank practices in Ecuador.

The Community Organisations

"Growth" is a large community organisation comprising mostly Latin Americans in New York City. The organisation makes the abovementioned demands of the US federal and local governments. Between 30 and 50 members attend meetings held three days a week. Most of The Front's members and a large number of Ecuadorians who do not attend The Front's meetings are members of Growth. "Solutions" is an organisation whose members demand that the Spanish government change the current mortgage legislation. Native Spaniards and immigrants of different origins attend Solutions' meetings and demonstrations and the attention it has drawn from the media, word-of-mouth and its webpage has resulted in the number of attendees rising from 20 to 90 after only 5 months of field work – a number that continued to increase.

I spent my time in these organisations helping in their meetings every week, planning events, fundraising and collaborating on their projects. I went with them to demonstrations in defense of immigrants and workers' rights before the City Hall, Congress and private entities (banks) in both locales. I also spent time in other organisations in the community and in other institutions such as churches and unions. I went to Ecuadorian festivities and parades and spent time in the respondents' neighbourhoods, houses and social environments. Finally, I attended parties, events, sports, dances and gatherings for special celebrations.

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Chapter 1

Mobilising Abroad Across Ethnic Lines: Home-Country Politics and Immigrant Political Engagement in Comparative Perspective

Scholarship on immigration in the social sciences has traditionally focused on the incorporation of immigrants after their arrival to the society of settlement (Alba and Nee, 1997, 2003). This literature has been attentive to the political incorporation of immigrant groups through ethnic lines and their participation in the political system (Katznelson, 1981; Portes and Rumbaut, 1996; Bloemraad, 2006; Wong, 2006; Klandermans *et al*., 2008; Bloemraad and Ramakrishnan, 2008). Focusing on claims-making organisations and immigrants themselves, in thus article I simultaneously investigate migrants' home-country politics and immigrant politics within the realm of mobilization.

The participants in both cities have difficulty organising with other politically active Ecuadorian organisations' members making demands on both the sending and receiving governments. By focusing on the immigrant group rather than on the destination context alone and building on research that shows the importance of immigrants' sending societies in understanding immigrants' behaviour in host societies, I show that a close examination of the participants' political mobilisation reveals patterns that are best explained by reference to how ethnic and political experiences in the sending society shapes immigrant mobilisation in the receiving one.

This analysis is part of a larger comparative case-study in which I examine the contextual differences in the collective claims-making of Ecuadorian migrants in two contexts: Madrid and New York City. Building on the concept of political opportunity

structures (Tarrow 1994), in the larger comparison I investigate the way in which these host-country settings shape the making of collective demands for the participants in this study. However, my focus is on the similarities in how the participants engage politically in both locales. I find that home-country political alignments and divisions have the same impact in host-country activism in both cities. In this article, I provide an answer as to why I observe the same results in both settings.

I identify two major obstacles to forming alliances among immigrants of the same nationality group: first, the presence of home-country political parties in the receiving societies and second, the participants' distrust of other nationals and Ecuadorian political institutions. As such participants engage with native associations to make collective demands, they learn new skills and the political context of reception.

To address the duality inherent in migration, as migrants are simultaneously emigrants and immigrants, I strategically chose two organisations whose memberships overlap in each urban locale —one in which immigrants direct their claims to the sending and receiving country and the other in which they participate with the natives and other immigrants in the claims-making activities of the receiving context.

The participants in this study are divided into three groups: those who engage exclusively in community organisations that make claims on the receiving state, those who engage exclusively in Ecuadorian organisations that make claims on both the receiving and the sending state, and those whose membership overlaps in both types of organisations. I demonstrate that their decision to participate in the former *versus* the latter is shaped in part by their previous political experiences and ethnicities in

Ecuador, which are taken to the contexts of reception. I show that for the leaders and some of the members who are involved in both types of organisations and who have pre-migration activist trajectories, political incorporation in the receiving society and home-country politics occur hand in hand. On the other hand, those who only participate in the community organisations refer to previous home-country experiences with politics as a factor that inhibits their involvement in the Ecuadorian organisations. Those who participate exclusively in the Ecuadorian organisations benefit from exposure to the community organisations through members with dual membership.

I begin by reviewing the literature on immigrant political engagement and build on studies that have focused on the effect of the sending society. I then turn to the methodology used in this study and the context of Ecuadorian emigration to New York City and Madrid. I conclude with a reflection on the implications of these findings for larger debates on immigrant political engagement.

Immigrant Political Participation in Diverse Receiving Contexts

Social scientists have long based their understandings of immigrant incorporation into new social settings on assimilation theory (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1995; Park, 1928; Warner and Srole, 1945; Gordon, 1964) and its reformulations (Glazer, 1993; Kazal, 1995; Portes, 1997; Portes and Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997; Rumbaut, 1997). In the domain of politics in general, a large portion of the literature has focused on the role civic associations' play in shaping their members' political learning (Verba *et al.*, 1995; Tocqueville, 2000; Putnam, 2000).

Nonetheless, contemporary immigrant political participation and collective action have recently gained the attention of migration scholars (Gerstle and Mollenkopf, 2001; Waters, 2008; Hochschild and Mollenkopf, 2009). Hochschild and Mollenkopf (2009) define political incorporation as the capacity of immigrant groups to take advantage of the political opportunity structures of the receiving societies (12). With the exception of a few studies (Jones-Correa, 1998; Danese, 1999; Pechu, 1999) most research on immigrant political engagement beyond formal politics is fairly recent and has focused on the context of reception (Okamoto, 2003; Koopmans, 2004; Giugni and Passy, 2004; Koopmans and Olzak, 2004; Koopmans *et al*., 2005; Bloemraad, 2006; Wong, 2006; Klandermans *et al.*, 2008; Bloemraad and Ramakrishnan, 2008; Okamoto and Ebert, 2010).

For instance, in a comparison of immigrants in the US and Canada, Bloemraad (2006) shows how immigrants acquire formal citizenship and participate in political life through community organisations. She coins the social process of the immigrant groups' political incorporation as 'structured mobilisation' (2006). Her analysis shows that the successful political incorporation of immigrants, measured as citizenship acquisition, largely owes to the political institutions, integration regimes and administrative bureaucracies of the contexts of reception.

Likewise, European scholars have mostly looked at the collective action activities of migrant groups by concentrating on the political opportunities (Klandermans, van der Toorn, and van Stekelenburg, 2008). Koopmans and his colleagues (2005) address some shortcomings of the political opportunity. In a comparison of German, Britain, France, the Netherlands and Switzerland, they show

how cross-national differences in these states' discursive understandings of the construction of citizenship influence the way in which migrants making collective claims access the process of policy making. Particularly, they show how cross-national discursive understandings of citizenship and national identity define the debates on the inclusion of immigrants into these societies. Their data derive nonetheless from newspaper accounts of collective action, which do not reflect the social process of mobilisation itself.

It is clear from these studies that the contextual characteristics of the receiving societies are pivotal to understanding immigrants' political engagement practices. Thus, in the larger comparison in which I situate the current analysis, I expected the different political opportunities of New York City and Madrid, together with current demographic and linguistic factors, to drive the collective demands of this group into distinct paths, as these cities have diverse citizenship regimes, political systems, and traditions of migration. Notwithstanding these differences, I found unexpected similarities, which I will analyse below. Studies that concentrate on the influence of the sending society are most helpful in this analysis, where I shift the focus to the immigrant group itself and the domain of collective mobilisation to inform scholarship of immigrant political engagement.

The Influence of the Sending Society

Immigration scholars – particularly in the US – have acknowledged the importance of political, social and cultural conditions in the country of origin before migration. For instance, new work on race and migration has addressed the importance

of migrants' experiences before and after migration (Roth, 2012; Hein, 2006). Some scholars have suggested that the types of political regimes in the immigrants' sending states and the proximity of the country of origin influence immigrants' political values and behaviour towards citizenship acquisition (Portes and Mozo, 1985; Yang, 1994; Bueker, 2005).

Yet others who have taken a national perspective have shown how home-country experiences inhibit the formation of stable communities based on nationality in the country of reception. For example, immigrants' generational differences (Erdmans, 1995), gender and class (Gold, 1995) and regional conflict (Waldinger and Lichter, 2003) in the home country explain the conflicts within ethnic groups in the US. Closer to this study, Guarnizo (2001) and Landolt and Goldring (2009) show that the different contexts of exit and reception shape the political behaviour of Latin American immigrants. In these studies, the authors shed light on the transnational activities (broadly defined) of Colombians in the US and the gendered political experiences of Latin American women in Canada. They do not focus on how political experiences in the country of origin inform the collective claims-making behaviour of immigrant groups.

Immigrant Home-Country Politics

The scholarship on transnationalism (Smith and Guarnizo, 1998; Guarnizo *et al*.,1999; Guarnizo *et al*., 2003; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003a&b; Smith 2006; Smith and Bakker 2008; Portes *et al.*, 2009) and its critics (Foner, 2002; FitzGerald, 2004; Waldinger, 2008, 2010) have yielded new insight into how immigrants engage with

their places of origin and how states shape this engagement (Waldinger and FitzGerald, 2004).

In the US, scholars have shown that among the few who normally participate, the older and most educated immigrants who have been in the country longer tend to participate more with their home countries' organisations (Guarnizo *et al.,* 2003; Portes *et al.,* 2009). With different goals overall from the scholars above, Waldinger *et al*. (2012) show that the few immigrants who keep politically involved with the home country are those who have pre-migration experiences with homeland politics. They find that previous voting and participation in political or civic organisations are resources that Mexican immigrants bring to maintain ties with the homeland. As Mexican activists acquire US citizenship, they become more interested in Mexican political affairs (2012: 731).

On European shores, Bermudez (2010) examines the political practise of Colombian immigrants in Spain and the UK. In addition to showing that immigrant political incorporation and transnationalism are a dialectical process, she shows that this was more the case for Colombians in Spain than in the UK, mentioning as explanatory factors the constituting history of the immigrant community and individual factors, such as migrants' previous political experiences. Morales and Pilati's (2013) study focusing on Southern European cities shows that recent arrivals participate more in the home-country politics than older, more settled immigrant groups. Finally, focusing on the same immigrant group as this study does, Boccagni (2009 a,b,c, and d) shows the transnational activities and identity formation processes of Southern Ecuadorians in Italy. However, we learn less about their collective

political engagement. In this analysis, I examine the participants' engagement with home-country politics and its relation to immigrant political engagement in light of the aforementioned studies.

Methods

The evidence informing the larger study is derived from qualitative interviews with and participant observation among Ecuadorian immigrants who have settled in New York City and Madrid, the largest destination cities for Ecuadorian emigration (Jokisch and Pribilsky, 2002). I undertook a pilot study in Madrid during the summer of 2008, during which interviewed the leaders of the main Ecuadorian organisations and some members within the scope of exploring the landscape of the Ecuadorian associations and their goals and activities. In reach of the same scope used in Madrid, I began fieldwork in August 2010 in Queens, New York City, where I visited the main Ecuadorian organisations and interviewed their leaders and members.

In August 2011, I continued the research process in Madrid. I visited the most salient Ecuadorian organizations in Madrid, of which two made demands of the Spanish and Ecuadorian states. I did the same in Queens, where three Ecuadorian organizations made demands of the U.S. and Ecuadorian states. I undertook participant observation in organizations that were similar in resources and composition in both cities (I describe these organisations below). I did two years of multi-sited ethnographic research from 2010 to 2012 and conducted 97 semi-structured interviews (50 of them in New York City and 47 in Madrid) with Ecuadorian documented and undocumented migrant workers who make collective demands through these

organisations in these cities.[4]In this analysis, I relay on interviews with participants in the four organizations I describe below, journalists, and leaders in Ecuadorian organizations making collective demands.

I asses the political participation in popular modes of protest through which the participants make collective demands of the sending and receiving states, which grant or remove immigrants' specific rights, such as the right to be physically present in a country, and more generally, workers' rights. I also consider political campaigns, party meetings, student councils, community participation and indigenous organisations or unions as channels of contact with the political representatives of these communities through which to make demands.[5]

I chose participants through snowball methods with multiple points of entry in different organizations in order to elude the built-in risks in snowball sampling procedures of interviewing only close networks of participants, and to cross-check information with other respondents (Cornelius, 1982). I taped all of the interviews, which typically lasted between one and a half and two hours but occasionally ran as long as four hours. Nine of the interviews were concluded in less than an hour and a half. I conducted the interviews in Spanish in places where the respondents felt comfortable, such as in their homes, at their organisations, in restaurants over lunch or dinner or in parks and churches. I transcribed all the interviews and coded them with respect to different theoretical categories (such as "political incorporation" or "assimilation") and according to patterns that emerged, such as "in-group fighting,"

[4] I interviewed 102 people, including political figures and priests, of non-Ecuadorian origin.

[5] I use pseudonyms for all of the organisations and participants in this study.

"distrust," "host-country involvement," "home-country involvement," "same/different group engagement," "political parties," etc (see Table 3).

The Organisations

Immigrants have traditionally formed voluntary organizations such as hometown associations, mutual aid and rotating credit associations, and religious and political associations. They normally come into contact with the political system by making collective demands through ethnic organisations (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Moya, 2005). As my aim was to provide simultaneous depth to the study of immigrant and home-country politics through participant observation I chose Ecuadorian organizations that make demands on both the receiving and sending governments. By bringing in to the analysis community organizations I have provided an understanding of inter-group alliances and intra-group interaction that informs political participation. Thus, my methodology controls for national origin without falling into a narrow, nationality-based analysis (FitzGerald, 2012; Bloemraad, 2013).

I conducted participant observation at two claims-making organisations in each city, where I also interviewed their members and leaders. One organisation comprises Ecuadorian immigrants who make demands of the Ecuadorian government. The other is a community organisation comprising both natives and immigrants of Latin American origin through which, together with the Ecuadorian organisation's members and leadership, collective demands are made of the receiving context government. (see Table 4).

The Ecuadorian Organisations

"The Front" is comprised of *mestizo* Ecuadorians – descendants of mixed parentage between European and American populations – who demand emigrant rights from the Ecuadorian government. The organization was formed in 2001 by Ecuadorian immigrants who arrived in the1990s from urban areas of Ecuador. During The Front organization's meetings and events I witnessed up to eighty Ecuadorians arrive. Its leaders work in the jewelry shop-floor industry, in the service sector, and some run small unstable business. Members worked in the construction related trades, some in the service sector. It is formed mostly by men, although they elected one woman as new vice-president and another woman as new speaker of the organization. It is open to other Ecuadorians without limits on political affiliation; however, as I show below, home-country politics shapes who joins the organization. Its members support the organization with donations which, at the time of fieldwork is not formally registered as a 501(c) ―non-profit― organization in New York State, and it appears informally in the internet. In the past, the organization's members have collectively demanded Ecuador's acceptance of dual nationality and the posibility to vote from abroad in Ecuadorian elections. Jointly with the members of the "Growth" organisation, those in "The Front" demand comprehensive immigration reform from the US federal government. These organisations also join their claims for the betterment of their communities of settlement (rent issues, protection for workers and fair salaries, etc.).

The "Action" organisation in Madrid also has *mestizo* members, with the exception of its two leaders, who are indigenous Ecuadorians who lived in Quito for

an extended period of time before migrating. The organization was formed by Ecuadorian immigrants from the city of Llano Grande. Soon after its constitution, its leaders were accused of corruption by part of its membership with a result in change of leadership to the current leaders. The main leader, an Ecuadorian woman, who worked providing day care for the elderly, devoted the evenings and weekends to the organization's activities. Other leaders used to work in the construction sector, but were unemployed during the time in which I undertook fieldwork. Other members worked in the construction and services sectors and were also unemployed at the time of fieldwork. Action is evenly comprised by men and women. Similar to members of The Front, Action members make demands of both the Spanish and the Ecuadorian governments, lobbying the Ecuadorian government to pass legislation protecting emigrants from Ecuadorian bank practices in Ecuador. They lobbied the Ecuadorian government for the passage of legislation for emigrants' rights. In 2008, Ecuadorians who used to work in the construction sector in Madrid lost their jobs and subsequently defaulted on their mortgage payments. In light of the continuous stream of Ecuadorians asking for help from Action, its leader took their claims as the most prominent point in the organisation's agenda. They demonstrated at the headquarters of Spanish banks, Madrid's City Hall, the Congress of Spain and the Ecuadorian Embassy.

The Community Organisations

"Growth" is a large community organisation comprising mostly Latin Americans in New York City. The organisation makes the abovementioned demands of the US federal and local governments. Between 30 and 50 members attend meetings held

three days a week. Most of The Front's members and a large number of Ecuadorians who do not attend The Front's meetings are members of Growth. "Solutions" is an organisation whose members demand that the Spanish government change the current mortgage legislation. Native Spaniards and immigrants of different origins attend Solutions' meetings and demonstrations and the attention it has drawn from the media, word-of-mouth and its webpage has resulted in the number of attendees rising from 20 to 90 after only 5 months of field work – a number that has continued to increase.

I spent my time in these organisations helping in their meetings every week, planning events, fundraising and collaborating on their projects. I went with them to demonstrations in defense of immigrants and workers' rights before the City Hall, Congress and private entities (banks) in both locales. I also spent time in other organisations in the community and in other institutions such as churches and unions. I went to Ecuadorian festivities and parades and spent time in the respondents' neighbourhoods, houses and social environments. Finally, I attended parties, events, sports, dances and gatherings for special celebrations.

Brief Context of Exit and Reception

The context in which immigrants depart their country and the one in which they are received their destination society is central in understanding immigrants' future incorporation (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996). Both the latest Ecuadorian economic crisis and political instability are important factors to take into account when considering the conditions for Ecuadorian emigration. Ecuador has been a country of emigration since the 1950s (Kyle, 2005). From the 1960s to the mid-1990s migratory movement from Ecuador involved *mestizo* men moving to the US and Venezuela.

Later, urban male indigenous people and women started migrating to the US. The economic crisis of the 1990s prompted a wave of migration that by 2004 had resulted in two million Ecuadorians (15 per cent of the entire population) working overseas (Hall, 2005). From 1999 to 2007, 14 per cent of the working age population left the country (FLACSO-UNFPA, 2008).

There are around 500,000 Ecuadorians in the US, including the unauthorised population, of which 42.5 per cent (more than four in ten) live in New York City (Pew Hispanic Report, 2010). One-fourth of Ecuadorians in the United States live in Queens (Gratton, 2007). According to the Latino Data Project, 202,411 Ecuadorians lived in New York City in 2008. Meanwhile, 68.3 per cent of the foreign-born population lives in Queens and 75.9 per cent in Brooklyn. Some of the undocumented Ecuadorians in this study who arrived before 1982 benefited from the 1986 Immigration Reform Act (IRCA) if they could prove they had been in the country since 1982. Others, through family reunification and employment-based laws, qualified to apply for immigrant status. In general, nearly four in ten Ecuadorian immigrants (37.2 per cent) are US citizens, although many of them remain undocumented.

The harsh economic conditions since the 1990s increased both the rate of unemployment and the poverty levels in Ecuador, prompting the government to dollarize the economy in 2000, which had a strong negative effect on many Ecuadorians. The economic collapse in Ecuador coincided with the hardening of the US immigration policy, which led to a change in the Ecuadorian's migration destination in the 1990s. Under these conditions, Spain emerged as an alternative.

This sudden financial distress affected what would be a new type of migrant – an educated population with urban work experience. In contrast with migration to the US, Ecuadorian women who migrate to Spain are better educated and left in search of experiences that would liberate them from traditional expectations (Herrera, 2005; Serrano, 2008).

Until 2003, as citizens of a former colony, Ecuadorians did not need a visa to enter Spain and the costs were less and safer (between $3,500 and $4,000) than those to travel to the US (between $15,000 and $12,000 for an undocumented trip). Before 2003, the naturalisation process was relatively easy for Latin Americans in Spain. Two years of proved residency in the country was enough to fulfil the prerequisite for a 5-year residency permit, followed eventually by an indefinite time permit (for all other immigrants from outside of the EU is 10 years). In 1998, the Spanish registry, known as *el padrón*, counted 7,046 Ecuadorians in Spain (INE, 1998). After Romania's inclusion in the EU in 2007, Ecuadorians became one of the largest groups of non-EU immigrants at an estimated number of 420,000 (INE, 2008). However, as of January 2013, 286,964 Ecuadorians have been registered in the national territory (INE, 2013). The decrease in this number reflects the effects of the economic crisis in Spain. Ecuadorians primarily chose provinces in Madrid, and the city in particular, as places in which to settle (Gómez Ciriano, 2007). According to Madrid's civil registry, there are 79,322 Ecuadorians living in Madrid as of January 2013 (C.A.S., 2013) and they form the largest migrant group after Rumanians.

Findings

Out of the 50 New York City participants, 29 were US citizens, 9 had permanent resident cards, 1 held a work visa and 11 were unauthorised residents. In Madrid, out of the 47 participants, 40 were Spanish nationals and the rest held work permits or long-time resident cards. The bulk of the respondents emigrated between 1990 and 2006 in both locales, escaping political and economic instability in Ecuador. Tables 5 and 6 illustrate (1) the number of participants who were engaged in each organisation and (2) the number of participants simultaneously involved in both organisations. These membership categories are mutually exclusive.

As Table 3 shows, 60 and 47 per cent of the participants I interviewed in New York City and Madrid, respectively, had had pre-migration experiences in making collective demands of the Ecuadorian government including, as expected, the most educated participants in both locales. Most of them emigrated in their late 20s and early 30s, which allowed for political participation during their youth in Ecuador. The majority of them were in their late 40s and 50s in both locales at the time this study was conducted.

Those who were leaders of organisations in Ecuador continued to be involved in organisations today, even though the contexts in which they do so have changed. In Ecuador, they were involved in university student councils, social movements and political parties and had carried these political experiences and skills with them to Madrid and New York City.

The homeland and claims-making in New York City and Madrid

Although generalised distrust towards the government of the home-country is a widespread sentiment among immigrant groups (see Guarnizo *et al*., 1999), this case is illustrative of how generalised distrust and that of the Ecuadorian political parties shape immigrant mobilisation in the context of reception. As I demonstrate below, the presence of competing Ecuadorian political parties' ideologies in the context of reception percolate into these Ecuadorian organisations.

Ecuador's democracy was inaugurated in 1979, since which time it has faced economic problems as one of Latin America's largest indigenous social movements and political uses that undermine the strength of its democratic institutions (Margheritis, 2011). As such, the current Ecuadorian politics and politicians are characterised by a distrust of government, the state and the representatives in the institutions that run the country, especially after the last economic crisis, which developed during the 1990s (Hall, 2005).

Zamosc (2004) argues that political instability in the country has been the result of political measures over the economy during the implementation of the Ecuadorian neoliberal programme, in which class struggles were the main component in the protests (144). These translated into short-lived alliances among the diverse Ecuadorian political parties. Additionally, the rise of the indigenous movement has been a key new social actor, and scholars have emphasised the appearance of a "political culture of discord" based on regional and ideological alignments (Conaghan, 1989; Thoumi and Grindle, 1992, in Zamosc, 2004: 132).

From 1992 to 2005, Ecuador witnessed the rise of 10 – including interim and junta – governments. After high economic inflation levels in 2000, the government abandoned the *sucre* currency and dollarized the economy. According to the Latinobarometer – a research institution that investigates the development of Latin American democracies through public opinion polls – the most distrusted institution for the period from 1996 to 2011 in Latin America was the government or, more specifically, the political parties themselves in which only 20 per cent of the population reported having trust (Latinobarometer, 2011, Report: 47).

On the one hand, the members of these organisations do not trust their leaders, claiming that the staff profits from the organisation's funding and leaders pursue political advantages through their offices. On the other hand, the leaders of the Ecuadorian organisations belong to different Ecuadorian parties, and coalitions with other Ecuadorian organisations are short-lived.

Homeland political parties' involvement in both cities and the distrust therein

Latin American countries have tried to attract their nationals abroad using a variety of measures (see for example FitzGerald, 2009). The Ecuadorian state followed suit and the government of Rafael Correa has intensified its presence in the migrant communities, implementing programmes and policies aimed at nationals living abroad (Margheritis, 2011). The creation of possibilities for participation in home-country politics from abroad has increased with the presence of Ecuadorian political parties in New York City and Madrid. Moreover, the possibility of participating in Ecuador's political processes has mobilised the Ecuadorian organisations in both locales towards the sending society.

In 1995, the Ecuadorian government approved dual nationality (Jones-Correa, 2001; Welp, 2008). Ecuadorians abroad have been able to participate in Ecuador's political institutions from their destination countries since the approval of migrants' voting rights in 1998 and their later implementation in 2006, and following the expansion of political rights abroad after the Ecuadorian Constitution reform in 2008 (Ramírez and Boccagni, 2010). The political institutions are the National Secretariat for Migrants (SENAMI by its Spanish initials) and the creation of six seats, two for each region of settlement, for the elected representatives of Ecuadorian migrants in the Ecuadorian National Assembly in Latin America, the US, Canada, Europe and Oceania.

The participants in this study lobbied the Ecuadorian government from New York City and Madrid under the auspice of home-country political parties. These Ecuadorian political parties, which define themselves as movements, are *Movimiento Popular Democrático* (MPD by its Spanish initials); *Movimiento de Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik* (Pachakutik hereafter), the political arm of the Ecuadorian indigenous confederation (CONAIE); and *Movimiento Alianza PAÍS*, the movement that brought the current President of Ecuador, Rafael Correa, to office.

Pachakutik and the MPD initially formed part of the coalition of parties that supported President Correa for office, but months after the President took office in 2007 these parties stepped down from the coalition due to disconformities with the government's agenda. The fall of this alliance created a greater spectrum of parties in opposition to *Alianza PAÍS* that mobilised their rank-and-file in the migrant

communities abroad, as I observed during the election of the emigrants' political representatives in the Ecuadorian Assembly.

Another aspect to consider are the immigration laws of the US and Spain, as the legal statuses of participants also shape the ways in which they participate in home-country politics. The participants' had experienced that electing undocumented Ecuadorians as candidates to represent migrants in Ecuador's Assembly resulted in the candidates being unable to return to the migrant communities. As such, organisers now only consider candidates with legal status. In Madrid, most of the participants had obtained Spanish nationality in the mid-2000s and were thus able to run for posts in the Ecuadorian Assembly and return to Spain as dual nationals.

New York City

In the US the literature focusing on political incorporation debates whether engagement in home-country politics promotes or takes away from migrant energy that could otherwise be spent in the politics of the receiving context (Jones-Correa, 1998; Portes, Escobar and Arana, 2009).

I find that in the case of New York City, with the absence of the Democratic Party promoting the participation of Ecuadorians in its rank-and-file (Mollenkopf, 1999; Jones-Correa, 1998), engagement in home-country politics is more relevant to the participants who arrived after the 1990s and who have not been able to become US citizens. The respondents who arrived in the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s and quickly became citizens participate in the US political context through friends' networks and

by supporting local, state and federal political figures. Yet, these respondents are not formal members of US political parties.

Similar to Waldinger, Lim and Soehl's (2012) findings in the case of Mexican migrants, the respondents in this study with pre-migration home-country political experiences continue to be involved in their homeland's political activities even after being in the US for many years. Additionally, the leaders of these organisations have reported acquiring citizenship after years of permanent residency for security reasons. As an example, the current leader of The Front arrived in 1989 after a long activist trajectory in Cuenca, Ecuador. He became a citizen and recently opted for citizenship because 'the [immigration] laws are hard now, a small infraction could serve [the US government] as an excuse to deport you; and, the activity that I undergo here has that risk.' That 'activity' consists of making collective claims on both the US and the Ecuadorian states regarding the rights of migrant workers.

The Front was born in 2001 to gather under one organisation all of the claims-making Ecuadorian associations in New York City, but this initiative did not survive. Soon after its foundation, it leaders and part of the rank-and-file became aligned with the MPD. Although The Front's leaders affirm that their organisation is not affiliated with a political party in Ecuador, the fact that part of its leadership and membership belongs to the MPD troubles other members, creating tensions between the members of The Front who belong to the MPD, those who do not and those at the margins of the organisation who would prefer partisan politics.

Those members of The Front who participate in Growth believe the MPD to be a radical party from the Ecuadorian left with which they do not wish to be identified.

The participants who only participate in Growth belong instead to *Alianza PAÍS*, the movement through which President Correa ran for office. A respondent who attends The Front's meetings and is a member of Growth expands on this: "I know people who are not attending The Front's meetings because of its relation with the MPD. The Front has positioned itself with the left and they don't want The Front to represent a party" (*Member of Growth who attends The Front's meetings, New York City, 2011*).

