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2 **Associations of Immigrants in the Third Sector**
3 **in Andalucía: Governance and Networking Issues**

4 **María Ángeles Espadas · Mourad Aboussi ·**
5 **Enrique Raya Lozano**

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8 **Abstract** This article presents the findings of a research project on the internal and
9 external governance of associations of immigrants in Andalucía, Spain. It is divided
10 into three descriptive, interpretative parts. The first lists and analyzes the socio-
11 cultural motives behind initiatives for the formation of associations of immigrants,
12 including initiatives related with the transnational context, initiatives stemming
13 from a sense of solidarity and altruism, and initiatives arising from the need to
14 coexist with and become integrated into the host society. The second part of the
15 article focuses on the types of activities such associations organize, their resources
16 and their strategic management practices. The third part looks at the ways in which
17 associations are connected with the third sector in Andalucía, with particular ref-
18 erence to two dimensions of the issue, inter-association relationships and commu-
19 nity participation. The findings throw some light on the accountability, institutional
20 support, and networking needs of associations of immigrants. A series of sugges-
21 tions is also presented concerning points generally linked with the concept of
22 associative governance, such as good management practices and the concept of
23 participatory governance as mechanisms for including civil society in policy and
24 program design.

A1 M. Á. Espadas
A2 Social Work and Social Services Area, University of Jaén, Campus las Lagunillas s/n,
A3 despacho C5-117, 23071 Jaén, Spain
A4 e-mail: aespadas@ujaen.es

A5 M. Aboussi (✉)
A6 Departamento de Trabajo Social y Servicios Sociales, Universidad de Granada, C/Rector López
A7 Argüeta, Edificio San Jerónimo s/n, 18071 Granada, Spain
A8 e-mail: maboussi@ugr.es

A9 M. Aboussi · E. R. Lozano
A10 Social Work and Social Services Department, University of Granada, C/Rector López Argüeta,
A11 Edificio San Gerónimo s/n, 18071 Granada, Spain
A12 e-mail: eraya@ugr.es

26 **Résumé** Cet article présente les conclusions d'un projet de recherche sur la
 27 gouvernance interne et externe d'associations d'immigrants en Andalousie, Es-
 28 pagne. Il se divise en trois parties descriptives et interprétatives. La première
 29 énumère et analyse les motifs socioculturels sous-jacents aux initiatives en faveur de
 30 la formation d'associations d'immigrants, notamment les initiatives associées au
 31 contexte transnational, les initiatives découlant d'un sentiment de solidarité et
 32 d'altruisme et les initiatives résultant du besoin de coexistence et d'intégration au
 33 sein de la société d'accueil. La seconde partie de l'article s'intéresse aux types
 34 d'activités organisées par ces associations, leurs ressources et leurs pratiques de
 35 gestion stratégique. La troisième partie examine les moyens grâce auxquels les
 36 associations sont connectées au Secteur tertiaire en Andalousie, avec une référence
 37 particulière à deux dimensions de cet aspect, à savoir les relations entre associations
 38 et la participation communautaire. Les conclusions apportent un certain éclairage
 39 sur la responsabilité, le soutien institutionnel et les besoins de mise en réseau des
 40 associations d'immigrants. Une série de suggestions est également présentée con-
 41 cernant les points généralement liés au concept de gouvernance associative, comme
 42 les bonnes pratiques de gestion et le concept de gouvernance participative en tant
 43 que mécanismes d'inclusion de la société civile dans l'élaboration de programmes et
 44 de politiques.

45
 46 **Zusammenfassung** Der vorliegende Beitrag präsentiert die Ergebnisse eines
 47 Forschungsprojekts zur internen und externen Leitung von Einwanderervereinig-
 48 ungen im spanischen Andalusien. Der Beitrag setzt sich aus drei beschreibenden
 49 und interpretativen Teilen zusammen. Der erste Teil nennt und analysiert die so-
 50 zioökulturellen Motive von Initiativen zur Gründung von Einwanderervereinigungen,
 51 einschließlich Initiativen in Verbindung mit dem transnationalen Kontext, Initiati-
 52 ven, die auf ein Gefühl von Solidarität und Altruismus beruhen und Initiativen, die
 53 sich aus dem Bedürfnis nach Koexistenz und Eingliederung in die Gesellschaft des
 54 Gastlandes ergeben. Der zweite Teil des Beitrags konzentriert sich auf die Arten der
 55 Aktivitäten, die diese Vereinigungen organisieren, ihre Ressourcen und ihre str-
 56 ategischen Managementpraktiken. Der dritte Teil betrachtet die Art und Weise, in der
 57 die Vereinigungen mit dem dritten Sektor in Andalusien verbunden sind, wobei hier
 58 insbesondere auf zwei Aspekte eingegangen wird: die Beziehungen zwischen den
 59 Vereinigungen und die Gemeindebeteiligung. Die Ergebnisse werfen Licht auf die
 60 Verantwortlichkeit, die institutionelle Unterstützung und die Networking-Bed-
 61ürfnisse der Einwanderervereinigungen. Es wird zudem eine Reihe von Vorschlägen
 62 hinsichtlich der Punkte unterbreitet, die im Allgemeinen mit dem Konzept der
 63 Leitung von Vereinigungen in Verbindung gebracht werden, wie gute Manage-
 64 mentpraktiken und das Konzept der partizipatorischen Führung als Mechanismen
 65 zur Beteiligung der Bürgergesellschaft in der Politik- und Programmgestaltung .

