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# Openness of Political Parties to Immigrants and TCN in Spain

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## Executive Summary<sup>1</sup>

The report summarizes the results of the DIVPOL project, co-financed by the European Commission (EC), European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals (EIF) for the period December, 15<sup>th</sup> 2012-June, 15<sup>th</sup> 2014. It is based on a qualitative enquiry in three national political parties in Spain and three parties in the autonomous region of Catalonia. It is based on document analysis and qualitative interviews and focus groups with party officers, politicians and migrants' organizations representatives, with and without foreign background.

### *Dealing with Legislative Restrictions for Third-Country Nationals in Political Parties*

There is no legal restriction to the affiliation of foreigners in political parties in Spain, nor in party statutes. Foreigners are not allowed to create parties but can be members whatever their nationality, legal situation or length of stay. Only the People's party restricts membership to authorized foreigners.

Other legal restrictions do affect the participation of third-country nationals in politics.

**Right to vote and passive suffrage:** Foreigners do not have the right to vote or passive suffrage at national and regional levels. At local level, only nationals of countries which signed a reciprocity agreement with Spain (n=12) have the right to vote.

**Acquisition of citizenship and dual citizenship:** Historical relations with some countries, especially Ibero-America, have led to establish a favourable regime for citizens of these countries who apply for Spanish citizenship (2-years residence instead of 10-years). However, the administrative complexity often adds years to the process. Similarly, Spain forbids in theory dual-citizenship except for the citizens of these countries, but in practice many people manage to keep both citizenships.

### *Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their associations*

Maintaining close relations with immigrant organisations has always been important for political parties in order to reach immigrants. Party officers in charge of diversity and immigration issues often have meetings with the organisations and participate to celebrations. For leftist parties, this relation is mainly realised through the participation to social movements, especially in favour of immigrants' rights or legalization. Socialist parties have created long-term relations with the main immigrant organisations, especially during the years in government. Right-wing parties have traditionally less relations with immigrant organisations and participate more to cultural events rather than pro-immigrant and political encounters.

Immigrant associations report that the relations maintained with political parties can lead to tricky situations for them, especially depending on the changes in ruling majorities. The identification of an association with one party can lead to a severe deterioration of their position when a new party enters in government, which translates in cut in budgets and subventions or in their exclusion from consultative bodies. In that sense, immigrant associations condemn clientele relations that political parties in government try to establish. But they also recognize that many associations enter in this kind of arrangement because of the fear of being left out. In addition the domination of clientele relations in the politics of the country of origin of many immigrants makes it difficult to perceive some practices as abnormal, such as trading votes for services or subventions.

Associations also acknowledge the importance of the political participation of immigrants in order for them to be recognized by political parties. Long-term residents are more and more willing to engage in politics, but political parties seem not to be ready to give them a role, see them as immigrants only and do not recognize their other talents. But immigrant organizations also state that they still face

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<sup>1</sup> Another version of the executive summary has been published in a separate document as part of the DIVPOL project: Zapata-Barrero R. and Burchianti F. (2013) "Theses paper: Spain", DIVPOL National theses papers.



challenges to push for the participation of immigrants. In particular, many immigrants are still orienting their political activities toward the country of origin and not of reception.

### *Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties*

Entry processes of politicians and party members who have been interviewed for the DIVPOL project show in their majority similarities. The most common aspect is the **existence of a long experience of activism in associations or social organizations** before entering the party, either as active members or as leaders of the organisation. Activism in political parties represent as a second step of political activism taken by these persons, and a logical outcome of their previous social and political activism. This is mainly the case for social-democrat and left-wing parties in general. In addition, affiliation is often driven by **mentorship and personal contacts inside the party**. Persons with a foreign origin are spotted for their social or community activism to take part in the party activities on immigration, or are offered directly a position as candidate on a list. For party officers in charge of outreach activities, networking and talent spotting is a way to attract new skilled members who will be promoted in the party.

From the side of political parties, most of them have developed outreach campaigns and structures dedicated to the affiliation and political activity of members with immigrant background.

**Outreach campaigns:** Political parties are reluctant to target explicitly immigrants in their affiliation campaigns and claim that their “doors are open” to everybody on an equal footing. Nevertheless, party officers dealing with immigration and participation often attend activities and celebrations of immigrant organisations. They also organise meetings or invite associations' representatives to party activities. This is a way to generate immigrant's affiliation. However, there does not seem to exist a clear relation between pro-migrants' rights positions of a party and the level of immigrants' affiliation to the party.

**Training:** Very little specific training of members with foreign background has been organised by the parties. These members participate to ordinary training when it exists. Welcoming sessions about diversity or about the party orientations have been organised in two parties.

**Welcoming culture and party's incidence on the decision to affiliate:** Contrasted experiences related to welcoming culture in the party have been reported. It mainly depends on the way the person entered the party – by themselves or co-opted. Local branches of parties tend to be more difficult to integrate than immigration/diversity “safe” spaces. In general, people are required to adapt quickly to existing party structures and organisation, while this one is often not compatible with work of family life.

**Party culture and their view on immigration** are important to take into account to bring immigrants closer to parties. Positions on immigrants' rights but also religion, language, economy or democratic values can be important criteria for both immigrants and the party in terms of affiliation.

### *Career Paths and Roles of Politicians with “immigrant background”*

Undoubtedly, the main obstacle for people with foreign background is on the road toward **representation** and representatives with foreign origin are still anecdotal. Only one senator and two members of Madrid regional assembly originate from third-countries (TC). Even at local level, we estimate that councillors from TC represent 0.1 to 0.3% of the total. Several characteristics can be highlighted from the trajectories of interviewed office-holders and candidates:

**The importance of leadership:** the “recruitment” on a list is often driven directly by the leader candidate whose views on immigrant participation seem to be determinant, especially when the presence of immigrant politicians in the assembly or position voted is unprecedented.

**The role of participation structures:** Participation structures of “diversity” members are sometimes entitled to propose names of candidates to the list makers to secure the presence of “diversity” candidates. However, the modalities of designation differ between parties and elections and the



proposition is not binding for the list makers, nor guarantees the candidates to be in an eligible position.

**Control of party officers and leaders over list making:** Party officers still most frequently compose electoral lists, even if primaries or members' votes have sometimes been implemented. Overall, members with immigrant origin are not part and have little power over election committees. The lack of transparency of the process and the multiplicity of interests represented are obstacles to the promotion of new politicians with diverse backgrounds.

Politicians with immigrant background relate contrasted **experiences as office holders**. Most feel that their position was valuable and recognized. They picture their role as mediating for immigrants' interest and press this issue to the general agenda. Some felt that they also represented “powerless” or “ordinary” citizens and tried to speak for them. Others, however, stress that party politics was interfering with their action and felt powerless most of the time. Most politicians stayed elected only for a short time (one or two mandates).

### *Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity*

As regards to the internal organisation of the party related to diversity membership, we found that two tensions cross most of party - and immigrant associations - discourses.

**Normal vs. Specific:** There is a tension between the will that diversity members have a “normalised” participation and carrier inside the party, with no difference made with other native members on the one side, and the necessity for the party to adapt to diversity and to create specific structures of participation and recognition. Some parties have created spaces of participation for members with foreign background, which are diverse in their forms. One party created a foundation connected to the party, in which people and organizations participate according to their geographical area of origin. Another created spaces in the sector of participation which reflect members' diversity (for example in terms of ethnic, sexual and functional diversity). They coordinate their efforts to push for diversity issues. In other parties, immigrants invest primarily the branch dedicated to immigration/citizenship policies. In general, these parties advocate for the “normalization” of immigrants' participation and refuse to make a difference between their members in function of their origin. All parties underline that members with foreign background are encouraged to participate primarily to their closest local party structure as any other member, but many are often only involved in diversity sectors. Members also express a dilemma in participating to “diversity” spaces. While, they tend to be more welcoming, may accelerate promotions to positions or candidatures, and tackle topics which often interest members with foreign background; many perceive these structures as powerless spaces, and even segregated spaces. They also fear that their other talents or personal interests may not be recognized.

**Visibilisation vs. Internal recognition:** The promotion of diversity membership and representation also follows different paths and two dimensions have frequently been mentioned. On the one side staff, politicians as well as party members should reflect the diversity existing in society in quantitative terms and in all spheres of power. It is assumed that a “critical mass” of members and staff will help equalize the participation and give equal opportunities to diverse members to access offices. On the other side, it was stressed that politicians with foreign background should be in visible public positions. The assumption is that renowned diversity politicians make it possible for others to identify with them and arouse political participation. Parties address differently these issues. TCN and diversity members are clearly under-represented in spaces of power as well as in the membership. Even if participation spaces are a way to recognize the internal diversity, make it visible, and advocate for the diversification of the organization, they fail in influencing the main spaces of power. In addition, there is still no prominent politician with foreign background in Spanish politics. 2011 local elections, introduced novelty when the two main parties made visible their candidates with immigrant background and organized meetings to introduce them. Nevertheless, it is often underlined that the lack of public figure with diverse background remains an obstacle to



immigrants' political participation. At the same time, strategies of visibilisation are suspected to be a way to gain immigrant voters' support without really diversifying the party. While associations recognize that the lack of public figures is a problem, they also feel that most immigrant candidates and politicians are being played by party executives.





## 1. Introduction<sup>2</sup>

Spain cannot be considered anymore a “new” country of immigration, as it has received intense immigration flows since the end of the 1990s. Yet, immigration has become an important political issue only since 2000, when political parties started to include the issue in their electoral campaigns and immigration became institutionalized after several legislative changes. The social and political debate has been focused on the management of immigration flows, more than about integration. In the aftermath of 9/11, immigration became increasingly linked to security, resulting in the enhancement of border control, combating irregular immigration flows and restricting the immigration law. The fluctuations in the Spanish immigration law over the last 6 years demonstrate that a political discourse on immigration is still in construction. Overall, the development of immigration policy has been (and to a large extent still is) mainly a matter of controlling immigration flows (prevention), while lacking effective policies for the social integration of immigrants.

The change in government in March 2004 has had an impact on policy orientations. Before 2004, when the right wing People’s Party (*Partido popular*, PP) was in government, the migration policy was focus on security, trying to control migration flows by toughening the Foreigner’s Law and with policies concentrated on restrictions, on “building barriers”. This restrictive immigration policy encouraged the black economy and had negative results in terms of irregular immigration. However since the arrival in the government of the Spanish Socialist Worker Party (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español*, PSOE) there have been some changes in which the most important one is that the focus has been a move from security towards one that links immigration to the labour market. That means that the policies have been concentrated on capacities for the absorption of immigration within the Spanish labour market. This focus is what motivated the last regularisation process in 2005, called the “normalisation process”, with the purpose to “normalise” the life of irregular immigrants already working in Spain in the informal economy. Moreover, even though the number of immigrant has increased in the last ten years, immigration is still mainly perceived as an economic necessity and the priority of politicians is on border control. In a certain way, this explains why currently in Spain, the immigrant is considered as *homo economicus*, conceptualization that makes difficult to enter into a more in-depth debate or further vision, in which immigrants are not only integrated in the labour market dimension but also in others like the political dimension. Even if the financial crisis experimented by Spain since 2008 is directly challenging the link between immigration and labour market, and has led to a reduction of immigration flows, migrants are still not perceived as political subjects.

Hence, the policy of immigration of Spain has suffered many different structural and legal changes since 1985 until today, defining step by step the strategy of management of immigration. However, as we will see in this study, this strategy is still in construction. Moreover, some of the elements of the institutional structure, like the Spanish Constitution, discriminates immigrants in different ways. These elements make difficult the management of the new challenges posed by the new context and dynamics, like is the case of the arrival and permanence of immigrants, proving the necessity to re-discuss the bases for a new social and political contract.

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Which type of political participation and political integration are we facing when examining the involvement of immigrants and TCN in political parties? Studies on the political participation of immigrants have put forward different patterns in the participation and incorporation of these one in national and local politics (Morales and Gonzales, 2006). The integration can consist in granting minimal access, which means allowing formal rights to political participation (vote, representation). It can also consist in constructing what several authors have called a multicultural political integration (Kymlicka, 1995), which embrace a more complete and comprehensive view of political participation. In addition to be granted formal and universal rights to participates, the multicultural political integration pays attention to the effective exercise of participation rights, and the influence of immigrants in spheres of political powers. Our intention is to understand if political parties in Spain are heading toward a formal integration of immigrants and TCN or actively engage in the diversification of the party and promote the participation and representation of these ones, in their internal structure and in candidates' selection.

For that we have to pay attention especially to:

- The political culture of the party as regards to membership and affiliation.
- The political culture of the party regarding immigration issues.
- The interest of the party in promoting immigrants participation.
- The type of relationships which are maintained with immigrants and immigrant organisations
- The strategies and mobilisation processes of migrant's organisations.

This is on this basis that the political participation of immigrants has to be examined and discussed. Immigrant incorporation in political parties and immigrants' representation in the political arena still face many obstacles that have to be identified to be overcome (Zapata-Barrero, 2010).

The report aims at providing an overview of the challenges to the participation of immigrants and third countries nationals (TCN) in political parties. It will present briefly demographic data on immigrants and TCN in Spain and, then a brief overview of the scientific literature on political participation. It will present in a third part how legislation and norms constrains or makes possible the participation of TCN in elections and political parties. Following this presentation of formal political rights of immigrants, we will present what is the current effective participation of immigrants to political parties and how these ones are engaging in the incorporation of TCN and diversification of their structure.

## **2. Data overview on immigrants and legal prerequisites to political participation in Spain**

The study covers third-country nationals resident in Spain, which mean people who do not hold the Spanish citizenship. But it was also extended to other categories of residents, in order to grasp better the issue of the diversification of political parties. The categorization according to nationality and regimes of citizenship is effectively conditioning the possibilities and obstacles to participation.

The scope of this research is then the participation in political parties – and representation if applicable - of:



- Third-country nationals: a person holding the citizenship of a non-EU country.
- Immigrants: a person born abroad in a non-EU country and living in Spain.
- Dual citizenship: a person holding the Spanish citizenship and the citizenship of a non-EU country.
- Naturalised immigrants: a person who is not Spanish by birth, resides in Spain and obtained the Spanish citizenship.