When another member of both organisations learned of The Front's involvement in party politics, he exempted himself from its meetings:

> I don't agree with some of the things they did [sic.]. […] For example, that day the board decided to position The Front for the 'no' in the referendum. I don't think they should do this. Later one of them [board members] told me they had been handling pamphlets in the street against the 'yes'. They should not do this as representatives of the organisation" (*Member of The Front and Solutions, New York City, 2011*).

The leaders of The Front home-country politics agenda is, considering the participants with no political affiliation, a dissuasive element of their involvement with The Front. Moreover, as the respondent mentions in the previous quote, claims of fraudulent vote counts arose during the Ecuadorian referendum in 2011. President Correa held a referendum on 7 May 2011 to reform the Ecuadorian judiciary system, national security, the environment policies, the banking system and the media. The migrant population participated in this referendum and the political parties abroad mobilised Ecuadorian migrants to win the vote either against or in favour of reforms. The leaders of the Ecuadorian claims-making organisations disagreed with the results and attributed them to a fraudulent counting of votes.

Additionally, the participants claimed inability to compete fairly in electoral processes. A respondent who is part of the rank-and-file of the Ecuadorian political movement Pachakutik and who arrived in 2000 met the members of The Front in 2001, when it was not yet aligned with the MPD. He left The Front and formed a different organisation aligned with the Pachakutik movement. The members of this party began to mobilise in the US in 2008, when they were able to elect from abroad for the first time their representatives to the Ecuadorian Assembly. He reflected over Pachakutik's participation during the elections:

> We [Pachakutik] ended up in second position during the elections. If they [government representatives] had not counted wrong the votes we would have one candidate representing us in the Assembly. […] The electoral law was made to favour the government party. The Consul represents the government and they are elected by the president […] But at the same time they are also in charge of representing the national electoral council here in the United States and they are in charge of the process. Moreover, they are friends and leaders of the government party and have their own candidates here. They are judges and at the same time part of the electoral process. It is neither ethic[al] nor democratic *(Formal member of Pachakutik's Movement, Queens, 2011).*

Yet, another claim respondents made is that the Ecuadorian state monitors rather than representing them. The participants described their relationship to the Ecuadorian state as being *vigilados* (under surveillance) rather than *representados* (represented). During an interview with one of the initial members of The Front, who now belongs to a different association, I was shown a list of the names and pictures of Ecuadorian activists based in New York City leaked by a worker in the Ecuadorian government. The interviewee appeared in that list together with other activists who I

had already interviewed. According to the respondent, the list was intended to warn the Ecuadorian government of their demands.

At that time, President Correa sued the newspaper *El Universo* in response to a column written 5 February 2011 entitled "*No a las mentiras*" or "No to Lies", linking the president to events that had occurred in a police hospital in Ecuador. Opponents of the president in the communities abroad received the news as a presidential attempt to limit freedom of press. It is not my intent to analyse these events in depth, but rather to argue that they speak to the generalised distrust that existed among the participants in this study.

The respondents based their distrust on the democratic processes of their country, referring to events that had occurred in Ecuador before they migrated. An Ecuadorian journalist who reports for an Ecuadorian newspaper in Queens summarised the pattern that emerged in my interviews:

> Most Ecuadorians arrived thinking that what they left in Ecuador was unreliable, they left with that mentality of corruption, dishonesty, lack of opportunities, etc., they came with that, it is as if you changed residency and wanted to build a different life, then you say to yourself 'why should I be reminded of that bitter past?' They don't want to see that here, so they participate where that is not present *(Ecuadorian freelance journalist, Queens, New York City, 2011)*.

While perceptions of government corruption are not unique to Ecuadorian citizens, they help us understand the participants' home-country politics and their implications for mobilisation in immigrant politics. The informal presence of Ecuadorian political parties in the organisations and the distrust they generate towards each other drive participants to Growth, which opens new ways into the claims

making organisations of the receiving context. In this organisation, inner group tensions are attenuated by exposure to other nationalities and claims are based on 'here' (New York City, US) rather than 'there' (Ecuador).

Those who now participate in Growth trust their leaders, who are natives – first- and second-generation immigrants of different national origins in Latin America. The respondents who were members of Growth emphasised the importance of being able to lobby the state and city representatives, speak to politicians and participate in the organisation's actions while maintaining their engagement in the New York City context. As one member of Growth who had previously participated in other Ecuadorian organisations, including The Front, explained:

> I prefer how they work here (Growth), they include the members, we are part of the activities and we have won many demands […] between Ecuadorians… there is no respect. I am still, on paper, a member of that (Ecuadorian) organisation. I have not withdrawn, [however] they only do *'eventos figurones*.' [I asked her what she meant] They do nothing but *figurar* (show off) in the picture; they only want to appear in the pictures (*Female, 54 years old, member of Growth, Queens, New York City, 2010*).

This term, which suggests a desire to partake in events to gain political visibility, is used by participants in both city contexts to refer to the lack of results achieved by the Ecuadorian organisations through the use of event funding. Growth instead gains trust from its members by accomplishing results, and winning campaigns is an important factor.

Madrid

In Madrid, all of the participants arrived in the 1990s and the first half of the 2000s. The option of dual citizenship was available to them. By virtue of a reciprocity

treaty, Ecuadorians gained equal rights to Spanish citizens in the labour market and the option to become a citizen (Gómez Ciriano, 2007), and thus did not face legal obstacles to engage in home-country politics.

In 2003, Ecuadorian migrants created a Federation of organisations to represent the collective demands of Ecuadorians in Spain. "Action" was born in 2000 and is registered as part of the Federation, yet they rarely collaborate. During the Federation's first years, the identification of its members with the political parties of Ecuador interfered in its activities, raising disputes and discrediting the Federation before the Ecuadorian community in Madrid.

Subsequently, the Federation formed a new leadership and changed its name to "The New Federation". The current president reflected on the role partisan politics played:

> Politics have entered too much into the organisations. Being able to vote from abroad is good, but the fact that one can vote calls political parties' interests and that breaks the relationships between people and organisations, because a person might be identified as belonging to a given political party. This happened in the Federation, but when I entered I eliminated all of it. I give freedom to all members, [all] associations and the people who are involved with us, to be involved in politics with who they wish. However, it has to be outside of our Federation. They might be from the left, the right, or the centre, whatever they want in their personal lives, but not in the Federation (*Male, 42 years old, leader of Ecuadorian Federation, Madrid, 2012*).

As in New York City, the Ecuadorians in Madrid believed that *Alianza PAÍS*, the movement supporting President Correa, was in control of the Ecuadorian institutions abroad. They mobilised to elect the migrants' representatives in the Ecuadorian Assembly and the candidates of *Alianza PAÍS* won, thus the participants

who do not belong to *Alianza PAÍS* perceive that fair political competition with this party is not possible.

During an account of how pre-migration involvement in Ecuadorian politics inhibited his participation in some Ecuadorian organisations, a member of Solutions – comprising native Spaniards and migrants from different nationalities – stated:

> I made it to Congress in Ecuador through involvement in his [Abdalá Bucaram] party. However, Bucaram was declared incapacitated to govern by Congress and he was dump [sic]. […] Back in 2009 I went with Action to street marches and demonstrations, but I stopped going because of disagreements with its leader. She knows I was involved in politics in Ecuador. When the leader of Action saw me at the Solutions meeting, she told me 'this is not a place for politicians! This is a place for those who want solutions to their mortgage debt *(Field notes, conversation with male attendee of Solutions, 45 years old, Madrid, 2012).*

This participant's engagement in the politics of Ecuador created disputes with the leader of Action, which prompted the respondent's withdrawal from the organisation. This participant continued to attend Solutions' meetings, where he explained to me that he could participate without being singled out for his past political participation in Ecuador.

As in New York City, in Madrid the two elected representatives of migrants in the Ecuadorian Assembly represent *Alianza PAÍS*. One of them, Dora Aguirre, was the founder of one of the best-known Ecuadorian associations in Madrid, Rumiñahui. The second representative, Esteban Melo, lived and studied in Spain and is engaged in activities with the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE).

Conflict among the Ecuadorian organisations has drained their social approval in their community in Madrid. An Ecuadorian journalist who reports on Latin Americans in Madrid for a newspaper called *Latino* said:

> The Ecuadorian organisations fight to establish who has greater ability to convene people and they 'show off' (*figuran*) in their organisation. […] In a way I think they reflect what happened in the country [Ecuador] in the past years. The political turmoil can be seen in the practices of the leaders of the organisations. There have been *coup d'états* in the organisations [in Action and the Federation], literally and they are now governed by different leaders. Even if they say so, the new leaders were not elected, they took over (*Female Ecuadorian journalist, 34 years old, Madrid, 2008*).

During Action and the Ecuadorian Federation's formative period in the early 2000s, the leaders were deposed under unclear circumstances. As political turmoil had occurred before in Ecuador, one respondent compared the turmoil in the organisations with political instability in the homeland. The leader of a well-known Ecuadorian organisation in Madrid described it in a different way:

> Ecuadorians have an organising trajectory in Ecuador, although many organisations will not be formally registered there. They create committees to fight against everything. Therefore, when they arrive here (Spain), as the leaders have emigrated, they bring that trajectory with them and begin to reproduce those customs here *(Male leader of Ecuadorian organisation, 48 years old, Madrid, 2008).*

The leaders of Action, as with those of The Front in New York City, were active in claims-making organisations before their migration. They possessed political skills that they carried over to Madrid. However, home-country cleavages have also been transplanted to these cities, hindering a fresh beginning. In both cities, home-country politics have compelled participants to search for engagement in other venues outside their national group. A respondent in Madrid, simultaneously involved with

Action and Solutions, directly refused to speak of other Ecuadorian associations when I asked him about them:

> I am not interested, I don't want to know. [Why? I prompted] It is enough for me to work for a good cause, I am not interested in knowing what others do; because, I know they do things they should not: they pray to god and they sleep with the devil (*Male, 43 years old participant of Solutions and Action, Madrid, 2011*).

A participant who informally engages in Action and is a formal member of Solutions expanded on this:

> The intentions of the associations are good. For example, they promote policies for social and labour integration, but the profits [funds] are for the leaders. We [members] serve to fill out the space, with either signatures or as members. When they [leaders] get funds, they do a couple of things [events] and then the funds are gone. These types of things are common in my country so, to see them here again: no. That is why I don't belong to any *(Male, 40 years old participant of Solutions, informal member of Action, Madrid, 2012).*

The participants' sense that there is corruption in their organisations is overwhelmingly present in both cities, and it undermines organisations such as The Front and Action. Despite the existence of real corruption in these organisations, the perception of its existence leads participants to search for new venues in which corruption is believed to be absent, outside the ethic (national) group.

Conclusion

Although scholars of immigrant political engagement debate how the contexts of reception shape the collective action of immigrant groups, an understanding of how pre-migration experiences in the country of origin shape their political practices through mobilisation is neglected in these studies. Drawing from scholarship on the

sending society's influence, I link immigrant political mobilisation and home-country politics to fill this lacuna.

The possibility of participating in Ecuador's democratic processes has mobilised Ecuadorian organisations in both locales towards the sending society. The organisations are divided along political ideologies and ethnic lines and align with different Ecuadorian political parties. The political alignment of the organisations parallel the Ecuadorian government approval of dual citizenship, the creation of seats in the Assembly to represent Ecuadorian citizens living abroad and participation in *referenda*. The perception that leaders use members to advance themselves into political positions, that participation in the electoral process is unfair and that the Ecuadorian state exercises surveillance over them replenish old sentiments of distrust in the Ecuadorian political institutions.

While my findings do not speak to the entire Ecuadorian population in these cities, nor to long-term changes in the engagement types within these organisations, by simultaneously addressing the political practices of immigrants both *here* and *there* they contribute to elucidate whether immigrant in-group fighting is a result of characteristics in the receiving societies or home-country related factors.

I find that, as Waldinger *et al.* (2012) show, those with pre-migration claims-making experiences participate regardless of time spent in the country of residence. Through this comparison, I demonstrate that in-group fighting arriving from the country of origin disrupts the dynamics of the Ecuadorians involved in the making of demands in both settings. The participants reach out to organisations with diverse nationalities and ethnic groups in their constituencies, where home-country politics

blur. Their movement toward other non-ethno-national organizations expose these groups of immigrants to the political process of the contexts of reception.

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Chapter 2

A Comparative Perspective on Immigrant Mobilisation: Political Mediators and Membership

As a reaction to immigrant protests occurring in France, the US, the Netherlands, Spain and Great Britain during the 2000s, migration scholars, particularly in the US and Europe, have begun to use the scholarship on social movements to explain diverse forms of immigrant protests. These studies have made important contributions to our knowledge of how contextual differences beyond participation in formal politics matter for immigrant protests (Tyler and Marciniak, 2013; Okamoto, 2010, Klandermans, 2008, Koopmans *et al*., 2006, Danese, 1998).

Claims-making is a fundamental characteristic of liberal democratic societies where a plurality of interests emanates from different social groups. It is a leading instrument by which citizens practice membership. Therefore, scholars interested in the ways in which migrants practice citizenship through collective political engagement would benefit not only from comparative case studies that examine the mobilisation of immigrant groups but also from using qualitative techniques that clarify this process.

Scholars interested in the substantive aspects of citizenship with regard to immigrant groups have also recently begun to investigate how immigrant political engagement occurs. However, few empirical studies examine the way in which immigrants practice citizenship collectively through grass roots organisations that make demands of the state (Bloemraad, 2006; Wong, 2006; Bloemraad and Ramakrishnan, 2008; for a review see Bloemraad, Korteweg and Yurdakul, 2008).

Additionally, how collective action occurs among migrant groups cross-nationally as a process grounded in social action has received less attention by scholars.

In this analysis, I focus on a particular immigrant group: Ecuadorians. I vary the location where their mobilisation takes place to examine how the characteristics of contexts of reception affect the same migrant group. New York City and Madrid are similar in that they are located in liberal democratic societies and they are representative of immigrant-friendly contexts of reception (Freeman, 1995). Nevertheless, they present different political opportunity structures (POS) which shape the mobilization process of immigrant groups. As I will show next, scholars have analysed in national and cross-national studies, the elements of POS that shape immigrants' mobilization. However, these studies do not elucidate the question this analysis seeks to respond: why Ecuadorians in New York City allied with other immigrant groups and those in Madrid allied with natives. I argue that besides differences in the POS, such as immigration law and political systems, there are at least two other contextual differences shaping the ways in which participants mobilise: the presence of previous immigration cohorts (or lack thereof), and linguistic differences.

These differences drive participants' into different mobilization paths. In New York, their mobilization is driven by affiliation to other immigrant groups and second generation immigrants who share identities with respondents as immigrants, and with whom they exercise membership in the city. Their allies are other immigrant groups and second generation immigrants who identify with participants. While POS shape mobilization in many different ways, in this case, is a shared identity based on

immigrant background what aids immigrant mobilization. Whereas in Madrid, linguistic similarities and the absence of multiple generations of immigrant groups drive participants' mobilization to native organizations, in which they share the same demands and where they communicate in the same language spoken in the larger official context. With the lack of support which a second generation of immigrants would provide, participants in Madrid were excluded from the political arena until 2012, when natives and immigrants allied under shared demands. Ties to membership in Madrid, in the context of this mobilization, are "practical," driven by the end of changing policies that would benefit the group, regardless of their background.

The findings speak of Ecuadorian migrants who make collective demands in the organisations within this study's scope. Notwithstanding, the empirical data that emerged from the close observations and interviews linking city context and collective action behaviour will stir scholars interested in the social bases of democracies to further investigate the ways in which immigrants practice citizenship by making collective demands. Two years of fieldwork and 102 interviews including those with leaders of the main Ecuadorian organisations, political figures, priests and community leaders in both cities, have produced a wealth of data on Ecuadorian political engagement in New York City and Madrid.

I begin by reviewing the available scholarship on the intersection of immigrant collective political engagement and citizenship. The methodology and the contexts of Madrid and New York City are examined next. The analysis that follows demonstrates that the demographic composition and linguistic characteristics of these cities shape the way in which the Ecuadorian immigrants collectively mobilise to affect policy. I

show that in the context of New York City, 'political mediators', i.e. individuals with political knowledge and skills that facilitate the demand-making process for immigrants, link newer migrants with non-migrants and other migrant groups making claims. They open political spaces for the newly arrived and a way to membership in the city.

Despite their formal citizenship status, the participants in both cities reached out to organisations where they share demands with immigrants and non-immigrants alike to gain a voice they otherwise lacked. In New York City, political mediators in political organisations led both the documented and undocumented participants into the political life of the city. In Madrid, participants needed to ally with natives without immigrant backgrounds, who acted as political mediators, to be regarded as citizens despite their dual nationality status. I conclude with a reflection on the strengths of comparative analyses to further illuminate the ways in which the mobilization of immigrant groups occur through identity shaping forces, rather than political opportunity structures alone.

Immigrant Collective Political Participation and Citizenship

Research on the contemporary political incorporation and collective action of immigrants has recently become the centre of attention of migration scholars (Jones-Correa, 1998; Gerstle and Mollenkopf, 2001; Waters, 2008; Hochschild and Mollenkopf, 2009; Morales, L., González, A., Jorba, L., 2009; Méndez 2010; Morales, Anduiza & San Martín 2010; Morales & Jorba 2010). With the exception of a few studies (Danese, 1999; Pechu, 1999), most research on migrant collective action

beyond formal politics[6] is fairly recent (Okamoto, 2003; Koopmans, 2004; Giugni and Passy, 2004; Koopmans and Olzak, 2004; Koopmans *et al*., 2005; Bloemraad, 2006; Wong, 2006; Klandermans, van der Toorn, and van Stekelenburg, 2008; Bloemraad and Ramakrishnan, 2008; Okamoto and Ebert, 2010; Waldinger, Soehl, and Lim, 2012; Tyler and Marciniak, 2013).

Borrowing from the social movement's literature, the concept of 'political opportunity structures', i.e. parts of the political environment that may either promote or hamper collective action (Tarrow 1994), most of these studies examine how the contextual characteristics of the contexts of reception shape the mobilisation of migrant groups. Hochschild and Mollenkopf (2009: 12) define political incorporation as the capacity of immigrant groups to take advantage of the political opportunity structures (POS) of the receiving societies. Because migrants are the group under analysis, in general these studies focus on the political structures that are likely to affect them. Thus, scholars tend to target citizenship regimes, access to naturalisation and political and civic institutions as the elements in the contexts of reception that shape immigrant membership.

For instance, in a comparison of immigrants in the US and Canada, Bloemraad (2006) shows how immigrants acquire formal citizenship and participate in political life through community organisations. She coins the social process of the immigrant groups' political incorporation as 'structured mobilisation' (2006). Her analysis shows that the successful political incorporation of immigrants, measured as citizenship

[6] Normally, political scientists consider voting practices and citizenship acquisition as formal modes of participation and regard as non-formal political participation forms not included in the political system process such as demonstrations.

acquisition, largely owes to the political institutions, integration regimes and administrative bureaucracies of the contexts of reception.

Likewise, European scholars have mostly looked at the collective action activities of migrant groups by concentrating on the political opportunities (Klandermans, van der Toorn, and van Stekelenburg, 2008). Koopmans and his colleagues (2005) address some shortcomings of the political opportunity. In a comparison of German, Britain, France, the Netherlands and Switzerland, they show how cross-national differences in these states' discursive understandings of the construction of citizenship influence the way in which migrants making collective claims access the process of policy making. Particularly, they show how cross-national discursive understandings of citizenship and national identity define the debates on the inclusion of immigrants into these societies. Their data derive nonetheless from newspaper accounts of collective action, which do not reflect the social process of mobilisation itself.

To summarise, past research has shown that the contextual characteristics in the receiving societies are pivotal to understanding the political engagement practices of migrants. Citizenship regimes, alignment of natives, involvement in organisations and immigrants' perceptions of external threats by natives matter when explaining immigrant collective mobilisation. Each of these studies provides us with innovative, stimulating and valuable schemas to ponder over the ways in which immigrant claims-makings and citizenship interlock.

We know less about the mobilisation process undertaken by the immigrants themselves. The study that most closely examines this question is the depiction of

immigrant political incorporation as ‘structured mobilisation’ by Bloemraad (2006), and yet her research question illustrates how contextual differences affect citizenship acquisition rather than the claims-making process itself. Acknowledging the importance of the contexts of reception, a newer study by Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad (2008) encourages new research to pay attention to the role of place, immigrant national origins and organisational form to clarify the ways in which immigrants practice citizenship. I follow the above suggestion to demonstrate the value of undertaking comparative analyses at the city level.

In this article, I analyse how the POS illustrates the ways in which immigrant groups practice citizenship through mobilization. To draw a comparative analysis of immigrant mobilisation, I disaggregate the term ‘political opportunity structure’ into specific categories of evaluation: immigration law, political parties and allocation of funding and the availability of allies. While POS remain important for the mobilization of participants as I will illustrate below, linguistic and immigration cohorts also shape the mobilization process.

Methods

By focusing on the same immigrant group in two cities, I can examine how contextual differences shape the way in which the participants in this study make collective demands on the state, a major actor in granting immigrant rights and thus the target of most migrants’ collective demands for membership. I chose two cities, New York City and Madrid, which have the two largest populations of Ecuadorian migrants (Jockisch and Pribilsky, 2002; Herrera, Torres, Carrillo, 2005; Aja and Arango, 2006; Gratton, 2007; Gómez Ciriano, 2007). Migrants have traditionally

moved to cities, which makes this level of comparison analytically relevant (Waldinger, 1996). Moreover, cities have been the centre of attention in a plethora of citizenship studies in light of the debates on migration, globalisation and political belonging (Varsanyi, 2006; Bauböck, 2003; Sassen, 2003; Staheli, 2003; Isin, 1999; Holston and Appadurai, 1996; Soysal, 1994).

This article takes substantive citizenship as its point of departure. Rather than exclusively focusing on citizenship as a legal right (formal citizenship status), this analysis considers citizenship as a social process whereby individuals and groups come together to make demands to be recognised as such. By being politically engaged to make collective claims, individuals and groups practice substantive citizenship and shape the societies in which they reside (Isin, 2000). In so doing, I can contrast the occasions in which formal citizenship fails or succeeds in providing membership in these cities.

I conducted two years (2010-2012) of multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork in South-East Madrid and Queens, New York City, two areas with high concentrations of working-class immigrants. Interview data comprised 102 testimonies from political figures, priests, community organisers and Ecuadorians who make collective demands on the state through various organisations. I used these methods because they allow the observation and analysis of processes. I interviewed 97 Ecuadorian migrant workers, both men and women, documented and undocumented, from rural and urban locations in Ecuador. I taped all of the interviews, which, in most cases, lasted between 1.5 to 2 hours each. Nine lasted less than 1.5 hours and a few lasted 4 hours.

During the summer of 2008 in Madrid, I interviewed the leaders of the main Ecuadorian organisations and some members within the scope of exploring the landscape of the Ecuadorian associations and their goals and activities. Within the same scope used in Madrid, I began fieldwork in August 2010 in New York City, where I visited the main Ecuadorian organisations and interviewed their leaders and members. In August 2011, I continued the research process in Madrid. I undertook participant observation in the organisations described below.

I chose two organisations in each city: one formed by Ecuadorians only and one with multiple nationalities.[7] By including different organisations in each locale I can analyse Ecuadorian immigrants' interactions with other social groups, outside the environment of the exclusively Ecuadorian organisations. This methodology thus controls for national origin without falling into a narrow nationality-based analysis (FitzGerald, 2012; Bloemraad, 2013). I spent my time in these organisations by helping in their meetings every week, planning events, fundraising and collaborating in projects. I joined them in demonstrations, walks, direct-action events and press conferences in defence of immigrants and workers' rights before City Halls, Congresses, and private entities (banks) in both cities. I also spent time in other organisations in the neighbourhoods and in other institutions such as churches and unions with large numbers of Ecuadorian parishioners.

Finally, in this analysis I focus on the characteristics of the receiving contexts to shed light on immigrant mobilization. How the state of origin shapes Ecuadorian

[7] I use pseudonyms for the names of the four organisations, and I have altered the names of the participants to protect their identities.

immigrants' mobilization in New York City and Madrid deserves a different analysis, which I provide under a different article (seeTable 4).

The Ecuadorian Organisations

'The Front' is an organisation in New York City formed by Ecuadorians migrants who demand emigrant rights from the Ecuadorian government. Together with the members of 'Growth', they demand comprehensive immigration reform by the US federal government. These organisations also regularly cooperate to make claims for the betterment of their communities in the context of reception (rent issues, protection for workers and fair salaries, to cite a few).

The members of 'Action' also make demands of both the Spanish and the Ecuadorian governments. They lobbied the Ecuadorian government for the passage of legislation for emigrants' rights. In 2008, Ecuadorians who used to work in the construction sector lost their jobs and subsequently defaulted on their mortgage payments. In light of the continuous stream of Ecuadorians asking for help from Action, its leader took their claims as the most prominent point in the organisation's agenda. They demonstrated at the headquarters of Spanish banks, Madrid's City Hall, the Congress of Spain and the Ecuadorian Embassy.

The Community Organisations

'Growth' is a community organisation largely comprised of Latin Americans in New York City. The organisation makes similar demands of the US federal and local governments. Most of The Front's members, and a large number of Ecuadorians who do not attend The Front's meetings, are members of Growth and regularly attend

its meetings and collective action events. Together with the members of Action, the members of the 'Solutions' oganisation in Madrid demand that the Spanish government change the current mortgage legislation. Native Spaniards and immigrants of different origins attend the organisation's meetings and actions.

DIFFERENCES IN THE RECEIVING CITIES

Political Opportunity Structures

Immigration law

Spain underwent several immigration reforms within a short period of time (1985, 1991, 1996, 2000, 2001, 2003, and 2009) that provided a fast path to citizenship for Ecuadorians (Sanchez Alonso, 2011). Latin Americans, specifically Ecuadorians who arrived in the early 2000s and earlier, could begin their naturalisation process after two years of proven residency in the country. For other immigrants from outside the EU, if they are not nationals of former Spanish colonies or are Sephardic Jews, the requirement is 10 years. This does not mean, however, that those Ecuadorians who qualified under the reforms applied for residency permits and citizenship after complying with residency requirements. The process of acquiring residence and citizenship was not an easy one (Calavita, 1998).

In contrast, US immigration policy has left respondents undocumented for many years after their arrival. Since passage of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), the path to citizenship has narrowed notably for those who entered the country without legal authorisation. Those arriving in the 60s and 70s obtained green cards and citizenship relatively quickly, and those who arrived before 1984 benefitted from the IRCA. However, later arrivals have few options to attain

legal status if they entered the US illegally. Until 2001, a few participants benefitted from law 245(i), which granted them the possibility of becoming permanent residents on the bases of employment and family reunification, regardless of their immigration status.

In view of these legal restrictions, the participants in New York City who reported having some contact with the political parties of the US arrived before 1986, although in this study very few participants arrived before 1986 as most arrived in the early 2000s and late 1990s, qualified under the IRCA and had greater command of English. However, those arriving after 1986, who had limited English proficiency and could not obtain legal status, devoted their energies both to the politics of the home country and participated with Growth. With the guidance of this organisation's leaders and organizers, who I define below as "political mediators," participants engaged in the political life of New York City.

The political parties

The formal political structures of both cities present different characteristics that shape the mobilisation process, however, these do not answer why the participants allied with other immigrants in New York City and natives in Madrid. Additionally, the context of Madrid provides an extra level of political participation when compared with that of New York City. In 2008, the government of the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE) initiated a legislative process that allowed immigrants from non-European Union countries to vote in the local elections of 2011 as long as bilateral international treaties existed ratifying the mutual recognition of these rights. This measure increased the interest of Spanish political parties in the immigrant population.