66
 67 **Resumen** Este artículo presenta los hallazgos de un proyecto de investigación
 68 sobre la gobernanza interna y externa de las asociaciones de inmigrantes en And-
 69 alucía (España). Se divide en tres partes descriptivas e interpretativas. La primera
 70 enumera y analiza los motivos socioculturales subyacentes tras las iniciativas para la
 71 formación de asociaciones de inmigrantes, incluidas las iniciativas relacionadas con

72 el contexto transnacional, las iniciativas que surgen como consecuencia de un
 73 sentido de la solidaridad y el altruismo y las iniciativas que surgen de la necesidad
 74 de coexistir e integrarse en la sociedad anfitriona. La segunda parte del artículo se
 75 centra en los tipos de actividades que dichas asociaciones organizan, sus recursos y
 76 sus prácticas de gestión estratégicas. La tercera parte considera las formas en las que
 77 las asociaciones están conectadas con el Tercer Sector en Andalucía, con referencia
 78 particular a dos dimensiones de la cuestión, las relaciones entre asociaciones y la
 79 participación de la comunidad. Los hallazgos arrojan alguna luz sobre la responsa-
 80 bilidad, el apoyo institucional y las necesidades del trabajo en red de las asoci-
 81 aciones de inmigrantes. También se presentan una serie de sugerencias relativas a
 82 puntos generalmente vinculados al concepto de gobernanza asociativa, tales como
 83 buenas prácticas de gestión y el concepto de gobernanza participativa como me-
 84 canismos para incluir a la sociedad civil en el diseño de políticas y programas.

85
 86 **Keywords** Associations of immigrants · Third sector · Associative governance ·
 87 Citizen participation · Opportunity structure
 88

89 Introduction

90 Associations of immigrants occupy a little-known social space in comparison with
 91 other third-sector actors. The unexplored aspects include how entities of this sort are
 92 configured, what kind of dynamics they create and what relationships they have
 93 with the receiving country's social and institutional environment.

94 Spain, whose immigrant population has been rising steeply over the last decade,
 95 is experiencing a proliferation of associations of immigrants yet does not have
 96 enough mechanisms to steer their initiatives and maximize their effects to improve
 97 migratory management. Andalucía is a case in point, because, despite the fact that it
 98 has a comprehensive plan for immigration, the Andalusian policies targeting the
 99 immigrant population do not connect with associations, are ignorant of associations'
 100 difficulties and do not regard associations as social partners who might subscribe to
 101 the goals set in official policies to improve the situation of immigrants.

102 Based on these observations, in 2011 the authors of this article carried out a
 103 research project funded with a subsidy won through a competitive public selection
 104 process conducted by the Andalusian Directorate-General of Migratory Policy (a
 105 department of the regional government, the Council of Andalucía) to identify and
 106 analyze the factors determining the extent and form of citizen participation by
 107 people who have immigrated from non-EU countries to Andalucía. We refer to
 108 citizen participation in the strict sense, i.e., relationships that citizens and citizen
 109 organizations have with institutions in the defense of collective interests.

110 Two lines were mapped out and explored to diagnose the real conditions of
 111 immigrant association activity in Andalucía and the modes and degrees of the
 112 connection between immigrant association activity and its social environment. The
 113 first line of research referred to the sociocultural and organizational characteristics
 114 of associations of immigrants and identified the subjects' management modes and
 115 internal governance needs, or what we might call, according to the French



116 terminology, “associative governance,” which means “a set of good practices that
 117 enable the leaders of non-profit entities to rely on effective, transparent organiza-
 118 tional structures in order to discharge their functions serenely” (Jégard 2005a, b).
 119 The second line of investigation analyzed associations’ connections with the fabric
 120 of society at large and the factors that help and/or hamper them in carrying out their
 121 activities efficiently and cooperatively.

122 The field work consisted of three phases. The first was to locate and identify
 123 associations. Fifty-five surveys were prepared to collect basic data in eight
 124 Andalusian provinces. The second phase was to design and implement three
 125 discussion groups with the participation of 24 associations (eight in each group).
 126 The criteria used to select the associations were working territory (local, provincial,
 127 regional), network presence and the nationalities represented in each association
 128 (Associations representing 20 nationalities were contacted). In the third phase, three
 129 semi-directive interviews were conducted with public and private institutions, with
 130 the goal of rounding out and contrasting the information gathered from the
 131 questionnaires and discussion groups.

132 To analyze the data, we used frame analysis, where we assigned a meaning to the
 133 reality described by the informants, identifying the dominant frames and explaining
 134 them pursuant to different theories (McAdam et al. 1999). Our basic focuses were
 135 specifically on transnationalism, opportunity structure, active citizenship and
 136 associative governance.

137 In this article, then, we give a diagnosis of the space in which Andalusian
 138 associations of immigrants move. This space embraces the internal organization of
 139 associations as well as their configuration into networks and relationships with other
 140 social partners. Therefore, first of all, we analyze the sociocultural motives behind
 141 the formation of immigrant associations, the types of activities that are organized,
 142 resources and strategic management practices. Second, we look at the ways in which
 143 associations connect with the third sector in Andalucía, examining two dimensions
 144 that are related yet nevertheless ought to be differentiated and analyzed separately:
 145 inter-association relationships and community participation. Finally, we present a
 146 number of findings and recommendations about the associative governance,
 147 institutional support, and networking needs of associations of immigrants.

148 **Discourses and Characteristics of Immigrant Activism in Andalucía**

149 Researchers see a substantial, important difference between associations of
 150 immigrants and *pro-immigrant* associations. Associations of immigrants are
 151 regarded as entities whose creation is an initiative taken by people of foreign
 152 origin and whose governing board is made up mainly of non-EU immigrants. *Pro-*
 153 *immigrant* associations are organizations set up and managed mainly by natives;
 154 they may have been created expressly to carry out activities aimed at the immigrant
 155 population, or they may have been created for general purposes, with a number of
 156 projects devoted particularly to the issue of migration. In this paper, we have paid
 157 especially close attention to the discourses of associations of immigrants, because
 158 very few studies have analyzed their reality, and because they are the associations

159 that most closely express immigrants' difficulties and potential for taking part in a
160 way they have themselves defined.