We will also consider exceptionally nationals with a foreign - or immigrant - background, or the so-called second generation, which means Spanish citizens with one or two parents born foreigners in another country than Spain.

We will begin by providing data on these categories of Spanish residents.

## 2.1. Data on immigrants in Spain

### 2.1.1. Immigrants and Third-countries nationals (TCN) in Spain

The evolution of migrations to Spain during ten years between 1998 and 2008 has led to increase by five millions the number of immigrants in the country. Since 2009, the number of foreigners in the population has stabilised around 5.5 million immigrants which accounts for 12% of the population. Europe is the main continent of provenance of immigrants in Spain and third-country nationals represent around 60% of all non nationals (6.9% of the population). A similar proportion of immigrants is native of Latin-American countries (1.4 millions) and Africa (1.1 millions).

**Table 1: Table 1. Population by citizenship: recent evolution in Spain (2010-2012)**

	2010	2011	2012
<b>European Union (27)</b>	:	502.369.200	503.663.600
<b>Spain Total</b>	45.989.016	46.152.926	46.196.276
<b>Spain Nationals</b>	40.325.491	40.498.296	40.634.209
<b>Spain Foreigners</b>	5.663.525	5.654.630	5.562.067
<b>Spain EU27</b>	2.327.843	2.329.153	2.354.501
<b>Spain TCN</b>	<b>3.335.682</b>	<b>3.325.477</b>	<b>3.207.566</b>

Source: Eurostat, 2013

**Table 2: Non nationals with authorization of residence in Spain (1.09.2012)**

Country of nationality	Number
Total	5.363.688
European Union	2.182.168
<b>Third-country Nationals</b>	<b>3.181.520</b>
Rest of Europe	176.901
Africa	1.134.249
North-America	39.002
Central and Southern America	1.463.146
Asia	365.185
Oceania	1.890
Stateless and No information	1.147

Source: Spanish Ministry of Employment and Social Security – Secretary of State for Immigration and Emigration, Permanent Observatory of Immigration, 2012



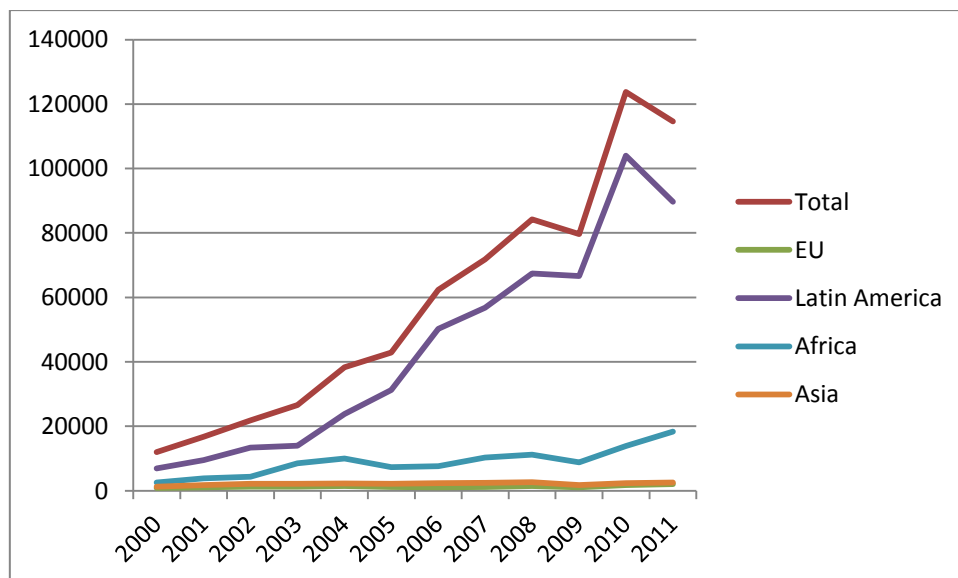
### 2.1.2. Acquisition of Spanish citizenship and dual citizenship

The acquisition of Spanish nationality is in general a long process. Even if naturalisation is usually granted without many difficulties if the applicant falls in a category suitable to naturalisation, the administration is overwhelmed with applications and takes frequently more than two years to resolve a case. The legislation states that foreigners can apply for Spanish citizenship after ten years of legal residence. But there are special procedures for countries which have signed an agreement with Spain in reason of historical relationships. This concerns mainly Latin-American countries (see table p. 6). These countries have the right to apply for the Spanish citizenship after two years of continuous legal residency in Spain.

Persons born in Spain from foreign parents can opt for the Spanish nationality after one year of residency, as well as foreigners married or widowers to a Spanish citizen. Refugees can apply for the citizenship after 5 years. In reason of a special law passed on the year 2007, the so-called Historical memory law, children and grand-children of Spanish exiles during the civil war and the Franco regime could apply to Spanish citizenship. Most of them are not living on the Spanish territory but they have the right to suffrage and hold in general a dual-citizenship. 240000 people had acquired Spanish citizenship by this way in March 2012 (Rubio Marin, Sobrino and al., 2012).

In reason of the «rapid» way to acquire citizenship for Latin-Americans, these ones represent the vast majority of naturalisation in the country. We also note an important increase of naturalisation rates which were lower than the European average until the mid 2000s. They have duplicated by ten in ten years. In terms of nationalities, the TCN who received Spanish citizenship between 2002 and 2011, are mainly from Equator (186,795), Colombia (116,902) and Morocco (77,515).

Figure 1: Residence-based naturalisations by continent of origin



Source: Ruth Rubio Marín, Irene Sobrino, Alberto Martín Pérez, Francisco Javier Moreno Fuentes (2012), *Country report: Spain*, EUDO Citizenship observatory, Country Report, RSCAS/EUDO-CIT-CR 2012/11

However, the share of third-country nationals who acquired the citizenship is still low, especially among young people.



**Table 3: Share of third country nationals who have acquired citizenship by age groups, 2009 (%)**

	Share of citizenship acquisition			
	Total	By age group		
SPAIN	2.3	0-14	15-39	40+
		0.9	2.1	3.7

Source: Eurostat, 2013

Dual citizenship has been a theme for controversy in several European countries, due to large-scale immigration and the multiplication of persons holding two nationalities (Zapata-Barrero, 2008; ). As for political participation and representation, dual citizenship has been traditionally perceived as problematic, because allegiance to two different states has been understood as a threat for sovereignty and security. This view is still present in debates about nationality and citizenship of immigrants and natives with foreign background.

As a consequence, Spanish legislation still restricts dual citizenship. The common rule is that people who acquire Spanish citizenship must in principle renounce to their other nationality. Here again, there is an exception for Ibero-American countries and the countries with historical relations with Spain. This rule is in line with what Dahlin and Hironaka (2008) have shown about former colonial State being more inclined to authorize dual citizenship. But contrary to other countries, this right is still restricted in Spain to former colonies and “co-ethnic” countries. In addition, *jus sanguinis* rule is reinforced by the possibility for Spanish natives who acquire another nationality to keep both, this rule not being reciprocal. Apart for Latin-American nationals, this rule might discourage most immigrants who do not want to give up on their nationality.

In practice however, it is tolerated – but not legal – that many foreigners who have applied for the Spanish citizenship keep both nationalities. In this case, the possibility to retain the nationality of origin depends on the country of origin and its willingness to let its citizens give up on their nationality only by statement. The Spanish state will nevertheless regard these citizens as solely Spanish.

The ethnic conception of Spanish citizenship as reflected by the content of the Civil code is an obstacle to the incorporation of immigrants and natives with foreign parents and their entitlement of political rights. This is thus an impediment for the participation of TCN and immigrants to political parties.

**2.1.3. Natives with immigrant background**

As we see, *jus sanguinis* applies in Spain. Therefore, children born in Spain do not necessarily have the Spanish nationality at birth.

The civil code, in its article 17, states that:

1- Are Spanish of origin:

a) Those who are born with a Spanish father or Mother



b) Those who are born in Spain of foreign parents if, at least, one of them was born in Spain. With the exception of diplomats accredited in Spain.

c) Those who are born in Spain of foreign parents, if born lack of nationality or if the legislation of none of them gives a nationality to the child.

d) Those who are born in Spain but with unidentified filiations. Are presumed born in Spain minors whose first known territory of residence is the Spanish territory.

As we can see, the attribution of the Spanish nationality to children of foreign born parents is quite restrictive. Only if the legislation in the country of origin of the parents does not give citizenship to the children born in Spain, which means that they would be stateless, these ones will be given the Spanish citizenship at birth. According to a list issued by the *Dirección General de los Registros y del Notariado* (General department of Registries and Notaries) this applies to children born of parents with the following nationalities: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa-Rica, Cuba, Guinea, Morocco (mother only), Palestine (stateless), Peru, Sahraouian (stateless), Switzerland (if the father is not married), Sao Tome and Principe, Venezuelan father and Colombian mother. If one parent is of a country whose citizenship can be transmitted to the child born in another country, the child will have the citizenship of this parent. But a dose of *jus solis* also applies in Spain. Citizenship at birth is automatic after 2 generations, which means if one parent was also born in Spain. All Spanish born can also apply to the Spanish citizenship after only one year of residence. They can do it alone after the age of 18 or represented by a tutor before. Anyway, many children of non nationals therefore do not hold the Spanish nationality, which restricts their right to political participation (vote) and representation.

Data on first generation and second generation immigrants show that Spain is still characterized by the predominance of first generation migrants. In comparison to first generation but also to persons with an immigrant background in Europe, the proportion of second generation in Spain is still anecdotal. Between 1996 and 2002, 205811 children were born with a non Spanish father and/or mother, mainly in Madrid and Barcelona and to a lesser extent in the coastal provinces of the Mediterranean Sea. This number has increased greatly even if second generation immigrants are far from exceeding first generation immigrants. In 2008, 243700 children were born with one or two non-Spanish parent.

**Table 4: Population aged 25–54 by type of background (in absolute numbers and as a share of the total population aged 25-54) year: 2008**

	Persons with native background		Second-generation migrants				First-generation migrants	
			Persons with mixed background		Persons with foreign background			
	(1 000)	%	(1 000)	%	(1 000)	%	(1 000)	%
EU-27	173288.6	82.8	5982.2	2.9	4411.2	2.1	25478.6	12.2
SPAIN	17015	79.8	200.4	0.9	43.3	0.2	4075.8	19.1

Source: Eurostat, LFS 2008

The structure of immigration demography in Spain explains greatly the under-participation of TCN and immigrants in conventional politics. Recent immigrants, and in general first generation



immigrants with exceptions, are not entitled political right to active and passive suffrage. This is a context to bear in mind while studying their involvement in political parties.

## 2.2. Legal prerequisites and regulations within the political system and parties

As in several other European countries, political rights of non-nationals in Spain are low. Even if the legislation progressively extended social and civic rights of migrants, tending to equalize the rights of nationals, political rights do not obey to the same trend.

### 2.2.1. A dual system for citizenship and political rights

One of the most interesting features of the legislation on political rights for non-nationals is the existence of «privileged» non-nationals who have more extended rights than others. This is due on the one side to the facility for Ibero-Americans and other country nationals to apply for Spanish citizenship while conserving both nationalities, and on the other side to reciprocity agreements granting the right to vote at local level to some TCN.

Table 5: Country of citizenship and political rights

Right to dual citizenship	Acquisition of Spanish citizenship with 2 years of residence (instead of 10)	Right to vote at local elections (2)
All Spanish and Portuguese-speaking American countries (Ibero-America)	All Spanish and Portuguese-speaking American countries (Ibero-America)	EU27
Andorra	Andorra	--
Filipinos	Filipinos	Norway
Guinea Equatorial	Guinea Equatorial	Equator
Portugal	Portugal	New Zealand
People with Sephardic origin	People with Sephardic origin	Colombia
		Chile
		Peru
		Paraguay
		Iceland
		Bolivia
		Cape Verde
		Korea
		Trinidad and Tobago

Source: Spanish Ministry of Internal Affairs, 2014

1. Other countries (Argentina, Burkina Faso) have signed an agreement with Spain which has still to be approved by the Parliament. For the countries with bilateral agreements, voters have to be residing continuously and legally in Spain at least during five years previous to the inscription on the Census. Norwegian citizens only need to prove 3 years of residence at the day of the election.



### 2.2.2. Debates on the right to vote for immigrants and foreigners

Legislation offers few political rights to non-nationals. Right to vote at national and autonomous communities' elections are closed to non nationals. Local elections, on the contrary are open to some TCN with reciprocity agreement.

At national and regional levels, it is thus more fruitful to observe the electoral participation of immigrants with Spanish nationality. Few data is available on the effective participation of immigrants to elections in Spain. The European social survey is yet providing interesting elements to estimate the causes of the vote of immigrants. Alfonso Echarazza (2011) highlights that Spain is the European country with higher difference in voter turnout between natives and immigrants, with a difference of 28 points. This means that immigrants are much less participating to elections. He shows that language is the first cause of minor participation of immigrants while age and religion tend comparatively to make immigrants participate more. In addition, data show that immigrants with conservative or right-wing views tend to participate less than natives with conservative ideology. This would point towards the idea that immigrant's vote would be more favorable to left-wing parties, not only because immigrants are ideologically close to left-wing ideology but also because the participation of right-wing immigrants is less important in quantitative terms. On the other hand, studies show that immigrants' participation would not alter electoral results significantly (Miravet, 2006).

There have been public debates on voting rights for immigrants in Spain, mainly since 2006 (Zapata-Barrero and Zaragoza, 2009). The Unitarian Left (Izquierda Unida) is the principal partisan coalition defending the right to vote for foreigners at local elections since the 1990s. Civil society organisations also led campaigns in favour of the right to vote at local elections. Campaigning of organisations led Izquierda Unida and PSOE to approve in August 2006 a parliamentary initiative to extend the right to vote for foreign legal residents. However, the socialist government did not effectively change the legislation to allow the participation of immigrants. The Popular party on its part has always demonstrated hostility to extending voting rights to foreigners.