The influence of local and, in general, national political parties is ubiquitous for participants in Madrid. In 2008, I interviewed a respondent who used to be the leader of Action who, after being accused of misuse of the organisation's funds, had formed a new organisation. I asked him about the organisation's demands and its alliance-building process:

> The fight (*la lucha*) that one undertakes depends on the web one builds. Unfortunately, we [his new association] have been identified with the PP [Popular Party] because our programs are supported by the Community [Autonomous Community of Madrid, which is governed by the PP] or City Hall. There are people within the [Ecuadorian] associative movement who are interested in discrediting me, so they say 'Mr Puebla is paid by the PP, he is part of PP and he wants to have Action under the PP's will'. I have not known how to build my web well; I have not been preoccupied to have allies. […] I am from the left, but we, as an associative movement, have to be open to all political parties here [Madrid]. Both PP and PSOE have asked us [his new organisation] to support them during the elections and we supported none. […] Many Ecuadorians already have the Spanish nationality and soon we might be able to vote in the local elections without necessarily being nationals. However, we cannot choose one [political party]; the association has to work with all three PP, PSOE and *Izquierda Unida* [United Left]. (*Former leader of Action, Madrid, 2008*)

The respondent reflected on the tensions that arise from being a leader who needs to manage the interests of the political parties of the receiving context to gain benefits for his organisation. He resolved to remain at the edge of partisan politics. His position contrasts with that of today's leaders of Action. When I asked them about their alliance-building process with other social groups in Madrid, a leader from Action replied:

> We have tried with some NGOs where there are Ecuadorians present [such as] in Valencia and Murcia provinces. The issue is that there are political divisions […] the political parties here [Spain] are not helping now, only *Izquierda Unida* has offered advice to us on

> financial and economic issues, otherwise, no. [I asked him whether he had considered using the CEPIs, locales where some Ecuadorians are involved in other social and civic activities:] I was invited to teach an electronics workshop there [CEPI], but it is governed by the *Partido Popular* [right wing]. […] I am from the lower class, [I am] from the left. I won't collaborate with the right. *(Interview with a male leader of Action, Madrid, 2012)*

The CEPIs are an initiative by the government of the Autonomous Community of Madrid, which is governed by the *Partido Popular* (PP). Because this party, from the point of view of Action's respondents, is associated with the implementation of neo-liberal economic policies in Spain, the participant excluded it from their array of possible allies. His position contrasted with the quote from the former leader of Action indicating that he would collaborate with those entities or individuals who would provide funds for their activities, regardless of their political position. The possibility to vote in local elections in Madrid and for Latin Americans to quickly become Spanish nationals has, in part, influenced the practices in these organisations. As illustrated above, some of the participants abided with political parties, whereas others preferred to remain at the margins.

The participants in New York City received the attention of politicians if they were US citizens. However, in New York City, roughly half of the participants were citizens, and these became so after many years of permanent residency, with the subsequent delay in their ability to vote. The other half was not qualified to vote. Hence, the political parties had little incentives to reach out to The Front during election campaigns.

During my field work, I was able to follow the last days of Francisco Moya's (D) 2010 campaign for New York Assembly District 39. Moya is the son of

Ecuadorian immigrants and is the political representative of the district where many of the study participants resided or spent their time. During his campaign he gave speeches in the district's plazas and reached out to community organisations such as Growth, yet he never delivered a speech to The Front, which is a small, exclusively Ecuadorian organisation with many undocumented members. It was Growth that enabled contact between the participants, the political representatives of New York City, and other social groups by arranging meetings and convening its members. Moya's speeches at Growth were met by the members of The Front and the participants who belonged to Growth.

The political dynamics of funding

In addition to the influence that a political party exercises in these contexts, the relationship between CSOs and the State is different in the two cities. Their governments' allocation of funding for these organisations shapes the way in which they are able to make claims.

Funds to incentivise collective demands on the government and local authorities were not available in Madrid as they were in New York City, where private (foundations) and public (state) funds support Growth's collective claims-making activities (protests, walks, meetings with politicians, civil disobedience actions and hunger strikes, to cite a few). Growth was registered as a 501(c) non-profit, which limited its involvement in formal politics as an organisation. Its leadership was in the process of obtaining 501(c) (4) status, which would provide latitude in its lobbying strategies and would allow the organisation to support political candidates.

At the time of my research, neither the dominant Democratic Party in Queens nor other political parties provided funding to The Front. The latter received no support from its homeland government, either, despite the Ecuadorian organisations' claims on the Ecuadorian government for funds to attend demonstrations in favour of immigration reform. During my fieldwork, The Front's members aspired to register as a 501(c) non-profit organisation so they could apply for funding from the US government.

In Madrid, CSOs have fewer possibilities to use funds for claims-making strategies. Funds that derive from the central and local governments are supervised by both the political party in power and the opposition political parties. As shown in the above quote, some participants opted to refrain from formal politics for this reason. The members of Action did not receive funds from the government of Madrid, which is governed by the PP. During the period 2008-2012, they received funds from the national government, which at the time was the PSOE, and from the European Social Fund, which provided means for the implementation of social inclusion projects. Some members and leaders of Action sympathised with the PSOE party as it represents the Spanish centre-left, but other members sympathised with *Izquierda Unida*, which stands further to the left. Action received no funds from the PP party for two reasons. First, as the party in government, it cut spending on social issues in light of the current Spanish economic crisis. Second, Action's current leaders did not lobby this party to receive funds because they did not sympathise with it.

In Madrid, the members of Solutions supported its organisation with donations and fund-raising activities. They sold badges and t-shirts with the emblem *Stop*

Deshaucios (Stop Evictions) and organised concerts to raise funds. In an interview with a non-immigrant Spaniard who worked for the *Federacion Regional de Asociaciones de Vecinos de Madrid*, FRAVM, and who attends Solutions' meetings, I asked him how the organisations were funded:

> The FRAVM has nothing to do with the Solutions [they are formally separate]. Members [of FRAVM] pay a monthly quote and it has access to public [state] resources from the municipal City Halls, and from the Community of Madrid. Unions also have the possibility to ask for this type of funding.

I probed him further to explain how funding is allocated:

> It is a very nasty topic. It is nasty because, for example, the press will show that you have organised a demonstration while the Community of Madrid [government] provides funding to you [the organisation]. So they [the Community of Madrid Government] would say to you 'how ungrateful you are that you demonstrate against a public policy of the [Autonomous] Community, or against, let's say, a specific public policy of a municipal City Hall'. This is an outrageous topic because 'it is not your [PP] money, Sir! All of us pay taxes, all of us contribute, not only those who belong to PP'. When the time comes to distribute funds across social organisations that make claims on them [the government] to create webs of [citizen] participation, all of us have the right to gain access to the funding, not only those of the party which governs. We have outlived governments from PP, PSOE and in the City Halls from IU [United Left], and we have meant trouble to all of them. *(Interview with a member of FRAVM and organiser of Solutions, Madrid, 2011)*

Spanish organisations such as FRAVM and its constituent neighbourhood associations act under the pressure of the interests of the political parties. FRAVM has been making collective demands of the Spanish state for more than 35 years. The Federation derives from the Spanish traditional web of neighbourhood associations that emerged before the Spanish transition to democracy (1975-1978) (Castells, 2008; Radcliff, 2012). Traditionally, natives' organisations functioned under these political

patterns of activity. In present times, immigrant organisations such as Action have been ensnared by these dynamics: who governs at the moment at which funds are requested or used matters.

Federación Regional de Asociaciones de Vecinos de Madrid, FRAVM, and 15M

In 2008, only free ethnic newspapers handed out in subway stations and other immigrant newspapers such as *Latino* reported on Action's demonstrations at Madrid's City Hall, the Spanish Congress and the Ecuadorian Embassy. Three years later, in 2011, as the Spanish economic crisis deepened, the founders of Solutions, who were native Spaniards, were on the lookout for allies. They were in search of others equally damaged to gain organisation, grow in numbers and make collective demands on the Spanish government. Solutions contacted Action's leaders and met. From then on, they jointly demanded that the Spanish government change the mortgage law, and they asked for subsidised housing for families who had been negatively affected by their mortgage contracts. They demonstrated before the Spanish Congress and banks and reached out to local political figures.

However, the participants in this study organised *qua* Ecuadorians could not gather the attention of the media and the Spanish authorities alone. 'We didn't have the support of the Spanish newspapers. Our demonstrations appeared in *El Comercio del Ecuador* [Ecuadorian newspaper], CNN and in the free Latino newspapers, but in the main Spanish media: nothing' (*Interview with a member of Action, Madrid, 2012*). This response contrasts with what occurred after Action and Solutions became allies:

> If we had not united with Solutions I don't think they [Spanish politicians] would have taken us into account. It is because people [Spaniards] think that, because we [Ecuadorians] are foreigners, we

> are not capable [of making demands], but we have now demonstrated to them that we can also be leaders here, we have shown that a foreigner thinks and acts. (*Interview with a member of Action, Madrid, 2012*)

For the Ecuadorian organisation (Action), combining the two organisations meant greater visibility, the availability of natives to lead the way into the Spanish institutions and the possibility to fight discrimination against immigrants. The citizenship status of their members as naturalised Spaniards did not match the non-formal citizenship status of natives. Still perceived as immigrants by the media, they were marginalised from the mainstream Spanish news. In addition, the two associations benefited from a timely third player: the *Los Indignados* Movement or *15M*.

The surge of the social movement Los Indignados, which became known as 15M, occurred in Madrid on 15 May, 2011. Since then, it has provided the members of Solutions, and by association, Action's members, support with numbers, resources and strategies. Together with FRAVM, 15M provided both Solutions and Action with allies who afforded two benefits. First, they had the political skills to make demands in the Spanish context. Second, especially for the Ecuadorian participants in this study, they provided them with an opportunity to learn the Spanish formal structures necessary to lobby the local and national authorities in Madrid.

FRAVM has the resources and knowledge of the inner functioning of the Spanish claim-making domain. Its hired personnel are college graduates with years of experience in grassroots organisations in Madrid who ultimately served the needs of Solutions. For example, FRAVM lent the locale to Solutions' members and some of

FRAVM's personnel advised the members of Solutions on legislation and the local and national political system.

During Solutions' meetings, immigrants and Spaniards united to devise strategies to make their demands. This alliance joined together native Spaniards and immigrants from Latin America and the Caribbean region, especially Dominicans, Ecuadorians and Peruvians, a few Eastern Europeans and, in smaller numbers, West Africans. The meetings were conducted in Spanish, which may partly justify the small number of attendants who were not originally from Spanish-speaking countries. The upsurge of 15M and its complicity with the claims-makings efforts of participants allowed them to mobilise more effectively.

Demographic and Linguistic Compositions of New York City and Madrid

Through these organisations, I was able to analyse the way in which the demographic and linguistic compositions of Madrid and New York City shape the participants' claims-making process. Madrid's leadership in grassroots organisations is largely comprised of natives without an immigrant background. In New York City, grassroots organisations in this study are largely comprised of immigrants and their descendants, and the language used is Spanish. In the larger city context, however, respondents need to communicate in English. This process is facilitated by the availability of what I term 'political mediators': individuals with political knowledge and skills that facilitate the demand-making process for immigrants. In New York City, political mediators shared a language and an immigrant identity with this particular migrant group and connected it to other non-immigrant groups. In Madrid,

the participants use Spanish, which is the language in use in the larger city context and political mediators are not of immigrant descent.

The districts in which I based this study are amongst the ones with the highest concentration of foreign-born populations (Lobo and Salvo, 2013: 41). In 2010, New York's foreign born represented 37.2 per cent of the total city population (Foner, 2013: 3). In the present study, all of the meetings that participants attended were replete with other immigrant groups such as Jamaicans, Koreans, Mexicans, or Dominicans, who joined in the participants' demands. However, participants in New York speak Spanish in a context where interaction with other social agents requires a command of English. First-, second- and third-generation immigrants populate New York City's civil society and its political parties (Grestle and Mollenkopf, 2001; Foner, 2013; Foner *et al.*, 2014). The development of alliances in a society composed of other immigrant groups who share the same interests, such as federal immigration reform, is an asset when gathering people to participate in marches and collective events.

Ecuadorians in Madrid have settled into a context where their second generation is still coming of age and the second generation of other nationality groups is comprised of young adults. As of January 2013, there were 49,373 Ecuadorians in Madrid City, representing 10.6 per cent of all foreigners; surpassed only by the Rumanians, who account for 11.8 per cent of all foreigners in Madrid (Community of Madrid Bulletin Report, 2013). The foreign born in Madrid represent only 14 per cent of the city population compared to the 37.2 per cent of New York. Ecuadorians speak

one of the many Castilian variations of Spanish, and can communicate in Spanish with the native population and other Latin American immigrant groups in Madrid.

Of the 50 participants interviewed in New York City, 31 speak very little English, just enough to manage in the workplace. The latest arrivals and all of the undocumented participants except for one belong to this group. Sixteen participants have a good command of informal spoken English. These participants arrived first in the late 60s, 70s and 80s, and all but one are documented. The three remaining participants speak formal English and belong to an accommodated Ecuadorian middle class.

Participants in both cities have found allies by virtue of these demographic and linguistic characteristics. Most of New York City's respondents are first-generation Ecuadorian immigrants with little knowledge of English. The Growth organisation facilitates interaction between Spanish and English users. This organisation's rank-and-file provides two links for the newly arrived. First is a linguistic link between those with few English skills and the rest of the English speakers who are involved in the claims-making process: political figures and civil society organisations (CSOs). Due to the diverse nature of the immigrant groups and the continued immigration to New York City since the 60s, there is a native-born adult second generation that is bilingual and trained in the city's educational, political and social institutions. Second is the identity bond provided to the participants by the leaders and organisers of Growth as children of immigrants. This organisation's personnel are mostly comprised of second-generation immigrants, largely Dominicans, Colombians and Argentinians, natives and foreign-born organisers who are bilingual (English-Spanish).

An example of the importance of language is given by The Front. The members of The Front in New York City — comprised exclusively of Ecuadorians with limited English skills — found an ally in a Philippine association that advocates for the rights of the Philippine migrant community. Its leader's fluency in Spanish (and English) enabled an alliance between the Ecuadorian members of The Front and the Filipino organisation members, who only speak English. Along with this Filipino organisation's advocacy for Filipino rights, it also focuses on other social groups such as (immigrant) day-labourers. The Front and the Filipino organisation's shared interest in mobilising for the rights of immigrant day-labourers, along with the ability to communicate in Spanish, made their alliance possible:

> It has been two years already [since the two organisations first met. We [The Front] have always wanted to have our own facility. When we organised events [on previous occasions] we always had to find someone to host us. That time we [The Front] organised an event at the Ecuadorian House and we invited many people. We had heard that, close to the Ecuadorian Consulate, there is an organisation that works with the day-laborers. It turned out to be the Philippine organisation. They came to our event and to our surprise their representative spoke Spanish. It was great because she spoke [Spanish] very well and we could talk about what we do. We found that we share similar views. Then she said 'we have our own offices, you can use them when our activities are not taking place'. We did it. […] (*Leader of The Front, Queens, 2011*)

Finding as allies political mediators who speak both English and Spanish is fundamental for the organisers of The Front. Bilingual speakers, normally from the second generation, provide the voice they need to articulate their collective demands to other social groups who speak English and to non-Spanish speaking officials in the formal political institutions. Another example of the importance of bilingual speakers is given by The Front's election of its organisation's speaker. They chose a woman

who arrived in New York City at an early age from Ecuador. Educated in the New York Public School System, she became bilingual, gained work experience in the city institutions and is a member of a Community Board in Queens. Linguistic and immigrant bonds are the main pillars sustaining their alliances.

Participants in Madrid have allied with other Latin Americans and native Spaniards who speak Castilian and formed Solutions, an organisation that demands changes in the current Spanish mortgage law. A shared language, Spanish, along with shared interests facilitated this coalition.[8] Until this alliance between the Solutions organisation, which forms part of the traditional Spanish associative web, and Action occurred, the Ecuadorian participants in Madrid were unable to gain a voice in the Spanish media, despite having already been naturalised or currently undergoing the process. Their demonstrations at Madrid's City Hall and the headquarters of various banks were fruitless (see below). In this case, the political mediators were natives without immigrant identities who enabled the participants to gain a voice in the political context of Madrid, but who shared no other aspects of their social life.

Ultimately, the absence of language barriers facilitated the alliance between the Action and Solutions organisations in Madrid. Contrastingly, earlier arrivals of Spanish-speaking immigrants to New York City who became political mediators lessened the barriers that arose from having limited English proficiency when making collective demands.

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[8] The differences found in the Castilian spoken by Madrilenians and Ecuadorians matter for their integration process. In this particular context, it eased rather than complicated the alliance process.

Conclusion

The comparative approach to migration and collective political engagement I have undertaken suggests that in addition to the traditional political opportunity structures of immigration law, the political parties and the relationship between the state and CSOs, demographic and linguistic characteristics also shape how immigrants access the political sphere in these cities.

This analysis contributes to studies of immigrant mobilization with findings that stress the importance of immigrant identities for the mobilization of immigrant groups, rather than a focus on the political opportunity structures alone. The different political opportunity structures (POS) which shape the mobilization process of immigrant groups in this study fall short when the question asked is why this immigrant group ally with different social actors in these cities. In New York, identity bonds based on immigrant background and a shared language shape the mobilization process of participants into the established immigrant organizations of the neighbourhoods in which they reside. These organizations are led by members whose foremost aim is to better immigrants' conditions, and they recruit other immigrants to join their collective demands. As such, they practice membership in the city and learn the city institutions through those events.

Political structures in the form of immigration law and political parties in Madrid provide greater access to political rights. Language, in this case, does not restrict the alliance possibilities with the larger native population. However, participants in Madrid lacked the support based on immigrant identity bonds which a second generation of immigrants would provide. Formal membership in Madrid was

not an end on participants' demands, as they were already Spanish nationals. They, instead, strived for voice they lacked in the political arena, and their bonds are practical rather than based on shared identities.

In this study I additionally show ways in which formal citizenship status, defined as the acquisition of legal rights, fails to provide immigrants recognition as citizens vis-à-vis non-immigrants. Acknowledging the end of immigration law might not be immigrant inclusion in many occasions, I have argued that formal citizenship status falls short in providing such recognition for the case of this comparative case study. The bulk of the participants held long residency permits or dual citizenship, yet these formal statuses were insufficient for the immigrants to exercise the substance of citizenship.

Finally, attention to contextual differences is a reminder that immigration law is one factor amongst others that shape membership in the polity. Participation in these cities was largely shaped by the immigrants' ability to find allies who provided them with voice in the political sphere. In the larger community organizations, Growth and Solutions, participants learned how to make claims in a political context different from the one they left, and struggled to gain recognition as citizens of the societies in which they settled. Political mediators were fundamental in linking migrants with non-migrants and in opening for migrants the possibility of political incorporation. This approach based on identity construction promises novel ways to account for why immigrant mobilization occurs beyond political opportunity approaches.

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Chapter 3

State Structures and Political Access: Ecuadorian Immigrants Collective Action in New York City and Madrid.

The incorporation of immigrants into the societies that receive them has become a subject of extensive debate in Western democracies. Some scholars, politicians, and media pundits have expressed concerns about what they consider the incomplete social, cultural, and political incorporation of immigrants in the societies in which they settle (Putnam, 2007; Huntington 2004), and about the policies that might be best used to address this problem (Favell 1998; Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, and Passy 2006). At the core of these debates is the question of what models—for instance, a multicultural society or an assimilative one—should drive policy in this regard (Alba and Nee 2001; Fennema and Tillie 2001; Bloemraad et al. 2006, 2008). However, all the models of immigrant incorporation invoked implicitly contend that the political engagement of immigrant groups in the receiving society is central to liberal democratic principles.

Immigrant participation in electoral politics has thus received particular attention from social scientists in the US, as immigrants are potential new voters whom political parties seek to win over (Conway 1991; Jones-Correa 2001). One obstacle to the participation of immigrant groups in the electoral system is that normally immigrants spend years as permanent residents or as undocumented without enjoying the right to vote. As permanent residents, some may vote at the local level, but many countries have not granted them this right. For this reason, scholars have extended earlier analyses of civic participation in voluntary organizations to the

particular case of immigrant groups (Verba, Schlozman, Brady 1995; Tocqueville 2000; Putnam 2000, 2007; Bloemraad 2006; Bloemraad and Ramakrishnan 2008).

Concurrently, in light of the immigrant protests that spread throughout Europe and the US in the late 1990s and 2000s, social movement scholars turned their attention to immigrant collective action and the factors that either incite or hamper it (Koopmans 2004; Klandernmand, van der Toorn, and van Stekelenburg 2008). However, these scholars expended most of their energy explaining the causes of the rise and fall of the immigrants' protests. Most analyses of immigrant groups have focused on the role of organizations in promoting civic and political engagement, as well as on models of incorporation and citizenship regimes (Alba and Nee 2003; Brubaker 1992, 2001; Bloemraad and Ramakrishnan 2008). The immigration and social movement scholarship would benefit from comparative analyses of processes in which immigrants access state structures, if only in order to account for the political activities of immigrants in liberal democracies whose principal tenets include discourses of equality and inclusion. Additionally, scholars would benefit from a comparative focus on the political system with respect to the mobilization of immigrant groups, in order to examine which of the contextual elements facilitate their access to these political structures.

This study elucidates instead the process by which immigrants find entry-points into the political structures of Madrid and New York, two cities located in liberal democracies. Access to the political system means immigrants' ability to use the political opportunities available to them to press their demands by other means than those facilitated by citizenship, for instance voting. Formal access to the political

system is predetermined by citizenship rules such as ius sanguinis and ius solis or a combination of these two. Social rights, such as those to join unions, organizations, or participate in collective action events, allow citizens and non-citizens to uphold demands that otherwise might not be taken into account by political representatives. Therefore, the unit of analysis is at the collective level, which allows for comparisons of the alliances of immigrant groups with other social groups with whom they share political demands. I examine access to the formal political structures, such as the representation systems (single-member district versus party list), and other allies external to the formal political system such as unions, churches, immigrant and native organizations.

I rely on first generation Ecuadorian immigrants who left their country mostly in the 90s and early 2000, and who have joined two rather different movements in the above mentioned cities. These are movements whose foremost aim is to change existing politics without resorting to conflict as a goal in itself and with moderate action repertoires, such as demonstrations, and immersed in Western democratic states (Kriesi, Koopmans, et al. 1995: 89). I concentrate on two aspects of the formal political systems in these two cities: the multiparty system with close lists and proportional representation in Spain, and the majority representation system, with single districts and open lists, in the US. As it may come to no surprise to social scientists, I show that the above mentioned structures shape in different ways the collective action process of this immigrant group. My contribution to previous studies of immigrant political incorporation rests on the analysis of who are these immigrants'

allies and why, and how does these processes inform models of immigrant incorporation.

In Madrid, the participants in this study lacked the support of the main political parties of the centre, Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) and Partido Popular (PP) and turned for support to Izquierda Unida (IU), a party that currently lacks enough seats in Congress to effect changes. Participants in this study allied with natives who shared their demands and supported together smaller political parties which included policies addressing their demands. In New York City, the participants accessed the system by virtue of first and second generation of immigrant organizations which were already in place that connected them with political figures, rather than with political parties in a system dominated by ethnic politics. I argue that the single-member district versus party list representation system together with the presence or absence of other immigrant groups in these two cities help explain these differences. While scholars focus on the explanatory power of political institutions, such as the possibility to elect political representatives of immigrant-origin or the coalitions between ethnic groups to elect representatives, on immigrant political incorporation (Alba and Foner, 2009; Mollenkopf and Shonenshein 2009), they do not take into account the presence of social groups that may enable representation in a political system of immigrants' demands without these presence in its institutions.

Political Participation, State Structures and Immigrant Protest

To explain the participation of immigrant groups scholars have focused on factors such as the type of immigrant community, their previous experience with

politics in the country of origin, if their migration project is long or short term, the ways in which they identify with the society of settlement and origin, and the general traditional variables that determine political participation, such as education, class, gender, age, and the command of a new language when need it.

States control to a large degree the ways in which immigrants engage politically. Voting rights, access to citizenship, the possibility to form associations, the representation of immigrants' interests and spaces for consultative politics in government, are ways in which the state grants or remove opportunities to engage in participatory democratic processes.

Just as the rest of the population, migrants mobilize to make collective demands. Scholars have shed light on immigrant mobilization by building on theories of collective action, and have suggested that the political opportunity structures present in a given society at a particular time shape immigrant political engagement (Martiniello 2005).

Top-down approaches to social movements rely on the concept of "political opportunities" to understand the emergence of collective action (McAdam 1982; Meyer 2004; Meyer and Minkoff 2004). In this perspective, political opportunities are features of the political system that either promote or hamper collective action (Tarrow 1994). Factors such as the degree of state repression of a protest or the alignment of elites toward a movement play a central role in this paradigm, which is rooted in Tocqueville's observations on the processes leading to regime transformation during the French Revolution.

Alternatively, bottom-up approaches emphasize the role played by organizations in the mobilization of groups, though there is disagreement about the results. While some theorists contend that the political organizations that already exist tend to aid collective action with their resources (McCarthy, Zald 1977; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001), others have qualified this by arguing that the bureaucratization these organizations introduce inhibits the ability of lower-class groups to disrupt the system, disruption being their most powerful tool. The logic of bureaucratization involved here is that, as the organizations become constituted and established, their cadre becomes more interested in maintaining the organizations than in furthering the goals of the movements. These scholars also maintain that organizational capacity is at times the result of a group mobilization rather than its cause (Piven and Cloward 1992: 314).

The concepts of political opportunities and the role of organizations are useful for understanding immigrant organizations and their mobilization to make demands on the state. With respect to the collective action of immigrant groups, scholars have employed the concept of political opportunities with attention to those opportunities that appear central in immigrant mobilization and civic engagement (Fennema and Tillie 2001; Okamoto 2003; Koopmans 2004; Koopmans *et al*., 2005; Bloemraad, 2006; Wong, 2006; Bloemraad and Ramakrishnan, 2008; Klandermans, van der Toorn, and van Stekelenburg 2008; Okamoto and Ebert 2010; Tyler and Marciniak 2013). Normally, social scientists have looked at the way that local elites gain votes and access political posts in the formal structures (Jones-Correa 1998; Gerstle and Mollenkopf 2001; Hochschild and Mollenkopf 2009), but less is known about the

bottom-up process by which immigrants access the political system. In this analysis I take on this task to elucidate the ways in which Ecuadorian immigrants gain space in the public sphere with other social groups to voice their demands.

Political Structures in New York City and Madrid

Social movement scholars have traditionally investigated group mobilization as a process grounded in social action. It has been noted that European conceptualizations of political opportunity structures typically include statist components that tend in American conceptualizations to be epiphenomenal (Kriesi, Koopmans, Dyvendak, and Giugni 1995; McAdam, 1996: 27). The European outlook on social movements, on the one hand, has tended to regard party politics as playing an essential role in determining the alliance structures of social movements. American studies, in contrast, have strongly focused on those alliances that are external to party support. The difference in approaches may be a consequence of the different party systems in the European and American contexts (Kriesi, Koopmans, Dyvendak, and Giugni 1995). In the U.S., the political context of the moment, and the shifting of political alignments, influential allies, and disagreements among the elite were what received the most attention in social movement research until recently (Tarrow 1995).

I have relied upon both European statist views and the American attention to the political moment. Madrid and New York City are locations that are well-suited to draw comparisons of the effects formal state structures on immigrant political participation. In decentralized federal states, such as the US, there are multiple points

of access to the national, regional, and local levels, whereas centralized states offer fewer points of entry to make demands. In political systems with proportional representation (Spain), the established parties face greater challenges than those with majority representation systems (US). Social movements tend to find allies within the party system when there are large numbers of parties in a political system (Kriesi, Koopmans, Divendak, Giugni 1995: 29). However, although U.S. after 1965 has not officially endorsed a multicultural model of immigrant incorporation (Freeman 2004), it implements *de facto* multicultural policies which overlap with policies conceived for its minority groups, many of which include immigrants. Ethnic and pan-ethnic identification in lobbies, such as the "African American caucus", the "Latino Caucus" or the "Asian-American Caucus," speak to both immigrant and minority representation in the political system.

Spain is a relatively decentralized parliamentary democracy with close-party lists. Two political parties, Partido Popular (PP), and Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), dominate its multiparty system. Class and nationalist separatist movements have been the traditional cleavages in the country, issues on the basis of which other political parties have drawn representation in the national parliament. Spanish scholars discuss the absence of a clear model of immigrant incorporation in Spain (Moreno Fuentes 2007). However, Spain does not uphold a political system which provides representation to minority groups, such as roma people, or where interests groups are organized around the needs of different ethnic groups. Only the traditional national and statist cleavages, especially for the case of Basques and Catalans, are represented through the political party system.

As of 2012, out of 350 seats Spain's Congress had no representatives of immigrant origin. In Madrid's Assembly, there was one representative with immigrant background out of 120 seats; concretely, this representative was Yolanda Villavicencio, a Colombian woman. Although immigrant representation in the party system in Spain is very low (Pérez-Nievas, Vintila, Morales, and Paradés 2014) immigrant parties are in the making. Possibly due to an easier citizenship acquisition path for immigrants from former Spanish colonies, Ecuadorian immigrants formed the party "Partido Comunidad Emigrante," in 2012. It was constituted by Ecuadorian and Rumanian immigrants who aspired to fully registered it and compete in the general elections of 2012. However, the participants in this study did not establish alliances with the "Partido Comunidad Emigrante" to make their demands.