161 Four frames of interpretation may be deduced from the discourses constructed by
162 associations of immigrants, to provide information about the reasons for associ-
163 ations' creation and operation. They are the transnational frame, the frame of
164 existence in a peculiar space between the country of origin, and the receiving
165 country; the frame of altruism and solidarity with fellow countrymen or more
166 vulnerable collectives; the frame of coexistence, which is related with the host
167 country's perception; and the frame of citizenship, in which immigrants demand the
168 ability to practice their rights and duties in full.

169 The Transnational Frame

170 The need to feel that one is supported, sheltered by other people from one's own
171 collective who are living in similar situations, was a leitmotif in all the discussion
172 groups. Migrants stand in the transnational space between two places, the place
173 where they aspire to achieve their ambitions and the place where they have left
174 behind their ties of family and identity. This is what Abdelmalek Sayad calls the
175 double absence of the migrant, a process in which the emigrant's hopes turn into the
176 immigrant's sufferings due to the difficulties he must face in order to do what he
177 hoped to accomplish by emigrating. The process generates a continuous feeling of
178 "being torn asunder" (Sayad 1997) in a context in which the immigrant does not
179 enjoy full citizenship in either country, host or origin. Hence, the need to heal the
180 tear by becoming integrated into the collective that best understands the situation:
181 He seeks to socialize, tell his troubles, ask for advice, network—in short, find some
182 kind of support, even if it is only psychological.

183 Cultural touchstones of the country of origin may also influence initiatives to
184 form associations. A participatory culture might be transmitted across borders, and,
185 likewise, characteristics of the sending countries might constrain individual
186 participatory behavior after migration (Mariya 2007). Certainly the culture of
187 origin makes its contributions during the association-organizing process. Associ-
188 ations of immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa, for example, tend to cluster around
189 an experienced ethnic leader to whom others listen, as they would in their own
190 countries. This is why associations of immigrants do not always respect current
191 legislative procedures or the rules of democratic elections. Likewise, burgeoning
192 initiatives to form associations may be curbed from within, depending on how
193 freedoms are practiced in home countries; immigrants from zones of conflict or
194 countries under authoritarian regimes have a certain fear of forming associations.

195 A small number of informants had prior experience creating associations in their
196 countries of origin. Those who did considered the process much less formal in their
197 countries than under Spanish legislation, which requires associations to be legalized
198 and registered. However, they regarded associations in some cultures, such as the
199 Senegalese culture, to be much stronger than in Spain and to hold more sway over
200 their members, due to the ethnic relationships that usually underpin each
201 association. These relationships create moral rules of membership that force

202 commitment and engagement with the association's collective work. In the host
203 country, according to some informants, associations lose that power.

204 We deduced from the transnational interpretative frame that, for immigrants,
205 participation in an association is a response to their institutional exclusion by both
206 the country of origin and the receiving country. Although there are different
207 diaspora engagement policies in some countries (for example, policies extending
208 rights and/or exacting obligations based on the concept of loyalty to sovereign
209 origin) (Gamlen 2006), the associations participating in the project have no access
210 to or even awareness of any such initiatives. This is not really their fault, because in
211 countries with limited democratic experience models for the transnationalization of
212 citizenship (Lee 2004) are still in the exploratory stage or subject to closed
213 institutional power plays.

214 If we apply the political process theory (Tilly 1987) to this context, immigrants,
215 voiceless and voteless for several decades, become outsiders in search of resources
216 who can at least regain their voice, in order to fight to practice their citizenship. The
217 opportunity structure in their countries of origin and destination (Tarrow 1996) is
218 closed and exclusive, because it envisages no measures for a collective's integration
219 into the institutional circle. According to Tarrow, when faced with this situation, a
220 social movement is capable of creating something of an opening for itself in the
221 opportunity structure. In the case at hand, however, immigrant activism initiatives
222 appear to have neither this objective nor the capacity to pursue any such objective,
223 because they are small and have limited human and physical resources. Yes, they
224 are the consequence of exclusion and a lack of proper policies, but they fall short of
225 becoming a goad for policy change.

226 The Coexistence Frame and the Altruism/Solidarity Frame

227 When asked about coexistence, our informants displayed a certain irritation at the
228 receiving society's ignorance and lack of understanding. The general trend in
229 responses, though, was to relativize the matter (by talking about the lack of places to
230 meet) and even to positivize (by defending the existence of problems shared by
231 immigrants and natives alike, which could lead to possibilities of associating
232 together). On the basis of these indications, we ruled out the existence of a frame of
233 retreat into ethnic identity in associations' discourses, and instead we confirmed the
234 discourse of coexistence and "getting to know you." Activism is in fact used as a
235 more reliable strategy for approaching the host society and contacting the different
236 partners there.

237 Creating associations is a response to the needs shared by a specific collective,
238 generally of a single nationality. Several times informants confirmed that addressing
239 common problems forms an early fundamental phase of the association-forming
240 process and a way of diagnosing concerns and needs before designing activities. It is
241 what makes these organizations fundamental partners for the construction of social
242 learning within problem realms, through the identification of problems, commu-
243 nication of the collective's demands, and proposal of solutions (Brown and Timmer
244 2006). This function helps association members become citizens with a broader
245 outlook and a broader interest in the common good (Dekker 2009).

246 The importance of immigrant associations also lies in the fact that they facilitate
 247 a framework of belonging that provides security (Morell Blanch 2005). One specific
 248 example of this is a Granada association that began as the personal initiative of the
 249 president, who was obligated to defer her own personal and occupational plans
 250 while waiting to receive her resident's permit. In the interim, she took an interest in
 251 the experiences of other women who were living in destructured family situations or
 252 had been forced by the harsh realities of immigration to give up their dreams. The
 253 association was created with one basic motivation: listening and forming social ties.

254 Needs of this sort explain the recurrent frame of altruism and solidarity in the
 255 different informants' discourses. "Solidarity" is a keyword in immigrant association
 256 activity, as we will reflect later in our discussion of activity typing. Solidarity is not
 257 aimed only at immigrants of the same nationality; most participating associations
 258 felt that their job was to provide coverage for people from different countries,
 259 including natives.