### 2.2.3. Right to vote at local elections of foreign citizens

The right to vote at local elections for foreigners is exclusively governed by the exigency of **reciprocity**. This principle is stated in the Spanish constitution, article 13.2: "Only Spanish nationals will be entitled the rights recognized by article 23 [Political rights], except what, in reason of reciprocity criteria, can be established by treaties or by law for the right to active and passive suffrage at local elections". Reciprocity rules were conceived at a time in which Spanish emigration was much more important than immigration to Spain. It was then a way to grant political rights to Spanish emigrants over the world. But now, reciprocity rule has an important role in the participation of TCN in local elections. Nevertheless, they also represent an impediment to the participation of most foreigners.

For example, legislation states that reciprocity has to be complete, that means that local elections in the country which signs the agreement have to follow democratic procedures and be totally open to Spanish residents in the country. It leaves without voting rights immigrants who are originate of non-democratic countries. This exigency sometimes blocks reciprocity agreements as in the case of Argentina and Uruguay.





The citizens of only eleven non-EU countries have the right to vote to local elections. These countries signed a reciprocity agreement with Spain, which recognizes the same right to active suffrage for Spanish residents abroad. Almost all agreements have been signed between 2009 and 2011, except the agreement with Norway signed in 1990.

2011 elections were the first elections in which the nationals of 10 countries could vote (except Norwegians, who already voted since 1990). Records show that the participation of foreigners has been very low and that TCN did not use their right to vote in their vast majority. Only 52045 nationals of the 10 countries with agreement have registered on the electoral census for foreigners, which is a prerequisite to use the right to vote. This is only a little part of the 1.003.498 residents of these countries in Spain. But it is important to bear in mind that only residents over 18 can vote to local elections and, above all, that there is a requirement of 5 years of continuous legal residence in Spain prior to the inscription to the CERE (Electoral census of Foreign Residents). In reason of the recent character of the immigration in Spain, only a small part of the foreign residents are effectively allowed to vote. This number should increase for the next local elections in 2015. However, social organisations have complained before 2011 elections in reason of the lack of publicity that has been made in their view to favour the inscription of foreigners on the electoral census.

Other reciprocity agreements are pending of an approbation of the Spanish Congress. Some, like the agreement with Argentina or Uruguay, have been delayed for many years because right to vote was suspected of not being fully reciprocal. They should nevertheless be approved before next 2015 elections.

Another important pending question is the possibility of an agreement with Morocco. This is a possibility since the new Moroccan constitution approved in 2011 recognizes reciprocity in the right to vote at local elections. This would give potentially the right to vote to the first community of TCN in Spain. This has led to debates in the political arena, especially after 2011 local elections. Days after the vote of the Moroccan constitution the Socialist Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared that the Spanish government would sign agreements to make the reciprocity effective. This declaration and the general positioning of the PSOE in favour of the right to vote for immigrants, have led different representatives of the PP to pronounce themselves against any agreement with Morocco. It concerned in particular representatives of the PP in Ceuta and Melilla, the Spanish enclaves in Morocco who asked for the exclusion of these territories of any agreement and even for the prohibition of the right to vote for TCN in general (El Pais, 10.07.2011). Conservative media also denounced the alleged intention of the Moroccan government to influence European countries politics via their emigrated nationals through the right to vote.

#### **2.2.4. Membership to political parties**

In general, there is no specific legal requisite to be member of a political party. The legislation does not restrict participation to nationals. On the contrary, the right to association for foreigners is guaranteed by the Aliens Law 4/2000 (art. 8). Limitations to the membership of partisan organisations would then only come from internal rules of the party. However, when it comes to forming political parties, the Spanish law forbid foreigners to form a new political party and to be the legal representative of such an organisation.



We examine the rules and status of the four main partisan organisations represented at the Congress.

### *People's party*

The people's party allows non nationals to be full members of the party. But non nationals have to prove that they are authorized migrants. Party's statute states that membership is possible for "all Spanish nationals who are of age can affiliate themselves to the PP, independently of their country of origin, as well as those non nationals who reside legally in Spain, taking into account the limitations established by the current legislation." (article 4-1). Authorized residence is not only a criterion to be affiliated to the PP, but losing one's authorisation of residence is also a cause of membership loss to the party (art.9, 1-j). Of the 4 political organisations examined, PP is the only one to integrate this clause in its status. In the case of non nationals or dual nationality, they are authorized to belong to another party in their country of origin in addition to the PP. But this affiliation has to be declared and must have an "ideological affinity" to the PP. Double affiliation is prohibited in the case of national or territorial parties in Spain.

### *PSOE*

There is no particular mention to nationality of the affiliates in the status of the party. The party status refers to "citizens who are over 18 and manifest their will to collaborate and participate to the Party's activities" (art.6). Despite the term "citizens", we assume that there is no difference between nationals and non nationals in the affiliation process and in being a party member.

In terms of representation of diversity within the party and of party candidates, the PSOE established quotas of representation of women in the party organs (obligation of 40 to 60% of same sex in all representative instances), but makes no mention of diversity or representation of immigrants.

During its 38<sup>th</sup> congress in 2011, the party has approved a resolution which stresses the necessity to encourage the participation of persons with immigrant background, fight discrimination and facilitate their access to vote and representation. The diversity of electoral lists is a goal, but it has not been quantified contrary to the gender repartition (no less than 40% and no more than 60% of candidates of a list can be of the same sex). The conclusions of the political conference of the party in November 2013 also mention the importance of integrating persons with immigrant background in the electoral lists at local level.

### *United Left*

There is no mention of specific requisite for the membership of foreigners, apart from being affine to IU ideological statements. There is no mention of nationality for the affiliation of new-members.

As for the representation of diversity in the party, it is interesting to note that it has established special representation quotas for women (50% of candidates, internal and political elections) and young members (20% of candidates). However, there is no mention of quota for immigrants or representatives of minorities.

### *Convergence and Union*

There is no mention in the status of requisites in terms of nationality to be affiliated to CDC (Status 2012 - Title II) or UDC (Status 2005 - Title II). Both statuses make of the equity in the representation of women an objective and CDC establishes a quota of 40% women in its executive organs. There is no reference to immigrants' representation or cultural diversity in the structures.



As we can see, there is a difference in the legal requisites surrounding the participation of immigrants and TCN in Spain. Civil rights, and in particular the right to participate to political organisations and associations is recognized to all immigrants and foreigners, which include activism in political parties. On the other hand, only a minority of TCN have the right to active and passive suffrage. It will be important to study if there is a correlation between being entitled formal political rights, the degree of involvement in political parties and the development of incentives and mobilisation strategies from the political parties.

### 3. Methodology, cases studies and overview of existing research

The report is based on data from four major political parties in Spain, according to their representation in the National parliament. They are the People's party (PP), The Spanish Socialist Workers' party (PSOE), Convergence and Union (CIU) and the United Left (IU). It examines in addition two Catalan "sister" parties with representation at the national parliament, the Catalan socialists' party (PSC), distinct from but sharing the parliamentary group of PSOE, and Initiative for Catalonia-Greens (ICV), distinct from but sharing the parliamentary group of IU.

#### 1.1. Methodology

25 interviews have been collected with politicians of 4 different political parties. These politicians have been interviewed in two different places in Spain: Barcelona and Madrid. They all belong to the central organization, to the local and regional organization in Madrid or to the local and autonomous organization of the party in Barcelona. Direct interview requests were made with key informers, who appeared to us to have relevant experience in the field of the Divpol research: officials and staff in charge of immigration, diversity or participation matters and members and politicians with immigrant background. In addition, five representatives of immigrant organisations have been interviewed or participated to a focus group. The interviews were conducted between June and December 2013 and the focus group was held in January 2014.

Two main events were organized during the study. Around 60 politicians and party or NGO representatives participated to these events and were involved in the discussions on the project questions. Therefore, their discourses during those events have been treated as a research material.

More detailed information, such as the list of interviewees and their profile and the interview guides can be found in Annex.

In terms of analysis, we treated the experience of members and politicians with immigrant background together, without distinction between their affiliations to one or other political parties. We therefore focused on their trajectories and representations as members and politicians with immigrant background, precisely with the aim to understand if this common "quality" has had consequences on their experience. On the contrary, for the interviews which were done with party staff and officials on the strategies and representation of the political parties, we decided that the party mattered and this translates into the writing of this report. We found that different parties pursue distinct strategies toward immigrant affiliates and have different views on immigrant participation.



## 1.2. Cases studies: Political parties

The report is based on data from **four major political parties in Spain**, according to their representation in the National parliament. They are the People's party (PP), The Spanish Socialist Workers' party (PSOE), Convergence and Union (CIU) and the United Left (IU). It examines in addition two Catalan "sister" parties with representation at the national parliament, the Catalan socialists' party (PSC), distinct from but sharing the parliamentary group of PSOE, and Initiative for Catalonia-Greens, distinct from but sharing the parliamentary group of IU.

### *The People's party (Partido popular - PP)*

The People's Party is the main centre-right party in Spain. Different streams exist in the party, such as traditional and neo-conservatism or liberalism. The People's party currently owns the absolute majority in the National Parliament and is thus governing alone. The current Prime Minister and leader of the party since 2004 is Mariano Rajoy.

PP was founded in 1989 to replace the People's Alliance (*Alianza popular*) party, less liberal on economic and society issues and founded by former ministers of the Franco regime in 1976. PP has been governing the country between 1996 and 2004, under the government led by Jose Maria Aznar, and has been back in government since November 2011. PP claims 800000 members and has 165 deputies at the congress, 156 senators and 561 members of regional parliaments.

PP is organised territorially at the level of the Autonomous communities (AC) and is present in all Autonomous communities. It governs currently 11 out of 17 of them in 2014.

For DivPol, we researched on the delegation in Madrid (Partido popular de Madrid - PPM) and Catalonia (Partido popular de Catalunya - PPC) and at central level.

### *The Spanish Socialist Workers' party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español – PSOE)*

PSOE was founded in 1879 and evolved from Marxist to Social democrat ideology. It was banned during the dictatorship between 1939 and 1975 but reappeared publicly and played a key role during the transition period (1975-1981). The government led by Felipe Gonzalez ruled from 1982 to 1996 and PSOE returned to power between 2004 and 2011 under the government of Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero. PSOE has 217000 members, 110 deputies at the Congress, 64 senators and 360 members of regional parliaments.

PSOE is organized on a statewide and federal basis. Its federations are organised at the regional / autonomous communities' level, such as the Socialist party of Madrid (PSM) or the Spanish Socialist workers' party – Andalusia (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español de Andalucía - PSOE-A*) whose leaders can have a real power inside the party, especially if they govern an Autonomous community. Catalonia is the only community to have an independent party, although in permanent association with PSOE for state elections. It is called Catalan socialists' party (Partit dels socialistes catalans – PSC). The organisation and political orientations of PSC are officially taken in autonomy from PSOE, while it is restricted in practice by party discipline at State parliament. PSC counts with 90000 members in 2011.



For DivPol, research has been conducted at the central level of PSOE, the Federation of Madrid (PSM) and the Catalan party PSC.

### *Convergence and Union (Convergència i Unió – CiU)*

The third Parliamentary group at state level is led by Convergence and Union, a coalition of two parties only established in Catalonia, Democratic Union of Catalonia (UDC) and Democratic Convergence of Catalonia (CDC). The coalition is centre-right-wing and Catalan nationalist. UDC is more right-wing and follows a christian-conservative line. CDC is a more centrist and social-liberal party. Both parties have separate organisational structures but run – and govern - permanently in coalition. CiU is at the head of the Catalan Autonomous community with 50 deputies. CDC has officially 60000 members while UDC has 16000 members. The coalition has 16 deputies at the Congress and 9 senators and currently governs the Catalan autonomous community.

We have conducted fieldwork for DivPol at party-level. Interviews have been conducted exclusively with members of CDC since they are those who lead immigration issues in the coalition.

### *United Left (Izquierda Unida – IU)*

United Left is a coalition of communist, leftist, green and socialist parties. It was created in 1986 from an alliance of the Spanish Communist Party - PCE (still dominant) with other organisations. It has currently around 70000 members, 11 deputies, 2 senators and 59 regional MPs. It counts with a federation in each of the Autonomous communities (except in Catalonia, in which United and Alternative Left – Esquerra Unida i Alternativa EuiA, is a confederation and not a federation).

Since 2011, the Plural left parliamentary group is composed by MPs of the United Left and other green, separatist and leftist parties. These parties and organisations ran in the same lists in all Autonomous Communities.

For DivPol, we investigated the United Left at central level in Madrid. We also did fieldwork with the main leftist party in Catalonia, Initiative for Catalonia-Greens (Iniciativa per Catalunya – Verds, ICV). This is an independent party (5th party at the Catalan parliament) which does not compose IU but its MPs are part of the Parliamentary group Plural Left (2 out of 11). ICV has 5000 members.

## **1.3. Overview of existing research**

There are no studies in Spain focusing specifically on immigrant's participation to political parties. Research on political parties and immigration focus mainly on the construction of political discourses and political programmes on migration in the different parties (Zapata-Barrero et al., 2008) or normative challenges that migration poses for the political system in general (Zapata-Barrero, 2002). There is nevertheless a scientific literature exploring the participation of immigrants but it covers mainly their participation to associations. The present study is thus exploring an existing gap in the research on migration in Spain.

As regards to the participation of immigrants, it is mainly studied as a way to make possible the integration of immigrants in the receiving society. Many studies are also oriented toward policy-making. Public institutions have been funding research on immigrant participation and integration in order to elaborate policies of diversity and incorporation. However, studies on the participation of immigrants are still underdeveloped, and studies on the civic and political side of participation are



even scarcer. The majority of the literature on political participation is devoted to formal political rights of foreigners and immigrants in the country. They are mainly situated in the ambit of public law or political science. Good overviews of the situation of immigrants as regards to political rights and civic and political participation have been made by Eliseo Aja and Laura Diez (2005), Diez (2008), Angeles Solanes (2008) or Perez et al. (2008). They are also studied from a more philosophical or theoretical point of view by other scholars (Lucas, 2007; Miravet, 2005). Specific studies have been dedicated to voting rights of migrants especially at the occasion of last local elections in which some immigrants were allowed to vote for the first time (Aja and Moya, 2008; Moya Viñas, 2010; Ortega, 2011 Malapeira and Ferrer, 2010). Debates about political rights of immigrants - voting rights and consultative bodies - have been studied by Zapata-Barrero and Zaragoza (2009).