New York City presents a different scenario as it is part of a federal state with a presidential rather than parliamentary structure; it has a bipartisan, first-past-the-post electoral system involving single-district and open party lists. Claimants may protest to the city government on local matters; state issues must be taken to Albany, where the State Legislature is located; and federal issues, such as immigration reform, are handled by the US Congress in Washington, D.C. Claimants often appeal to a political figure who supports their demands rather than a political party, as they would be obligated to by the Spanish party system. Also, in the U.S. divisions along ethnic and racial cleavages are more pronounced and intersect with class but not with nationalist movements.

The existing scholarship builds on an assumption that cannot be taken for granted in the case of immigrant groups: that protestors have the understanding of the

political system needed to allow them to develop an action repertoire geared toward openings in the political opportunity system. Unlike the native populations, immigrants have been previously politically socialized in a different state and thus need to learn a new political system.

Provided the above contextual differences, I address the following questions: with whom the participants in this study align? How do the mentioned political opportunities shape the empowerment of this immigrant group? If immigrant political parties were in the making in Madrid in 2012, and constituted by Ecuadorians why did the participants of this study not ally with it? What are the broader lessons for debates on the different models of immigrant incorporation promoted by states?

Methods

I conducted two years (2010-2012) of multi-sited ethnographic fieldwork in South-East Madrid and Queens, New York City, two areas with high concentrations of working-class immigrants. Interview data comprised 102 testimonies from political figures, priests, community organisers and Ecuadorians who make collective demands on the state through various organisations. I interviewed 97 Ecuadorian migrant workers, both men and women, documented and undocumented, from rural and urban locations in Ecuador. I taped all of the interviews, which, in most cases, lasted between 1.5 to 2 hours each. Nine lasted less than 1.5 hours and a few lasted 4 hours (see Table 1).

The bulk of the respondents emigrated between 1990 and 2006 in both locales, escaping political and economic instability in Ecuador. They arrived in NYC when the industry sector had disappeared and immigration laws became more restrictive after 9/11, 2001. Those who arrived in Madrid did so in the late 90s and early 2000s and took advantage of a growing economy with favourable immigration laws, which in 2008 ended in economic collapse.

With respect to the characteristics of the immigrant group, Ecuadorians are Spanish native speakers and benefitted from immigration privileges other groups did not have. They may become Spanish nationals after two years of proven residency in the country (Gomez Ciriano 2007). These linguistic and legal privileges granted on the basis on cultural commonalities go a long way towards a presupposed successful incorporation. Despite these commonalities, the participants in this study had a difficult time gaining voice to press their demands in the Spanish political arena.

During the summer of 2008 in Madrid, I interviewed the leaders of the main Ecuadorian organisations and some members within the scope of exploring the landscape of the Ecuadorian associations and their goals and activities. Within the same scope used in Madrid, I began fieldwork in August 2010 in New York City, where I visited the main Ecuadorian organisations and interviewed their leaders and members. In August 2011, I continued the research process in Madrid. I undertook participant observation in the organisations described below.

Immigrants have traditionally formed voluntary organizations such as hometown associations, mutual aid and rotating credit associations, and religious and political associations (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Moya, 2005). In order to study

how this particular immigrant group engaged with the formal political structures of Madrid and New York City, I conducted participant observation at two voluntary organizations whose member made political demands on the state in each city, one formed by Ecuadorians only and one with natives and immigrants of multiple nationalities, where I also interviewed their members and leaders.[9] By including different organisations in each locale I can analyse Ecuadorian immigrants' interactions with other social groups, outside the environment of the exclusively Ecuadorian organisations. This methodology thus controls for national origin without falling into a narrow nationality-based analysis (FitzGerald, 2012; Bloemraad, 2013).

I spent my time in these organisations by helping in their meetings every week, planning events, fundraising and collaborating in projects. I joined them in demonstrations, walks, direct-action events and press conferences in defence of immigrants and workers' rights before City Halls, Congresses, and private entities (banks) in both cities. I also spent time in other organisations in the neighbourhoods and in other institutions such as churches and unions with large numbers of Ecuadorian parishioners and members (see Table 4).

The Ecuadorian Organizations

'The Front' is an organisation in New York City formed by Ecuadorians migrants who demand emigrant rights from the Ecuadorian government. Together with the members of 'Growth', they demand comprehensive immigration reform by

[9] I use pseudonyms for the names of the four organisations, and I have altered the names of the participants to protect their identities.

the US federal government. These organisations also regularly cooperate to make claims for the betterment of their communities in the context of reception (rent issues, protection for workers and fair salaries, to cite a few).

The members of the Ecuadorian organization 'Action' also make demands of both the Spanish and the Ecuadorian governments. They lobbied the Ecuadorian government for the passage of legislation for emigrants' rights. In 2008, Ecuadorians who used to work in the construction sector lost their jobs and subsequently defaulted on their mortgage payments. In light of the continuous stream of Ecuadorians asking for help from Action, its leader took their claims as the most prominent point in the organisation's agenda. They demonstrated at the headquarters of Spanish banks, Madrid's City Hall, the Congress of Spain and the Ecuadorian Embassy. In this analysis I focus on the demands that these organizations make to the US and Spanish governments.

The Community Organizations

'Growth' is a community organisation largely comprised of Latin Americans in New York City. The organisation makes similar demands of the US federal and local governments. Most of The Front's members, and a large number of Ecuadorians who do not attend The Front's meetings, are members of Growth and regularly attend its meetings and collective action events. Together with the members of Action, the members of the 'Solutions' oganisation in Madrid demand that the Spanish government change the current mortgage legislation. Native Spaniards and immigrants of different origins attend the Solution's meetings and actions.

The Movements

My analysis is grounded on the outcomes of the processes of immigrant collective action in each city, rather than on a comparison of two movements, which would introduce a number of methodological problems (Tarrow 1991a). For instance, the goals of these movements are different in scope, which may shape their organization and strategies in different ways. In Madrid, the main goal of the movement under analysis is to change the current mortgage law and the pass of policies to protect those affected by unemployment and debts, and in New York the goal is multiple. At the federal level is immigration reform, and at the state and city levels workers' and immigrants' rights. Notwithstanding these differences, this analysis focuses on the participation of a particular immigrant group in these movements, rather than in a comparison of the rise and success of the movements themselves.

With respect to the policy domain, both movements were considered by the governments as threats to the "national interest" (Kriesi, Koopmans, et al. 1995: 97). A main purpose of the mobilization in New York City was to achieve comprehensive immigration reform, bringing to the debate questions of national interest such as who deserves to be a citizen. In Madrid, the participants in this study were part of a movement whose goals, due to the 2008 economic crisis which as of 2014 has produced a 23 percent unemployment rate, had also become of national interest. The austerity measures implemented by the ruling party, Partido Popular (PP), to confront the economic crisis, involved cutting social spending and bailing out banks for their losses with taxpayers' funds. Consequently, banks' private debts became those of

taxpayers, as the government protected the interests of the banks, whose capital had dwindled under the international recession and as a result of the inability of Spanish home buyers to continue to pay. In Madrid, Action and Solutions demanded that the Spanish government change mortgage terms, so that debts with banks would be settled after debtors returned to the banks the mortgaged house as payment. Immigrants who were unemployed paid the highest price, as bankers imposed higher interest rates on them than on the native population (Diaz-Serrano and Raya 2014).

Gateways to the State for Immigrants in New York City

In New York, the country's open-list, single-district representation system in which the enfranchised vote for candidates rather than for an established list of candidates already given by the party, as in close-list systems, and whereby a single winner eventually represents a constituency, meant that the leaders of Growth allied themselves with the political representatives of their districts and those politicians who were in favor of their demands. Due in part to the direct responsibility of politicians to their voters in an open-list party system, political representatives would attend assemblies and events undertaken by the organization to voice its members' demands (Søberg, Ellis, Suominen 2005; Bowler, Donovan, and van Heerde 2005 and Hopkin 2005). Not only would Growth's members attend its events, but so too would their families and friends, and members of other immigrant organizations, such as The Front. Growth was pivotal in linking The Front with political representatives in the state and federal political structures.

Figure 1, shows the pattern I observed in New York City. The rings between the organizations symbolize their alliance. The arrows point to institutions to which

the participants of this study reached in order to gain support and make demands on the formal political institutions of the government (Congress, State Legislature, and City Hall). Growth acted as organizer of the collective demands and made possible the connection between unions, churches, The Front, and the formal political institutions (see Figure 1).

Organizations

One way in which New York City is different from Madrid is that it has a large number of community-based organizations helping immigrants whose leaders are of immigrant origin themselves or bilingual second generation immigrants. These organizations are well connected politically and provide a space where grass-roots immigrant mobilization is organized (Cordero-Guzman, Smith, and Grosfoguel 2002, Cordero-Guzman 2005).

The Front was founded in 2001 by first-generation Ecuadorian immigrants. It was an informal organization that at the time of my fieldwork aspired to register as a 501(c) non-profit in order to access state funds for the purpose of providing services to immigrants. The organization closely collaborated with Growth in organizing its collective action events, as they shared similar objectives. Growth was born in 2007 out of the Latin American Integration, an organization founded by Colombian immigrants in 1991. The new organization aimed to give voice to low-income people.

It offered legal services, community organization, and leadership development courses, and divided its work in committees such as immigration, environment, workers, and youth. Its leadership was comprised of second-generation immigrants who spoke both English and Spanish, and they served as a link between newcomers

and the greater political context. All the interviewees agreed that Growth had played an important role in enabling them to participate politically. An Ecuadorian organizer at Growth reflected about this:

> The presence of an organization which gains respect before the authorities, so that they pay close attention, is necessary. At least like this they [politicians] listen to us and we can win some options. That is…, some changes [can be won]. For all of this, it is necessary [to have] the presence of the organization, because if not… If we yell, yelling only reaches deaf ears, nobody listen to us. Through an organization it is different. The options are better, [by] having a structure it is possible to reach changes… and there is respect for those who can influence the elected officials, make demands to them, and gain compromises with them so that they propose new laws. Also, [we need to work at] winning their vote at the municipal, state, and federal level with stronger mobilizations. And by doing this they will have to respond to their electors. (*Growth organizer, Queens, 2011*)

This leader had previously been President of the Front, and there he found that he was not able to gain the access to politicians that Growth provided. In New York City, neither the hegemonic Democratic Party nor the Republican Party promoted the inclusion of immigrants among their rank-and-file (Jones-Correa 1998; Mollenkopf 1999). In the absence of incentives from the parties, political organizations such as Growth played an important role as representatives of immigrants in the formal institutions.

The leaders of Growth were able to bring politicians to the organization and other large venues, such as the churches' basements and unions' reception rooms. They organized lobbying at City Council meetings and the State congress, to which they brought their most committed members. This access to local, state, and federal representatives granted participants in this study the knowledge to navigate the

political institutions of the US. After lobbying events, they would greet their representatives personally, ask them about particular policies, thank them for their support, and take their pictures with them. Some members of this immigrant community were disfranchised residents, giving the parties a disincentive to make contact with them. For this reason, members' interactions with political figures at these types of events were their entry-point to the political system.

In order to know what other types of activities they undertook to navigate the political institutions, I asked participants in this study about the activities they attended. The above-mentioned organizer, formerly of the Front and now at Growth, summarized the collective events of both organizations in the following manner:

> We have to combine all forms. Mobilization in the streets, mobilization through assemblies, we set up audiences [with political figures] … what they [Americans] call "lobbying," and interviews with elected officials. We have to use all the mechanisms democracy allows us, not only protest and yelling on the streets. We must also search for compromises and approach elected officials, those who coincide with us, but also those who are against us. We must interview with and persuade those who are against us. Explain and show to them the positive side of our community so that it is not stigmatized. Because they are probably good intentioned people, it doesn't matter their political origin. If they are not xenophobic they will listen, they will make some space to listen to us. (*Growth organizer, and former President of The Front, Queens, 2011*)

During his time as president of the Front, this participant was also a member of Growth and attended its meetings, and also brought some of his own organization's members to Growth's events. After being a member of Growth for several years, he took the leadership course that the organization offered to its committed members, after which he was hired as an organizer of the immigration committee. Informal

training through the organization's collective activities and his later *ad hoc* training as a leader taught him the skills he needed to access the US political arena. The Front's new president and its members continued to attend Growth's activities, offering visibility for their own organization while receiving training along the way.

The Front members themselves, independently of Growth, also formed an alliance with a Filipino organization that was already in place in Queens. A connection grew between the Filipina leader and The Front's leaders on account of her command of Spanish. Both organizations aimed to defend the rights of immigrants abroad, joined together at many events on issues having to do with immigration and immigrant workers. The bond grew enough for The Front to extend an invitation to the Filipino organization to parade together during the celebration of Ecuadorian Independence Day in Queens on August 10, 2011. The two associations shared the space of the Filipino association until The Front found one of its own.

At all of the meetings of Growth that I attended, the organizers referenced figures of the US Civil Rights Movement and sought to empower the participants in this study with a master framework which emphasized equal rights and opportunities (Snow *et al.*, 1986; Snow & Benford, 1992), and which they would employ when confronted with allegations of being unworthy citizens. During these teachings the newcomers were exposed to a collective action repertoire in a city where 1 in 3 persons is an immigrant (Foner 2013). These organizations furnished the Front's leaders with allies who, through their knowledge of the US political system, helped them in learning how to lead their own organization. Yet, despite the central role of political organizations in this learning process, other organizations were key as well.

Unions

Certain unions in New York served the participants of this study on several occasions as allies, mainly through the mediation of Growth. For instance, Growth held its yearly assembly meeting at the headquarters of Local 32BJ of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), in New York City. As this Union is focused on labor issues, its collaboration with Growth became narrower when it came to labor demands. Growth set up a committee specifically dedicated to worker's issues which offered a point of contact with the unions. For instance, in March 2011, Growth held its 3rd Annual Assembly at the headquarters of Local 32BJ. City politicians spoke to the large crowd applauding and banging drums together. Congressman Luis Gutierrez (Illinois, 4th District in Chicago), former New York City Council members Christine Quinn and Idanis Rodriguez, former district representative Jose Peralta, and many others spoke to the large group which had gathered to celebrate the victories they had won with the organization.

In these types of meetings, participants in this study would speak on stage about their status as immigrants. For instance, during an assembly a participant who belonged to the Immigration Committee of Growth informed politicians of his experience as an undocumented migrant. There were chants such as "Workers united will never be defeated," "Raising and Creating the People's Power," and many others. The Ecuadorian participants heard a speech by Francisco Moya, a second-generation Ecuadorian who was elected in 2010 as New York Assembly Representative for District 39, in Jackson Heights. This was the first time a person of Ecuadorian origin

was elected to serve in New York State politics, and this represented a milestone for this immigrant group in a city guided by ethnic politics (Mollenkopf 1999).

At the time of my fieldwork, The Front had not developed a strong relationship with unions, which is not to say that Ecuadorian immigrants in general do not join them. In fact, Laborers International Union of North America (LiUNA), Local 78-Asbestos Removal, has a membership of which a majority are Ecuadorian and Polish. Two of its organizers, two shop stewards, and five of its members of Ecuadorian origin explained during interviews the dynamics of the union and its membership (see also Kieffer and Ness 1999). The Ecuadorian members of Local 78 march as the union's representatives during the Ecuadorian Independence Day Parade in Queens. Participants in this study who were members of this union kept separate their protests against corporations that underpaid workers from their actions with Growth and The Front.

The union's focus on labor issues and the requirement that members belong to the trade, excluded many participants in this study from being among its rank-and-file. On the contrary, the open approach of Growth to claims-making, which gathered members into committees on diverse topics such as the environment, LGBT issues, and immigration, allowed members to achieve a grasp of certain issues in which they were interested. Growth required its members (approximately 8,000 at the beginning of my fieldwork) to be actively involved in the effort to achieve certain of the organization's demands in order to receive its benefits (such as English or citizenship classes, or its legal services).

Churches

The priest of a Catholic church opened its doors to meetings of some of the Ecuadorians who aimed to make demands of both the Ecuadorian and the US governments. It is at this church that the Front was born. Here, I witnessed meetings to elect candidates for representatives to the Ecuadorian National Assembly and meetings planning demonstrations and other actions in favor of comprehensive US immigration reform. Growth leaders also used this church as a platform for invited local and national political representatives who were in favor of immigration reform. Other religious organizations, such as the New Sanctuary Coalition of New York City, collaborated with Growth on issues such as immigrant deportation. On a trip to Washington, DC to demand passage of the Dream Act, which can be roughly characterized as a bill (which is still pending) that would provide permanent residency to immigrants who arrived in the United States as minors, members of Growth and The Front met in a Lutheran church. Representatives of national organizations supporting immigration reform, politicians, and persons who presented testimonies of their experience as undocumented migrants were present during the event.

In this section I have described how migrants accessed the political system mainly through immigrant social movement organizations which at the same time facilitate alliances with churches and unions. Social Movement Organizations (SMOs) provided resources, facilitated the formation of social bonds, and trained members in cooperation and political engagement. In Madrid, organizational capacity was frail until a turning point. While in New York City immigrants benefitted from a solid web of social movement organizations, in Madrid participants in this study started with a weaker associational base, which grew under their leadership.

Gateways to the State for Immigrants in Madrid

Spain has a close-list party system with proportional representation. The model of political engagement that this promotes is one in which the leaders of the Spanish political parties, in a block, have considerable power over their constituents, as voters select from fixed list of politicians chosen by the parties. Consequently, the leaders of the organizations reached out to political parties instead of to political candidates and representatives, as in New York City. The organizations also had fewer available means of entering the formal political structure, as both the two main Spanish political parties were opposed to their demands. In Madrid and Spain more generally, interest groups making demands upon the state are organized around business and union interests more than immigration or other issues (Morales and Ramiro 2011; Chaqués-Bonafont, Muñoz, Palau, and Moliné 2012). Participants in this study were not involved in trade unions or their demands. Additionally, priests and religious organizations were not involved, as they were in New York City, where they supported most of the claimants' demands. Figure 2 shows the scenario I observed in Madrid since summer 2008. From 2008 to 2011, Action did not find allies in the context of Madrid. The organization remained isolated until 2011, when Solutions reached out to Action and the two organizations allied (their alliance is represented by the rings). Under the name of Solutions, together they allied with 15 of May social movement and Madrid's federation of neighbourhood organizations (FRAVM) to make demands on the local and national governments, with no access and capability to effect change on the latter and partial capability on the former (see Figure 2).

Organizations

Action was founded by Ecuadorian immigrants in 2000. In 2008 its leader was an Ecuadorian woman, who remained in the post until at least 2014. During her leadership, the organization focused on preserving indigenous Ecuadorian folkloric traditions, but as the economic crisis hit Spain in 2008, the organization switched to demanding from the Spanish government a change in mortgage laws. Other prominent Ecuadorian organizations and immigrant organizations in Madrid, such as Rimiñahui and America España, Solidaridad y Cooperación (AESCO), provided advice to people unable to pay their mortgage, but unlike Action they were unable to organize a movement to change the law.

As numbers of Ecuadorians, and also some Peruvians, poured into the organization looking for help, Action began to grow and to take on a different dynamic. In 2008, it organized demonstrations of Ecuadorians at Madrid's City Hall, the Spanish Congress, and the headquarters of major banks. However, there was no response to these demonstrations from politicians and their voices remained unheard. The main political parties—until November 2011 the Partido Socialist Obrero Español (PSOE) was in the government and the Partido Popular (PP) in the opposition—ignored their demands, as did the media, except for free immigrant newspapers such as *Latino.* It seemed that access to Spain's formal political institutions was closed.

Three years later, in 2011, as the Spanish economic crisis deepened, the founders of Solutions, then a small organization formed by native Spaniards, were on the lookout for allies. The organization's leaders found those of Action through its recently created webpage. They wound up holding joint meetings and together

demanding that the Spanish government change the mortgage law. The meetings were attended by both native Spaniards and immigrants of various origins, mostly Latin Americans. During the initial months attendance was limited to the founders and the organization's rank and file.

As Solutions became known, first through word of mouth, then through the media and their webpage, its numbers grew to the point where there were typically 80 people or more at its meetings. At some of its bi-weekly meetings, up to eighty percent of those in attendance were Ecuadorian migrants who had bought property in Spain during the 2000s. They demonstrated before banks and the Spanish Congress and reached out to local political figures. For the first time in three years, Action had gained a voice in the political system. Its capacity to ally itself with an organization comprised of natives opened the door to the political structure.

However, the participants in Madrid gained fewer allies in the political institutions than those in New York City. In Madrid, they were able to win policies at the local level, such as affordable housing for the evicted. At the national level, only Izquierda Unida, IU, supported their demands, but without sufficient voter support, this party was unable to effect change in parliament. Moreover, the participants of this study had not heard that other Ecuadorian immigrants in Madrid were forming a political party, "Partido Comunidad Emigrante," nor they knew of its agenda. Nonetheless, when compared to the isolation in which Action was in 2008, in 2011 its members had acquired enough support from Solutions and were considered by the media and heard by political representatives.

FRAVM

The way in which Solution opened the door for Action to Spain's political institutions was through the former's relationship with the *Federación Regional de Asociaciones de Vecinos de Madrid* (FRAVM). None of the participants responded positively to my question whether they had known of the Federation's existence before they joined Solutions. The Federation grew out of neighborhood organizations in the 1960s and 1970s, within the limits to the right of association imposed by the Francoist Regime. The Federation's roots lie in the grassroots organizations that aimed to improve the neighborhoods newly created by migration to the city from rural villages. Understanding the role of these organizations is key to fully understanding Madrid's civil society today.

Unaware of the Federation and its work with neighborhood associations, the Ecuadorian participants in this study had few opportunities politically. Unions during this period (2011-2012) were not interested in mortgage legislation issues as much as they were in negotiating workers' rights with business owners and the government. One of the largest unions in Spain, Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO. by its Spanish initials), lent space for meetings to Action in 2008-2009, when the newly-formed association was organizing with other Ecuadorians *qua* Ecuadorians to fight the consequences of unemployment such as mortgage payment defaults. In those years, the unemployment rate was growing, and most affected were immigrants in the construction trades, many of whom were of Ecuadorian origin (Gratton 2007). A representative of FRAVM reflected on immigrants' making demands without making use of Madrid's neighborhood of associations that were already in place:

> Immigrants, in my opinion, should undertake demands in the organizations that already exist, which are organizations of people who have problems, regardless of their origin. I think immigrants make a mistake when they try to make demands through their own organizations. They need to win over Spanish public opinion; if they do not do that, they are going to lose. They would be acting by applying the politics of "divide and win." What the poor people of this world need to do is to be united. We have common problems; then, the logical thing to do is to work together. (FRAVM, representative, Madrid, 2012)

However, immigrants do not always find support among the rest of the population or share its demands, which can foster the creation of immigrant political organizations to defend for instance ethno-religious identities or activities with their communities in their country of origin (Modood, 2009; Smith 2006; Oostergaard-Nielsen 2001). By participating in Solutions and FRAVM, the immigrants in this study learned the available repertoire of possible actions for making demands in Spain.

For instance, on November 20, 2011, Spain underwent national elections in which the PP was elected by an absolute majority. Parliament was dissolved and a new one constituted three weeks later. The change from the center-left government of PSOE to the center-right PP left the immigrant organizations without parliamentary or government allies. The close-list proportional representation system precluded the possibility of choosing candidates who supported the demands of the participants in this study, as those in New York did. Izquierda Unidad (IU), a party on the left end of the spectrum, supported the demands of these organizations. Together with a coalition of parties, in the 2011 elections this party gained 11 seats in the parliament, compared with the PP's 186 seats and the 110 of PSOE. Additionally, the close-list system drives claimants to adhere to a political agenda based on ideology instead of appealing

to particular candidates who support concrete demands, as might occur in an open-list system (Søberg, Ellis, Suominen 2005; Bowler, Donovan, and van Heerde 2005 and Hopkin 2005).

Excluding the leaders, most of the Ecuadorian participants in this study did not adhere to a particular party ideology. While expressing affinity with the PSOE, they also said they would vote for IU because it was the party that offered to implement their demands. The Ecuadorian participants in this study, of which 40 out of 47 were Spanish nationals who could vote in the national elections and 7 were permanent residents who could vote in local elections, expressed their discontent with the main Spanish political parties due to their failure to support their demands. This political discontent was not unique to them; it was to a significant extent shared with the rest of the Spanish population, as shown in the July 2012 survey of political attitudes among the Spanish population by the Center for Sociological Research, CIS (by its Spanish Initials) and where about half of the Spaniards polled thought that both the government and the political performance of the parties in government opposition were bad or very bad (questions 11 and 12 of the poll).

During the 2011 campaign, the Solutions and Action organizations, at the initiative of their native Spanish (versus immigrant) members, decided to undertake an action known in Spain as Iniciativa Legislativa Popular (ILP, a People's Legislative Initiative). This consists of a group of citizens presenting a bill to the parliament, bypassing legislative representatives. In this case, the bill proposed a reform in the mortgage law. In Spain, an ILP requires the signatures of 500,000 citizens, or 1.26% of the total voting population. During the meetings of Solutions, native members

explained to the more numerous immigrants among them the rules for presenting the ILP, and explained that as parliament would be dissolved after the elections, they would be unable to present the ILP to Congress until January 2012. The Spanish parliament rejected the ILP when Solutions submitted it in 2012, to which, by the end of my fieldwork in summer of 2012, the organization responded by taking the ILP to the European Court of Justice.

During the meetings, the native members also proposed to arrange appointments with the political parties in their municipalities to solicit their support in paralyzing eviction cases and in providing subsidized housing for those who had already lost their homes. Members decided to form small groups in which the Ecuadorian participants in this study volunteered to speak with the leaders of the parties. Together, they placed their demands before the politicians and in this way they gained a voice within the system.

15M or the Los Indignados Movement

While Solutions and Action were joining forces during the early part of 2011, another player entered the fray: the 15M movement, as it occurred on May 15, 2011, also known as *Los Indignados*. The latter name is the Spanish translation of a book by French diplomat Stephane Hessel, *Indignez-Vous!*, translated into English as *Time for Outrage!* (Hessel & Duvert 2011; Castañeda 2012), which called upon youth to mobilize against current injustices. The movement spoke of the general disenchantment toward politicians, including with regard to their treatment of the 2008 economic crisis, and the proclivity of politicians in Western democracies to protect

corporate interests rather than citizens against the risks involved in financial investments.

The failure of PSOE to take measures to mitigate the effects of the crisis while the party was in the government from 2008 to 2011, together with the austerity measures announced subsequently by PP, was met with by the formation of popular assemblies in the squares of Madrid and other major cities, where the discontent was voiced and the actions to be taken planned. Neighborhood squares throughout Madrid became links in a network that extended throughout the city.

On the one hand, Solutions and Action members joined these assemblies, attending them in their neighborhoods, and then reporting on them at Solutions meetings. On the other hand, the demands of these organizations were considered by 15M a consequence of the economic downturn, providing a rationale for supporting the action repertoires that the organizations undertook. These included protests in front of the parliament and judiciary, marches, intrusions into bank offices, stopping the evictions of families, and theatrical representations in the squares.

The public structure of 15M, which involved neighbors gathering at least once a week in squares, supplied spaces from which to call for participation in collective actions, and the movement became key in supplying people for the organizations' actions. When I asked a representative of Solutions about the support they were receiving from other organizations, he said, "without 15M the actions we have organized would not have been as large" (Solutions organizer, 2011). He continued to explain that work schedules and appointments with banks and administrations in the

city kept many members from attending all of the actions; hence, 15M was useful in providing extra supporters.

The alliance between two organizations in Madrid, one that included natives (Solutions) and the other without them (Action), gave the Ecuadorian participants in this study a voice in a system whose political institutions were otherwise mostly closed to them. Their association with a social movement that had arisen out of similar grievances against the performance of political representatives in the 2008 economic downturn provided Action and Solutions with support that was useful in lieu of that of political parties. This was always important because, contrary to the situation in New York City, Action and Solutions had developed as a result of their members' ad hoc demands.

Discussion and Conclusion

In the sections above I have depicted the process by which the participants in this study formed alliances to gain support from the political representatives of both cities. I have compared the social and political agents involved in in New York City and Madrid, centring in the role of unions, churches, other social groups and organizations, and their representation systems. My findings suggest that the process of immigrant mobilization is not only shaped by model of immigrant incorporation and the structure of political opportunities under which it occurs, but also by demographic characteristics.