260 The moral keystone upholding the altruistic paradigm and related actions of aid
 261 or assistance is solidarity (Olivier de Sardan 1996). This is due to the conviction that
 262 the personal development process must necessarily include solidarity (García Roca
 263 1994). There is therefore always a personal motivation spurring a participant's
 264 involvement in a collective movement (Olson 1978).

265 In short, we found one point in common: Associations are the response to a
 266 vacuum in the space of social action with immigrant populations. That is to say, all
 267 associations are responses to the unsatisfied needs of some members and a lack of
 268 channels for discovering how those needs can be satisfied. These factors explain the
 269 active citizenship frame, which we will analyze below.

270 Internal Governance and Strategic Management

271 Interestingly, what we have called the "citizenship frame" (which appears in the
 272 discourse of informants calling for the full exercise of their rights and duties) is not
 273 reflected in associations' activities. The number of entities that include social
 274 struggle and social demands among their purposes is small: There is a wide gap
 275 between discourse and practice in the receiving country. In this part of the paper, we
 276 will look at association activities from the standpoint of organizational or "internal"
 277 governance (Ostrower and Stone 2006), in an attempt to explore the relationship
 278 between good management practices and impact on integration and citizenship.

279 The Citizenship Frame: Activity Typing and the Concept of Integration

280 The questionnaires revealed that all the associations have activities in the following
 281 categories: leisure in general (e.g., culture, sports, parties); social aid by/for
 282 immigrants; immigrant integration. Several also have specific lines of action:
 283 parades and traditional dances, religious practices (Catholic, Muslim), political
 284 action seeking to bring political influence to bear, cooperation with members'
 285 country of origin, and commercial activities. The most numerous activities focus on

286 women's empowerment, activities for children and young adults, education in
287 general and legal, and occupational education and guidance.

288 When asked about the frequency with which they organize activities, some
289 entities reported that they confine themselves to a small number of yearly activities.
290 One association in Jaén pours all its efforts into two major events, the International
291 Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and Hispanic Heritage Day. This
292 is a logical choice, since subsidies are scarce, and human resources, in short supply;
293 most participating associations confirmed that their projects are sporadic and limited
294 in number. There are some associations, however, that conduct activities
295 concentrating entirely on helping the neediest immigrant population cover their
296 basic needs. These relief activities are necessarily ongoing.

297 Immigrant association activity is, then, restricted to the local living space and
298 largely aimed at immigrants. We wondered if this format of civil participation helps
299 in integration, and we tried to follow a number of clues in the informants' discourses
300 to find the answer.

301 Instead of "integration," the word that arose in discussions was "coexistence."
302 The process begins, according to associations, by making oneself visible to the
303 natives. It is important, however, for this first step to be accompanied by a certain
304 sensitization on the part of immigrants. The immigrant profile must be raised in a
305 way that encourages meetings with the different social and institutional partners, in
306 order to share opinions and discuss topics of interest. It is also incumbent upon
307 immigrants—who find themselves for various reasons shunted aside and locked into
308 an isolated category of society—to change how they are perceived. Accordingly, an
309 understanding of rights and duties is regarded as fundamental for integration (cf.
310 Raya Lozano 1999, 2001).

311 We deduced from the different fledgling experiences of the associations
312 participating in the project that there are two levels of integration, the integration
313 of immigrants in their own collective (i.e., where joining an association is a way for
314 scattered immigrants to band together), after which they can move on to the second
315 level of integration, integration in the host society.

316 Integration through activist practices depends on social credibility. There are so
317 many organizations in civil society that it is hard to believe they can all contribute
318 something. It is especially hard to expect contributions from associations that do not
319 have the basic tools of association management, above all transparency and
320 accountability (Dwivedi and Jabbar 1989). The next part of this paper explores how
321 associations of immigrants need to make their practices more professional and
322 should introduce the tools of association management as the foundations for what
323 they do.

324 Organizational Development, Resources, and Visibility

325 Good intentions are not enough, and they do not always bring home positive results.
326 That is why girding reason with will and will with reason is the cultural aim of all
327 volunteering that is sensitive to cultural transformations (García Roca 1994).
328 Reason takes the form of what we call "strategic management" (Aboussi 2010) or
329 management practices adapted to the context of non-profit organizations. We

330 attempted to identify strategic management in the organization of associations, their
331 resources, and their management techniques.

332 Let us look at internal organization. Membership numbers ranged between 3 and
333 187 in all the associations save one veteran NGO with 1,450 members. In general,
334 there is a small number of active members who are involved in management. They
335 are in most cases the members of the board. For some associations, motivation
336 counts more than mere membership rolls; these associations insist that it is
337 important for the association's work to be based on the values of sacrifice and
338 fighting for others. Even so, low membership prevents normal activities from
339 running smoothly and detracts from the quality of action.

340 Low membership is due, first, to mobility and occupational vulnerability;
341 immigrants spend all their time and effort in earning enough to survive. Second,
342 illiteracy and ignorance of the Spanish language prevent some members from being
343 eligible for certain functions, as told by the president of an association of Senegalese
344 immigrants in Granada, who said he alone "carries the ball" in terms of dealing
345 with paperwork and organizing events. Some informants who head up the executive
346 boards of associations confirmed the need for training and information about how to
347 manage non-profit organizations. The informants agreed that they do not have the
348 kind of access to training that pro-immigrant organizations have, partly because
349 they do not even have anyone available to attend training when it is offered.