In general, there is a wide literature on immigrant's integration in Spain. But studies on integration have focused on social and economic aspects. Before 2000, there is no real study on the political participation of immigrant (Colectivo IOE, 2002). Pioneer surveys at the beginning of the years 2000, on immigrant trajectories, characteristics and perceptions in general omit questions on the political participation (Diez Nicolas and Ramirez Lafita, 2001). Even the National Immigrant Survey (ENI), conducted in 2007 and providing a wide range of information on immigrants living in Spain, only have one question on the membership to political organisations and trade-unions. As regards to quantitative data on the political participation of immigrants, and in the absence of national surveys, the main resources available are the European surveys (Eurostat, European Social survey...). Nevertheless, over the last seven years, more comprehensive studies on the political participation of immigrants have been developed. Laura Morales and researchers involved in different projects she coordinated, especially the LocalMultiDem project, have developed surveys on the social and political participation of immigrants. They adopt a comprehensive vision of social and political participation, not only focused on rights but on the active involvement of immigrants in networks and political activities (Gonzalez and Morales, 2006; Giugni and Morales, 2011). Gonzalez (2010) studied in particular the exercise of vote and immigrants turnout. In the line of Laura Morales' work, other Spanish scholars have explored the social networks of immigrants and, even if they do not focus mainly on political participation, integrated the political dimension of networks and participation (Aparicio and Tornos, 2005). Finally, studies of most interest for our concern are the ones on the relations between immigrant associations, and political organisations (Veredas Muñoz, 2003, 2004; Martin Perez, 2004; Aparicio, Tornos, 2010). A few also studied migrants' implication in social movements and non-conventional politics (Laubenthal, 2005, Burchianti, 2010).

A recent study has been published in Spain on the descriptive representation of immigrants in the local elections 2011 in Madrid (Pérez-Nievas et al., 2014). It is the first study to our knowledge to explore de representation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Spain.

As we can see, even if the formal side of political rights has been a subject for research in Spain, there are still wide gaps in the literature about political participation and especially in political parties and conventional politics. In addition, there is very few literature on the political representation of migrants. It contrasts with scientific research conducted in other European countries with a longer history of immigration starting to research on the topic since the end of the 1980s on that matter (Withol de Wenden, 1988; Martiniello, 1997 ; Norris, 1995 ; Fenema and Tillie, 1999, Castles and Davidson, 2000).





## 4. Actual state of representation in politics

### 4.1. At national and regional level

At national and regional levels, non-nationals from third-countries have not the right to passive or active suffrage. The only possibility for non-EU immigrants to be candidate to national and autonomic elections is then to acquire the Spanish citizenship in addition to their nationality of origin or to be naturalised.

Data on immigrants or dual citizenship at the **national parliament** do not exist. Nevertheless, a research on the background of the members of the Congress shows that there are very few immigrants / third-country nationals seating currently at the Congress. Actually, only one MP has an immigrant background. Luz Elena Sanin seats in the high chamber (Senado) in representation of Ceuta for the People's Party. She emigrated from Columbia to Spain and holds the Spanish-Colombian dual nationality. She has been elected in 2008 and re-elected in 2011 elections. Other MP is born in Venezuela of Spanish father and Venezuelan mother, but he had the Spanish nationality at birth and came to live in Spain at a very early age.

Although it is difficult to give exact numbers in the absence of any data about the origin or nationality of the candidates to November 2012 elections, we can say that there were very few candidates with an immigrant background in the lists prepared by political parties to national parliament elections. From the data that was published in newspapers or given publicly by political parties, we have found eight candidates with dual nationality or immigrant background (out of 4359 candidates).

The People's party presented one candidate who already had a seat in the senate, Luz Elena Sanín. As for the PSOE, four candidates with an immigrant background have been identified. Diego Emir Pinilla Zambrano, a Spanish-Colombian citizen, was in the 20<sup>th</sup> position on the list of candidates for Madrid. Aouicha Ouaridi, of Morrocan origin was on the 6<sup>th</sup> position on the list of Cadiz and Ivonne Cabrera Moreira, of Ecuatorian origin, held the 22<sup>nd</sup> position in the list of Barcelona. On her part, Mayda Daoud, of Morrocan origin, was the candidate of Ceuta to the Senate. As for other political parties, we did not find any candidate with immigrant origin in IU or CiU lists. The party UpyD (Union for Progress and Democracy, 5<sup>th</sup> parliamentary group with 5 MP) presented at least two candidates with a foreign origin, both in the list of Lleida (Catalonia): Lucianne Natacha Silva Machado of Cuban origin and Iryna Tymoshenko Chernoiwanova, of Ukrainian origin. The small Green party Equo also presented a candidate of Colombian origin, Janet Cardona, in its list for Madrid. Of these candidates, only Luz Elena Sanin has been elected at the Senate.

As for the **assemblies of the Autonomous communities**, there are also very few Members of Parliament with an immigrant background. We counted the presence of members born in third countries since 2003 in the Assembly of Madrid and Parliament of Catalonia.

In the Assembly of Madrid, there is currently two members with immigrant background: Julia Martinez (born in Paraguay, PSOE) and Mario Salvatierra (born in Argentina, PSOE). In the term 2007-2011, there was also two representatives with immigrant background, Yolanda Villavicencio (PSOE, born in Colombia) and Mario Salvatierra.





In the Parliament of Catalonia, there is currently no MP with immigrant background. In former terms, two representatives with immigrant background sat in the Parliament. Roberto Labandera (born in Uruguay, PSC) was elected for three terms between 1999 and 2010. Mohammed Chaib (born in Morocco, PSC) was elected during two terms between 2003 and 2010.

The members of regional parliaments tend to be native of the same autonomous community, even in those which have welcome internal and international migrations. A database on members of Autonomous Parliament created by Xavier Coller (2014) shows that only 16% of all members between 1980 and 2011, and 14% of the current MP were not born in the same Autonomous Community. Nevertheless, this is the case of 39% of the members of the parliament of Madrid, while it concerns only 10% of MP in Catalonia. This can explain in part the lack of opportunities for immigrants to become members of regional parliaments.

#### 4.2. At local level

At local level, non-nationals do not have the right to passive suffrage except for EU nationals. For information purpose, data has been published about non-nationals from the EU in 2009. There were two foreign mayors and 85 councillors in 8112 municipalities, 43.5% of which were English citizens (Spanish Secretary of State for Public Administration, 07.08.2009). There were no Romanian citizen elected in 2007 while Romanian represented at the time one of the three bigger communities of immigrant in the country with Moroccans and Ecuadorians.

At the occasion of the last local elections in 2011, immigrants from countries with reciprocity agreements could vote for the first time. It was the occasion for political parties to celebrate acts during the campaign aiming at those new voters and resident EU nationals.

PSOE announced that it presented 586 foreigners on its lists, with 7 of them in the first position. PP also said it presented almost 500 candidates in 26 provinces (El dia, 14.05.2011). The other political parties were vaguer with the data provided. CiU and IU claimed they did not consider it relevant information as foreigners were candidates like others. But IU specified that it counted with Romanian and Bulgarian candidates in Corredor de Henares (Madrid), as well as Bolivians and Ecuadorians in several cities of Madrid, Spanish with Arabic background in several villages of the Almeria province and one Dutch, one Honduran and one Cuban in the list of Denia (Valencia) (*idem*). This tends to reflect more or less the settlement of immigrants in the country.

Despite these numbers, there are two important limitations regarding our study: we can guess that most of them were EU citizens and we do not know the exact number of the candidates who have been elected as councillors in the end.

PSOE gave the origin by continent of its candidates: 55% were EU nationals, 34% Latin Americans and 11% from Africa or Asia (psoe.es, 11.05.2011).

Data obtained from the Spanish Secretary of State for Public Administrations, taken from 75% of local councillors and based on the declarations of the municipalities, show that 17 of them hold a dual-nationality with a non-EU country. All of them are of Latin-American origin and 11 out of these 17 councillors have the Argentinian nationality. 7 of them are affiliated to the PP, 5 to the PSOE, 3 to IU/ICV, one to the Aragonese Party and one independent. The councillors are primarily elected in



municipalities of Madrid (4), Andalusia (4) and Castille-Leon (3). Even if these numbers are not complete, and were contested by representatives of the political parties who collaborated to this study, all point toward a very low representation of third-country nationals (dual citizens) in city councils. In reason of facilities to access Spanish citizenship and bilateral agreements, Latin-Americans are clearly the third-country nationals that have better opportunities for political representation at local level.

The novelty of the last local elections is undoubtedly the apparition of campaigns from political parties to make visible the candidates with immigrant background. The People's party developed a campaign entitled: «From wherever you are, from wherever you come, we focus on you» with a video showing some of its 500 candidates with an immigrant background. It also organised public meetings with them. It also put forward the example of the first Mayor with an African origin, Juan Antonio de la Morena, under the qualification of «the Spanish Obama».

In conclusion, the representation of immigrants and persons with immigrant background in Spain is clearly far from reflecting their presence in the Spanish society. The number of members of Parliament and of regional parliaments, immigrants or with immigrant background is anecdotal. Evidences point to the role of structural and institutional obstacles to active and passive suffrage. The vast majority of immigrants is still excluded from passive suffrage - representation - in reason of the lack of reciprocity agreements or because they are established only recently (less than 5 years) in the country. But these legal and institutional obstacles may not be the only ones at play and we still need to examine the influence of party organisation and internal selection processes.

## **5. Immigrants and TCN in political parties: challenges in terms of organisation, leadership, participation and representation.**

### **5.1. Immigrants and TCN in the party hierarchy**

There is no public data or study on the presence of immigrants in the structures of political parties, at regional or national levels. Nevertheless, it seems that party structures are progressively opening themselves to immigrants. As one could expect, we find party officials with an immigrant background at the head of sectors/internal structures in charge of immigration, integration and diversity issues.

This is the case in the People's Party of Catalonia, whose representative for migration issues has an Argentinian background. On its part, the representative for Migration issues in the People's Party of Madrid is of Colombian origin. In 2008, the PP of Madrid also integrated three immigrants, in its direction, Washington Tobar Padilla, of Ecuadorian background, Anka Moldovan, from Romania and Toni Gedes, of Cuban origin, in addition to Gabriel Fernandez Rojas, of Colombian origin, who already was part of it. Washington Tobar and Orlando Chacon are still member of the Regional executive committee of the party in Madrid in 2013.

In the PSOE, few offices are occupied by persons with immigrant background. At national level, Pedro Zerolo, born in Venezuela to Spanish emigrants, was the secretary for Participation, networks and innovation during two terms between 2004 and 2012. Recognized for his activism in favour of LGBT rights, he is also the one who initiated the creation of the Federal Groups gathering immigrants and



minority members in PSOE, designed to transmit specific claims and mobilize immigrants. He is councillor of the city council of Madrid since 2003 and is in charge in 2013 of relations with social movements in the federation of Madrid and, as such, member of the regional executive board. The Sectoral organisation for citizenship participation (*Organización Sectorial de Participación Ciudadana*) at national level still is an umbrella for the federal groups representing diversity. We will see that this structure has an important role of advocacy and pressure inside the party for the representation of ethnic minorities and diversity in general. Bernarda Jimenez, who originates from the Dominican Republic, was nominated secretary for Integration and “Convivencia” (living together) of the party in 2008 and was presented as the first immigrant to reach this level. She is not any more in the national executive board of PSOE since 2012 Congress. As for the PSC, we found no official with immigrant background in the executive board of the party, but the branch grouping members with immigrant background (“Nou Gresol”) is coordinated by a person with immigrant background. As for Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds (ICV) the coordinator of Migration and citizenship with Colombian background is member of the executive board. We found no person with immigrant background in the executive boards of CDC and IU.

In spite of some examples of persons with positions in parties' executives the representation of immigrants and persons with immigrant background in party offices remains low.

## 5.2. Leaders with immigrant background and patterns of political careers

The portrait we have made of the situation in Spain shows that very few political leaders are immigrant or with immigrant background. In addition, there is no media exposure of leaders with immigrant background so far, even if some of them appeared sometimes in the media as representatives of immigrants, such as Mohammed Chaib in Catalonia or Pedro Zerolo in Madrid, even if this one was less identified as representing immigrants than for his personal commitment with LGBT rights.

We present here several examples of trajectories of politicians with immigrant background who have been considered, even briefly or only in certain spaces, as examples and leaders in reason of their trajectory.

The first elected representative of North-African origin seated in the Catalan Parliament. Mohamed Chaib, elected between 2003 and 2009, symbolised the political participation of immigrants in the country. His career is exemplary of the trajectories of many of the first politicians with an immigrant background. He arrived in Spain very young at the age of seven with family reunification procedure but he had to follow his father back to Morocco a few years later. He manages to go back to Spain to make his higher studies in pharmacy. He arrives in Catalonia at the beginning of the 1990s and creates the organisation Ibn Batuta, which is still one of the main organisations in support of immigrants in Barcelona. He also originates the creation of the FECCOM, Federation of Catalan entities of Moroccan origin, and of the Islamic council of Catalonia. He becomes member of the Socialist party of Catalonia in 1995 and is integrated to the lists of the party for 2003 elections. He then becomes member of the governing majority. He then appeared as a symbol of the integration of immigrants with morrocan origin, in Spain and in Europe, but he receives also criticism, as from other Moroccan activists in Catalonia, who deemed that he did not represent the interests of all Moroccan immigrants, as from people casting doubts on his supposed allegiance to the Kingdom of Morocco.



After the end of his mandate at the Parliament, he reduced his implication in Catalan politics and implied himself in Moroccan emigrants' organisations, in particular in the Council for the Moroccan Community abroad.