Lacking the support of the main political parties of the centre, PSOE and PP, the participants in this study in Madrid turned to Izquierda Unida (IU), which supported their demand for a change in the mortgage law. At the local level, city

government representatives from the surrounding municipalities of Madrid agreed to implement some of the palliative measures requested by the movement through representatives of IU, such as low-rent housing for those who had been evicted. However, the total number of seats that IU gained in parliament in the 2011 elections did not amount to more challengers to the government as of summer 2012. Additionally, the organizations lacked the backing of churches and unions during their collective action events and meetings. It was when Action's participants collaborated with those of Solutions that the former were able to find an ally in IU, whereas while acting solely as immigrants they had not sought party alliances.

The political opportunities were ample in Madrid, for the case of the participants in this study. As citizens, they were able to exercise their right to vote in the general elections, however, that right did not suffice. In order to gain changes in the system, and in the absence of organized interest groups by immigrants or other ethnic minorities, such as it occurred in New York City, they allied with natives. This analysis suggests that in the absence of organized interest groups in government and different cohorts of immigrants groups, such as is the case in Spain, immigrants find ways to press their demands through alliances with the native population.

In a context with an open-list system that give prominence to ethnic politics, as in New York City, where the organizational milieu is comprised of immigrants and their descendants, immigrants have tended to rely on other (immigrant) political organizations to reach political candidates, who in turn act as their main allies in the formal political arena. As a result, political incorporation in New York City occurred partly in response to ethnic dynamics. District residents have the capacity to choose

candidates, whom they select on the basis of their demands as well as language and ethnic affinity, reflecting the cleavages in the United States along lines of race and ethnicity.

The US party system offers room for ethnic difference, and groups get organized accordingly. This analysis suggests that in cases in which ethnic diversity is large both measured in time and in diverse origins; immigrant groups get organized into smaller units where they share linguistic and other cultural similarities with members in that unit, and within a larger established party. In New York City, The Front's alliances with other organizations facilitated exposure to the city's open-list party system in which representatives are accountable to the voters in their district. Growth, where most members were Latinos, invited the representatives to its events. In so doing, the organization introduced members to the political structures of the US and showed politicians its strength by gathering its constituency. However, the federal scale of the demand for comprehensive immigration reform of participants in New York, forced the organizations to look beyond the city to Congress, where they lacked enough support to pass reform.

Contrary to what the literature predicted (Kriesi, Koopmans, Dyvendak, and Giugni 1995), in multi-party systems, such as in Madrid, alliances with other political parties hardly occurred. The participants in Madrid were exposed to a party system where group identification by ethnicity is not conspicuous; rather, cleavages have traditionally cut across class lines. The center-left Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE) supported, at least ideologically, the demands of the working class. During the

economic crisis that began in 2008, however, the party has not responded to the demands of the participants in this study and their allies, who turned instead for support to Izquierda Unida (IU).

Social movement scholars continue to debate the causal relationship between organizational capacity and mobilization. The main tenet of resource mobilization theorists is that social movement organizations (SMOs) aid the collective action of other groups with their resources, social capital, and training. In this case study, organizations that were already in place in New York City, such as Growth or the Filipino organization, facilitated the mobilization of their own members and those of The Front. In the absence of deliberate engagement on the part of the political parties with immigrants, Growth connected the newer immigrant arrivals with the city's formal political institutions. The organization reached out for support to churches, as these had immigrant parishioners, as well as to unions, which shared with Growth an interest in workers' issues.

In Madrid, the organizational capacity of this immigrant group was the result of mobilization rather than its cause (Piven and Cloward 1992: 314). The participants in this study mobilized as Ecuadorians and revitalized an informal immigrant organization (Action) that had grown due to the mobilizations its new members had undertook since 2008. Once Action grew, it became visible to other native organizations that were being formed at the same time. The result was an organizational capacity that grew from the mobilization of immigrants and natives' initial cooperation.

Future research comparing the collective action of immigrant groups with respect to cultural similarities between immigrants and natives and previous immigration cohorts should further elucidate the political engagement of immigrants in Western democracies.

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Chapter 4

Social Capital and an Immigrant Collective Action Repertoire: Building Trust in Ethnically Diverse Communities

Since the last decades of the twentieth century, cities have become increasingly diverse. According to the United Nations Population Division Report (2013), most migrants reside in Asia or Europe, but since the 1990s, the largest increase in the number of international migrants has been of those coming to North America. A collateral result is an increase in the ethnic diversity of cities and societies at large. As societies become more diverse, scholars have turned to studying the consequences of diversity in scholarly areas as diverse as race (Skrentny 2014) and social capital (Putnam 2007). Some even speak of a situation of "super-diversity" (Vertovec 2007), in which diversity is measured not only by ethnicity but also by immigration status, rights, and market experiences, to cite a few of the factors. Studies have shown that in cities with substantial ethnic diversity, ethnic groups are organizing not only on the basis of traditional national ethnicity, as in the past (Katznelson 1981), but also under pan-ethnic identities, that is to say, when ethnic or tribal groups cooperate and build institutions and identities that encompass different ethnic boundaries (Okamoto and Mora 2014, Okamoto 2003).

Scholars have shown that members of organizations gain skills that have been of value to democratic life since Tocqueville. In the case of current immigrant groups, organizations have proven helpful in facilitating the incorporation of immigrants and thus in building democratic societies (Bloemraad 2006; Wong 2006). In Western

democracies, cooperation among citizens is as important in a community board meeting as it is in making collective political demands.

Hence, if the success of participatory governance in Western democracies depends on a robust state and an active civil society with healthy levels of civic engagement (Putnam 2000; Tocqueville (2000 [1835]); Waisman 2006), scholars would do well to investigate the ways in which individuals develop trust in ethnically diverse communities, as this speaks of the quality of democratic life.

In this article I examine a debate that focuses on the effects of ethnic diversity on social capital. Scholars contend that civic engagement strengthens democracy (Tocqueville 2000 [1835]; Putnam 1993) and that in the long run, diversity is beneficial for democratic life. In the short run, however, migration flows in the US have the effect of reducing trust in communities where the result of immigration is high ethnic diversity (Putnam 2007). In other words, the more similar the groups are in terms of cultural markers such as ethnicity, religion, and language, greater trust develops.

Nonetheless, scholars of migration who study the political engagement of immigrant groups involved in organizations show that cooperation exist to some extent among different ethnic groups, which form coalitions based on shared demands and pan-ethnic identities (Mollenkopf 2014; Okamoto and Mora 2014; Okamoto 2003). Under which circumstances then is social capital generated in neighborhoods in which immigration is high? I examine this question in light of the case of Ecuadorian immigrants making collective demands of the governments of New York City and Madrid.

Both of these contexts of reception have the largest population of Ecuadorians living outside of Ecuador (Jockisch and Pribilsky, 2002), but in New York City the dominant language is English and Ecuadorians speak Spanish, just as the rest of the population does in Madrid. Moreover, scholars may expect greater distrust in New York City since diversity is greater there than in Madrid. The analysis that follows takes into account these cultural and demographic characteristics, and focuses on the processes by which these groups develop social capital to make collective demands.

I respond to this question by considering the repertoires of collective action that Ecuadorian immigrants encountered in these cities. In looking inside these repertoires, I also depict the ways in which immigrants come to be equipped with social capital that promotes their exposure and facilitates their inclusion in the collective action projects within these societies and, consequently, their political engagement at large with other social groups. By social capital I mean that which allows trust and cooperation to grow among different ethnic groups in the context of pursuing collective demands. I measure trust by looking at the participants' decisions to join collective action events developed by the organizations under the scope of this analysis and the actions developed by organizers to gain the confidence of its members.

The article is organized as follows. I first situate their collective action repertoires in the literature on the topic as a frame through which to analyze how immigrants build social capital. I then engage current debates on the effects of migration on cooperation in ethnically diverse communities, following this discussion with a presentation of my case studies of Ecuadorian collective action in New York

City and Madrid. I show that in New York, participants of the Ecuadorian organization I call "The Front" reached out to other community organizations, such as "Growth," to fight against social injustices and to learn the organizational norms of the new context, in the process creating "bridging" social capital. In Madrid, the Ecuadorian organization "Action" initially experienced political isolation, which was later mitigated by contact with natives who were searching for allies to form the organization "Solutions." While previous studies on the effects of ethnic diversity on social capital demonstrate that immigration produces isolation among members of groups in the short run, this study demonstrates the opposite: political cooperation increased among first generation Ecuadorian immigrants and other social groups as a result of making and pursuing shared collective demands. My overall claim is that greater similarities do not de facto create trust among groups, as I show for the case of Madrid. This comparative case study shows that social capital may grow among ethnically diverse neighborhoods when its members share the need to accomplish common ends. These ends are improving neighborhood conditions and accomplishing immigration reform in New York City, and changing the mortgage legislation in Madrid.

Repertoires of Contention and Trust

Scholars of contentious politics and political processes (Tilly, 1977, 1993, 2008; Tarrow 1989, 1998; Traugott 1995; McAdam et al. 1996, 2001) have referred to "repertoires of contention" both to analyze the differences in types of contention in particular historical periods and to identify macro-historical factors leading to original forms of collective action. The main approach in the scholarship to collective action

repertoires maintains that they grow out of claimants' previous experiences of making demands (Tilly 1977, 1995; Tarrow 1989, 1998; Traugott 1995; McAdam et al. 2001). Scholars working in this tradition, attuned to historical analysis, traced the evolution of repertoires diachronically, and concluded that particular types of repertoires are specific to different regimes (Tilly 1977, 1978, 2008).

Repertoires of contention were first analyzed by Charles Tilly, who attempted to explain their historical variations. Tilly (1977) defined "repertoires of collective action" as the *means* people have to act collectively at a given point in time (493). He later defined "repertoires of contention" as "limited sets of routines that are learned, shared, and acted out through a relatively deliberate process of choice"; they are "learned *cultural* creations" that emerge *from struggle* and that individuals use to act collectively (1993: 264). Such repertoires involve a range of activities from breaking windows to marches and songs of protest.

The experience people have previously acquired in making claims is central to the definition of repertoires as cultural creations. The repertoires are connected to other activities, and to related procedures and methods, that are not part of the collective action itself, but form part of the context in which the repertoire develops, driving collective action along a particular path. Such arrangements include laws of assembly; rules of association; routines for informal gatherings; ways of displaying symbols of affiliation, opposition, or protest; and means of reporting news (264). Leaders, he continued, play a key role in the selection of the repertoires of contention and in the form they take. Tilly's later studies traced the appearance of contemporary social movements to the transformation of Western states from the mid-eighteenth

century to the present. Current social movements are accompanied by a particular repertoire of action— performances such as vigils, rallies, demonstrations or public meetings— that responds to the distinct political institutions of a regime (2008: 148).

The differences between the two Western democratic regimes to which New York City and Madrid belong allows for variations in the repertoire of collective action used by this immigrant group. However, while illustration of the variations contained in the collective action repertoire of the participants in this study is important, if only in order to depict the process by which liberal democratic regimes absorb new populations into their known collective action traditions, this is not my sole objective. In looking inside these repertoires, I depict the ways in which immigrants come to be equipped with social capital that promotes their exposure to institutions and facilitates the inclusion of the collective actions they engage in among those of the society as a whole and, hence, their possible political incorporation at large.

Social scientists have used the concept of social capital to investigate issues of social recognition, networks, civic engagement, solidarity, and trust (Granovetter 1973; Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1990; Putnam 1993). In this analysis, I focus on the form of social capital that consists in the relationships of trust developed between actors which facilitate collective action. Social movement scholars believe that collective action processes rely on networks of reciprocity and solidarity (Klandermans, Kriesi, and Tarrow 1988). Individuals' trust and identification with a group encourages their participation in collective action (Polletta and Jasper 2001). While social capital in general is important for the population to possess in order to

join collective action efforts (Diani, McAdam 2003), trust, which is an aspect of social capital, is particularly important for the collective action of immigrant groups (Fennema and Tillie 1999, 2001), who lack knowledge of the larger norms within which collective action takes place.

Moreover, immigrants are at times undocumented or hold immigration visas or permanent residency cards which allow them to stay in the country subject to proven good behavior. This makes trust all the more important to them as the possibility of being deported always lingers in their thoughts.

Robert Putnam recently studied the effects on social capital of the ethnic diversity that is produced by immigration (2007). In studying the effects of ethnic diversity on community cooperation, he looked at two types of social capital ties. "Bonding" social capital promotes trust among people who are similar, causing groups to look inward, and thus producing internal cohesion. "Bridging" social capital brings together people who are different in basic ways such as gender, race, and age, promoting trust and forming networks outside a group. Putnam concluded that diversity, in the short run, produces social isolation. People living in ethnically diverse neighborhoods isolate themselves from others, resulting in lower cooperation between individuals belonging to different groups. It is the first generation of immigrants who are the target group in his analysis, with a blurring of differences for the second generation, that is, those born in the country.

Under these premises, scholars may expect less cooperation in New York City than in Madrid, as there is greater diversity in New York City and the dominant language is different from the Spanish spoken by Ecuadorians. New York City has

received immigrants since its inception, and current migration is a product of the Immigration Nationality Act of 1965, which abolished national origin quotas. In contrast, Madrid is a relatively new site of immigration, as immigrants began to arrive with Spain's joining the European Union in 1986. These features of the two cities with regard to immigration allow observing how immigrants built trust in a city (Madrid) where the first generation of immigrants dominate immigrant organizations, and in one (New York City) where continued migration has produced a civil society in which it is both immigrants and their descendants who dominate the immigrant organizations (Foner 2013).

Methods

The evidence informing the larger study is derived from qualitative interviews with and participant observation among Ecuadorian immigrants who have settled in New York City and Madrid, the largest destination cities for Ecuadorian emigration (Jokisch and Pribilsky, 2002). These cities' different traditions of migration and linguistic characteristics allow for comparisons of how they impact the settlement of the same immigrant group. I undertook a pilot study in Madrid during the summer of 2008, during which interviewed the leaders of the main Ecuadorian organisations and some members within the scope of exploring the landscape of the Ecuadorian associations and their goals and activities. In reach of the same scope used in Madrid, I began fieldwork in August 2010 in Queens, New York City, where I visited the main Ecuadorian organisations and interviewed their leaders and members. In August 2011, I continued the research process in Madrid. I visited nine Ecuadorian organizations in Madrid, of which two made demands of the Spanish and Ecuadorian states; and seven

in Queens, of which three made demands of the U.S. and Ecuadorian states. I undertook participant observation in organizations that were similar in resources and composition in both cities (I describe these organisations below). I did two years of multi-sited ethnographic research from 2010 to 2012 and conducted 97 semi-structured interviews (50 of them in New York City and 47 in Madrid) with Ecuadorian documented and undocumented migrant workers who make collective demands through these organisations in these cities.[10] In this analysis, I relay on interviews with participants in the four organizations I describe below, journalists, and leaders in Ecuadorian organizations making collective demands (see Table 1).

I assess political participation in popular modes of protest through which the participants make collective demands of the sending and receiving states, which grant or remove immigrants' specific rights, such as the right to be physically present in a country, and more generally, workers' rights. I also consider political campaigns, party meetings, student councils, community participation and indigenous organisations or unions as channels of contact with the political representatives of these communities through which to make demands.[11]

I chose participants through snowball methods with multiple points of entry in different organizations in order to elude the built-in risks in snowball sampling procedures of interviewing only close networks of participants, and to cross-check information with other respondents (Cornelius, 1982). I taped all of the interviews, which typically lasted between one and a half and two hours but occasionally ran as

[10] I interviewed 102 people, including political figures and priests, of non-Ecuadorian origin.

[11] I use pseudonyms for all of the organisations and participants in this study.

long as four hours. Nine of the interviews were concluded in less than an hour and a half. I conducted the interviews in Spanish in places where the respondents felt comfortable, such as in their homes, at their organisations, in restaurants over lunch or dinner or in parks and churches. I transcribed all the interviews and coded them with respect to different theoretical categories (such as "political incorporation" or "assimilation") and according to patterns that emerged, such as "in-group fighting," "trust/distrust," "host-country involvement," "fear," "home-country involvement," "same/different group engagement," "political parties," etc.

The Organisations

Immigrants have traditionally formed voluntary organizations such as hometown associations, mutual aid and rotating credit associations, and religious and political associations. They normally come into contact with the political system by making collective demands through ethnic organisations (Glazer and Moynihan, 1970; Moya, 2005). As my aim was to provide simultaneous depth to the study of immigrant and home-country politics through participant observation, I have provided an understanding of inter-group alliances and intra-group interaction that informs political participation. Thus, my methodology controls for national origin without falling into a narrow, nationality-based analysis (FitzGerald, 2012; Bloemraad, 2013).

I conducted participant observation at two claims-making organisations in each city, where I also interviewed their members and leaders. One organisation comprises Ecuadorian immigrants who make demands of the Ecuadorian government. The other is a community organisation comprising both natives and immigrants of

Latin American origin through which, together with the Ecuadorian organisation's members and leadership, collective demands are made of the receiving context government (see Table 4).

The Ecuadorian Organisations

"The Front" is comprised of *mestizo* Ecuadorians – descendants of mixed parentage between European and American populations – who demand emigrant rights from the Ecuadorian government. The organization was formed in 2001 by Ecuadorian immigrants who arrived in the1990s from urban areas of Ecuador. During The Front organization's meetings and events I witnessed up to eighty Ecuadorians arrive. Its leaders work in the jewelry shop-floor industry, in the service sector, and some run small unstable business. Members worked in the construction related trades, some in the service sector. It is formed mostly by men, although they elected one woman as new vice-president and another woman as new speaker of the organization. It is open to other Ecuadorians without limits on political affiliation; however, as I show below, home-country politics shapes who joins the organization. Its members support the organization with donations which, at the time of fieldwork is not formally registered as a 501(c) ―non-profit― organization in New York State, and it appears informally in the internet. In the past, the organization's members have collectively demanded Ecuador's acceptance of dual nationality and the posibility to vote from abroad in Ecuadorian elections. Jointly with the members of the "Growth" organisation, those in "The Front" demand comprehensive immigration reform from the US federal government. These organisations also join their claims for the

betterment of their communities of settlement (rent issues, protection for workers and fair salaries, etc.).

The "Action" organisation in Madrid also has *mestizo* members, with the exception of its two leaders, who are indigenous Ecuadorians who lived in Quito for an extended period of time before migrating. The organization was formed by Ecuadorian immigrants from the city of Llano Grande. Soon after its constitution, its leaders were accused of corruption by part of its membership with a result in change of leadership to the current leaders. The main leader, an Ecuadorian woman, who worked providing day care for the elderly, devoted the evenings and weekends to the organization's activities. Other leaders used to work in the construction sector, but were unemployed during the time in which I undertook fieldwork. Other members worked in the construction and services sectors and were also unemployed at the time of fieldwork. Action is evenly comprised by men and women. Similar to members of The Front, Action members make demands of both the Spanish and the Ecuadorian governments, lobbying the Ecuadorian government to pass legislation protecting emigrants from Ecuadorian bank practices in Ecuador. They lobbied the Ecuadorian government for the passage of legislation for emigrants' rights. In 2008, Ecuadorians who used to work in the construction sector in Madrid lost their jobs and subsequently defaulted on their mortgage payments. In light of the continuous stream of Ecuadorians asking for help from Action, its leader took their claims as the most prominent point in the organisation's agenda. They demonstrated at the headquarters of Spanish banks, Madrid's City Hall, the Congress of Spain and the Ecuadorian Embassy.

The Community Organisations

"Growth" is a large community organisation comprising mostly Latin Americans in New York City. The organisation makes the abovementioned demands of the US federal and local governments. Between 30 and 50 members attend meetings held three days a week. Most of The Front's members and a large number of Ecuadorians who do not attend The Front's meetings are members of Growth. "Solutions" is an organisation whose members demand that the Spanish government change the current mortgage legislation. Native Spaniards and immigrants of different origins attend Solutions' meetings and demonstrations and the attention it has drawn from the media, word-of-mouth and its webpage has resulted in the number of attendees rising from 20 to 90 after only 5 months of field work – a number that has continued to increase.

I spent my time in these organisations helping in their meetings every week, planning events, fundraising and collaborating on their projects. I went with them to demonstrations in defense of immigrants and workers' rights before the City Hall, Congress and private entities (banks) in both locales. I also spent time in other organisations in the community and in other institutions such as churches and unions. I went to Ecuadorian festivities and parades and spent time in the respondents' neighbourhoods, houses and social environments. Finally, I attended parties, events, sports, dances and gatherings for special celebrations.

Diversity in New York City and Madrid

As emphasized for the case of immigration in London, Ecuadorians in Queens and Brooklyn live in a context of "super diversity" (Vertovec 2007). Vertovec uses this term to indicate a diversity that includes such factors as immigration status, immigrants' access to rights, divided labor markets, and differences of gender and age (2). The district in which I base this study is among those with the highest concentration of the foreign-born. The Chinese represent the largest group in Queens, accounting only 14 per cent of the immigrant population; they are followed by Guyanese, Ecuadorians, Dominicans, and Mexicans, who together make up 38 per cent of the foreign-born population (Lobo and Salvo 2013: 41). In 2010, New York's foreign-born represented 37.2 per cent of the total city population (Foner 2013: 3). Finally, the participants in New York speak Spanish in a context where interaction with other social agents requires a command of English.

After Romania's joining the EU in 2007, Ecuadorians became one of the largest groups of non-EU immigrants in Spain, at an estimated 420,000 (INE, 2008). By January 2013, the number of Ecuadorians registered in the national territory had decreased to 286,964 (INE, 2013), reflecting the effects of the economic crisis in Spain. Ecuadorians primarily chose Madrid, and certain neighborhoods in particular, as the place to settle (Gómez Ciriano, Tornos Cubillo et al. 2012). According to Madrid's civil registry, there were 79,322 Ecuadorians living in Madrid as of January 2013 (C.A.S. 2013). As of January 2013, the Community of Madrid Bulletin reported 49,373 Ecuadorians in Madrid, representing 10.6 per cent of all foreigners; they were surpassed only by the Rumanians, who account for 11.8 per cent of Madrid's

foreigners.[12] After the Ecuadorians, the Chinese account for 6.4 per cent of the total foreign-born population in Madrid, followed by Peruvians and other Latin American nationalities. The total foreign-born in Madrid represented 14 per cent of the city's population, compared to New York's 37.2 per cent. Ecuadorians have the advantage among many other immigrants that they can communicate with the native population and other Latin American groups in Spanish.

Given the above differences, and based on Putnam's study (2007), scholars could expect that provided the ethnic diversity in Queens, New York City, the Ecuadorians in this study would refrain from joining organizations with diverse ethnic groups as constituency. In comparison, in Madrid we could expect greater cooperation between associations as the ethnic diversity is lower. None of these expectations was fully confirmed. In New York, participants in the Ecuadorian organization the Front reached out to other community organizations to fight against social injustices and to learn the organizational norms of the new context. In Madrid, the Ecuadorian organization Action experienced an isolation that was mitigated by the arrival of natives who were searching for allies. As such, the greater similarities between Ecuadorians and native Spaniards, measured in this analysis by linguistic similarities among others, did not allow for immediate generation of trust among them, as I show below. Social capital grew in light of shared collective demands.

[12] The official government term for the foreign-born population in Spain is "extranjeros," or foreigners.

Trust and the Repertoire of Collective Action in New York City

The participants in this study who were members of Growth emphasized in the interviews that being able to influence politicians, change policies, and join others who shared the same claims were important factors leading to their engagement. The organization's successful lobbying strategy led to such things as translation into different languages of medicine labels, and making translators available in hospitals. Nevertheless, for newer members to join the activities, just as older members did, they need to trust the environment. In Growth, members developed trust on other members and in their leadership through events, meetings, and

To influence policy-making, Growth drew upon a repertoire of actions in which members who were undocumented felt they could participate without fear of deportation. Some members were afraid of participating in the public presentation of demands, and those who were undocumented were afraid of being deported if caught by the police. For instance, an organizer of Growth reflected upon this during a trip to Central Park with members of the organization "some of them never leave the neighborhood to venture to Manhattan, as they are afraid that something could go wrong" (Organizer of Growth, field notes, Queens 2011). That day, I observed members' sense of insecurity when they turned their sights inconspicuously toward the ground, as the police passed by us several times while we walked through Central Park.

A way in which Growth gained trust from its members is by accomplishing results, where winning campaigns was an important factor, as Rita, an Ecuadorian member of Growth emphasized:

> I feel safe in the organization. Where I go with them, I feel safe. I gave myself completely to the organization. My kids ask me what the organization did to me and I tell them, "You see, there we are all equal; it is like a family too. We are all equal, […] we share the same plate, I am happy there." [So I asked her how she thought the organization had managed to make her feel that way:] "because they [the leaders] trust us, what we [members] do. We feel happy because we make it! We make changes happen. […] We have victories, […] we go to Albany, to City Hall, we talk to politicians, we face many barriers, but many times we win. (*Member of Growth, Queens, 2011*)

Rita emphasized that being able to lobby the state and city representatives, speak to politicians, and participate in the actions drove her to become involved. The directors of the organization had access to politicians, which facilitated the encounters of participants with their representatives. She also mentioned feelings of equality and fraternity that conferred trust and safety as helping to create an environment that kept her engaged.

Another way in which Growth gained trust from its members is by assuring them they are protected from deportation. During a meeting of Growth, an organizer of American and Uruguayan descent, explained to members the events scheduled for a future visit to Washington D.C, which I further describe below, to demand immigration reform. The main action the organizers had originally planned consisted of a civil disobedience act, however, the organizer explained that "since undocumented members were planning to come, we are not going to put them at risk [of being apprehended by the police] with a civil disobedience act and the action will instead be an 'unscheduled' visit to the Senators and Congress representatives" (Growth organizer, Queens, 2010). These addresses showed protection and prevention from risky situations and serve to build confidence from members to organizers.

Additionally, an Ecuadorian member of Growth reflected over an interview about their confidence in the organization: "in the organization we learn how to react if the police stop us, our rights, and to act as it is expected from a citizen [who is from] here [the US], this gives us confidence, also we know we can refer to the organization for help, in the event that something happened" (Member of Growth, Queens, 2010).

Growth leaders used a combination of teaching assemblies and collective making of claims, which served to build trust, as well as bonding social capital, among its members and with organizations making demands in the city. Scholars have discussed how associations infuse in their members the necessary skills to participate in public life (Verba *et al.* 1995; Tocqueville 2000; Putnam 2000). Just as important, but less emphasized by the migration scholarship, is the capacity of these organizations to create social capital through bonding.

The organization divided its work into committees that were organized around topics such as workers' issues, immigration, and the environment. Growth committees and activities served as "schools for democracy" (Putnam 2000: 338). In the committees, participants debated current social issues, and prepared arguments to defend themselves against opponents of, for example, immigration reform or a rise in the minimum wage. They rehearsed these arguments and presented them in public. At these meetings members were taught who their city and state representatives were, about the immigration debates happening at the national level, and U.S. immigration history applied to the present national atmosphere. For instance, at a meeting in February, the agenda included discussion of the Civil Rights Movement. On this occasion they commemorated Black people's struggle for equality of rights, learned

about figures such as Rosa Park, and related the discussion to what they thought undocumented immigrants should do:

> Rosa Parks initiated everything [the protests] with her resistance to move from her seat. Then everyone went on the streets, children and parents alike. That is what we need to do. All of us need to go to our general assembly [which was happening in less than two weeks] with our families [and] our friends, if you know somebody, invite them. We will show politicians [whom Growth's directors had invited to give a speech] that Growth leads the fight in our city [New York]. Fellows, take flyers and distribute them on the avenue [Roosevelt Ave., Queens]. Because we already are 11 or 12 million undocumented people!
> Participant on the committee: Our committee [immigration committee] should take banners with a message that politicians can read." (Ecuadorian organizer, *Growth, Immigration Committee meeting, Queens, 2011*)

Not only did the review of past events underscore the rise of minority groups. The Immigration Committee Meeting held shortly after the 4th of July was devoted to explaining the American Declaration of Independence. After a review of the events, they discussed the similarities and differences between the immigrants of 1776 and those of 2011. One of the discussions revolved around how in 1776 undocumented immigration did not exist, as there was no immigration law from which some immigrants could fall outside.

At another meeting, on May 1, 2011, they discussed the events of 1886 and Labor Day in the US known as the "Haymarket Affair." They discussed the riots that occurred that day and its consequences, including its significance for the origins of "International May Day" for workers. They emphasized the importance of remembering that the rights workers enjoy today are the result of the struggles they engaged in in the past. Reviewing past events allowed members and organizers to

create arguments explaining why they should unite and act together. The events presented by the organizers helped build bonds based on immigrant workers' rights and were part of the organizers' strategies to develop trust through teachings. In addition, directors and organizers coordinated events in which members and friends of Growth, such as the Front, could listen to and on occasion meet their political representatives. The in-group character of these meetings built bonding social capital, which allowed members to trust one another.