350 Some associations reported that qualified contributors who once helped with
351 management have dropped out due to internal conflicts and differences of thought in
352 the planning of what action to take or what issues to address. What this shows is that
353 some entities lack the civil savoir-faire to reconcile members' ideas with the
354 organization's general policy (Brandtsen 2009). We are talking about a field of
355 management related with agency and stewardship practices, whose goal is to
356 reconcile different opinions and demands as they emerge (Kreutzer and Jacobs
357 2011). Likewise, as a consequence of the situation just described, staff is temporary
358 or nonexistent, and the staff shortage consolidates the lack of planning and dearth of
359 strategies for self-criticism, continuous training, and access to knowledge (Aboussi
360 2011). So, the entity is trapped in a vicious circle in which it cannot get one
361 component of improvement without the other.

362 In some cases, immigrant associations are dysfunctional because they lack
363 physical resources. First, they need a physical space where they can deal with
364 people and infrastructure where they can hold activities. A few associations have a
365 headquarters where they can do daily work or hold sporadic meetings. Some have
366 been allowed space by private entities, since public entities have limits on their
367 schedules and availability. Second, there is the difficulty of finding financing. The
368 questionnaires reported that only 16 associations (of 55 asked) receive regular
369 funding in the form of membership fees, local public subsidies, private donations,
370 private grants, fund-raising campaigns, or regional subsidies. Some organizations of
371 a more artistic or cultural bent earn their own funding by throwing shows, plays or
372 food-related events.

373 The subsidy issue has two sets of difficulties: first, the scarcity of subsidies
374 available and, second, the complications entailed in designing and presenting
375 eligible projects. Several associations have tried to apply for subsidies, but since



376 their projects have been rejected, they have abstained from filing any more
 377 applications. This attitude stems from ignorance of how the subsidy system works,
 378 not only in Spain, but also in other countries as well. There is fierce competition for
 379 subsidies, and organization size and background are generally decisive (Cullen
 380 2009). In general, the third sector suffers from discriminatory criteria in subsidy
 381 granting. The larger, very senior NGOs tend to secure subsidies more easily than
 382 newer or smaller organizations. Subsidy criteria based on experience discriminate
 383 against recently created entities that identify new areas of action or new pathways
 384 for bonding with citizens, no matter how much more efficient and closer to quality
 385 criteria the newcomers' organizational capacities may be (Antuñano Maruri 2008).

386 As for visibility, it has in general been hard to identify and contact associations of
 387 immigrants. Resource guides and Internet records contain incorrect data or leave out
 388 contact information. Of all the associations of immigrants remaining at the end of
 389 the screening process (55), only five have a website or blog. Limited Internet
 390 visibility can be traced to an absence of marketing strategies. The greatest risk here
 391 is precisely the lack of visibility in the eyes of fund providers (Bennett 2008),
 392 although lack of visibility in the eyes of members is equally harmful, as it means
 393 managerial accountability is neither envisaged nor applied (Stone and Ostrower
 394 2007).

395 One way of making partial progress in this direction would be for associations of
 396 immigrants and pro-immigrant associations to work together, since the latter have
 397 more skills and a longer career in the area, but we observed sketchy communication
 398 and a certain deficit of federationist feeling. As we will see later, there was express
 399 talk about envy among associations, which generates a context of competitiveness,
 400 thus preventing networking. This is what invites us to analyze the frame of
 401 connection with the social environment: To what extent do associations of
 402 immigrants have structures or platforms for meeting, with other associations of
 403 immigrants and with other members of the Andalusian third sector?

404 **The Connection with the Andalusian Third Sector**

405 Here we will look at two dimensions, inter-association relationships and community
 406 participation. The first refers to relationships among associations, be the relation-
 407 ships formal and outlined in a protocol or informal and spontaneous, arising from
 408 daily contact; be they ongoing and stable or ad-hoc and situation-dependent. Inter-
 409 association relationships in daily work are expressed most often in cooperation and
 410 collaboration, coordination, teamwork, case referral, the establishment of working
 411 groups and shared protocols, and the creation of commissions and committees.
 412 Usually, this type of inter-association relationship is technical and professional or
 413 involves resource management. In general, it is a way to improve the operation of
 414 associations or the operation of a specific program or to prevent entities working in
 415 the same area or issue from duplicating one another's work. It tends to be more ad-
 416 hoc or situational, and it tends to focus on operational objectives, such as the smooth
 417 running of the organization and management of the association. Relationships with
 418 other associations are fundamental in order to reach the second level of association

419 relationship, a relationship with the social environment, in the sense of “community
420 participation and social integration” (with which it tends to be confused).

421 The second dimension focuses on the association’s relationship with its
422 environment through civic participation. This dimension is more of a process and
423 covers a wider range and greater depth than the first dimension, because the aims
424 here are to integrate associations of immigrants into the social fabric of a given zone
425 and to get associations of immigrants bound to and involved in the social life of the
426 zone in question. This relational dimension is, in our opinion, the one with the
427 greater potential from the standpoint of coexistence and social integration and from
428 the standpoint of secondary objectives, such as the exercise of *active citizenship* by
429 immigrant people. The concrete result of this is the integration of associations of
430 immigrants into their environment, in the sense of “becoming a normal part.”
431 Associations that attain the second dimension go beyond “their” issues of
432 immediate or private interest and also see the life of the neighborhood or zone as
433 part of their horizon; they become involved not only in sector-specific issues that
434 affect them directly, but also as citizens and members of the community in a wider
435 sense.

436 Inter-Association Relationships

437 In our study, we observed that the patterns of relationship vary widely, depending
438 on the types of associations concerned. Some of the traits that influence relationship
439 type are size, resource availability, experience, and organization type (*pro* or *of*). In
440 some cases, all four issues are linked, even at the risk of over-simplifying. For
441 example, the majority of the pro-immigrant associations in Andalucía may be
442 described as associations that began in the 1990s and have a large number of
443 members (if not active, then at least on the rolls) and a certain stability of resources,
444 good experience in program, and center management, a close relationship with
445 government agencies and broad visibility and social recognition. Meanwhile,
446 associations organized *by* immigrants are, by and large, the other side of the coin:
447 They are much younger; they have very few economic resources available to them;
448 they have little experience at managing associations or action programs; their
449 relationships with government agencies are more sporadic; they have very little
450 visibility and media presence and a low level of social recognition and
451 identification.