Yolanda Vilavicencio, politician of PSOE of Colombian origin and former member of the regional council of Madrid also counts with a long experience in social organisations in support of immigrants. She is the founder of AESCO, one of the main organisations for the rights of Latin-American immigrants in Madrid. In 2008, she becomes the first women of Latin-American origin to seat in the regional council of Madrid but does not return on the PSOE list for 2012 regional elections. This withdrawal is criticised by several immigrant organisations which see it as a retrogression. Nevertheless another candidate with immigrant background, Julia Martinez, is appointed on the list and elected as member of the Assembly of Madrid. Yolanda Villavicencio dropped her participation to the party activities and criticized the lack of engagement of the party leaders in Madrid with immigrants' and diversity representation.

Other politicians with a foreign origin did not follow the same path from social to political activism.

Gabriel Fernandez Rojas, politician of the PP with a Colombian origin, was a diplomat, consul of Colombia in Spain and then General Consul for Spain. His professional career and his activism in PP allowed him to be part of the government of the Region of Madrid in 2006, as General Director for immigration issues. He becomes vice-councillor for Immigration and cooperation from 2008 to 2012 and in charge of the Education council of Madrid since then. He is also member of the executive board of the party in Madrid.

The only member of the national parliament, the senator of Colombian origin, Luz Elena Sanin has also had a direct implication in the People's Party without having a trajectory of social activism. She arrived in Ceuta in 1980 at the age of 30 and practised her profession of lawyer in the country. She started to participate to PP activities and says that she refused twice to candidate for Senator before accepting in 2008. Although she is working on immigrants issues, for example as part of the Commission on migration, refugees and displaced people of the Parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe, she attracted media attention in Spain and Morocco in 2012 for her suggestion that Spanish authorities retain the passport of Moroccan pregnant women coming to the enclave of Ceuta until their departure, to ensure that they pay for medical expenses they might have contracted in Spain. Her proposition was blamed as xenophobic by the opposition and by immigrants' organisations.

Roberto Labandera, activist of PSC and member of the Catalan Parliament between 1999 and 2010 has also a trajectory which is not as marked as others by his commitment for immigration issues. He was a primary school teacher in Uruguay and came to Catalonia where he started to work as professor and training consultant for the municipality of Vilafranca del Penedès. He also worked in international cooperation and local economic development programmes. Member of the PSC since 1991 he becomes Member of the Catalan Parliament in 1999, and also is secretary of the PSC in Vilafranca del Penedès. He is re-elected for two more terms before being defeated in 2010 anticipated elections. His interests while being deputy were more centred on economic promotion and infrastructures than in migration issues. He nevertheless was involved in the Latin network (*Xarxa latina*) of the party, which promoted the affiliation and candidates of Latin-American origin.



There is still no politician symbolizing the "ethnic diversity" in the Spanish political spectrum. It is hard to draw conclusions from the few cases of careers of immigrant politicians we have presented. Nevertheless, this overview allows us to make two hypothesis regarding their careers:

- 1) Left-wing politicians are more likely to have a previous trajectory as social and civil society or immigrant organisation activist, which is not the case of right-wing politicians who tend to occupy qualified professional positions.
- 2) The majority of immigrant politicians are involved in the management of immigration and diversity issues. However, that does not necessarily mean that they always advocate for the extension of migrants' rights.

### 5.3. Political parties of immigrants

Even if they never reached a wide audience, several political parties of immigrants also developed in Spain, especially for local elections in 2011. Some of these political parties do not run for elections (as the PIN, Party of New generation Immigrants) while other presented candidates in several city councils (as the PIRUM, Iberian party of Romanians). Some parties pretend to organise the interest of immigrants on the basis of nationality or continent of origin (e.g. PIRUM) or cultural identity (e.g. the PRUNE, party for the Revival and union of Spain, an Islamic party). Other were created to aggregate all immigrants, even if they tend to be composed by immigrants of few distinct origins, like the COEM (Emigrant community party) and PDEX (the party of foreigners). The PIRUM is the only party to have presented candidates in four municipalities in 2011, in four different provinces. It is affiliated to the transnational party of Romanians emigrants, New Romania, present also in Italy. So far, there is no elected representative of these parties but their existence has attracted the interest of the media.

Evidences show an increasing awareness of some political parties, about the challenges that immigrant political participation is representing. But structural, institutional and cultural obstacles determine the structure of opportunities and to which extent immigrants can be effectively involved in party politics.

## 6. Access and Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

We have seen that there is no formal barrier to the membership of third-country nationals in Spanish political parties<sup>3</sup>. Yet, all party offices acknowledge that there are far fewer members with a third-country nationality in their party than their average presence in the society. Political parties are thus far from reflecting the diversity of the society<sup>4</sup>. Despite this fact, the different political parties did not really develop specific campaigns to encourage TCN and persons with immigrant background to participate and affiliate themselves. However, outreach activities have been developed by party

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3 Access to public offices is nevertheless restricted to nationals and non nationals with passive suffrage. Access to civil servant positions is also restricted to Spanish and EU nationals.

4 As we will develop further in the report, there is no public data on the membership of immigrants and non nationals in parties and parties did not give us precise data in general.



structures dedicated to immigration or to participation issues. At individual level, the way the majority of interviewed politicians and party members<sup>5</sup> entered the party present similarities. We will then detail first the affiliation process from the point of view of individuals and, second, political party activities and strategies.

### 6.1. Access at individual level: profiles and reconstruction of trajectories

Entry processes of politicians and party members who have been interviewed show in their majority similarities. The most common aspect is the **existence of a long experience of activism in associations or social organizations** before entering the party, either as active members of as leaders of the organisation. Activism in political parties represent as a second step of political activism taken by these persons.

Among the type of activities that have been invested by party members before, we find:

- Members or leaders of organisations / social movements in favour of migrant's rights. This is the most common pattern, especially among people who joined leftist parties (7 out of 11, 6 of which joined the PSOE and PSC).

- Members or leaders of immigrant's cultural organizations<sup>6</sup> (3 out of 11): this type of activism is sometimes paralleled by the advocacy for migrant's rights (as most of advocacy organizations also organize community, cultural or sports activities). But some of the interviewees, especially those affiliated to centre-right parties had mainly a previous experience in social, sport and communities' activities.

- Members or leaders of organisations dedicated to other causes (mainly: women's rights and support, radical-left and internationalist, young people organizations): Women and TCN party members often had a previous extensive experience in supporting / advocacy for women. They often have kept this affiliation and interest once in the party. Affiliated in more leftist parties have had a previous extensive experience in social movements on other topics than migration. One more singular career, the one that best fits to the model of the "second generation young activist" has been developed in youth organizations.

- Member or leader of political organisations and social movements' organisations in the country of origin: Some party members also had a political experience in their countries of origin, either in

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5 We retake the distinction between politicians, i.e. persons holding elected or appointed offices in public institutions or political parties, and members i.e. persons affiliated to a political party but without holding offices.

6 We distinguish between advocacy organisations, which mobilise for the improvement of immigrants rights and integration and community or cultural immigrant associations which are mainly dedicated to organise cultural and leisure activities and community support of their members. While some organisations combine these orientations (in fact, most of advocacy organisations also offer services for immigrants) this distinction has often been made by party members themselves. We will also see that this distinction is also relevant for the type of networks political party maintain.





established political parties or in social movement / radical-left organizations. This is mostly the case of Latino-American immigrants<sup>7</sup>.

In reason of this previous activism, most interviewees present their affiliation to a party as a logic **outcome of their social participation**. But their entry in the party differs nevertheless.

- *Participation in political parties as a side activity of social and civic participation:*  
Several interviewees explain that they became formally members of the party as a side activity of their social activism. Taking one's card is perceived as a way to support the party which has also been more supportive to migrant's cause according to them (mainly PSOE and PSC). They then did not participate much to the activities of the party and had mainly a local implication. In this type of career, the passage from the "simple" affiliation to representation or party responsibilities has generally been done without transition, in reason of a "patronage" of a party leader.

- *Participation driven by mentorship and personal contacts:*

For others, the affiliation to the party has been driven by "head hunters" and mentors. In this case, the TCN has been spotted for its social / community activism and offered a position on a list or to take part to party activities on immigration. Most of the case, the person started to participate to party activities before being formally affiliated and took the card as a result of its favourable valuation of party's implication. It is mainly the case in right-wing parties, but not exclusively. Personal contacts with one or several party representatives – in general through social and political activities carried out in migrant's organizations - represent a strong incentive for migrants to affiliate, even in the absence of clear solicitation of these party members. For party officers in charge outreach activities and gatekeepers, networking activities are a way to attract new skilled members who will be promoted in the party.

*Informal internal and external restrictions over the affiliation of new members*

On the other hand, party members with an immigrant origin who directly came to the party and started their activities in territorial organizations report difficulties in being "accepted" by members who have a longer trajectory in the party. In particular, one interviewee reports that his enthusiasm and energy, and its will to take responsibilities in the party puzzled local members and organization. But he does not put the blame on his origin. On the contrary, some interviewees have reported exclusionary practices aimed at new individuals with immigrant origin wanting to affiliate. The will to maintain a balance of power in the party and the reduced number of party members has led, according to some interviewees, to develop practices excluding de facto new immigrant members by not treating their demand of affiliation. Several cases of persons waiting for a year their member cards and thus deciding to quit the party activities have been reported. This seems to occur especially before internal elections in which the competition over the vote of members is more intense. It is difficult though to know precisely if this kind of practices is exerted mainly to prevent immigrants' affiliation or any kind of "uncontrolled" affiliation. Anyway, this kind of practices in neighbourhoods in which persons with immigrant background are overrepresented is likely to obstruct the participation of immigrants.

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<sup>7</sup> Even if this did not appear in our sample, most Moroccan immigrants who have been originally politically active in Spain also took part in students' movements or in trade unions and strikes in Morocco where they faced the repression of Hassan II regime.





As regards to the **topics of interest** of the politicians, the vast majority of the interviewees said they were interested in **immigration issues**. This is coherent with their main entry path, from social activism for migrants' rights to political activism. For most of them, the decision to affiliate to political party results from the analysis than politics and politicians are the ones that "can really change the situation" [itw1]. They felt that they needed more than acting directly in support of other immigrants or through advocacy, and that the affiliation is the way to enter directly the political process. Many also express the feeling that they are more competent to tackle this issue than native politicians: "You are here and you can do it better than a person who surely never lived in another country" This leads frequently, as we will develop later on, to "frustration", either because these members are blocked in the candidates' selection process, because they feel that they are not heard inside the party, or because the expectations that these social activists had about the role of politicians has been deceived when becoming representatives themselves.

Other party members mentioned that they had **other topics of interest** when entering the party (women's rights, social policy, and economic policies). It has been mentioned mainly by members of right-wing parties. Most of them have responsibilities in migration issues in the party which they see as a normal development of their career due to their identification as persons with immigrant background. But they also project themselves in other positions in the future, more in line with their initial interests.

## 6.2. Membership practices and outreach activities of political parties

Political parties follow very different paths and strategies in the incorporation of persons with immigrant background. Nevertheless, one common feature is the absence of outreach activities specifically aimed at the affiliation of immigrants or immigrant groups. Once the persons become members of the party, there is no specific program to «welcome» or train politicians with immigrant background.

Conversely, all parties are keen on maintaining relations with civic and social organizations of immigrants or pro-immigrants. This is in the type of relations maintained as well as in the profile of the organizations that they differ the most.

We will present succinctly the entry and outreach activities of the different political parties:

### *People's party*

The People's party has been traditionally pictured as a party contrary to immigrant's interests and rights. It is opposed to grant unconditional right to vote to TCN (either at local and other levels) and to soften the laws on naturalisation for TCN (beyond the current system guaranteeing an accelerated access to nationality for Ibero-american citizens). In addition, the mention in the status of the party of its adhesion to catholic values might be leaving aside an important part of immigrants. We thus expected that this would be the party with less interest in the incorporation of immigrant members, as well as the one with more difficulties in attracting PIB.

Conversely, we found that the party has developed outreach activities toward immigrant organisations and is certainly the one that has been developing the most a strategy of visibilisation of



the immigrants who form part of the party. This does not mean however that this is the party with the greater number of affiliated immigrants, as these numbers are maintained secret<sup>8</sup>.

Either at central or autonomous level, the People's party did not do specific campaigns for the affiliation of immigrants. It did not either catered specific welcoming or training programs for immigrants. As said in the interviews, this would go against the values promoted by the party, which does not want to target «collectives» or groups and recognizes only individuals joining the party and make sure that no difference is made between these individuals with immigrant background and other members.

That put aside, it is widely recognized inside the party that persons with origins deemed «more proximate» in terms of values to the ones of the PP are the privileged targets of the party in terms of affiliation and internal organization. Three main criteria are put forward by party members: religion, language and democratic culture. This refers mainly in Spain to persons with Latin-American origin and persons from Eastern Europe (as well as Philippines). The fact that they have Christian roots is put forward frequently, as well as the fact that they come from democratic countries with Constitutions, that they speak Spanish (for Latin-Americans) or, for Eastern European countries, that they suffered from communist regimes. This proximity is indeed reflected in the members, party personnel and representatives of PP with immigrant background who are of Latin-American origin in their vast majority (for TCN). North-Africans, Africans in general and Asians are considered persons with more difficulties of integration, in the society as well as in the party.

This also reflects in the networking of PP with immigrant organizations, which is realized mainly with Latin-American associations (or Romanian, especially in Madrid). The networking is realized above all through the participation of representatives of the party to acts and festivities organised by migrants' organisations. PP maintains relations with small scale socio-cultural and community organisations (of persons of one or several nationalities), more than with major migrants' rights organizations and advocacy networks. Even if members of the party vigorously deny it, the other parties and several migrants' organizations often accuse the PP to gain the support of migrants' associations through patron-client networking, granting funding in exchange of loyalty and support where the PP is governing, and discarding the ones who are issuing claims about migration policies and PP's governments.

