

- Panel "Atypical Militants in Political Parties",
7th ECPR General Conference, Bordeaux, 4-7 September 2013 –

The Effect of Immigrant Residential Concentration and Party Competition on the Representation of Immigrant-Origin Minorities at the Local Level

Santiago Pérez-Nievas (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)
santiago.pereznievas@uam.es

Cristina Daniela Vintila (Spanish National Research Council)
cristinadaniela.vintila@cchs.csic.es

Laura Morales (University of Leicester)
lm254@le.ac.uk

Maarja Lühiste (University of Leicester)
ml325@leicester.ac.uk

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Abstract: Is a high concentration of immigrant-origin minorities enough for them to gain political representation? Or are certain migrant groups more likely to benefit from certain political opportunities that facilitate their access to elected office when their number is large? This paper analyses the effect of these three factors- residential concentration, ethnicity, and political opportunities- in levels of descriptive political representation of these immigrant groups at the local level, testing a number of hypotheses related to each of these three factors with data from the 2011 local elections in the Autonomous Community of Madrid (or Madrid region) in Spain.

INTRODUCTION ¹

This paper analyses the factors that facilitate and hinder immigrant-origin minorities (hereafter referred to as IOMs) gaining access to elective office. To do so, we focus on the 2011 local elections in the Autonomous Community of Madrid (or Madrid region), in Spain. Language barriers, lack of familiarity with a new political system, attitudes of hostility or discrimination by the majoritarian group, and conditions of social exclusion are all factors that can depress the electoral participation, and in turn, the political representation of ethnic minorities (Bird 2005). Other studies give a greater leverage to political opportunity factors such as the role of parties and party systems (Donovan 2007; Koopmans, 2004; Kittilson and Tate, 2004). This paper tries to analyze the effect of this different set of factors, drawing on the data of an original survey conducted with the local organizations of different Spanish political parties in 58 municipalities of Madrid region in which immigrants account for a sizeable share of the overall population. In doing so, we depart from previous work in this field by defining IOMs on the basis of the biographical features of the candidate or representative: his/her birthplace, and his/her parents' birthplace. Thus, our definition includes all immigrant origins and is not restricted to the more 'visible' or non-western minorities of previous studies (Bird, 2005; Bloemraad, 2010). This strategy allows us to test whether visible and non-western minorities face greater barriers to gain political representation when compared to previous or parallel waves of European-origin immigrants (see also Morales, Pérez-Nievas and Vintila 2012).

In order to analyze the levels of representation of IOMs, we take the literature on 'descriptive' representation as a departing point. Descriptive representation is concerned with the extent to which elected officeholders reflect group characteristics that are prevalent in the population at large in a manner corresponding to their relative size (Pitkin, 1967; Donovan, 2007). The existence of a clear link between the representation of a minority group and the representation of the views particular to minority groups is sometimes contested in the literature. However, the presence of ethnic minorities in elected institutions has been considered as one important step for the process of political incorporation (Mansbridge, 1999). First, many members of ethnic minorities seem to think that their interests can only be appropriately represented by another group member, more prone to advocate policy measures aimed to respond to their specific

¹ The authors are very grateful to the Autonomous Community of Madrid and the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (UAM) which through their joint research program provided the funding that made this investigation possible (Project Title: "Los nuevos ciudadanos: la participación y la representación política de los inmigrantes en la Comunidad de Madrid, Ref. CCG10-UAM/HUM-5882). We are also extremely grateful to the wonderful research team (Marta Parades, Jacobo Abellán, and Rosa María Navarrete,) that so enthusiastically collaborated with the authors in the distribution and gathering of the questionnaires on which this research is based. We are also very grateful to the local party spokespeople that answered to the questionnaire, and to the regional and party officials who facilitated us the contacts of local party branches. Without their extremely generous collaboration this piece of work would not have been possible.

needs and demands (Ross 1943; Schwartz 1988; Phillips 1993; Williams 1995; Ruedin 2009). Secondly, the political representation of a specific group might carry an important symbolic weight that makes members of the group feel better integrated in the society, by ensuring them equal opportunities of taking part in the decision-making process (Donovan 2007; Bird 2011). Thirdly, it has been argued that the political exclusion of certain ethnic groups increases the potential for future conflicts within democratic societies (Reynolds, 2006). Finally, some of the literature suggests that the mere presence of representatives of traditionally excluded social groups leads to a better representation of their preferences and demands (Vega and Firestone, 1995; Lovenduski and Norris, 2003; Celis and Childs, 2008; Wängnerud, 2009; Bird, 2011; Wüst, 2011).