452 According to our informants, their inter-association relationships are predomi-
453 nantly informal and almost never subject to a pre-established protocol. By and large
454 they have informal, one-off relationships concerning some specific issue in which
455 they share interests with other associations. In many cases, their relationships may
456 be said to be restricted to sharing information, giving referrals, and inviting one
457 another to attend activities. This is the root of one of the problems that we have
458 observed in other papers (Rodríguez Cabrero 2003; Espadas Alcázar 2007), here
459 and in other areas of social action: lack of interinstitutional coordination. As a
460 result, some issues are addressed by a number of projects and activities, while others
461 are not addressed at all, and, in short, resources are not used very efficiently. As is
462 well known, and as we have confirmed in this project, these informal relationships



463 also depend heavily on personal affinity between professionals, members, or
 464 associations generally; consequently, relationships may be highly changeable and
 465 unstable.

466 Obviously, because the amount of structure an association has and the ways it is
 467 organized internally influence the types of relationships it has, it is much more
 468 difficult to find formal, standardized relationships among recently organized entities
 469 (a category that includes many of the associations of immigrants). When
 470 associations of immigrants do have formal relationships, their relationships are
 471 with government agencies or private institutions like banks. The informants also
 472 stated that in some cases they have close relationships with other social partners,
 473 such as unions, with whom they work especially in matters of jobs and employee
 474 rights.

475 Frequently, the discussion groups confirmed a technical support relationship in
 476 which new, under-informed, inexperienced associations rely on other, more senior
 477 associations in order to gain access to resources and projects. In some cases, the
 478 support comes from pro-immigrant associations, a fact that was seen very positively
 479 by associations of immigrants. This perception was of course not unanimous.
 480 Informants from other associations of immigrants had a different view of the role of
 481 pro-immigrant associations and reproached them for their lack of cooperation, while
 482 they told of very good experiences of cooperation among associations of
 483 immigrants. In other cases, the relationships reported are competitive rather than
 484 cooperative and may even escalate into conflict and mistrust.

485 We consider it important for these conflictive issues to be voiced, so the fabric of
 486 associations can diagnose the factors that get in the way of working together and
 487 networking. For example, we also found discourses that added other difficulties to
 488 the list of problems obstructing inter-association relationships and federationism,
 489 *inter alia*: “spotlight hogging” by associations or people (even to the point of being
 490 termed “exhibitionism”), mistrust about lack of transparency and accountability,
 491 and political partyism or clientelism. Some informants reported cases of very
 492 negative prior experiences in their countries of origin (lack of transparency,
 493 resource misuse) that made them mistrust other associations and hold back in their
 494 relationships with other associations.

495 In other cases, the complexity of inter-association relationships is due to the fact
 496 that the entities involved have very different organizational cultures. There are
 497 associations of immigrants that find in their host country a culture of participation
 498 that is very different from that of their country of origin. Some authors indicate that,
 499 although the culture of participation of the country of origin plays an important role
 500 in determining the results of participation, when “assimilation through participa-
 501 tion” is implemented together with general assimilation, the effect is much stronger
 502 (Mariya 2007).

503 What these facts show is that it is vital for associations to look long and deeply at
 504 these matters if they want to forge wider-ranging connections with their
 505 environment, in the direction of the networking aspects of inter-association
 506 relationships as well as in the direction of community participation.

507 Platforms, Federationism, and Networking

508 Despite the fact that, as we said, the members of associations in this realm recognize
 509 their coordination and inter-association relationship deficit, we have observed that
 510 they are seeking ways of remedying the situation. Informants reported specific
 511 emerging initiatives of inter-association cooperation: the formation of federations of
 512 associations of immigrants.

513 From this point of view, this solution, in spite of its complexity, is a formula that
 514 enables associations to join forces to obtain results that have a proliferative effect on
 515 their daily tasks. This discourse goes beyond the entity's internal organization. It
 516 involves an approach that is highly promising from the standpoint of effective
 517 association participation. For an association, organizing into complex structures also
 518 means something more than the idea of joining just to improve factors like
 519 coordination, technical help, and information sharing. It points toward a more
 520 ambitious objective, which is to create a second-tier structure that may be significant
 521 enough to act as an interlocutor with government agencies. Associations working in
 522 the realm of the disabled provide one interesting instance of progress toward
 523 federationism without "forms of powerless participation" (García Inda 2001). Many
 524 of these entities have now succeeded at positioning themselves as the vital
 525 interlocutors with government agencies in matters directly in their purview and go-
 526 to facilitators for other matters of general interest.

527 To summarize, although there are some interesting experiences having to do with
 528 relationships among associations, there are also serious difficulties in establishing
 529 such relationships in the framework of formal structures. Cooperation among small
 530 associations, especially associations of immigrants, occurs more informally, and it is
 531 not very intensive or long-lived, either. Obviously, the factors that go into the
 532 transnational social costs of collective action (Tarrow 1997) become more acute at
 533 the individual level, since some immigrant people lack not only the time for social
 534 participation activities, but also at times the necessary legal standing. At the
 535 association level, the lack of time, professionalism, and resources makes it nigh
 536 impossible to launch any initiatives beyond attempts to organize one's own house.
 537 When an association of immigrants does not have basic resources, it would be
 538 Utopian to expect the association to provide proper management of interactions
 539 among activities, projects, and instruments with a view to harmonizing viewpoints
 540 and strengthening coalitions (Chemin and Vercher 2011).