### *PSOE and PSC*

PSOE and PSC are traditionally close to major immigrants' and pro-immigrants organisations, such as the ones which are sitting in the National Forum for the Integration of Immigrants. These organisations mainly oriented toward advocacy have been important in the definition of the positions of this party on immigration and have been at the same time pressing for more open and integrative policies. During the socialist-led government of JL Rodriguez Zapatero (2004-2011), these organisations have been frequently consulted either formally in the Forum or more informally. In addition, several leaders of these organisations are also members of PSOE/PSC. The different federations of PSOE and PSC as well have had long lasting relations with immigrants' and pro-

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<sup>8</sup> Numbers have only been publicized by the party concerning the candidatures of persons with immigrant background in 2011 (i.e. 500 candidates).



immigrants organisations. Yet, these traditional links and relationships have been more loose over the last years (since 2009-2010 mainly). It is due to several reasons. Firstly, there were transformations in the policies of the socialist government which have become more restrictive for immigrants. Advocacy organisations in favour of migrants' rights have showed publicly their discontent about this new orientation and this has put a damper on the relations between the party and the organisations. Secondly, immigrants' and pro-immigrants organisations in general have been in the doldrums since 2009, accompanying the decrease of immigration flows and deep cuts in their budgets. Thirdly, the PSOE/PSC themselves have been less keen on maintaining strong relationships with immigrant organisations. Several interviewees have underlined this new context and highlighted that this party was in a sense losing its position at the avant-garde of immigrants' participation. PSOE has privileged the internalisation of diversity representation in its structures which dimension we will develop later on. In the federation of Madrid, a confrontation occurred between several immigrant organisations and the direction of the party in Madrid when the regional MP Yolanda Villavicencio, of Colombian origin and leader of an important immigrant organisation (AESCO), was not renewed in the party's lists for regional elections<sup>9</sup>. General criticisms have been addressed to the direction of the party in Madrid, renewed in 2010 after tense primary elections, for neglecting the dialogue with immigrant organisations. The party staff acknowledges the lack of participation of immigrants in the party: "We have to sensibilize and fight constantly to obtain that this diversity, which is part of the society, be present also in the party. Because it is true that even if this party is one of those who are closer to the composition of the society, it is not completely similar, and it is true that the participation of foreigners is small" [itw19].

PSC's history in the 1980s has been marked by its successful enterprise in representing immigrants who originated from other parts of Spain to settle in Catalonia (mainly coming from Andalusia, Murcia, Galicia, according to the main internal migratory patterns). For several interviewees, this capacity to integrate newcomers gave the possibility to the party to pioneer in the integration of the new foreign immigrants from the 1990s onwards. Indeed, PSC has developed close relations to immigrant associations during the end of the 1990s and strengthened these relations during the beginning of its office when it was the leader of the governing coalition after 2003. The local administration of Barcelona, led by PSOE until 2011 also served to develop networks. In addition, the relations between the party and associative networks have played an important role in strategies of spotting and attracting immigrants with particular social and personal skills. However, over the last years these relations seem to be changing. The relations with major advocacy organisations have been somehow replaced by an emphasis put on community, cultural, leisure and local immigrant organisations. Leaders of the area of "new citizenship" of PSC often attend meetings and cultural or national celebrations organised by these organisations.

If these parties have had early contacts with immigrants' organisations, they have never designed specific campaigns for the affiliation of immigrants/TCN. No specific welcoming or training programmes have been designed as well. The only exception has been the organisation of a training

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<sup>9</sup> See "Las listas del PSM y la inmigración. Comunicado de prensa", signed by 25 immigrants' organisations. As the majority of leaders with immigrant background in the PSOE Madrid, Yolanda Villavicencio had supported the candidature of Trinidad Jimenez at the head of Madrid Assembly, who failed in primary elections before the other candidate and head of the party, Tomas Gomez.



workshop in 2012 on diversity issues and catered for members with immigrant background or interested in the matter, organized by the Sector of participation and diversity. However, party officers show interest in organising such specific programmes and campaigns. They mainly justify the absence of such measures by the recent reorganisation of diversity and migration-related areas in the party and the lack of centrality of the issue in the party. PSOE, contrary to PP, considers important reflecting diversity in its internal structures and taking into account the singularity and specific interests of groups. It participated to the study launched by the PES in the different socialist parties in Europe (with the collaboration of MPG) and wants to use the data and conclusions of the report. But the party also acknowledge that almost no programme and measure have been taken to develop membership of the party.

### *Convergència i Unió*

Convergència i Unió has been governing Catalonia with no interruption since 1981 to 2003, followed by two legislatures in opposition to a government led by PSC, and govern again since 2010 in minority. While CiU was in government, the party has developed vast networks with immigrant organisations. The policy-making in matters of immigration has led an important place to pro-immigrant organisations in the implementation of the policies but also in advising the Catalan administration. The networking with cultural organisations of immigrants has led to associate some of them to deliberate on policies, participate to consultative bodies. Organisational leaders as well as other party representatives also denounce the existence of patron-clients relations between administrations and government led by CiU and immigrant organisations.

Affiliation in CiU is made either through *Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya* (CDC – majority) or *Unió Democràtica de Catalunya* (UDC – minority). We focus on the membership of CDC, which is the major partner in the coalition and where the relationship with immigration takes place. There has not been any specific campaign for the affiliation of persons with immigrant background at party level. However, members of the direction of the *New Catalans Foundation* (*Fundació Nous Catalans*<sup>10</sup>) are often attending public events organised by immigrant associations and are involved in networking processes. But the affiliation to the *Foundation Nous Catalans* and the affiliation to the party are separated, even if the membership to the *Foundation*, and even more taking responsibilities in it, lead generally to a membership to the party. This way of reaching persons with immigrant background and make them participate in a structure which does not require a formal affiliation to a party represent an original way of developing participation<sup>11</sup>. The members of the *Foundation* and of CDC put forward that the services provided by the *Foundation* are a way to reach immigrant organisations: “Not every association counts with a concrete space, a private office or members who pay. Then when we talk to people and the “where can we do a meeting? What can we do?” arises, they met here (in the *Foundation*)” [itw1].

As regards to welcoming procedures and training, there is no specific activity designed for new members or sympathisers with immigrant background. All new members are invited to attend specific talks on the identity of the party, its organisations and its orientations. As underlined by the

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<sup>10</sup> [www.nouscatalans.cat](http://www.nouscatalans.cat)

<sup>11</sup> Even if all other party officers have put an emphasis on the fact that their structures of participation are open to sympathisers, as in PSC or PP in Catalonia, and sometimes to organisations, as in *Izquierda Unida*.



secretary for membership and participation, the main motivation to get involved in the party is the national issue in Catalonia. This is an important topic for the party and the recognition of Catalonia as a nation and with the right to choose over its independence is shared by its members. It is hard to assess whether this can be discouraging or not for persons with immigrant background as this does not mean that the membership is not reserved to native Catalans. But the party is clear in that the national issue is the priority in terms of affiliation [itw2]. Some think that “regarding the question of the independence, it is harder for an immigrant to understand that Catalonia wants to be independent.” [itw1] From the party, there is no will to design specific programmes for immigrants and there is a belief that the process of affiliation, welcoming measures and training has to be the same for all members. But we will see that in that sense, the Foundation Nous Catalans represent a de facto specific gateway to the party, which serves as well for outreach purposes, as for the welcoming and participation of immigrants.

### *Izquierda Unida / Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds*

IU and ICV are certainly the parties which have had the greater dedication in supporting immigrant mobilisations and claims for immigrants’ rights. The different components of the United Left and the party itself has been supporting claims for the legalization of undocumented immigrants, protests against restrictions over free circulation. IU has also been the first party to propose to grant right to vote for non nationals after three years of residence. These parties conceive themselves as being part of the social movements and social mobilisations in Spain and Catalonia. Its participation to coalitions and platforms side to side with social organisations and advocacy networks is thus not specific to the migration field. The party counts with an extensive network of organisations and non members from these organisations are welcome to participate to the party activities. As regards to immigrant and pro-immigrant organisations, the party has mainly developed relations with those dedicated to advocacy and claims for migrants’ rights, as well as with trade unions (mainly with the Comisiones Obreras which has been a pioneer in integrating immigrant workers through its dedicated organisations, the Information centres for foreign workers (CITE)<sup>12</sup>, 20 years ago.).

Nevertheless, this extensive networking does not result in a greater affiliation of persons of immigrant background. Several reasons are put forward by party representatives. Firstly, the structural constraints that weight upon most immigrants workers. They refer in particular to the non recognition of political participation (no right to vote) and the need to secure other domain of their life such as their legal situation, employment etc. before they participate. Secondly, they refer to the lack of trust in political parties and institutionalised organisations in general, which lead those immigrants politically active to stay social and civic leaders instead of participating in parties. Thirdly, most of the politically involved immigrants are still directing their political action toward their country of origin and not toward Spanish politics. Finally, leaders of IU acknowledge that the organisational structure of their party does not adapt to the participation of immigrants and TCN, as well as it does not adapt well to all collectives traditionally less involved in political participation in parties (women, young, lower and working class).

Immigrants are perceived as an important target group for participation for IU and party officers lament their under-representation in the party membership. Contrary to other political parties, IU

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<sup>12</sup> [www.ccoo.es/cscceo/Areas:Migraciones:CITEs](http://www.ccoo.es/cscceo/Areas:Migraciones:CITEs)



refuses to create spaces for participation of immigrants only. It does not want to build specific adhesion campaigns for immigrants. They emphasise the integration of immigrants or persons with immigrant background in equality with others, sharing the same spaces of deliberation and decision. In order to reach a greater involvement, the party has undertaken reforms which give more space to deliberative processes and to connections with social movements and local protests. Most of the activities and spaces of the party, in sectors or in general assemblies, are open to non members as well as members. But as we will see, few immigrants or TCN are appointed in the party, compose the national or regional directions and even fewer are elected representatives, which is recognized by party officers as an issue.

Since 2008, the party has managed to attract new members with immigrant background and now considers they represent around 8 per cent of all members<sup>13</sup>. This coincides with a greater weakness of social organisations of immigrants, especially those who were dedicated to advocacy and mobilisation. Party involvement would represent a way for politically active immigrants to gain more influence on the political process. For IU, it is also a sign that the reform they undertake succeeds in reaching new members, especially socially and politically active members. However, it is important to underline that there are important territorial disparities in the participation of TCN. The territorial federations of Andalusia, Murcia and Madrid are the ones which count with more immigrants' participation.

### Summary

- There are no formal obstacles to the participation of non nationals in all parties. TCN can participate at all stages of the party, in their territorial assemblies as well as in sector / issue assemblies.
- A first experience of participation and leadership in social and civic organisations still represents an important entry point to get involved in political parties. It is mainly true for left-wing parties but also in right-wing parties for TCN active in community-based migrants' organisations.
- Personal contacts and mentors are important to spot and promote the entry of skilled persons with immigrant background. Several interviewees have been asked directly by party officers and leaders to participate to party activities.
- Party members with immigrant background have mainly migration-related topics of interest and motivations to enter a party. Party involvement is justified by the will to have direct influence on policy-making, to be able to directly "solve problems". A minority were interested in other topics when entering the party. Most of them are nevertheless in charge of migration issues, which they perceive as a normal or temporary situation.
- No party has designed specific affiliation campaigns for immigrants, TCN, persons with immigrant background. Only PSOE seems to be willing to examine such possibility.
- Contrasted experiences related to welcoming culture in the party have been reported. It mainly depend on the way the person entered the party (by their own or co-opted). In general, people are

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<sup>13</sup> This is an estimation of the coordination of the area of immigration in the party, but there is no supporting data to this estimation.





required to adapt quickly to existing party structures and organisation. Some party have designed specific welcoming sessions for new members. No party has dedicated programmes for non nationals.

- There is no clear relationship between the party proactive policy towards immigrants and the level of immigrant affiliation in the party.
- Party culture and their view on immigration are important to take into account in the attraction of immigrants to a party and in the outreaching activities of the organisation. Membership to PP is a good example as we see that criteria such as religion, language and democratic values are important to both immigrant members and party officers.

## 7. Evolving in the party: Career Paths and Roles of immigrant politicians and with foreign background

### 7.1. Nomination procedures and careers development in the party

Internal nomination processes are still accounted as **grey areas** in the different parties, which means that they are not public, that the composition of electoral rolls and appointments are the result of complex arbitration and that they are decentralised. Even if politicians insist in general that these processes are following democratic and representative lines, they have trouble describing precisely which processes lead to nominations of political personal and politicians.

The nomination processes are **decentralised**. Party federations are responsible for the designation of delegates who will in return designate party leadership. All the parties researched have adopted similar rules for the designation of party leadership. Their system is **representative**, with a vote in Congress or National committees for the leader and the board of the party, either in a closed list or as separated votes. Only IU has a two stage process in which delegates vote a board which designate the party leader. Requirements for being candidate to party leadership involve being member of the party with additional requirements in some parties (length of membership in general and the support of a share of delegates).

There has been a **development of the use of primaries elections** to designate party leaders at national, federations' and bigger municipalities' levels. PSOE uses primary elections to designate: Prime minister, Presidents of Autonomous communities and Mayor of bigger cities (>50000 hab.). Closed rolls are used to designate members of parliament (high and low chambers), European MPs, members of Autonomous parliaments and local councilmen. Open rolls can be proposed by local assemblies for MPs and Autonomous MPs. In all the designation processes the Executive committees (at national, federal or local levels) are responsible for proposing candidates and lists. But it is worth noticing that candidatures supported by a share of party members (between 10% at state level and 20% at local level) can also present their candidatures. Immigrants and inner immigrant networks have taken part to campaigns for primaries. The principal example has been the clear support from all immigrant leaders of the PSOE in Madrid to the candidature of Trinidad Jimenez for the control of the Assembly of Madrid. This one loosed the elections which re-conducted the former leader. This has had a negative impact on the place of immigrant participation in the party in Madrid.





**Executive committees** (in other words, the board of the party) at each level are then strategic sites for the diversification of candidates (and elected representatives). They are also in charge of the majority of appointments in the party. This leads members with immigrant background to count on mentors positioned in the board of the party to access positions of power or electoral rolls, more than on “democratic” designation processes. This also justifies the role of interest groups and inner party formalised networks which can push for the designation of candidates with immigrant background, especially in parties which grant positions in executive boards to representatives of sectors or areas.