Bridging Social Capital: A Focus on Three Events

During the interviews, the participants who were engaged in the two organizations spoke of their connections to other organizations. They emphasized meeting new people of different nationalities over the years. To cite an example, Matias arrived in 1998, was a member of the Front, and attended Growth's events. He frequented Growth's activities and its English classes. Over the years he built relationships with members of 32BJ and became involved in a civic project that the Union funded:

> One learns as the activities take place. My involvement in the union's Civic Project has been the best for me. The union has resources and they help their members become community leaders. In addition, I have attended political debates there and teachings on the political system of the US. One learns while participating. Many community organizations have resources thanks to the unions, which create projects like this one. I already have 3 leadership certificates as proof that I have attended courses on law-making, the political system, welfare programs, and rights. (Member of The Front, Queens, 2011)

To the participants in this study who had recently arrived in New York and were still learning basic English, the activities Growth organized were key in exposing them to other organizations to which they could reach out in the future if need be.

For instance, on September 15, 2010, I went to Washington, D.C. with Ecuadorian participants in this study who were members of Growth as well as with others of Latin American nationalities. The purpose was to ask Senators and Congress members to support comprehensive immigration reform and the Dream Act, which can be broadly defined as a bill that would provide permanent residency to immigrants who have arrived in the country as minors. Once in Washington we were joined by groups from other states. The leaders, coming from diverse pro-immigrant organizations in the US, had organized an unscheduled visit to the federal political representatives. There were around 700 to 800 people from Jamaican organizations, as well as the United Farm Workers of America, whose president, Arturo Rodríguez, spoke to the crowd. So did Chicago Alderman George Cárdenas, who declared, "I believe this is the civil rights history of the twenty-first century." He was followed by Senator Robert Menéndez (New Jersey), Congresswoman Nydia Velázquez (New York), and Congressman Luis Gutiérrez (Chicago), all of whom emphasized their immigrant backgrounds.

At the beginning, the event was planned to consist of an act of civil disobedience, but on account of the undocumented immigrants present, the leaders decided to change the strategy to a direct action. The plan was to enter the Senate and Congress members' offices to ask them for their support in voting for the Dream Act and comprehensive immigration reform.

Each member of Growth had an assigned role during the event, which had been decided during the Immigration Committee meetings. Each of them would speak to a specific Congress member or Senator. Sara, an Ecuadorian member, would speak to Senator Lindsey Graham, to ask him again to support the Dream Act. After a meeting in a church at which all the organizations were present, we walked together to the Senators' offices. The large group had divided into smaller groups, of around fifty people, and I entered the office of Senator Lindsey Graham (South Carolina) with one of these groups. In a moment, Senator Graham's staff was surrounded by the group, which had planned to kneel with hands in a praying gesture, muttering a song, until someone in the office agreed to listen. The Senator's secretary asked us to leave. After realizing that the group was not moving, she agreed to listen on behalf of Senator Graham, whom she claimed was not present. Surrounded by the quiet crowd, she listened to their testimonies.

When Sara's turn arrived, she pulled out a sheet of paper from her pocket, upon which she had prepared a small discourse. She narrated her story in English, telling how she had arrived in the US to reunite with her husband after he, a paramedic, became a resident. She wanted to show the Senator's representative how her family had succeeded in the US. She was calm, as if she had done this a hundred times before. Afterwards, I asked her about her previous experiences speaking in public. "I used to do this all the time in Ecuador. Since I was a little girl my mother made me speak in public, especially in the church and in her community group in Ecuador. I am so used to it." When members of the organization showed leadership skills such as good public speaking as Sarah did, Growth's leaders would ask them to

volunteer in the events as representatives of the community. The leaders of Growth used immigrants who had arrived with transferable skills, hoping to groom them as future organizers should they show an interest.

When "Democracy Day" arrived in October 2010, a name coined by Growth leaders to refer to the day in which they "show the city government their political muscle by gathering members in a demonstration" (*Growth organizer, 2010*), they marched to City Hall from across Brooklyn Bridge. They demanded that Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) leave the Rikers Island city jail and also that the city cease its collaboration with ICE, which allowed the latter to ask Rikers Island prisoners for their immigration status. The march was formed mainly of individuals of Latin American nationalities. A Catholic priest and a representative of the New York chapter of the interfaith congregation New Sanctuary Movement were present as supporters of comprehensive immigration reform and opponents of immigrant deportations. Local politicians who supported the immigrants' cause were also present, such as Daniel Dromm, the representative from the 25th District (Jackson Heights and Elmhust) in the New York City Council who chaired the City Council's Committee on Immigration. New York politicians who were in favor of their demands supported their claims again, this time adding the request that the city end its collaboration with the ICE. The presence of the religious representatives exposed the participants in this study and Growth's constituency broadly to organizations with which they could seek new bridging ties.

In March 2011, Growth held its Third Annual Assembly. The meeting was celebrated in downtown Manhattan at the headquarters of the Service Employees

International Union (SEIU), Local 32BJ, a large crowd in attendance. The yearly assembly was an opportunity for members to meet the politicians who support them and to show to their political representatives the organization's strength. Additionally, the logistics of the assembly allowed members of Growth to develop relationships with members of 32BJ, inquire about its activities, and meet union members who were immigrant and native workers.

At Local 32BJ, city politicians spoke to the large crowd of people applauding and banging drums improvised out of buckets. Congressman Luis Gutiérrez (Illinois), New York City Council members Christine Quinn and Idanis Rodríguez, former district representative Jose Peralta, and many others spoke to the large group that had gathered to celebrate the victories they had achieved with the organization. In an effort to relate to their audience, all of the political figures emphasized their immigrant backgrounds during their speeches. Members of Growth had prepared in previous committee meetings speeches, theatrical representations, songs, and banners for the occasion. The union's large event room was full, with between sixteen and eighteen hundred people in attendance, all of whom were members of Growth, their family, and their friends. Events like this fulfilled an additional and most important role: the organization gained visibility due to the attendance of friends and family.

Félix was an undocumented member of both Growth and the Front. At Growth he organized a Committee called Basta! (Enough!) aiming to protect the community's environment. As a member of Growth, he attended many types of protests and events to demand change from the government. When I asked him to compare the events he attended in the US to those he had attended in Ecuador, he said, "Here everything is

controlled. There, you get out to the street and do what you want. Look, in one of the protests with Growth, the police was by our side measuring the level of noise we were producing. When we surpassed the level, the organization's directors asked us to lower the noise. I was carrying drumsticks and a drum. The police came and took them." (*member of Growth and the Front, Queens, 2010*).

These changes in rules also meant changes in the repertoire that the Ecuadorian participants in this study were able to use. This man continued, explaining that it had become traditional for demonstrations in Quito, the capital of Ecuador, to take place in the "Plaza del Arbolito" (the square of the little tree), where noise was not restricted and demonstrators could camp for days in a park that provides easy access to the headquarters of the main political institutions. By contrast, in New York's City Hall Square, they were confined between fences so as to not obstruct the sidewalks. Additionally, when they went to demonstrate in front of political institutions or businesses, they could not stop and yell, but had to continue moving to avoid blocking the way, or the police, always observing, would arrest them.

José, an undocumented Ecuadorian participant in this study and a member of both organizations, mentioned to me during the visit to Washington, D.C. in which I acted as translator, "What kind of protest is this?" He was referring to the prayers and other performances that were part of that day's actions. A miner in Ecuador, José reflected during the interview that miners' demonstrations in his home country took violent forms. The performances in which he took part in Washington, D.C. were expressions of collective action which he adopted as a member of Growth and that were new for him, but that he considered inefficient. During Growth's events I

witnessed José making public declarations in front of politicians of his experience as an undocumented immigrant in the U.S.

Participants in this study in New York found themselves immersed in a city where previous immigration cohorts, not only of Latin Americans but of immigrants from any corner of the world, had built a large organizational structure in which many were immigrants and their descendants (Foner, 2013). This permitted building the trust participants needed to join the events, as they could observe others who were "like" them, to the extent that they were also immigrants, participating politically. On the other hand, many "others" were different with respect to their language and their socio-cultural backgrounds. Groups with whom the participants came into contact included the Polish, the Jamaicans, and the Chinese. Organizers and leaders of Growth were influential in leading the way into the formal political structures and introducing new arrivals to the political system. Moreover, they had gained political allies, who also were descendants of immigrants. Activities involving other groups built bridging social capital, as members and organizations of different types built relationships.

In New York, Growth served The Front as a model from which to learn and to join forces in collective claims-making. In lobbying for comprehensive immigration reform and local and state issues, they equally extended their repertoire of actions to participants who learned how to use it. The soliciting of demonstration permits, and the rules governing demonstrations (to not block streets, to continue to move, to not make noise surpass more than a certain number of decibels, etc.) rendered protest activities quite different than in Ecuador. Growth provided the participants of this study with a set of allies and taught them the skills and knowledge to make demands

by following the new rules. Demonstrations and marches might have looked externally the same, but they differed in the way the participants used them and in the rules under which they occurred.

Trust and the Repertoire of Collective Action in Madrid

Since 2008, Action has been petitioning the Spanish and Ecuadorian governments, denouncing the conditions in which mortgage debts were being collected in Spain. When I first interviewed Alia in 2008 she mentioned:

> We [Ecuadorians] are demonstrating. We have marched to Sol [a square in the center of Madrid where City Hall used to be], we have gone to the Ecuadorian Consulate. Look [she shows me pictures of the crowds and an online video in which one can see her at the Ecuadorian consulate dressed in her indigenous outfit], but nobody listened to us. Only a couple of Latino newspapers did." (*Leader of Action, Madrid, 2008*)

Since many Ecuadorians working in construction-related trades lost their jobs in 2008, she and other members of Action had marched to the Ecuadorian Consulate asking for help with mortgage issues. At the same time, they demonstrated at the headquarters of the then party in government, Partido Socialist Obrero Español (PSOE), to denounce the mortgage situation in Spain, but were disregarded. Their demonstrations were largely ignored by both the Spanish and Ecuadorian governments. Emilio, who was working with Action, reflected on the same topic:

> We [Ecuadorians] organized [since 2008] a lot of protests and demonstrations, but in those days most of us were immigrants and we were the first to be affected [by unpaid mortgages]. We held big marches from the house of the [Ecuadorian] Embassy men to the Puerta de Alcalá [a monument in Madrid]. The second demonstration was from Cibeles [monument] to Sol [center of Madrid], and then to the headquarters of Caja Madrid [Spanish bank]. In the first demonstration there were about 4000 people. At the second time the same. The day after, the newspapers did not mention us at all. No

> mention at all! No newspaper mentioned our demonstrations and protests! Only the newspaper "El Comercio" of Ecuador [an Ecuadorian newspaper], but [newspapers] here did not. (*Member of Solutions and Action, Madrid 2012*)

As these accounts show, the Ecuadorian participants in this study felt ignored; their demands reached deaf ears. Unlike in New York City, there were no political organizations in place that were led by immigrants and their descendants who knew the political system. Unions in Madrid offered the leader of Action spaces for holding meetings, but considered the issue of mortgage contracts outside of their purview.

Three years later, at the end of August 2011, I met Alia again in the midst of a 15M (the15th of May social movement that arose on that date of 2011) assembly which was taking place in the Lavapiés neighborhood of Madrid. As we talked, she mentioned that "the situation has changed from 2008, when we were alone," and that she felt optimistic "now that many people were involved." By "people" she meant the Spanish people involved in the 15M social movement that had arisen in Spain in 2011, and in Solutions, the organization together with which they presented their demand to the Spanish government that it legislate new mortgage terms. In retrospect, she considered that in the past three years Action had gained experience, allowing its members to build confidence:

> In 2008 when we [Ecuadorians] mobilized they [authorities] told us we wanted to tear the system apart. Now people know [about the mortgage issue] and Spain [sic] is mobilizing. Immigrants are not alone now, now we are Ecuadorians, Latinos, and Spaniards. We want this demonstration [a demonstration on September 25, 2011] to be large. In 2008, we [Ecuadorians] went to speak with [political] representatives, we gathered firms [among Ecuadorians], nobody listened. However, we have been mobilizing, we have experience now and we are not scared. I have the feeling that this is going to work out;

> we have to be strong, we have to resist." (*Action Leader, Madrid, 2011*)

Consistent with Alia's reflection during the 15M assembly, Igor, also a leader of Action since 2006, said during the interview:

> Many bonds are surging between Ecuadorians and Spaniards. Many people are building relationships and learning how to fight here together, with people from here who know how to fight as well. Our folks [Ecuadorians] are learning the habitual procedures here, to demand rights here. Our means in Ecuador were different. As you know, I used to work with indigenous people in Ecuador, and the forms of protest there are different. The [indigenous] communities got out and closed the Pan-American road, everyone stood put. Tires were burned, rocks thrown. Here they [Ecuadorians] are afraid; there is fear of the police." (*Leader of Action, Madrid, 2012*)

During the last two decades of the twentieth century Ecuador witnessed an upsurge of social movements, among which the indigenous movement became prominent (Zamosc 2004). The main forms of protest were blockading roads and marching to the capital, Quito. Nevertheless, while all participants referred to the above-mentioned forms of protest when I asked them about their experiences with social movements in Ecuador, none considered blockading roads or throwing rocks at the police as means they would use to make demands in Spain. They were eager to be part of a larger political unrest under the form of the *15M* movement.

Bridging Social Capital: From Political Isolation to Political Integration

In 2011, the Ecuadorian immigrants in this study engaged in collectively making demands in conjunction with the 15M movement that arose that year in Spain. Support went both ways: they joined 15M demonstrations and members of 15M joined their actions. The Ecuadorian organization Action went from social isolation to social

integration, generating bridging social capital with other Spanish organizations in connection with the rise of a social movement.

The collective actions particular to Solutions were mainly three: a collective attempt to stop evictions, collective visits to banks, and the gathering of signatures for a proposed bill, the Iniciativa Legislativa Popular (ILP, People's Legislative Initiative). During an interview with a member of Action in which he reflected on how the Solutions and Action leaders had met, he mentioned other significant topics:

> Myself (Ecuadorian) and others [Action members] met where we now hold the Solutions meetings with Nacho (Spaniard), Rafa (Spaniard), Alia (Ecuadorian), and the vice president of Action (Ecuadorian). […] Then we went to Meco [a city in Madrid Province], close to Alcalá de Henares [in Madrid Province] and we met with Chema and a girl (Spaniards). They are from an association in Meco and they wanted to be part of Solutions. One day we met here, at the FRAVM's room [in Madrid City] and Solutions was born as a movement. Everyone can participate, but nobody can go to Solutions carrying Action's symbols and banners, or of any organization. Action is aside from it. We are members of Action, but when we are at Solutions we do not attend as Action's members and we do not apply the politics of Action. This was agreed in the first days of the formation of Solutions. FRAVM provides the space for Solutions' meetings. Some of the FRAVM members attend [Solutions meetings], but as we do with Action, they do not attend as representatives of the FRAVM. (*Member of Action, Madrid, 2011*)

The respondent mentioned the Federación Regional de Vecinos de Madrid (FRAVM), which lent them a space where they could hold the meetings that, from then on, would only increase in number of attendees. After three years of isolation, Action's leaders were contacted by the Spanish would-be leaders of Solutions. This meant a turning point for the members of Action, who from then on would work together with a larger constituency of immigrants and non-immigrants alike.

At the Solutions meetings, Ecuadorian participants learned the repertoire of actions that the group's members conceived of as possible, and that they would abide by, while developing new bonds with the Spaniards among them. They were obliged to not display symbolic expressions of ethnicity as well as to avoid open identification with a political party. The Ecuadorian participants in this study attended the first demonstrations and meetings of Solutions with Action's banners and Ecuadorian flags. This was quickly disallowed by the Spanish leaders, as the respondent touches upon in the above quote.

On September 25, 2011, Action members first participated in a demonstration called by 15M. Together with Solutions they took the opportunity to denounce the current mortgage terms and express disapproval of the government measures taken in response to the 2008 crisis. Action members attended with their organization's banner. At the next meeting of Solutions after the demonstration, and referring to the tendency at previous meetings for Action's organizers to speak in the name of the Action association, members of Solutions discussed the possibility of having representation, within Solutions, of other organizations. They concluded that Solutions was formed by those who were affected by the mortgage debt crisis, and that attendees should partake as individuals under that category and not as members of other organizations or political parties. At the next demonstration, the members of Action were thus holding banners accusing bankers of not following good-faith practices and accusing politicians of using public funds to protect their financial institutions instead of carrying their national origin flags.

This was an instance in which Action members were required to make ethnic symbols invisible, demonstrating as individuals demanding changes in the mortgage law, despite their nationality. Social identities are reinforced and partly constituted by the dynamic contexts in which individuals interact. In cases of perceived danger of co-optation or severance, as in this case, the Spanish members of Solutions relegated to the background identities that worked to their disadvantage, in this case, identification of participants as "immigrants" or "foreigners." While in New York City Ecuadorians carried their native country's flag at the collective events in order to gain visibility, in Madrid, the distinction this implied was not accepted. The Spanish leaders viewed symbols that distinguished between natives and immigrants as liable to divert the press from their ultimate goal, which was a change in the terms of the mortgage law.

Solutions meetings had a different scope every other week. One week the meeting provided legal and procedural advice on the specific cases of newly-arrived members with defaulted mortgages. The next week it focused on planning the strategies and actions they wished to pursue. As I show in the discussion below, during these "action meetings," as Solutions attendees called them, the agenda touched upon topics such as who they wished their allies to be or not be, what resources they needed, what actions they would undertake, and in which ways they would finance their activities. Additionally, they discussed how they should file new cases, who would write petition letters to politicians, and who would deliver these petitions to them:

> Spanish moderator speaks to the assembly: The idea is to present a motion to the Council of the Municipalities [of the Community of Madrid] so that their councilors can vote whether they will help us or not. We have to write the petition as well.
> Woman of Peruvian origin: We should go to all of the City Halls [of Madrid's province] because we need to get involved as many people as we can. We should go to all, someone will listen to us.
> Alia, Ecuadorian leader: Well, each neighborhood's assembly [of the 15M] can organize a visit to the politicians of their municipality. Each assembly in their towns could organize it. [People agree on this idea.]
> Spaniard: I disagree with having politicians involved; they will limit the way we work. Another Spaniard: Our struggle is political, like it or not. We should act intelligently and use the resources we have. Look, in my town I have access to the mayor, so I could ask him about the process. He will tell us what steps to take. This does not mean we will be under the will of a political party.
> Spanish Moderator: Ok, do people agree to talk to the political representatives of the City Halls to ask them to present our motion in the plenary, and that they remit to us the motion that has already been approved? [People respond yes by majority.] Once we have spoken with the political representatives we should send a letter to the neighborhoods' assemblies [of 15M] to let them know of our motion to the City Halls so they can join in efforts. I would also propose that we establish a date, together with the 15M assemblies and the neighborhood associations, so that we have the motion completed before December." (*Solutions meeting, Madrid, 2011*)

This is an excerpt from a meeting that lasted three hours, and in which those present included mostly people of Spanish and Latin American origin, as well as a few West African and Eastern European immigrants. This extract touched upon three topics that became central to the actions of Solutions' members: the decision to involve politicians in their repertoire, the legislative petition called Iniciativa Legislativa Popular (ILP, People's Legislative Initiative), and two parts of their action repertoire, which they named "Stop Evictions" and "visits to the banks."

At this meeting they discussed whether they cared to involve political figures in attempts to prevent evictions. Some members were reluctant to do so, as they were

concerned that politicians and their parties would co-opt the organization's members and limit their freedom to hold and plan actions in their own way. At this meeting they were referring to an action in which Solutions and 15M members had engaged the previous day. Then, the presence of some of the town's political representatives, including the Mayor, had prevented the eviction of a family when the police showed up at their house. The politicians arranged with the police to postpone the eviction for twenty days, or until they found new housing for that family. The presence of politicians had opened up a new possibility in their repertoire, and they were debating whether to include it as a regular tactic. Equally important is that in this meeting they agreed to mobilize together with the assemblies of the 15M, which linked immigrants and non-immigrants in the squares of the different neighborhoods of Madrid.

During all of Solutions' meetings, those who took leadership roles warned members not to involve, while making claims, the political parties with which they sympathized so as to avoid identification of the organization by the media, and society at large, with one particular party. Since the first meetings, it had been agreed that Solutions should be a platform for any person who had a mortgage issue, or sympathized with the problem, but without bringing in their political views.

With the help of the party Izquierda Unida (IU), Solutions submitted to Parliament the Iniciativa Legislativa Popular (ILP, People's Legislative Initiative), which included a demand for changes in mortgage contract terms, by gathering 500,000 signatures. However, by summer 2012 when the ILP was introduced to Parliament, this feature had been forgotten.

As more and more people arrived at the meetings with stories of negative encounters with bank workers who had refused to assist them, Solutions members created a new form of protest. They decided to organize a group to prepare an action that from then on they called "visitas a los bancos," or visits to the banks. It consisted of entering a bank with a large group of people with the aim of pressuring the bank's workers to receive the documents costumers needed. Immigrants reported during the meetings being mistreated by bank employees when they asked for the paperwork they needed. Additionally, in my interviews, the Ecuadorian participants in this study reported being discriminated against on the basis of their immigrant status. They resorted to entering the banks in groups of at least 15 people to obtain what they needed. In another meeting, Solutions members discussed whether to collaborate with 15M by trying to stop an eviction. With the objective of recruiting passers-by to the "Stop Desahucios" (Stop Evictions) campaign, they performed at the Plaza del Sol, a popular and central square in Madrid.

During an eviction, members of Solutions and 15M together formed a large group aiming to prevent the eviction of a family. Normally, a member of Solutions would announce in a meeting when his or her eviction was scheduled. An hour before the exact time and date, members of Solutions and 15M would gather at the person's apartment door with banners, the press, and on some occasions, political representatives. One tactic was to sit at the door to try to stop the police from passing, while at the same time the group would yell at the police and hold up banners. Some were in charge of filming, and others of talking to the press. On some occasions the

police refused to use violence and left. In others, they removed the people on the floor, entered the house, and "asked" the family to leave.

The bridging social capital that was being developed during Solutions meetings was so with the help of parallel workshops that were held by Action leaders were they developed bonding social capital. These workshops served to build trust among the Ecuadorian members. The Ecuadorian participants in this study who joined the movement were wary of participating in making collective demands in public. Except the leaders, all of the participants reported feeling insecure about the consequences of joining demonstrations and other actions in a different country from their own, and fearing encounters with the police. The possibility that "something could go wrong" as many Ecuadorian participants put it, was central to their involvement. During a meeting in 2012 with the Ecuadorian Ambassador to Spain, Aminta Buenaño, I observed participants and other Ecuadorians who had attended the meeting declare that they were scared to speak up about their situation. In the interview with Igor I asked him what they feared: "repression, being identified, of the police, of being asked for documentation?" (*Solutions member and Action leader, Madrid, 2012*).

In order to build the trust of members so that they would join the actions of Solutions, the leaders of Action spent Sunday mornings meeting with Ecuadorians, including those both old and new to the organization, explaining what the actions and tactics discussed in Solutions entailed. Igor led these meetings and after having observed him speak to the crowd several times, and during the interview I asked him about his talks:

> In Solutions meetings Spaniards go fast. They decide upon actions fast and move on to how to get organize to make them happen. With the Ecuadorians we need more time. We need to explain how things work, how to do them here, and how necessary it is that they join those actions. In the Solutions' meetings we decided to go to banks in great numbers to pressure the employees to help us. We need to explain [to the Ecuadorian members] what this consists in [to the newer Ecuadorian members] to motivate them, and let them know that it is safe. They need to know that many others will be there as well. It helps us also to create a greater bond between us [Ecuadorians]." *(Igor, Solutions member and Action leader, Madrid, 2012)*

These meetings led to members' expressing themselves in ways that were important for building bridging social capital. However, they were also a form of bonding social capital enabling the Ecuadorian participants to identify with the rest of the members of Action, and to rely on each other during the meetings with members of the larger Solutions organization. The 15 of May movement and the formation of Solutions produced allies along with whom they could voice their demands, and this led to the expansion of networks of trust among dissimilar people, creating bridging social capital.

Conclusion

Unlike Putnam (2007), this study has focused on the case of Ecuadorian immigrants in New York City and Madrid. Using small rather than large "n" samples, I have compared the collective action repertoires of participants in order to shed light on debates regarding the development of trust in ethnically diverse communities. The expectations I had set for this analysis were unmet. Following Putnam's (2007) analysis I expected greater distrust in New York City than in Madrid given the presence of more immigrant groups and linguistic differences. I find that in both contexts, these immigrant groups found allies outside their ethnicity. This analysis also

demonstrates that both bonding and bridging social capital occurred in the short run, that is, in the immigrant generation.

Contrary to expectations, the participants in this study in New York City did reach out to community organizations that were making social justice demands. In so doing, they developed networks of trust with other individuals in different organizations, building bridging social capital. In Madrid, where ethnic diversity was lower, the Ecuadorian organization Action was isolated for three years, from 2008 to 2011. Until Solutions was founded, Action members lacked social capital of the bridging type. With the surge of the 15th of May movement, Action members created bridging social capital through 15M's neighborhood assemblies, where both immigrants and non-immigrants were present. In the context of the 2008 economic crisis, they benefited from partnering with natives who were struggling with the same issues.

Furthermore, this study provides a dynamic analysis of the activities of those who were already engaged in the making of political demands. I reduced the limitations imposed by the ethnographic present by undertaking multiple field visits (FitzGerald 2006). In so doing, I was able to capture a dynamic that could otherwise escape analysis. This includes the change from the political isolation of Action in 2008 to its political integration in 2011. Additionally, identities were enforced in the context of dynamic scenarios in which Ecuadorian participants adhered to two different traditions of making demands. In New York City, immigrants made collective demands in a context in which ethnic diversity is at the core of politics, whereas in

Madrid, the participants had to render their nationality or immigrant status as invisible as possible.

In contrast to Putnam's findings (2007), this analysis shows that ethnic diversity and immigration are not necessarily at odds in the short run. Some shortcomings of this analysis relay on the impossibility to assess whether there would be greater activism among groups if the population were more homogeneous. It, nonetheless, qualifies the general expectation. Since the conditions under which bridging social capital grows or diminishes in ethnically diverse communities remain unclear, further research should shed light to this relationship. Comparative research promises to elucidate this topic, as it unearths how contextual societal characteristics shape the social bases of Western liberal democracies. Social scientists should continue to examine the conditions under which trust thrives or dwindles in ethnically diverse communities. Since cities are becoming increasingly more diverse, new research would depart from investigating the conditions under which bridging social capital develops, rather than the outcomes of diversity alone.

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Chapter 5

Immigration, Gender, and Political Participation: A Comparison of Ecuadorian Immigrants' Collective Engagement in Madrid and New York City

Scholars of migration and gender in the U.S. show that Latina women tend to be engaged in immigrant politics through community organizations in the context of reception in ways that are particular to them and different from those of Latino men. In New York City, immigrant women tend to be more involved with the city agencies, and this contact is facilitated through their children's upbringing, rather than immigrant organizations (Hardy-Hanta 1993; Jones-Correa 1998). Jones-Correa (1998) asked when and why immigrant political socialization practices are a continuation of old practices or involves rupture and re-socialization into the new settlement location (Hoskin, 1989: 354; Correa, 1998b). He suggested that the reason that in New York City immigrant men participate more in home country politics and immigrant women in host-country politics is related to "gender-differentiated decision-making processes" guided mainly by a greater loss of status by men than by women during the migration experience (Jones-Correa 1998b).

Building on scholarship on migration and gender in the United States (Grasmuck and Pessar 1991; Hardy-Fanta 1993, 1997), and on Jones-Correa's work (1998, 1998b) on Latino immigrant political engagement in New York City, this article revisits their answers to these questions and extends them to a city in a European context. If Latino immigrant political practices are gendered, under which conditions are they so? And, to what extend is the gender-differentiated decision-making process thesis transportable to other contexts of reception? There are reasons

why we might expect contextual characteristics, such as immigration law and linguistic divergences, to shape Latino immigrant political engagement, and to do so in particular ways with respect to gender. By comparing the political practices of first generation Ecuadorian men and women in New York City and Madrid, I demonstrate that contextual differences in these cities produced different paths for immigrant political participation with respect to gender: a divergent one in New York City, and convergent one in Madrid.