541 Community Participation

542 Here we are talking about a more advanced level of cooperation. Participating is
 543 much more than "having relationships" with others, be they government agencies,
 544 unions or major NGOs. Participating means taking an active hand in the way the
 545 organization runs and in decision making or, in the case of other organizations or
 546 government agencies, it also means taking an active hand in designing programs and
 547 public policies. Therefore, reaching a level of effective participation is a hard thing
 548 to do, and it involves a lengthy process and intensive dedication. If there is one issue
 549 having to do with the third sector in general and activism in particular that everyone

550 can agree on, that thing is probably how hard it now is for entities to connect with
 551 their environment and perform their community participation function. Even so, on
 552 exploring this dimension of the immigrant association fabric, we have ascertained
 553 that a substantial portion of the discourse of associations clearly has to do, albeit in
 554 an embryonic fashion, with citizen participation. We will give a few significant
 555 samples of the discourses to which we refer.

556 A basic but interesting mechanism for connecting with the local community that
 557 our informants reported is to hold fun/festive and cultural activities. Radio programs
 558 aired in cooperation with other entities, for example, are important means of
 559 connecting, as are activities featuring food, dance, and music. Some informants said
 560 that it facilitates and strengthens their relationships with their social fabric and
 561 neighbors to share their music and organize musicians to play in groups.

562 We have also encountered a highly interesting line of discourse that links the
 563 concept of integration with the concept of social participation. Some associations
 564 stated that their idea of these two concepts goes beyond tending to basic personal
 565 needs or defending the group's interests or displaying the group's cultural heritage.
 566 They referred to social participation in the sense of "demonstrating that we are
 567 successfully doing something for the entire community". In a community-oriented
 568 approach, the role of associations is not confined to providing relief or doing work
 569 for the association's group, but goes farther. The sights are set on producing
 570 relational goods (García Roca 1994; Donati 1997) in the community's social space.
 571 In addition, a community with a dense, active social fabric facilitates integration
 572 considerably.

573 Moreover, using the emerging participatory paradigm (de Sousa Santos 2005),
 574 associations (like the third sector in general) have two functions, a relief function
 575 and a civic/political function; and these two functions steer associations toward
 576 involvement and integration in a community, a community being a shared political
 577 space of which *one is part* and in which *one takes part*. As we have pointed out in
 578 other papers (Espadas Alcázar and Alberich 2010), being part (belonging) and
 579 taking part (active exercise of belonging) are two inseparable conditions that make
 580 citizenship possible. Their function, then, is also to help energize the community
 581 and develop the community through engagement in the problems of the
 582 neighborhood, town, or city.

583 As Ganuza (2002) says, in participative processes we talk about what is
 584 individual, but what is individual is linked to citizenship in a shared space of its
 585 own. Participating is not simply "reaching out" it is give-and-take, and it is practice.
 586 It is thinking about reality on the basis of the concurrence of the practices whereby
 587 each person presents him- or herself and makes a community. In contrast, in
 588 delegation and representation processes, participation is a movement of private
 589 persons in the public realm for the achievement of private objectives. There
 590 participation is embodied in a model of receptive citizenship, according to which
 591 *one is part* as the user of institutions and as the receiver of benefits and services.
 592 One has the right to use a public space that has already been built and is a given.

593 Because of depoliticization and the too-frequent absence of that participative
 594 facet of the community, organizations (and certainly not only the organizations at
 595 issue here) tend to go no farther than the individual or group problem, thus

596 simplifying the complexity of social processes. If one can manage to transcend the
 597 concrete dimension of the problems affecting each organization, one can more
 598 easily succeed at connecting with the community and with other organizations, and
 599 one can then expand the horizon of associations' concerns and make associations
 600 the bearers of the social or collective interests of a community, a community of
 601 which they will then be an effective part.

602 **Conclusions and Recommendations for Future Research**

603 The diagnosis we performed through our research, whose results we have laid out in
 604 this article, throws light on three categories of needs that can be found in
 605 associations of immigrants in Andalucía: internally, organizational needs; exter-
 606 nally, needs with other associations and organizations in civil society; and
 607 institutionally, needs with government agencies and local and regional decision-
 608 making authorities. These needs sum up just how disoriented immigrant associa-
 609 tions are and increase their likelihood of crumbling at the slightest threat. This issue
 610 is especially relevant now, when there are budget cuts that are notoriously and
 611 severely affecting subsidies for social cooperation and action programs.

612 **Associative Governance Issues**

613 In general, it is a well-known fact that all organizations face a series of difficulties
 614 and possible risks: organizational risks having to do with operation, the outcome of
 615 failures in leadership and internal management; technical risks due to failures in
 616 project formulation, execution, and evaluation; communication and transparency
 617 risks involving activity dissemination, maintenance of the association's image,
 618 accountability, and evaluation (Antuñano Maruri 2008). To deal with these
 619 complications, it is vital to orient the strategic management of immigrant
 620 associations toward a model of internal governance or associative governance,
 621 according to the French terminology. The concept draws inspiration from corporate
 622 governance, and it adopts a number of corporate governance principles, including
 623 the balance of powers and control, evaluation, work in specialized committees,
 624 auditing, and communication strategies.

625 Associative governance is an instrument for overcoming the difficulties that non-
 626 profit entities face, respecting their human side without neglecting to provide the
 627 necessary rigor for performing their functions adequately (Nahum 2005). Associa-
 628 tive governance is the reason that must be girded to the will. Our diagnosis of how
 629 associations of immigrants operate demonstrates that associations require initiation
 630 into this instrument in order to do their work more professionally and maximize the
 631 desired effects.

632 Good governance strategy must be applied at three levels in an entity: the
 633 association's purpose and operation under charter; internal operation, organization
 634 and types of management; and the actual performance of action (Jégard 2005a, b).
 635 These realms correspond to the different perspectives of corporate governance in

636 civil society: the economic perspective (cf. Jegers 2009; Speckbacher 2008); the
 637 sociological perspective (cf. Enjolras 2009a; LeRoux 2009); and the public policy
 638 perspective (cf. Heinrich and Lynn 2000; Liou 2001). If pro-immigrant associations
 639 seek consultancy nowadays to handle these dimensions, what doubt can there be
 640 that associations of immigrants need a broad program to respond to their needs in
 641 this area, so that they can construct their discourses and accountability practices and
 642 thus maximize the success of their actions (Maier and Meyer 2011). A similar
 643 initiative ought to be led in turn by public institutions, universities, and the third-
 644 sector foundations that have more resources and knowledge, in the realm of social
 645 action as well as applied social research.