The designation processes also explain to some extent **why immigrants prefer to develop their careers in party sectors** (sectors of migration, participation, “new citizenship”...) instead of developing their careers in their territorial constituencies. The inclusion of the name of a candidate with immigrant background on an electoral roll is still more related to his/her activity in the area of migration (which secretary or coordinator is represented at the executive board) than his/her activity in the local / district assembly where the participation of immigrants is reduced. It is by reaching a critical mass in party organs and by coordinating their candidatures that immigrants can access to lists. Access through territorial assemblies seems to present more obstacles.

The other predominant way to access to positions in electoral rolls and appointments in parties is through **mentors**. Most of the politicians or party officers with immigrant background who have been interviewed have been offered their position thanks to the intermediation of mentors. These ones already hold positions in the party and are politicians dedicated to develop internal diversity of the party. They have often had positions related to immigration and participation (secretaries or coordinators of immigration sectors, members of parliament involved in migration issues, members of governments with immigration-related portfolio). They act as intermediates between leading candidates seeking to compose their electoral list or executive boards and spotted members with immigrant background. The **importance of leadership** and powerful mediators in the development of the inner-party diversity has been widely acknowledged.

Finally, the introduction of diversity in electoral lists has sometimes been implemented by the central level through **top-down recommendations** to federations and territorial assemblies. The People’s party strategy to give visibility to candidates with immigrant background at local elections in 2011 has been paralleled by actions and recommendations to municipal executive boards in this sense.

## 7.2. Inner party networks and organisation as support for immigrant careers and representation

Political parties have adopted very different ways to organise the involvement of members with immigrant background. It results on the one hand from the organisational culture of the party and its views on the organisation of under-represented groups and, on the other hand, from claims and strategies of immigrant members themselves. Spanish major parties present a range of inner party structures which are interesting to examine. Whether a type of organisation has been more successful in opening access to members with immigrant background to higher positions and offices than others is surprisingly difficult to determine. As we just mentioned, leadership and mentoring have been until now more successful in diversifying political offices than self-organisation and the development of inner-party networks. Conversely, the formalisation of spaces for participation of



under-represented collectives in party structures may have in the future more impact in the effective diversification of the party and public offices.

We will present the type of organisation of immigrant participation in the different parties.

### 7.2.1. People's Party

As we have seen, the People's party discourse on immigrant participation in its structures rely on the individualisation of membership and career development (non recognition of groups and organised interests) and on meritocracy. This means that there is no formalisation of interest groups and networks in function of the origin at party level. Nonetheless, sectors of the party are invested primarily by members with immigrant background. Secretaries or areas of immigration which exist at regional and municipal level are organising primarily immigrants. They are sometimes (but not always) led by a party officer with immigrant background (as in Catalonia and Madrid which have been more particularly examined). Since 2010, in addition to discussing the orientation of the party in this matter, the organisation of the participation of immigrants has also been devolved to these sectors. In Catalonia, a group has been created in 2012 with persons of Latin-American origin, which discuss issues concerning immigrants in the party. Interviewees of the People's party - who have both an office in immigration areas - have shown satisfaction about the way to manage participation of immigrants in the party. As we see, the model in which immigrants should not organize in function of their geographical origin has been amended in some sectors and territories of the party. The organisation and participation in the party shows that TCN of Latin-American origin are the main target group for inclusion in the party.

The participation of immigrants and, above all, their visibility has been a process driven by the national secretary of participation. In 2010, the former secretary of participation launched a campaign to publicize the diversity existing in the party. It mobilised different elected representatives or party officers to participate in public meetings and send the message that the People's party was a diverse party. Before the local elections of 2011 - in which TCN with reciprocity agreements could vote for the first time - an important public meeting has been organised at central level with top leaders of the party. This campaign has been successful and even other political parties acknowledge that the People's party has managed to present itself as an organisation where immigrants participate and have opportunities to become elected representatives.

### 7.2.2. PSOE and PSC

The current organisational networks of immigrants in the national structure of PSOE is also recent. It has been impulsed by the former secretary of participation and social movements in 2010 (Pedro Zerolo). Several Federal groups have been created under the umbrella of the secretary (now the Sectorial organisation for citizenship participation and diversity<sup>14</sup>) to organise the participation of persons with immigrant origin or representing diversity in the party. These federal groups aim explicitly at reaching inner-diversity and represent collectives under-represented in the party. Three of them are catered for TCN : the Latin point, the Afro-Socialist group and the Arab-Socialists group. Other federal groups organised along collective identifications organise the participation of LGBT members, Gypsies, Romanians, older people and Christians. Other are built as issue groups (VIH,

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14 [www.psoe.es/ambito/sectorialparticipacionciudadana/news/index.do](http://www.psoe.es/ambito/sectorialparticipacionciudadana/news/index.do)



grass-roots movements, laicity, drug addiction). This organisation results from claims for a better representation in the party of networks and interest groups.

Interviewees make a positive assessment of this form of organisation. According to them, it has improved the visibility of these under-represented groups and of their claims and gave them a support for self-organisation in the party, at national but also at the level of federations. It is worth noting that this form of organisation in the party is also perceived by their leaders as a temporary and «by default» organisation. It has been mentioned several times that the horizon for participation and representation of persons with immigrant background is the complete normalisation of their participation, which would be reflected in the party at all levels and in all offices. The current organisation of the party has been driven by the Federation of Madrid, which already had the same organisation. The majority of leaders and officers at State level come from the federation of Madrid in which they occupied similar positions.

There is a de facto alliance between under-represented groups (not only immigrants) to reach diversity. Other groups, such as LGBT, have more relations and more stable organisations which has allowed them to secure the cause in the party. All federal groups are based on this exchange between social movements and the party: “the activism in social organisations is not only that the party meet and build mechanisms of alliances and cooperation with them. In many cases, the persons who participate to the sector organisation and the federal groups are also activists of these social organisations” [itw19]. The links with social movements is also a way to measure the weight of a group in the party in order to secure candidates and key positions in the party. Immigrant leaders are then also involved in claims for the democratisation of party structures and rules of organisations. Several of them have been leading the «More participation, More diversity» campaign which has involved activists from the Madrid federation and pushed for the adoption of democratic measures at the Congress of the Party in 2012. Following the Congress, the new structure of the Sectorial organisation for participation counts with several of these activists.

Nevertheless, the leaders of the Federal groups of TCN feel that diversity issues are neglected by the board of the party: “it has been eight years that the groups are working with some people or collectives. Then it is true that all this is not reflected yet by the electoral lists or the core functions in the party” [itw19]. In spite of the increased rights for participation in party's decisional spheres derived from the formalisation of the Federal groups, they are still absent from the executive board at State level as well as from election committees and the majority of executive boards in the federations. The possibilities to be put in an electoral roll are scarce and the Federal groups are more or less directly obliged to compete with each others to secure candidatures and seats. Some immigrant leaders lament that better organised and more ancient groups (LGBT for example) compete with them for the diversification of electoral lists and party offices.

In Catalonia, participative structures for immigrants in PSC have undergone transformations over the last years, which is receives different assessments from current and former party leaders. PSC has been pioneering the constitution of specific organisations for immigrants originated from different region of the world. The most important one, the Latin Network (Xarxa Latina) was developed after 2006 followed by Xabaca, a platform for Moroccans and North-Africans in general. These networks have been developed by leaders of the party of immigrant origin and have been for a long time an interface between the party and immigrant organisations. PSC was a pioneer in promoting successfully candidates of immigrant origin to the Catalan Parliament in 2003 and then in 2006. In



2006, three candidates of Latin-American origin and one candidate of Moroccan origin were in the PSC lists for the Catalan parliament and two of them were (re)elected.

After the defeat of the PSC at Catalan elections in 2010 and following the Convention of the party with a new direction of immigration issues, transformations have been made in the organisation. A new structure has been created to canalize the participation of all members and sympathisers with immigrant background within the secretary of New citizenship. In 2012 is created the «New Melting-pot» (*Nou Gresol*) which is a platform for participation and organises social events. The inner-networks put a greater emphasis in the social and cultural participation and less on claim-making and the definition of political orientations. The coordinator claims that the organisation - which is often deemed as more proximate to migrants' cultural organisation activities than to a party organisation - allows reaching new individuals and is more proximate to immigrants.

However for now, the **representation of immigrants in party's public offices has decreased** in comparison with the 2003-2009 period and some interviewees lament the lack of engagement of the executive board and secretary in the promotion of skilled persons with immigrant background.

### 7.2.3. CIU

Convergence for Catalonia has developed an original model for the organised participation of immigrants. It has created a foundation in 2010, the Foundation *Nous Catalans*, which is independent from the party in its structure but share board executives (the secretary of Immigration of CDC is the president of the foundation) and is officially linked to the party. The Foundation wants to be a site of participation as well as a structure supporting immigrants' initiatives. Apart from the presidency and a young section (both led by politicians with native background) the foundation is composed of different areas in function of the regions of origin of immigrants: Latino, Afro-Catalans, Asia, Catalan-Moroccans and Europe. It also has several territorial delegations in Catalonia. Conversely to other party's structures (for example in PSOE or PSC) the Foundation's first goal has not been to offer channels for participation to members but to be the instrument for attracting new members. The underlying idea is that a Foundation exterior to party structures is more able to incite to immigrants' participation. Even if the adhesion to CDC is not required to participate to the foundation, its immigrant leaders and the majority of regular attendants to its meetings are or have become party members.;

Such an organisation might nevertheless be obstructing the participation of immigrants in decision processes and their access to representation if they are considered as party «outsiders». As for the first dimension, it is true that the secretary of immigration and integration of the party is the one which orient party positions on immigration and the different areas of the Foundation are more dedicated to transmit party position to immigrants or organising activities. As regards to the second dimension, the foundation has served as a gateway to the incorporation of immigrants in electoral rolls. Active immigrants have been spotted by party executive and offered positions in lists (however, only few of them have been in eligible positions).

### 7.2.4. IU

Finally, IU presents also another type of organisation. As we have seen, the party claims for an integration of persons with immigrant background in equality with other members and without



differentiation. People interested in immigration issues and participation of immigrants can participate to sectoral areas of immigration in addition to the territorial assembly. Persons with immigrant background tend to participate more to the areas of immigration where they work with members with native background. No more dedicated spaces have been created at national and local levels. Nevertheless, the connexion of the party with social movements and its self-conception as a social movement (in spite of a still predominant hierarchy) lead immigrants who want to organise on specific issues or by origin to do it outside of the party in organisations which can be more or less related to the party. Several areas of migration are coordinated by persons with migrant background but not all of them (and not at central level).

If this organisation is supported by the members of the party and allow to develop the participation of immigrants, the party counts with very few representatives with immigrant background. In general, the effective diversification of the party has been foreseen as a minor issue in comparison with the affirmation of democratic principles for participation and with the formulation of political orientations in favour of immigrants' participation, which has been lamented by the interviewees.

### *Summary:*

- Executive boards of the parties have still the main control over candidate selection processes (proposition and control). Primary elections are developed in some parties (PSOE mainly) over the last years with no clear evidence on how this influenced immigrant opportunities to hold a public office.
- Executive boards (national, regional and local) and electoral committees are almost exclusively composed by leaders with no immigrant background and under-represented collectives can only access to these structures if they are organised in formal interest groups (as in PSOE).
- Despite the existence of internal structures and networks the main pathway to be selected as candidates for members with immigrant background is via the intermediation of mentors, and thanks to the interest of leader candidates.
- The organisational culture and the view of political parties on immigrant integration orient the type of involvement and careers of persons with immigrant background. Political parties organise the participation of their members and the representation of their interests with very different modalities. Some recognize formally the organisation according sectorial interests or collective identifications while others do not. Some
- PP and IU do not recognize the organisation in function of the origin and does not have specific structures for immigrant participation. Yet, PP's model has some exceptions and in both parties areas of immigration have the double purpose of orienting party positions and developing participation. In PP, a labour of visibilisation of candidates with immigrant background has been undertaken through a top-down process. In IU the participation to immigration areas is open to non members as well as organisations of immigrants and pro-immigrants.
- PSOE, PSC and CIU have created specific spaces for the participation of immigrants in the party. In PSOE, the federal groups clearly aim at representing the interests of under-represented collectives and at reaching diversity. But these structures did not succeeded in eliminating obstacles for



immigrants in selection processes. Both PSC and CIU develop mainly outreach activities of the party via these specific structures even if they have also served to spot future candidates.

## 8. Obstacles, ways of improvement and recommendations

We have elaborated a list of factors that participants to the study have mentioned as being factors which are effectively hindering in their views the possibilities for persons with foreign background and immigrants to participate to political parties and the political life in general in Spain. We also list the factors they perceive as being favourable for the participation, or which could be ways to improve the participation and representation of immigrants. This list is the result of the subjective assessment of the participants and all did not agree on all these factors or did not consider them as equally important. Furthermore, opportunities and obstacles may vary according to the context and may not harm or benefit equally to all immigrants. The intersectional dimension has also to be taken into account, as a factor may affect differently immigrants in function of their gender, age or social class.

We separated the factors into two main categories. The first one refers to factors affecting the structure and organisation of political parties. They are the basis of our recommendations to political parties as they are the ones on which parties can directly affect by taking some reforms. The second series of factors are individual and social factors. They refer to personal factors which may hinder the individual participation of (some) immigrants, as well as social and legal conditions which create opportunities or obstacles to their political participation.

Finally, we present recommendations to political parties on the basis of the result of the DIVPOL study. We deliberately chose to stress issues which prevail specifically in the Spanish context.

### *Organizational and Structural Factors*

#### 1. Acknowledgement of inner diversity of the party as an important matter

Favourable	Unfavourable
The party considers that reflecting the social and cultural diversity in its structures is an important matter	Diversity of political parties is considered as an irrelevant matter, or of little interest.

#### 2. Awareness of the elites about the diversification of political parties and party representatives

Favourable	Unfavourable
There is a leadership (leader candidate, president, executive boards...) in favour of the diversification of party officers, lists and	There is neither leadership nor awareness of party leaders in favour of the diversification





politicians.

of politicians and executives of the party.