While I find that the Ecuadorian men in this study fit with Jones-Correa's findings for the case of New York City, in Madrid, the Ecuadorian male participants did not hold leadership positions in immigrant organizations that were as strong as those they held in New York City. I found at least two characteristics in these cities that helped to shape these differences. First, in Madrid, sharing the language of the host society allowed male participants to be employed in posts requiring interaction with the public. Secondly, under a context of less restrictive immigration law, the participants in Madrid were able to regularize their immigration status sooner, spending little or no time in an undocumented status and enabling them to access the larger labor market.

In both cities, the Ecuadorian female participants were also generally engaged in immigrant politics. Nonetheless, due to the economic crisis in Spain and the consequent high unemployment, the female participants in Madrid turned to Ecuadorian organizations as they looked for help to avoid the foreclosure of their houses. Additionally, in this comparative case study the women participants became engaged in political organizations due to social issues driven by abuses in housing or

salary payments, and through friends rather than through their children, contrary to what is suggested by the literature.

This article is organized as follows. First, I build on major scholarship on the relationship between gender and migration to then turn to the intersection of political participation, gender, and migration. Through a gender perspective, the comparative analysis that follows examines the gender differences in the political engagement practices of Ecuadorian migrants in organizations that make demands on the government in New York City and Madrid. I undertake analysis at many levels: linguistic characteristics, participation in political organizations, and the immigration status of participants in these city contexts. I submit participants to examination of their leadership and membership in community and immigrant political organizations. In addition to offering a gender analysis of immigrant political practices, studying immigrant and non-immigrant political organizations together is most useful in enabling us to understand the possible paths for immigrant political engagement and the circumstances under which it occurs.

Gender and Migration

Since the 1984 special issue of *International Migration Review* on "Women in Migration," the gender and migration scholarship has grown extensively. Debates have moved from demonstrating that migration has been neither in the past nor the present a predominantly male endeavor (Houstoun, 1984), to accounts of the ways in which the migration experience is shaped by gender roles and expectations that arise from both the standpoint of the migrants and structural conditions in the states of origin and destination (Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Sassen-Koob, 1984; Grasmuck and

Pessar, 1991; Curran et al., 2006; Hondagneau-Sotelo, 1992, 1994; Hardy-Fanta, 1993; Jones-Correa, 1998b; Mahler and Pessar, 2006). These studies have provided us with an innovative and valuable approach for reflecting on the ways in which gender and migration are intertwined; however, this interrelationship has been less examined in relation to the political engagement of immigrants.

Since Houstoun et al. observed in 1984 that few immigration scholars and policymakers had noticed that in the second half of the twentieth century legal immigration to the United States was predominantly female, questions of gender have been at the forefront of much scholarship on migration. Contributing to this trend, universal human rights stipulations have focused on concrete groups, such as women, and some scholars have analyzed the role of international organizations including the U.N. and ILO conventions for women migrants (Hune, 1991; Piper, 2004b; Piper 2006). For instance, one area in which the matter of women migrants has become especially salient—in light of the U.N. and ILO conventions—is in terms of the defense of migrant workers' rights, involving organizations that fall outside Western traditional trade union structures (Ford, 2004).

Gender, Migration, and Political Participation

Although there has been great progress in the study of migration and gender in general (Foner 1978; Grasmuck and Pessar 1991; Pedraza, 1991; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Constable, 1997; Richter 2004; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Menjivar, 2006), the intersection of gender, migration, and political engagement has received less attention in the scholarship. This is, in part, because until very recently, few studies have centered on how immigrants become incorporated into political systems in general

(Gerstle and Mollenkopf, 2001; Waters, 2008; Hochschild and Mollenkopf, 2009). Past research, normally undertaken in the political science tradition, has tended to conceive of political participation in terms of voter turnout and naturalization rates (e.g., Minnite, Holdaway, and Hayduk, 1999). It was not until some scholars began to challenge old notions of Latino political participation in the U.S.—which viewed Latinos, and particularly Latinas, as apolitical—that the intersection of politics and gender in migration studies began to catch the attention of scholars.

New studies in the 1990s (Pardo, 1990; Hardy-Fanta, 1993) opened the path for a broader conception of "political participation" and its intersection with gender, culture, and migration. Until then, political participation was largely conceived of as holding office. Grounding her study on how "political action" was defined by the participants in her study, Hardy-Fanta (1993) depicted Latino and Latina political activities in Boston and looked at the differences in these activities in terms of the gender of the interviewees. She noticed that Latina immigrants were more prone than Latino men to hold offices in community organizations in the receiving country. She also noticed that the women's style of political engagement tended to involve working at a collective level and to value community. Latinas consolidated networks through horizontal relationships rather than individualistic and hierarchical ways of organizing, and focused on the "power to effect change rather than power over others" (Hardy-Fanta, 1993: 30). Some scholars have suggested that these women's methods of organizing and political engagement are common to members of oppressed minority groups and to the working-class generally (Ackelsberg, 1984; Ferree, 1992), rather than reflecting specifically gendered styles of political engagement.

Jones-Correa (1998b) explored this issue further and analyzed the case of Latinos in New York City. While Hardy-Fanta concluded that political participation is influenced not only by culture but also by gender, Jones-Correa analyzed *why* political engagement practices were gendered among Latinos. Building on the work of Hardy-Fanta (1993), Grasmuck and Pessar (1991), and Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994), and focusing extensively on Colombian and Ecuadorian immigrants, he argued that Latino men tend to engage in similar patterns of socialization and organization as in their home country, while Latinas prefer to engage in the political activities of the host society, favoring change in their political socialization (p. 326). As relatively educated middle-class immigrant men took on lower status jobs than the ones they held in their home countries, their participation in organizations linked to the home countries allowed them to compensate for the status they lost with migration. Jones-Correa analyzed men's more prevalent wish to return to their home country as a strategy for enduring "status inconsistency" or the difference between their employment status before migration and that afterwards. As for women, he noted that they tend to experience less downward mobility than men, as they usually access the labor market with less work experience, resulting in less of an experience of status inconsistency. Receiving a salary allows immigrant women to have greater decision-making power, which increases their will to stay in the United States (327).

What remains unclear is whether these gender patters are generalizable to other contexts. There are reasons why we might expect context to affect Latino immigrants' political engagement, and to help explain why Latino men participate more in home-country organizations, particularly in leadership positions, while women are more

likely to participate in organizations that focus on issues faced by their communities of settlement. There is a need for comparative research that addresses the generalizability of these claims to various contexts. For instance, some studies of particular immigrant groups seem to indirectly challenge the "status inconsistency" thesis on Latino men's political engagement in home-country organizations. Goldring (2001) showed that the exclusion of Mexican women from leadership positions in hometown associations can be directly attributed to the Mexican state's practice of engaging only with male representatives in the workplace, even though women are the main fundraisers for the home-town projects they developed in these organizations. Men predominate in leadership positions because the Mexican state prefers to work with male representatives, not because men suffered from a loss of employment status after migrating. As I will illustrate below, when political engagement is considered in different social contexts, other factors shaping it emerge.

Methods

Scholars of gender and migration have called for comparative studies (Mahler and Pessar, 2006), due in part to recognition of the utility of comparative studies for theory construction that lessen the generalizability limitations from which qualitative studies normally suffer (Burawoy et al., 2000). Comparative research has also proven fruitful in assessing how different social contexts shape immigrant behavior (FitzGerald, 2012; Bloemraad, 2013). It is in this manner that I situate my analysis of the political engagement practices of Ecuadorian men and women in New York City and Madrid. My foremost aim is to test current knowledge of gendered Latino politics by replicating Jones-Correa's work and extending its scope to the context of Madrid.

Two years of fieldwork and 102 interviews including leaders of the main Ecuadorian organizations, political figures, priests, and community leaders in both cities provided me with a wealth of data on Ecuadorian political engagement in these cities, which have served as a basis for analyzing the gendered character of the activities of the interviewees in Ecuadorian and non-Ecuadorian political organizations. Concretely, I interviewed 50 Ecuadorian members and organizers of immigrant political organizations in New York City, and 47 in Madrid. The rest of interviewees were relevant figures in these immigrants' communities.

Most respondents arrived in the late 1990s and early 2000s. However, a few of them arrived in New York City in the 1960s and 1970s, and in the 1980s in both cities. The bulk of the participants were between 35 and 60 years old. The participants in this study were first generation immigrants and had, generally, high levels of education. Most of them belonged to the Ecuadorian middle class; however, upon arrival in Spain and the U.S., as is generally the case with economic migrants, they took on lower status jobs. Most women were either divorced or, in the case of those coming to Spain, had escaped constraining relationships, which they made central in the narratives of their migration experience.

Most of the respondents in New York City had little knowledge of English, although three participants who were from the Ecuadorian upper class spoke formal English. The "Growth" organization in New York facilitated interaction between Spanish and English speakers. This organization's staff provided the newly arrived immigrants with a connection to the rest of New York City society by connecting those with little command of English and English speakers who were involved in the

claims-making process—political figures and civil society organizations. Growth's leaders and organizers were bilingual second-generation immigrants—largely Dominicans, Colombians, and Argentinians—and foreign-born organizers who were also bilingual. The Front relied on the actions of the greater Growth organization to collectively make demands of the U.S. government. Members of The Front attended Growth's collective claims-making events.

Practicing Politics: Contextual Differences and Gender Behavior

The terms, I argue, in which the contextual differences in gender behavior arose among the participants in these cities are at least twofold, involving both (1) the possibility to communicate in the same mother tongue and (2) a favorable legal context of reception in Spain at the time of the participants' arrival, and a more restrictive one in New York City. When compared to the New York City context, the participants' ability to use the language spoken in the larger political institutions of Madrid entailed that the Ecuadorians in this study who were able to have recognized at least part of their studies and who continued their education in Madrid did not always need to resort to their national organizations to compensate for their status inconsistency, as described by Jones-Correa for the case of New York City. Additionally, the receptive immigration laws that were in place in Spain at the time of the massive wave of Ecuadorian emigration from 1996 to 2006 allowed these immigrants to participate in both home-country politics (Ecuador) and immigrant politics in the context of reception (Madrid) without the legal restrictions immigrants face today in the U.S.

Language and Distribution in Immigrant and Community Organizations

Of the 50 participants interviewed in New York City, 31 spoke very little English, usually just enough to manage in the workplace. The latest arrivals and all but one of the undocumented participants belonged to this group. Sixteen participants had a good command of informal spoken English. These participants arrived in New York in the late 1960s (two of them), 1970s, and 1980s, and all but one were documented. The three remaining participants spoke formal English and were from the upper Ecuadorian middle class. All but three of the participants had come to New York for the purpose of family reunification, and were supported by networks of close relatives and friends. In Madrid, however, the most common reasons given by participants for choosing Spain over other European destinations were the language and the presence in Spain of friends or relatives.

The Ecuadorian organizations I visited in Queens during the period between 2010 and 2012 followed the pattern described by Jones-Correa (1998b). These organizations were led by Ecuadorian men. Ecuadorian women were present in leadership positions only in organizations comprised exclusively of women. As shown in table 7, women were more prominent in leadership positions when the organization was oriented towards changing policies of the receiving society. In Spain, the Madrid branch of the Federation of Ecuadorians in Spain listed, as of 2013, 21 Ecuadorian organizations registered with it. However, in at least 16 of these organizations, men continued to hold leadership positions, although, in a couple of cases, women held positions as treasurers or administrators. As shown in table 8, Ecuadorian women in

Madrid were also more prominent as members or leaders in organizations whose goals included working to change policies of the receiving society (see Tables 7 and 8).

So far, both city contexts are congruent with previous research findings. Additionally, men in both cities expressed a desire to return to Ecuador, while most women wanted to stay. Nonetheless, there was an advancement of women into leadership positions in the claims-making Ecuadorian organizations in both locales. In New York City, the Ecuadorian members of "The Front" chose an Ecuadorian woman, who was also a member of "Growth," as Vice-President for the period 2011-2015. In Madrid, the President of the Ecuadorian organization "Action" was also the founder of the organization "Rumiñahui"—an immigrant organization which lobbied the governments of both Ecuador and Spain—was also an Ecuadorian woman.

However, under closer scrutiny some differences emerge. While in New York men were present in leadership positions in the Ecuadorian organizations, as predicted in the literature, they were also present in the community organizations that made demands of the U.S. and city governments. As shown in table 7, there were 24 men who participated exclusively in community organizations and who shared membership in a community organization and an Ecuadorian organization. Eleven male respondents participated exclusively in Ecuadorian organizations making demands on the Ecuadorian state. In Madrid, fewer Ecuadorian male participants were involved in exclusively Ecuadorian organizations, and men predominated in political organizations that made demands of the Spanish government, where both natives and immigrants held leadership positions.

Immigration Status

The bulk of the respondents in both locales emigrated between 1990 and 2006, escaping political and economic instability in Ecuador. Out of the 50 New York participants, 29 were U.S. citizens, 9 had permanent resident cards, 1 held a work visa, and 11 were unauthorised residents. Twenty-one participants changed their status from undocumented to permanent residency and eventually became citizens. Excluding from this group 5 participants who, having arrived before Immigration reform and Control Act of 1986, IRCA, achieved immigrant status quickly, the remaining 16 spent an average of 6 years being undocumented, with 10 years being the maximum and one year (1 person) the minimum. In Madrid, out of the 47 participants, 40 were Spanish nationals and the rest held work permits or long-term resident cards. Twenty-nine began their migration experience as undocumented, but they spent an average of only 1.2 years in that status, with 3 years as maximum time undocumented (1 person) and 1 month as the minimum (see Table 9).

In Madrid, all participants had either dual nationality or were in the process of acquiring it. Those who held leadership positions were all dual nationals of Ecuador and Spain. The possibility of becoming nationals soon and of having to spend only a short period of time, if any, as undocumented allowed men and women to navigate the Spanish job market and obtain positions as employees of political and social organizations in Madrid. For instance, the well-known organization Asociación Rumiñahui Hispano-Ecuatoriana para la colaboración al desarrollo, known as Rimuñahui, was founded by an Ecuadorian woman with the purpose of making demands of the Spanish and the Ecuadorian states in defense of Ecuadorian migrants' rights. Another example of an organization with Ecuadorian representation is

América, España, Solidaridad y Cooperación (AESCO), which along with Rimuñahui, is part of the Foro para la Integración Social de los Inmigrantes, a forum comprised of government agencies, academic experts and immigrant organizations for counseling on immigrant integration policies. Under this favorable context of reception, Ecuadorian male participants in Madrid had not necessarily sought leadership positions in the Ecuadorian organizations in order to compensate for a loss of status in their professional lives. Instead, they obtained status outside their ethnic group in broad-based political and social organizations in Madrid, and this was especially true of those seeking leadership roles.

The case of Carlos presents an interesting example. Before arriving in Madrid in 2000, he used to work as an auditor for the Ministry of Health in Quito. He holds a B.A. and undertook a M.A. in Madrid. In 2012, at age 42, he was working as a cultural mediator for América, España, Solidaridad y Cooperación (AESCO). Before obtaining his current position at AESCO he had worked in the daycare, construction, and agricultural sectors, and was not engaged with any Ecuadorian organizations. He had recently been elected President of the Ecuadorian Federation for a period of two years. Through his job at AESCO, a white-collar job that did not involve manual labor, he gained access to a network of individuals working with social organizations in Madrid. His presidency in the Ecuadorian organization is temporary. The scope of the Federation's activities involves helping Ecuadorians with the incorporation process in Spain, rather than a focus on home-country projects. With regard to status inconsistency, he noticed that in the migration experience:

> A person loses his professional and emotional development. You lose it and you start from zero here [Madrid], professionally and emotionally. You do not know anyone. You know your wife and the people you run into as you make your way. It is a backward process, but at the same time you gain a lot. I am not the same I was 11 years ago; however, when I return to Ecuador and see my friends already in leadership positions in the government's ministries, I suffer from nostalgia. I wonder, "What have I done with my life?" On the other hand, I have gained a lot of knowledge of the migration process and I hope this will open doors for me in Ecuador once I return for good. (President of Ecuadorian Federation, December 2011)

Carlos's case shows that status inconsistency did not lead him in the direction of organizations focused on his home-country, Ecuador, even when his perception of the migration experience was such as to slow his professional advancement. Instead, with an M.A. undertaken in Madrid, possessing legal status, and speaking the language, he was able to access jobs outside his ethnic group.

Wilmer attended university in Ecuador but was not able to finish his degree. Before arriving in Madrid he worked as an administrator in a store. In Madrid he was a driver, after which he became a gardener and, in 2012, at age 52, found himself unemployed. However, he had been engaged for many years in an organization that is part of the traditional civil society web of Neighborhood Associations of Madrid. He belonged to the Asociación de Vecinos "Pradera Tercio Terol," an association in the popular neighborhood of San Isidro, which has high levels of immigrant dwellers, including from Ecuador. There he helped organize the association's events and would hold meetings with his neighbors on safety and infrastructure needs, on top of organizing sports leagues and social gatherings. Another example is that of Ian, an economist. In Ecuador, he used to work for an NGO coordinating projects aimed at facilitating the economic development of indigenous communities. In 2012, the economic crisis left him unemployed. However,

since 2006 he had been engaged with Action's activities, which then were focused on immigrant politics and preserving the cultural identity of indigenous Ecuadorians in Madrid. In 2008, Action's focus turned toward lobbying the Ecuadorian Assembly to pass protective laws against excessive mortgage payments in Ecuador and, together with Solutions, lobbying the Spanish government to change the Spanish mortgage law.

Finally, the President of the Rumiñahui association as of 2008 was an Ecuadorian male participant enrolled in a PhD program in migration studies in Madrid. He had worked in Spain in the NGO sector, as a teacher, and in a supermarket during his first years in Madrid. As mentioned earlier, Rumiñahui is an organization that lobbies for the rights of Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain and for the rights of emigrants to the Ecuadorian government. Both native Spaniards and Ecuadorians have held offices in this organization. Other male Ecuadorian participants in Madrid held positions as social mediators in the Centros de Participación e Integración de la Comunidad de Madrid, also known as CEPI(s). Social mediators serve as links between immigrants and the natives, offering advice and knowledge of Spanish institutions and customs. The directors of the CEPI(s) hire as social mediators immigrants who have knowledge of their immigrant group as well as the Spanish society. Although the male participants in this study expressed a desire to return to Ecuador, they were engaged in organizations outside their ethnic enclave whose goals were oriented mainly toward the host society.

Different is the case of Victor. He and his wife arrived in New York City in 1995, leaving behind in Ecuador their two children. They each obtained a residency card through Law 245(i), which offered permanent residency status to some immigrants, before 2001, when changes to this law made it more restrictive. He worked in the construction

sector for many years until he became severely injured and was unable to work for several years. Freed from work responsibilities by his disability, he became fully engaged with both The Front and Growth organizations. When I asked him to reflect on the transition to the status of permanent resident, he responded:

> The most important aspect is that with the documents we can now visit our family. We are able to visit one son who is still in Ecuador and the other who is in England; this is very important. It also provides me with relief because without it one knows that the *migra* could arrest him any moment. From the point of view of work, the change was that before I did not have access to jobs such as the one I am doing now [organizer at Growth]. I am now doing a job that I like, a type of job that I have always done [in Ecuador] and that I enjoy. It is closer to my level of education and it allows me to work with other people. (Former President of The Front, currently organizer at Growth, 2011)

From this quote we can see how Victor's legal status prevented him from taking jobs in community organizations of New York City. He was President of The Front, an Ecuadorian organization that he had created along with other co-nationals. The Front posed collective demands of the Ecuadorian and U.S. governments. In 2011, he was offered employment at the community organization, Growth, where he had always volunteered in the past. He stepped down from The Front's presidency in order to devote himself fully to his new job. This new job gave him an experience of upward mobility, as he put it by saying, "It is closer to my level of education." In Ecuador, he had earned a degree as an accountant and he had been involved in the affairs of Ambato, his home city, through the workers' unions and the University Student Council.

Having legal status provided him with the possibility to become a staff member of Growth. Victor's tasks as an organizer for Growth involved coordinating

both the members of the organization—mostly immigrants from Latin America—and its campaigns. In this organization, other Latino immigrants also hold positions as organizers. Moreover, at Growth Victor did not need to use English, as the second generation of bilingual organizers took on the tasks requiring English, which were those that entailed interaction with city officials and politicians.

The case of Victor illustrates that linguistic and legal restrictions lessened the opportunities for upward mobility in New York City. He was able to become a staff member of Growth only when he had regularized his legal status. This, together with the organization's need for Spanish speakers who could relate to and communicate with its membership, made Victor well-suited for employment.

His experiences contrast with those of William, who arrived in New York City in 1988 and is now a U.S. citizen. He worked as an electrician while serving as the president of an organization that lobbied the city and state governments, though not that of his home country. Two hate crimes that occurred in the New York area, in which Ecuadorian nationals were murdered, led him to found the organization. He registered it as a non-profit, and applied to and received from New York City agencies funds to fight discrimination. His English skills and the skills in writing project proposals that he had acquired from his organization's members—representing a younger second generation of immigrants—provided him with additional skills and a network.

These examples shed light on how structural conditions of these cities promote continuity or change in political socialization practices among Ecuadorian immigrant men. On the one hand, the men participants in New York favored continuity over

change when structural (immigration law) or linguistic barriers limited their ability to opt for paid leadership roles outside their immigrant niche. On the other hand, in Madrid, where the context of reception was less restrictive and the participants faced few linguistic barriers, the immigrant men focused on matters pertaining to the politics of Spain and Madrid broadly speaking, and were focused on promoting change.

Women's Social and Economic Experiences

In the case of New York City, different social and economic experiences led to different organizational patterns for women and men. Women suffered less status inconsistency (the difference in the status they held in Ecuador and the status they enjoyed in the place to which they had migrated) in light of their lower level of work experience before migration. By working in the U.S. and becoming breadwinners, they experienced a sense of empowerment and upward mobility. Via their children, they came into contact with some of the city's institutions. The sense of empowerment and contact with local institutions led them to make the host society their focus of attention, explaining their greater desire to stay in comparison to the desire of most of the men to return to their country of origin (Jones-Corrrea, 1998b: 327).

Nonetheless, as I will show below, most women in this study did have previous work experience and suffered from downward mobility by taking jobs they would have never considered in their home country. This became especially salient in the case of the Ecuadorian women I interviewed in Madrid. Additionally, the women I interviewed in Madrid came into contact with political organizations in the context of the economic crisis, rather than through city agencies and women's and children's educational institutions as the literature tended to emphasize (see Hardy-Fanta et al.

2000; Montoya 2000). Furthermore, rather than through their offspring, women participants in the New York City context came into contact with political organizations through their husbands, in light of social issues, and through friends.

The women in this study migrated to New York City from a variety of locations in Ecuador, mostly from the cities of Cuenca, Quito, Guayaquil, and Ambato. Of the 14 Ecuadorian women I interviewed in New York City, 7 had work experience outside the household before migrating, 5 were dedicated to the upbringing of their children in Ecuador, and 2 had emigrated as adolescents, acquiring work experience in New York City. Those who had work experience in Ecuador worked as executive assistants, teachers, bank tellers, in the army in administrative positions, and, in one case, in the sewing trade at a family-owned business.

The demand for labor in the domestic work sector attracted many Ecuadorian women to Spain (Herrera, 2005) and, although they led the immigration process, the female to male ratio quickly evened out (INE, 2004). Out of the 22 women I interviewed in Madrid, 16 had work experience before migrating, 4 were young adults pursuing their education when they left Ecuador, and the 2 others were dedicated to their households. Those who had previously worked in Ecuador were administrative and executive assistants in government positions, teachers, a worker at a radio station, a temporary factory worker, and service sector workers in the beauty and baking trades.

Diana arrived in Madrid from Quito in 1996. Two years later she brought her son along. Some of her friends from college, some of whom had pursued PhDs in Ecuador, had already left for Madrid. They had also left after finishing their degrees and were

looking forward to new experiences in Spain. Diana had earned a bachelor's degree in biology and had not thought of working as a care provider or domestic worker, occupations in which many Ecuadorian women found employment in Spain (Herrera, 2005, 2012). Upon arrival in Madrid she experienced downward mobility:

> At first I had no idea of what I would do. That was the least of my concerns; I just wanted to leave [Ecuador]. When you arrive here you do not get the jobs equivalent to your degree; they do not exist. Typically they [natives] see us as Latinos, [that is] the work-force, as cleaners. It was very hard initially. I suffered a lot because I had not studied to do these types of jobs; however, it was a reality. I got a job taking care of a little boy in the evenings; after all, that was not that bad. Then I said, "I am already here and I am not going to return defeated to the same thing." I had to keep trying. One always has the hope that an opportunity to do something different will arrive. After the first years in the worst jobs, each of us seeks our own way. People realize you have an education and other skills, which is how I ended up there [working as a consultant in a firm]. (Diana, member of the Solutions and Action organizations, Madrid, 2011)

Diana's employer recommended her for work at her husband's firm. She began a white-collar job that allowed her to rise to a managerial position. In 2005, she decided to buy a house and asked for a mortgage loan. Three years later, the international financial crisis hit Spain and the housing bubble exploded, affecting first workers in the construction trades, a sector highly populated by male immigrants, many of them from Ecuador. As the crisis expanded, it left jobless people in other trades and many sectors of the Spanish middle class. As a consequence of the economic crisis, she lost her employment in 2011 and defaulted on her mortgage payments. She did not have previous experience with politics of any kind in Ecuador.

She reached out to the Action and Solutions organizations for help. Through these organizations she worked along with others who were equally affected by

mortgage debts to demand a change in the Spanish mortgage law. The Solutions organization was created for this purpose by the leaders of the Ecuadorian organization Action and native Spaniards who were looking for others faced with the same circumstances. Diana became an activist, committing her days to planning the activities of these organizations and counseling some of the many people who poured through the organizations' doors as the crisis deepened.

Another example is provided by Silvia, who arrived in 1999 to the fields of Southern Spain to harvest lettuce and tomato. In Ecuador she finished her second year as a law student at the Universidad Central del Ecuador, interrupting her studies when she married her husband. Escaping him, she left for Spain and worked in a *cortijo*—a traditional farmhouse in Southern Spain—until 2004. When her husband followed her to the fields where she was working, she escaped again to Madrid. Once in the city, she worked as a professional cleaner for a private company and made her way up to a white-collar job for a large phone company. She reflected on her previous status in Ecuador and the jobs she had taken in Spain:

> When I arrived in Spain I thought, "It does not matter what I do because no one knows me here." In Ecuador, I would have never been a domestic and field worker, never, ever. In Spain, yes, and here I am willing to do many more things that I would not do there. In conversations over the phone my mother would ask me to return to Ecuador. She would insist she had not provided an education for me to now do this job. My mother cried when my sister told her how hard work was in the fields and repeatedly asked us to return. (Silvia, Solutions and Action organizations, Madrid, 2012)

In 2008, she became a dual citizen and brought her son. Then, she took a mortgage loan to buy a house. In 2010, the Spanish economic crisis left her

unemployed and with a mortgage debt. For this single reason, she became engaged with the Solutions and Action organizations in Madrid. Like Diana, she set her hopes on changing the Spanish mortgage law by petitioning the Spanish government along with others in the same situation.

The women I studied were involved with political organizations in Spain not specific to immigrants. The economic conjuncture in Spain compelled them to seek help through these organizations, and motivated them also to work with these groups to push for changes. The economic conjuncture mobilized the population in such a manner that both natives and immigrants joined in fighting for the same cause. The majority of women participants in New York joined the community organization Growth to receive help with work, rent, or safety issues. The rest joined them through friends in a similar process that Blooemraad (2006) defined as "structured mobilization."

In the Ecuadorian organization The Front (New York), as women joined, their husbands would invite others to join also. Two women held leadership positions in The Front. One had received a high school education in the U.S. and, as she had good written and oral skills and was able to communicate well in English, she became the organization's spokesperson. The other was The Front's vice-president and the wife of its former president. In the other Ecuadorian organizations I visited, women worked in support positions coordinating events. Women have advanced to leadership positions in organizations involved in making demands whose membership is outside their immigrant origin group. For instance, Priscilla Gonzalez, who is of Ecuadorian origin, played a fundamental role in the creation of the Domestic Workers Union in New

York City and the first Domestic Worker's Bill of Rights in the U.S, and lobbied the International Labour Organization (ILO) for the implementation of the Domestic Workers Convention (No. 189) passed in 2011.

In sum, the women participants in Madrid reported suffering from downward mobility in the receiving context. However, contrary to most of the related scholarship, it was not the experience of downward mobility that led them to take leadership or staff positions in associations of either their home country or the society of reception. It was rather the need to oppose the Spanish mortgage law that oriented the women toward organizations making these demands in Madrid. Once in these organizations, these women began to take on leadership positions.