646 Third-Sector Positioning Issues

647 Despite its numerous negative points, the situation of associations of immigrants
 648 closely resembles the situation of all other organizations in civil society. They all
 649 share the same sufferings as the third sector: lack of resources, professionalization
 650 needs, questioned impact and effectiveness, clientelism, dependence, and so on.
 651 Therefore, our analysis of associations of immigrants does not present our subjects
 652 as a case apart, nor does it detract from their merit in terms of their role as
 653 generators of social capital and immigrant integration (Toral 2010). Instead, we ask
 654 ourselves what is stopping them from maximizing the integration and community
 655 participation effect, within the third sector's general framework of difficulties.

656 The institutional organization of social action with immigrants shares with the
 657 rest of the social action areas a highly decentralized structure just at present
 658 (devolution of powers, outsourcing of public services and programs, agreements,
 659 and hiring). Vast numbers of social partners are involved, at varying degrees of
 660 intensity, in practically all areas. That is why, to the specifics of action on each
 661 topic, one must add the specifics of taking any action at all in such a complex
 662 system.¹ In the case of immigrant relief policies, actions are segmented into three
 663 networks: government agencies (national, regional, provincial and municipal,
 664 depending on each case), pro-immigrant associations (or special-purpose divisions
 665 of large general-purpose organizations), and associations of immigrants. These three
 666 partners share a realm of action, but they have different reasons for existing and
 667 different motivations for action, as well as different concrete objectives. Of course,
 668 their responsibilities and resources are also very unequal, and, as we have seen, their
 669 organizational cultures vary widely.

670 In this context, although public opinion about the governance model is highly
 671 favorable, there really are a great many limitations on governance as a practice in
 672 making social policy decisions jointly with input from all the different partners.
 673 Associations continue to have serious difficulties organizing themselves and acting
 674 as interlocutors and a more-than-limited impact on decision making beyond the
 675 basic decisions of their own organization.

676 From our standpoint, it is inadmissible to conceive of non-profit actions as a
 677 sector where competition among entities is welcome and political agendas and

¹ For further discussion of the decentralization of social services, see Aguilar (2010).

678 action programs are established on an individual basis. Quite the contrary, progress
 679 must be made toward a certain pedagogy of the encounter (Schaefer 2009), by
 680 creating spaces to favor the construction of a knowledge based on partners'
 681 experience and the sharing of new approaches and realities of action, with an ethical
 682 demand for responsibility vis-à-vis one another (Lévinas 2009).

683 These encounter spaces are the necessary structures of external governance
 684 (Rhodes 1997; Bozzini and Enjolras 2011) as a complex process of interaction
 685 among different partners. The process depends partly on associations' internal
 686 organization, because internal governance has an impact on external governance,
 687 and vice versa (Steen-Johnsen et al. 2011).

688 The Connection with Institutions: The Opportunity Structure

689 Based on theoretical work on the external governance of non-profit organizations
 690 (Rhodes 1997; Enjolras 2009b; Bozzini and Enjolras 2011), it really must be
 691 pointed out that there are no good institutional practices that enable effective
 692 management of actions targeting immigrants. This is because there are insufficient
 693 mechanisms at the local and regional level in Andalucía to guarantee the
 694 contribution to the social fabric (specifically, to associations of immigrants) in
 695 the configuration of the public agenda as a fundamental principle in the
 696 management of the social state (Streeck and Schmitter 1985).

697 This is something that might be looked at as a need for participatory governance
 698 (cf. Bang 2003; Fung and Wright 2003; Newman 2005; Fischer 2006; Chávez
 699 Becker 2010) that can only be measured by the degree of *partner interaction* in the
 700 public/political process. Public management can be done in this mode, by means of
 701 the “fostering of increasingly horizontal cooperative processes for the analysis,
 702 design, implementation, and evaluation of public policies and, more generally, of
 703 public decisions for coping with modern social problems” (Chávez Becker 2010,
 704 p. 206). It seems the Andalusian administration still does not know how to include
 705 policy networks, those “conglomerates of partners” that are bursting into public
 706 policy management and social organization (Klijn 1998). This is the debate today in
 707 the social sciences, professions, and fields of knowledge, among the makers and
 708 managers of public policies and among the different partners involved in citizen
 709 action: how to generate a model of democratic governance that uses today's
 710 deliberative focuses (Dryzek 2000; Dingwerth 2004; Rhodes 2007, Fishkin 2009)
 711 and incorporates ongoing dialog among the different partners in the *policy network*
 712 (Sørensen and Torfing 2007) and decision-making styles based more on deliberation,
 713 negotiation and conciliation with civil society than a coercive, top-down
 714 model that requests non-government partners' participation in the deciding process,
 715 if at all, only to “legitimate” or “accompany” the official agency's judgment, i.e.,
 716 as symbolic political participation.

717 Because of the lack of such mechanisms, associations of immigrants do not have
 718 any formal spaces where they can defend their rights or talk about the problems of
 719 the collectives they represent. Opportunity structure theory defines “opportunities”
 720 as probabilities of access to goods, services, or activity performance. “Structure”
 721 means that the routes leading to the satisfaction of human needs are strongly

722 interrelated: By gaining access to certain goods and services, one obtains physical
 723 and cultural resources that enable one to gain access to other opportunities. *Policy*
 724 *networks*, by linking together the state's and society's actions, energize the
 725 opportunity structures of a given *regimen of well-being* and can make it evolve into
 726 a regime that can afford fairer social development and sturdier social integration,
 727 according to models of democratic society that make it their goal to try and
 728 coordinate and balance the two central values of contemporary societies: equality
 729 and freedom.
 730

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