### 3. Acknowledgement of citizens with foreign background as forming part of the electorate / as politically active citizens.

Favourable	Unfavourable
There is a strategy to attract voters with immigrant background and immigrants	

### 4. Attention to anti-immigrant political behaviours and discourses in the society

Favourable	Unfavourable
	Shared representation among political party elites that voters do not want / are not ready to vote for persons with foreign background

### 5. Degree of openness of the candidates selection procedures

Favourable	Unfavourable
There is a turnover / renewal of seats, positions on electoral lists, and functions in the party  Larger parties  Parties in a phase of electoral expansion	Absence of turnover or renewal of offices, seats and positions in the party  Smaller-scale parties  Parties in a phase of electoral recession  Fragmentation of interests and factionalism inside the party  Intense competition between underrepresented groups for seats, positions on electoral lists and offices

### 6. Transparency of candidate selection processes and assignation of offices

Favourable	Unfavourable
Selection and election processes to assign offices and seats are completely transparent: public information, clear, inclusive and shared rules of designation, open meetings...	Selection process is not transparent: opaque rules, application information not disseminated closure of meetings...

### 7. Grass-root organisation of the party

Favourable	Unfavourable
There is a welcoming culture in the party, especially toward the affiliation and participation of new members (non elitist	A "traditional" organization prevails in the party (Ex. Meeting hours incompatible with family or work responsibilities, demand of full





<p>party)</p> <p>There is a general opening of the party toward the affiliation and participation of persons with foreign background</p> <p>Party organization takes into account the specific obstacles to participation of underrepresented groups (Ex. Adaptation of meeting hours, economic support, language mastering...)</p>	<p>compromise of the members...)</p>
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### 8. Number of members and representatives with foreign background

Favourable	Unfavourable
<p>The party has reached a “critical mass” of members and representatives with foreign background.</p>	<p>Absence of “role models” and officeholders with foreign background coming from the party.</p>

### 9. Monitorization of diversity in the party

Favourable	Unfavourable
<p>Data on members and officers are collected and used to plan the development of diversity in the party.</p>	<p>There is no data to estimate the participation and representation gap between natives and persons with foreign background.</p>

## *Social and individual factors*

### 1. Media attention

Favourable	Unfavourable
<p>Political participation and diversification of political organisations and representatives are public issues which receive media attention.</p>	<p>Absence of public debate and media interest for the issue of diversity in politics</p> <p>Absence of role models and public figures with immigrant background in the media.</p>

### 2. Networks and mobilization of immigrant organisations

Favourable	Unfavourable
<p>There is an effective interconnexion between social organisations and political parties to reach the enhancement of immigrants’</p>	<p>Relations between social organisations and political parties are weak. There is no common work to enhance participation and</p>



participation and representation	<p>diversification.</p> <p>Relations of patronage and instrumental dominate the interactions between social organisations and political parties.</p>
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### 3. Socio-economic, political and legal conditions in the country

Favourable	Unfavourable
There are education/training programmes on politics aimed at the newcomers	Resident foreigners have no political right and cannot vote or stand in elections
Foreigners have political rights, especially the right to vote	High unemployment or precarity on work (individual level)
Long-term residency and high citizenship acquisition rate (individual level)	High share of undocumented immigrants (individual level)

### 4. Political culture of immigrants

Favourable	Unfavourable
Existence of a strong political culture / political activity developed in the country of origin (individual)	<p>Lack of trust in the political system</p> <p>Political activity of immigrants and persons with foreign background mainly aimed at the country of origin.</p>

## *Recommendations for political parties and policy makers*

### *Regarding the participation in political parties*

The study shows that there is an **increasing awareness of political parties** about the importance to promote the membership and participation of persons of foreign background. The creation of **“safe” spaces** is an interesting tool to encourage participation. However, a misuse of this tool leads to greater discrimination toward foreigners and diversity members. We then recommend that:

- The spaces of participation **must not be segregated** from other spaces of the political party. Their members have to be represented in the executive boards of the party. They should also be encouraged to participate to other spaces non related to immigration, according to their interests and talents.
- Political parties have to **improve the way new members are welcomed in the local constituencies**, adapt the organisation of tasks and meetings to allow workers and parents to participate, ensure the equal participation of underrepresented groups to the different tasks, meetings and decision-making, and grant new members appropriate training.

### *Regarding candidates selection processes*

Candidate selection is one of the key roles of political parties in democracy. Spanish political parties have to take a step forward to ensure that diversity members and immigrants are represented in



eligible positions in the lists. **Diversifying selection committees** should be a priority. If this cannot be realised through existing processes, then quota system should be considered to ensure equity.

It is commonly admitted that political parties face a crisis of legitimacy and representation in current democracies. To ensure a better representation, including underrepresented groups such as immigrants and persons with foreign background, most stakeholders call for a **democratisation of parties** (such as open lists, primary elections, collegiality and transparency of decision processes). Even if these processes may have a positive impact on making the party closer to the citizenry -- and immigrants -- they do not lead to a more diverse representation. Then, **the aim to represent ethnic diversity should not be forgotten in this process.**

In particular, counting on **strong inner networks** is the most important factor for a successful career inside the party. Immigrants and ethnically diverse members often lack those organised networks. Any initiative of political parties and civic organisations to strengthen their networks would benefit the representation of diversity.

### *Regarding legal obstacles to participation*

Independently from political parties, it is important that Spanish institutions encourage the political participation of foreigners by, in particular, allowing the **right to vote** to residents and by ensuring that persons with foreign background are **represented in political institutions.**

## **9. Concluding remarks**

Political parties seem to be changing their approach to immigrants and TCN political participation and involvement in political parties. The last local elections of 2011 were a first step in the awareness that (part of the) immigrants were becoming part of the electorate. 2014 elections already constitute a horizon to incorporate immigrants. In addition, the relationship between political parties and collective entities of immigrants is also in process of transformation. The relations of patronage which dominated the relations between politicians, political institutions and political parties are still vivid but currently experiencing transformations. Political parties now seek to directly maintain tight networks with organisations of immigrants or are directly involved in the creation of organisations which function as appendix of the party. These ones act as mediators between potential affiliates and voters and the organisation of the party. In addition, we also witness embryonic organisation within the structure of political parties, on the model of the Federal Groups in the PSOE, but they seem to still result from an initiative from above to attract votes than a real auto-organisation of immigrant members. These forms of organisation: network of immigrant organisations connected to the party or auto-organisation inside the party are two forms of organising migrants' interests in connection to party politics.

Nevertheless, the question of their effective participation and representation is still pending. TCN still have little political rights and most of them are excluded from active and passive suffrage. Data shows that immigrants are almost absent from political representation. Legislation (the Spanish Constitution, the Civil code...) and the rules of representation in the political system establish a regime of discrimination and are obstacles to the effective participation and representation of immigrants and TCN. They have to be reformed in order to strengthen immigrants' agency (Zapata-



Barrero, 2012). Spain has certainly a shorter history as regards to receiving immigrants on its territory than other European countries, but that means that immigrant political representation and involvement in politics will become an issue of growing interest. So far, immigrant organisations have mainly maintained relationships with institutions, as interest groups, but the individual political participation and issues of diversification of the political system are changing the settings and gradually moving the attention toward partisan organisations.



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## Annex 1: Methodology

### 1. Fieldwork data overview

25 interviews have been collected with politicians of 4 different political parties. These politicians have been interviewed in two different places in Spain: Barcelona and Madrid. They all belong either to the central organization, to the local and regional organization in Madrid, to the local and autonomous organization of the party in Barcelona.

#### Data on interviewees

Political party	Nb. of interviewees
PP	4
PSOE	5
PSC	5
CIU	3
IU	2
ICV	1

Nationality / Origin of the interviewees	
Party members with immigrant background	11
- Officeholders	4 : 2 current / 2 former
- Party offices	8
Politicians with no immigrant background	9

Functions of party members	
Outreach, campaigning and lobbying groups within the party	16
Inner-party gatekeepers <sup>15</sup>	4

<sup>15</sup> Party gatekeepers have been understood for this research as people holding positions of power in the party (generally associated to holding public or top-level party offices) and have the ability to opening or closing doors for members of the party in the access to offices. It includes in our case mentors and people who have – even punctually – intermediated successfully for candidatures and offices of persons of immigrant origin.



No current responsibilities	1
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- Migrant organizations representatives: 5

Migrants’ organisations have been selected according to their representation in institutional consultative bodies such as the National forum for the social integration of immigrants or regional and major cities consultative bodies.

In addition, it is worth mentioning that several of the politicians with immigrant origin who have been interviewed were also head of migrants’ organisations with representation in consultative bodies. We mention their responsibilities in the table below.

*Two public events* have been organized during the course of the project. The discussions which took place during these events were treated also as research material. We provide an overview of these events:

**24 January 2014 - Spanish National Workshop**

Place: Parliament of Catalonia, Barcelona

Attendants: 47 persons, including 20 policy-makers and politicians from 6 political parties, 16 representatives of migrants’ organizations.

**8 April 2014 – “Immigrants, Political participation and Integration” meeting**

Place: CIDOB, Barcelona

Co-organiser: IPRS, Roma

Attendants: 25 persons, including 15 policy-makers and politicians of Catalonia (6 different parties) and Italy, and 7 migrant’s organizations representatives.

*2. List of interviewees*

All the participants gave their consent to the investigators for the reproduction and public dissemination of the content of the interviews. We decided to anonymize the interviews and solely provide the gender, if they have a foreign background, function of the person (Politician, Party officer, Migrants’ organisation representative – MOR), their political party and their territorial level of action (State, Madrid, Catalonia).

Itw1. Male, Foreign background, Party officer, CiU, Catalonia

Itw2. Female, Native background, Party officer, CiU, Catalonia

Itw3. Male, Native background, Party officer, CiU, Catalonia



- Itw4. Male, Native background, Party officer, CiU, Catalonia
- Itw5. Male, Foreign background, Party officer, ICV, Catalonia
- Itw6. Female, Foreign background, Party officer, ICV, Catalonia
- Itw7. Male, Native background, Politician, IU, Madrid
- Itw8. Female, Native background, Party officer, IU, State
- Itw9. Female, Foreign background, Party officer, PP, Catalonia
- Itw10. Male, Foreign background, Member, PP, Catalonia
- Itw11. Male, Native background, Party officer, PP, State
- Itw12. Male, Foreign background, Party officer, PP, Madrid
- Itw13. Male, Native background, Party officer, PP, Madrid
- Itw14. Female, Native background, Politician, PSC, Catalonia
- Itw15. Male, Foreign background, Party officer, PSC, Catalonia
- Itw16. Male, Foreign background, Politician, PSC, Catalonia
- Itw17. Female, Foreign background, Party officer, PSC, Catalonia
- Itw18. Male, Native background, Party officer, PSC Catalonia
- Itw19. Male, Native background, Party officer, PSOE, State
- Itw20. Female, Foreign background, Politician, PSOE, State
- Itw21. Female, Foreign background, Politician, PSOE, Madrid
- Itw22. Female, Foreign background, Party officer, PSOE, Madrid
- Itw23. Female, Foreign background, Member, PSOE Madrid
- Itw24. Male, Foreign background, Party officer, PSOE, Madrid
- Itw25. Male, Native background, Politician, PSOE, Madrid
- Itw26. Female, Foreign background, MOR, Madrid
- GD27. Male, Foreign background, MOR, Catalonia
- GD28. Male, Foreign background, MOR, Catalonia
- GD29. Male, Foreign background, MOR, Catalonia
- GD30. Male, Foreign background, MOR, Catalonia

### *3. Interview guidelines*

The researchers followed the interview guidelines defined with the other partners of DIVPOL. However, the interview guide has been adapted to each participant and as semi-structured interviews were carried out, the researchers took the freedom to add and modify the guidelines during the course of the interview.



We present a standard model of the interview guide used for *politicians and party officers, with and without foreign background*:

- How did you become a party member? *Probe for access & entry, invitation / personal contacts./..*
- What attracted you to your party? *Probe for motivation*
- What did the party do for you? To welcome you?
- What were the topics and interest areas you dealt with when you started? How did this change?
- What are and were your jobs and responsibilities in the party, your role?
- What specific expectations does the party have of you? What are your interest areas – what would you like to work on?
- What are your networks inside and outside the party?
- What are your resources (for your political work) – inside and outside the party? What and who has helped you?
- What are and have been obstacles to you in your political work and career?
- What role do immigrants and their interest play for your party? Who represents their interests? *Probe for third-country nationals (tcn) without active/passive voting rights*
- Are you/politicians of migrant background seen as representing immigrants' interest? In which contexts? Is there a bridging function to hard-to-reach communities? *Probe for tcn without active/passive voting rights*
- *[As applicable:]* Has your migrant background ever been relevant as party member, candidate or representative and if so, how?
- Why do you think are there so immigrants involved in political parties? Why so few politicians of immigrant background? *Probe for formal and informal obstacles. Probe for immigrants/tcn with and without national citizenship/voting rights.*
- What could/should be done to increase the number of immigrants in political parties? *Probe for things the party/parties could do, both formal and informal (campaigns, networks, mentoring, trainings, legislation, quotas etc.). Probe for the perspectives of the party the interviewee is involved with. Probe for tcn without active/passive voting rights*

Plus for elected candidates:

- Can you describe the first time you were nominated and stood for election. How did you get nominated? What helped/obstructed you? What helped/obstructed the communication with the electorate?

The interview guide used for *migrants' organizations representatives* differed and was meant to be used during discussion groups:



- Who is representing the interests of immigrants?
- Are political parties representing the interest of immigrants? Probe for the interests of migrant background and non-nationals/TCN.
- What about politicians of immigrant background – do they have a bridging function to immigrant communities? Does it work?
- What networks does your organizations maintain to political parties?
- Why are immigrants under-represented in political parties, as members and as office holders? Probe for obstacles inside and outside parties.
- What could parties do to better represent immigrants and their issues? Probe also for tcn.
- What could parties do to better include immigrants? Probe for also tcn. What has worked in the past, what has not?
- What could candidates of migrant background do to improve their chances of being
- What could your organization do to promote immigrants' involvement in politics?