Women and Leadership

Hardy-Fanta's (1993) and Jones-Correa's (1998b) studies found activist women to be well represented in governmental agencies. In these offices women acted as intermediaries or arbiters between the immigrant Latino communities and the city authorities. These insightful observations were made more than 15 years ago and I revisit them in light of this study's findings. Today, immigrant women are also well represented in community organizations that make claims upon the U.S. government. For instance, women from countries in Latin America are represented in leadership positions in the New York City organization Growth. Members of a second generation of bilingual (Spanish and English) immigrants, both men and women, held the highest positions, as directors and executive directors.

Jones-Correa (1998b) surmised that the positions women held as intermediaries in the formal political structures and agencies of the city gave them

visibility and would prove useful should they choose to run for local or state political office. In fact, the presence of Latinas in political offices in New York City has grown, following the pattern Jones-Correa suggested. Since 1992, the year in which the Puerto Rican Nydia Velasquez (D) was elected congresswoman, other Latina women have held elected positions in the State of New York. In 1994, Carmen E. Arroyo (D), of Puerto Rican origin, was elected to the New York State Assembly, and others such as Gabriela Rosa (D) and Maritza Davila (D) followed. At the city level, Latina women have also moved into political offices, such as Dominican City Council Representative Julisa Ferreras, and as of 2014 City Council Speaker, Marissa Mark-Viverito, who is Puerto Rican. At the state level, in November 2014 Carmen Velazquez Almeida, originally from Ecuador, was elected to the New York State Supreme Court.

Ana, an Ecuadorian woman, ran for the first time without success as District Representative to the New York State Assembly in 2001, and would later be defeated by Francisco Moya, a second generation Ecuadorian. Ana left Quito to land in Jackson Heights, Queens, in 1961. She arrived with a visa and a job offer from a person she had met in Quito to work in a savings bank in the neighborhood in Queens. In the 1960s, immigration laws in the U.S. were less restrictive than at present, as she recalls: "In a matter of months you would get your green card." She finished her education at Queens College at the City University of New York, obtaining an M.A. in Political Science. In the 1970s, she joined the JFK Political Club. She has worked at various levels of the U.S. government and continues to do so.

She became a U.S. citizen at a time when for Ecuadorians adopting another nationality was considered *traición a la patria*, "treason to the motherland," as found in previous studies (Jones-Correa 1998, 2001). She participated in the redrawing of Queens's electoral districts to facilitate the emergence of a Latino representative to the New York State Assembly. She then ran as a candidate for the New York State Assembly, without being able to win the election:

> When I launched my candidacy there were four candidates; I was the only woman. There was Monserrat, a Puerto Rican who did not belong to this borough and had the support of the political machine from the Bronx; an Ecuadorian for whom I have much esteem, Luis Rocero; and Angel del Villar, a Dominican. In the Ecuadorian community they were questioning why there were two Ecuadorian candidates. Luis had managed part of Al Gore's campaign, so he thought he was very strong and could win. However, I did not step down. I was a woman candidate and I decided not to step down because then they [voters] would think that the female candidate stepped down because she was weaker, so I continued to the very end. Monserrat won; it was 2001. Many senior citizens identified with me, which was the majority of the electorate, but after 9/11 they did not go out to vote; everyone was very hurt. I went to Monserrat's inaugural event because I considered it an achievement. (Ana, known figure and leader in the Ecuadorian community, Queens, 2011)

The case of Ana—as well as of other Latinas in office—supports Jones-Correa's prediction that, should they choose to, Latinas' visibility in city offices would help them win election. Though she had not been elected, in running she had opened the path for other women to pursue leadership positions. As Hiram Monserrat concluded his time in office, Julissa Ferreras presented her candidacy as Representative for City Council from District 21—consisting of Elmhurst, East Elmhurst, Corona, and Jackson Heights—and won. In the next elections, Ana supported Francisco Moya's candidacy for New York Assembly District 39 (Corona).

During the interview she brought another factor into account that is important in the New York City context:

> When he [Francisco Moya] ran as candidate in subsequent elections, I supported him from day one. He wanted Julissa's post, but she had a stronger candidacy. She had worked for Monserrat; she had been the Chief of Staff for the Dominican community, so she was better forged politically. It was the Dominican's turn. But then, once a Dominican had surged, then it was another nationality's turn. So, when Moya ran I completely supported him. I felt very proud that a person of Ecuadorian descent had the opportunity to run again and the opportunity to win. I will continue to support him as long as he works well. (Ana, social figure and leader in the Ecuadorian community, Queens, 2011)

The above quote notes the implications of diversity for politics in Queens (Jones-Correa, 2005; Mollenkopf, 2014). Gender is only one factor in play; also important is the nationality or ethnicity of a group seeking power. In the quote she mentions that it was "the Dominican's turn" to win political office, as if newer immigrant arrivals had to wait in line for power in the formal political structures of the city. In Ana's case, however, her nationality seemed to not have worked in her favor. Instead, a higher level of education, fluency in English and Spanish, and a favorable immigration law context were all factors that facilitated her engagement in the formal institutions of the city and in the race for power.

Other women participants were performing similar tasks in Queens to those in which they had previously been engaged in Ecuador, such as helping in political campaigns. For example, participants volunteered to help with Julissa Ferreras's political agenda. However, these participants' later arrival in New York City, in the

1990s and 2000s, in a more restrictive immigration law context, together with their lesser English skills, acted as barriers to their running for political positions.

Besides having previous work experience in their home country, some of the women in these cities, especially in the case of Madrid, had experiences as activists in Ecuador. Political experiences in the home country provided the knowledge and skills to run organizations to both immigrant men and women. However, the migrants had yet to learn how to run organizations in the host country whose membership is not based on a particular ethnic group. These organizations may be supported by private or public funds, and may be well-regarded by city agencies, political parties, and mainstream media. The part of the population that is engaged in political activities generally has above average levels of education. In the case of Ana, on top of learning oral and writings skills in the U.S., she learned the inner workings of the Democratic Party in Queens, through the JFK political club, which proved fundamental to gain the endorsement of the party when she decided to run in elections.

In 1997, in Madrid, whose immigration law is similarly receptive, Dora Aguirre founded and became President of Rumiñahui, an association that was created to represent the needs and defend the rights of Ecuadorian immigrants in Spain. During her presidency she entered the circles of the city's immigration fora—meetings where immigration issues were discussed for the purpose of policy implementation. In 2008, the government of Ecuador created in the Ecuadorian National Assembly six seats for the elected representatives of emigrants. Dora Aguirre ran as a candidate of Alianza PAIS, the political party currently in power in Ecuador, to serve as the representative of Ecuadorians emigrants in Asia, Europe, and Oceania, and she won.

In a similar vein, Alda took the leadership of the Ecuadorian organization "Action" in Madrid. She was a self-identified indigenous woman from the province of Bolivar who had arrived in 2000, many years later than Ana's arrival in New York City, yet in a similarly receptive immigration law context, as Ecuadorians they were not required to have a visa to enter Spain. As in New York City in the 1960s, she soon had the opportunity to apply for a permanent resident card and became integrated into the job market while the economy was still growing.

While in Ecuador, Alda had been active in organizations such as the Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE), which represents the indigenous peoples of Ecuador. She returned to her town in the province of Bolivar in 1994 to lead local women's organizations, for which she directed community projects. After a year in Madrid, she obtained a work permit, regularized her immigration status, and was hired by a company that provides care for the elderly. Pursuing her need for "a social space to which she could belong" that resembled the organizations she had worked for in Ecuador, she explored the Spanish workers' unions, concretely Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) and Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO). These did not fit her idea of social organizing, as they were wholly dedicated to the labor movement and not to community affairs, such as rent, or immigration, and cultural identity issues.

In searching for this space, she met members of Action and became the organization's treasurer. She assumed its leadership a year later and focused on activities that celebrated indigenous traditions. In 2008, she redirected the organization to presenting collective demands to the Spanish and Ecuadorian governments in

response to the high unemployment rates. As Ecuadorians began to knock at the organization's doors, asking for counseling over mortgage issues, Alda made their demands the organization's foremost concern. Action's focus then became dual, directed both at home-country politics and the immigrant politics of Madrid.

All other women interviewees belonged to both this organization and Solutions, which lobbied the Spanish government. In summary, the gendered patterns of participation found in New York City were not duplicated in Madrid. There, I found male participants in leadership positions in organizations lobbying the Spanish government. Women were found in both home-country organizations such as Action, and non-immigrant organizations such as Solutions.

Conclusion

While gender-differentiated decision-making processes have certainly shed light on the behavior of Latinos in organizations in New York City and in the U.S. at large, I have argued on the basis of a comparative analysis that other structural and linguistic patterns should not be overlooked, as they shed light on immigrants' political incorporation. This case study shows that when conditions such as access to education, a common language, and receptive immigration laws are in place, as in the context of Madrid, male respondents were likely to participate in the organizations specific to the host country rather than those limited to immigrants from their home country.

On the one hand, Ecuadorian male participants in political organizations in Madrid oriented their focus to organizations of the society of settlement. They did not depend on Ecuadorian organizations for their status in their immigrant community.

Because men found greater venues for upward mobility in Madrid, they tended to shift the scope of their organizations toward the host society government. While in New York City immigrant Latino men oriented themselves to immigrant organizations, in Madrid, immigrant men were widely represented in non-exclusively immigrant organizations. Ecuadorian men in Madrid were employed as mediators between immigrants and the city agencies that in New York City would be generally populated with Latin American women. In New York City, the language barrier and restrictive immigration laws inhibited men from switching their orientation from immigrant organizations to more broadly-based ones. However, when linguistic and immigration law barriers were not present, immigrant men were drawn to organizations belonging to the context of reception. In New York, these structural and linguistic limitations inclined immigrant men to seek positions and overcome their status inconsistency in the immigrant community.

On the other hand, women have achieved leadership positions in New York City, as expected from previous scholarship. However, the women in this study did not come into contact with the organizations they joined through city agencies or their children, but instead by attempting to resolve housing or work-related issues in New York City and in light of the current economic conjuncture in Madrid. Additionally, in Madrid the arbiter role observed for Latin American women in New York City was taken by both Ecuadorian men and women. These economic and social experiences, which in New York translated into divergent patterns of engagement in organizations for men and women, in Madrid were translated into a more convergent path in which both men and women were involved in political organizations making demands of the

Spanish government. Ultimately, participants in New York were guided into the political institutions of the city by their engagement with larger immigrant organizations, such as Growth, which fought for immigrant rights in the context of settlement. Through these political community organizations, newer arrivals could learn the political "know how" of the receiving context, facilitating the re-socialization process and promoting change rather than continuity.

Finally, while these findings speak of the participants of this comparative case study, attention to contextual differences is a reminder that comparative research provides insight, lessening the generalizability limitations from which qualitative studies normally suffer. This approach promises to help account for the diversity in the political practices of immigrant groups in the context of immigrants from the same national context.

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Conclusion

This work concludes with an analysis of the collective action behavior of this immigrant group in these cities. In a few broad strokes, in this work I delve into the participants' background in the presentation of collective demands in Ecuador, before they emigrated. Following that, I largely focus on how the demographic, linguistic, and formal political institutions of New York and Madrid shaped the collective action behavior of the Ecuadorian immigrants I followed. This immigrant group engaged in both locales in a process of political incorporation, as a result of their engagement with other social groups in these contexts. Nevertheless, given the contextual characteristics of these cities, this process was different in both places, and so were its outcomes.

The Ecuadorians here depicted left during the 1990s and early 2000s, a period in which Ecuador underwent great economic and political turmoil, and in which the levels of distrust among citizens in their country's political institutions, especially the political parties, grew and emigration became the way out. Fourteen per cent of the economically active population, or 7 per cent of the entire population, left the country between 1999 and 2007 (INEC-ENEMDU 2007). These sentiments of distrust were carried over to New York City and Madrid, shaping the organizational structures of Ecuadorians as an ethno-national group in these cities.

These feelings produced at least three effects in the cities of settlement. One in which, in both cities, those participants in this study who were already politically engaged before emigrating, allied with other Ecuadorians who shared their same political ideology. Another in which the participants joined organizations that were

constituted based on ideology, and then avoided other Ecuadorian political organizations that were ideologically different. Lastly, those who had not been engaged in political organizations in Ecuador did not want to be engaged in political organization of Ecuadorians in New York City or Madrid either. The unintended consequence of this tendency was for the Ecuadorians to look outward toward other social groups and organizations in seeking ways to be engaged, rather than inward towards solely Ecuadorian organizations. This led to political incorporation as Ecuadorians were led by political rivalries among themselves to look outward.

Once in the larger organizations, Growth and Solutions, which held a variety of nationalities, participants were immersed in a new political context and new traditions of making collective demands. The salient factors shaping their engagement were now demographic, linguistic, and structural. These together, produced in each context different paths of political incorporation, which I distinguish as an "ethnically-blind" model of political incorporation in Madrid, and an "ethnically-prone" system of political incorporation in New York City.

In the ethnically-blind model of Madrid, the formal political structure, which is based on proportional representation of political parties, together with a societal base formed in great majority by natives, shaped the political demands of the Ecuadorians in this study in ways in which ethnic markers such as national flags or immigrant status (to the extent that it reflects foreign status) shifted to the background and were replaced by identification with political ideology, in ways generally driven by the economic crisis that began in 2008. On the contrary, in New York City, the political system, which is based on single district representation of candidates, allowed

participants to find political allies on the basis of their ethnicity and immigrant backgrounds. In Madrid, political alliances were based on the economic positions of the organizations' members. Given the underlying importance of previous immigration cohorts, in New York participants' identification with the political class was made on the basis of their capacity to relate to immigrants, as daughters of immigrants and sometimes immigrants themselves, thus promoting an ethnically-prone model of political incorporation.

I have also some attention to questions about the interrelation between migration, diversity, and gender. Unlike previous studies for the case of New York, the women participants came into contact with political organizations not through their children's educational institutions, but by virtue of looking for collective means to resolve individual problems, in Madrid in particular those of mortgage defaulting. In the case of men, the different linguistic and legal features of the two cities resulted in their being able to access an economic niche in Madrid that was harder to access in New York.

Lastly, I have examined the debates on the effect of ethnic diversity on social capital. The participation in political organizations of the Ecuadorians in this study expanded their trust and networks to encompass the native population and other immigrant groups, building bridging social capital. However, in Madrid the Ecuadorian participants in this study remained ignored for three years by the political representatives and the media, and they thus found that they needed to ally themselves with natives of no immigrant background in order to gain a voice in the political arena. This made it evident that formal citizenship is not sufficient to guarantee political

incorporation, and that organizations play fundamental roles in the political incorporation of immigrant groups.

This study has addressed current debates on the political incorporation of immigrant groups and its outcomes in two Western democratic cities with different immigration histories. While the United States, and New York in particular, and Queens, where most of the New York immigrants studied reside, especially, is highly diverse ethnically, Spain and Madrid are the opposite extreme. Madrid has only recently begun to have a significant immigrant population and has a young second generation of immigrants (Portes, Aparicio, Haller, Vickstrom 2010). It remains to be seen, assuming continued immigration and a diversification of the immigrant population how Madrid's model of political incorporation will evolve.

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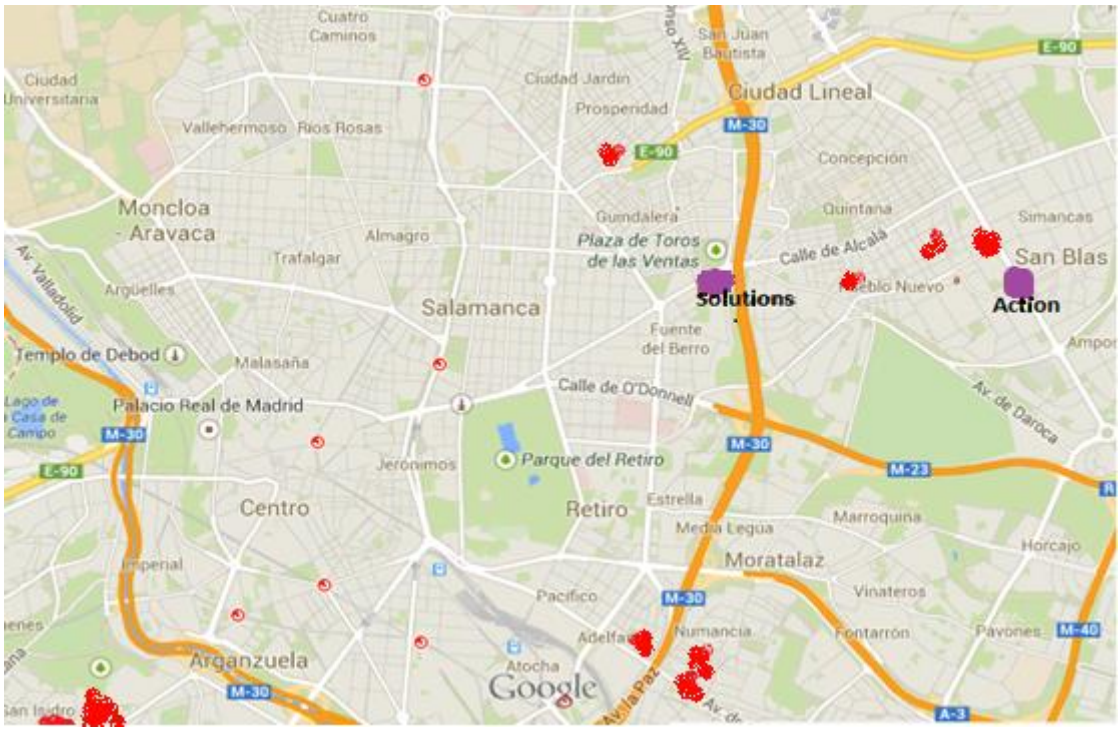
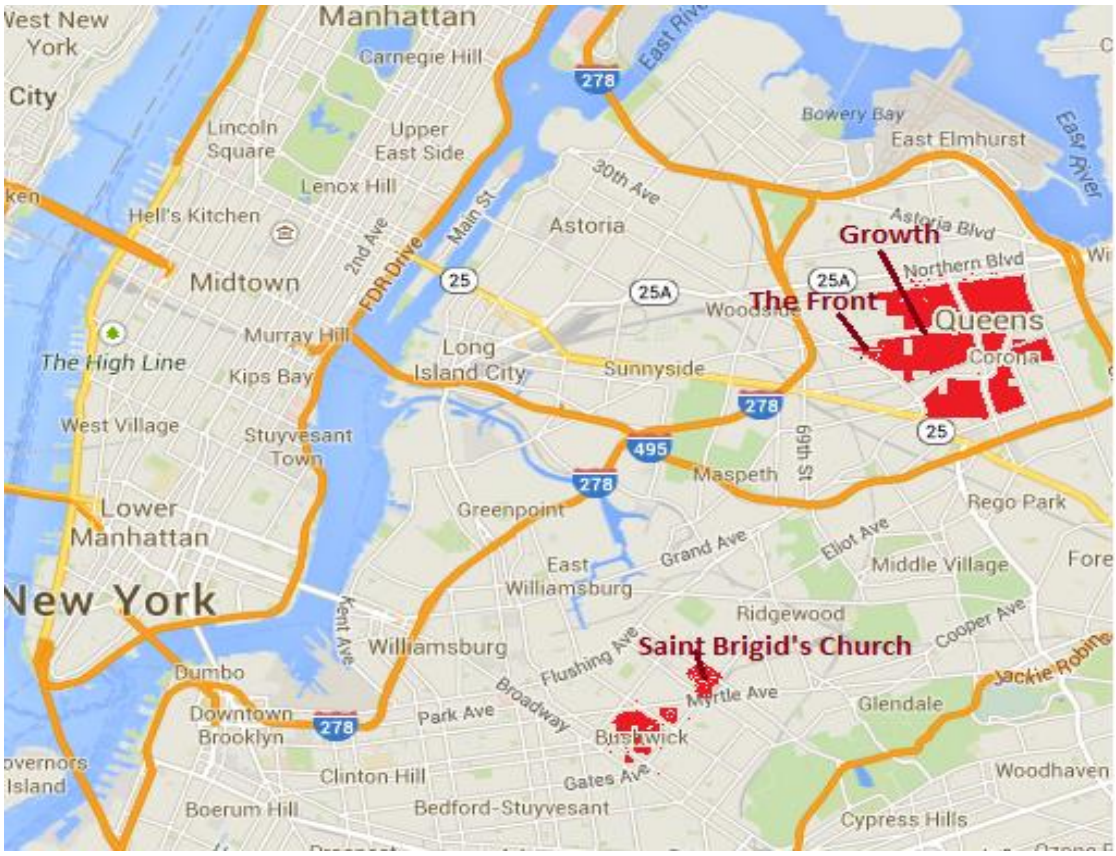
Appendix

MAPS

Ecuador: Administrative and Geographic Divisions



The City of Madrid
Participants lived scaterred around the red areas.
The location of "Solutions" and "Action" organizations are marked in purple.



New York City with part of the Boroughs of Manhattan, Queens, and Brooklyn

The participants in this study lived in the red areas

The location of "The Front" and "Growth" organizations are marked in brown.

TABLES

Table 1. ***Participants' Descriptive Characteristics***

	Number of Ecuadorian Participants				Levels of Education			Origin (Totals)	
	♀	♂	Total	Undoc	University (≥1year)	High School (≥2 years)	Elementary School	Urban	Rural
New York City	14	36	50	11	30 (8 women)	15 (5 women)	5 (1 woman)	31	19
Madrid	22	25	47	0	29 (15 women)	16 (6 woman)	2 (1 woman)	35	12

Table 2. ***The Organisations***

	Names of the Ecuadorian organisations	Names of the community and neighbourhood associations
New York City	THE FRONT (demands focus on home-country and receiving states)	GROWTH (demands focus on the receiving state)
Madrid	ACTION (demands focus on home-country and receiving states)	SOLUTIONS (demands focus on the receiving state)

Table 3. ***Participants' descriptive characteristics, with a focus on the educations of those with pre-migration political experiences.***

	Total number of Ecuadorian participants			Pre-migration Political Participat.			Education of those with pre-migration political experiences			Origin (Totals)	
	♀	♂	Total	♀	♂	Total	University (>1year)	High School	Elem School	Urban	Rural
New York	14	36	50	5	26	60%	18 (2 women)	7 (4 women)	6	31	19
Madrid	22	25	47	8	14	47%	16 (7 women)	5 (1 woman)	1	35	

Table 4. ***The Organisations***

	Ecuadorian Organisations' Names	Community/Neighbourhood Associations' Names
New York City	The Front	Growth
Madrid	Action	Solutions

Table 5. ***Distribution of Participants in New York's Organisations***

	Only in Ecuadorian Orgs	Only in Community Orgs	Participation Overlap	Totals
Leaders and organisers	8	11	9	28
Members	6	8	6	20
Total	14	19	15	48*

* I excluded two participants – political figures who did not participate regularly.

Table 6. ***Distribution of Participants in Madrid's Organisations***

	Only Ecuadorian Orgs	Only in Community Orgs	Participation Overlap	Totals
Leaders and organisers	3	9	11	23
Members	5	5	13	23
Total	8	14	24	46*

*I excluded one participant who did not regularly participate in the natives' or Ecuadorians' organisations.

Table 7. ***Distribution of Participants in New York's Organisations*** *(Categories are Mutually Exclusive)*

	Only in Ecuadorian Orgs		Only in Community Orgs		Membership Overlap		Total
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Leaders and organisers	7	1	9	2	5	4	28
Members	4	2	5	3	5	1	20
Total	14		19		15		48*

*I excluded a male and a female who as political figures did not participate regularly in the organisations.

Table 8. ***Distribution of Participants in Madrid's Organisations*** *(Categories are Mutually Exclusive)*

	Only in Ecuadorian Orgs		Only in Community Orgs		Membership Overlap		Total
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Leaders and Organisers	3	0	3	6	7	4	23
Members	3	2	1	4	7	6	23
Total	8		14		24		46*

*I excluded one male participant who did not regularly participate in the organisations.

Table 9. ***Legal Status of Participants in New York City and Madrid by Gender***

		Dual Nationality	Permanent Resident	Work Visa	Undocumented	Total
New York	Male	19	6	1	10	36
	Female	10	3	0	1	14
Madrid	Male	22	3	0	0	25
	Female	18	4	0	0	22

FIGURES

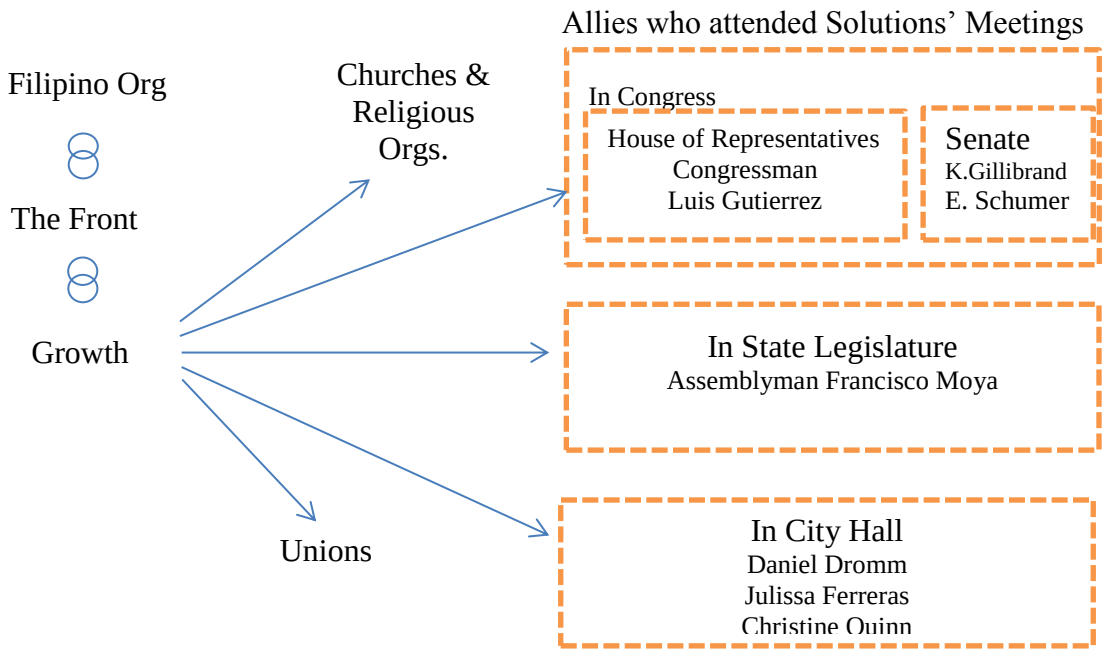


Figure 1. ***New York City Model in 2010-2011***

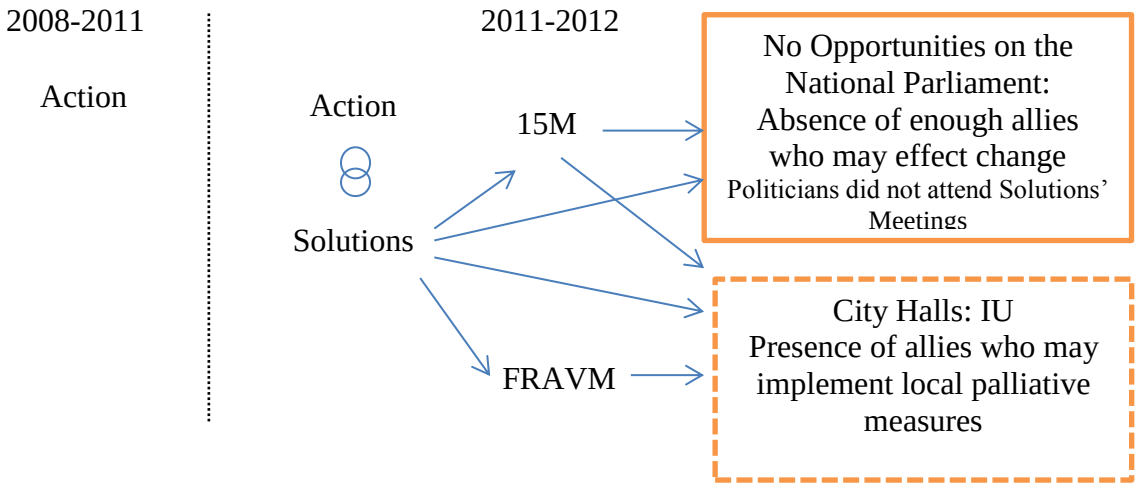


Figure 2. ***Madrid Model 2008-2012***