In relation to this, one particular issue that has been discussed in the academic scholarship is the extent to which granting of voting rights to non-nationals in local elections leads to the improvement in their levels of representation. The view that the recognition of voting rights might facilitate the process of integration was the dominant one in countries such as Sweden, Norway, Denmark or the Netherlands, which extended local voting rights to foreign residents in the 1970s and 1980s. However, as much of the literature has argued (Bergh and Bjorklund, 2011; Soininen, 2011; Messina, 2007; Michon et al., 2007) even the extension of voting rights to non-citizens does not guarantee an adequate descriptive representation of IOMs, and in most countries where local voting rights have been extended, considerable inequalities in the representation of IOMs remain. As some of these studies have pointed out, the gap in the levels of representation can work at two levels: the underrepresentation, in relation to the majoritarian group, of IOMs as a whole; and the existence of significant differences in the levels of representation between different IOMs groups (Bird et al., 2010).

Against this general background, a growing number of studies are aiming at explaining the factors that account for these persistent gaps in the representation of IOMs. Much of the scholarship points to how inequalities in access to political representation are linked to social and economic resources, the attitudes of the majoritarian autochthonous group towards the minority groups, and the institutional and party-related barriers to political equality (see a summary in Bird et al., 2011). This paper seeks to contribute to this literature by addressing the following questions. What are the factors that help us better understand the gaps in the political representation of IOMs? Is the demographic concentration of immigrant origin population a relevant factor to account for differences in the overall levels of representation of IOMs (once a certain threshold is passed)? Or are these differences better explained by a political opportunity structure (hereafter referred to as POS) approach? Within the latter, do parties –and more precisely party ideology- play a relevant role in determining different levels of IOMs representation? Or are party system related factors such as party fragmentation also relevant to account for these differences? Do all IOMs equally benefit from a favorable POS or are some groups more likely to benefit than others? Last but not least, are overall categories of migrant groups (economic vs. non-economic groups, co-ethnics vs. culturally distinctive groups, etc) useful to explain gaps in levels

of representation, or is the nationality of origin a better social category to account for these differences?

In order to address these questions we look at the Spanish case (cf. on limited research on southern Europe, Schönwalder and Bloemraad, 2012), focusing on the 2011 local elections in Madrid region. Madrid constitutes an ideal case study for this topic for several reasons. First, Madrid stands out in the Spanish migration map as one of the regions with the highest increase in immigrants' share within the overall population, as the percentage of foreign-born residents multiplied by five in the last decade, currently reaching 20% of the total population. Secondly, this large migration wave has been very diverse, with succeeding inflows of Latin American, West and East European, North African and Asian origin. Thirdly, in Spain (and in Madrid region within it) there is a substantial variation in the electoral rights enjoyed by different IOM groups which gives us the opportunity to validate a number of hypotheses on how the POS affects the chances to obtain political representation by different groups. Finally, the municipalities of Madrid region offer also enough variation in terms of ideological and party system fragmentation at the local level: whereas some municipalities are clearly dominated by the two main nationwide parties -the Popular Party (PP) and the Socialist Party (PSOE)- in many others four or more parties-both mainstream as well as independent locally based parties- obtain representation in the local assembly. All these aspects considered jointly make the Madrid region an ideal case to examine how residential concentration, different migrant categories, and POS factors have an impact on different level of political representation for IOMs.

Nonetheless, at its present stage, this paper is quite descriptive in its aims. In the following pages we measure the levels of political representation for different IOMs against the background of the literature on "descriptive" representation, and we test some of the aforementioned independent variables through simple bivariate analyses. The paper is structured as follows. In the next section we discuss the literature on the various factors that help to account for the persistent inequalities in the political representation of IOMs, focusing particularly on those for which we count with enough variation in our data: residential concentration, access of different immigrant groups to different types of resources, and POS. In that section we also outline the main hypotheses that we will be assessing in the paper. We then follow with a brief introduction of the Spanish and the Madrid region context, and we explain the data we have collected. The third section presents the main results of the study, following two consecutive stages. First, we aggregate IOMs in broader categories according to their regional origin. This allows us to establish distinctions between different groups in their access to economic (migrants from the EU15 vs. other groups) or cultural resources (migrants from Latin American origin vs. other groups); or with regard to each group's POS. At a second stage, we look at different levels of representation according to national origins, to ascertain if there are significant differences by country of birth within broader regional categories. We conclude the paper with a brief discussion of the implications of our results for the research on the descriptive representation of IOMs.

I. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As previously mentioned, against the general background pointing towards a pattern of under-representation of IOMs across democratic societies (Bird et al 2010), a growing number of studies sought to deepen on the factors that account for this representational gap. Generally, these possible explanatory factors correspond to two different -although interdependent- approaches, related both to individuals characteristics and those of the ethnic groups they belong to, as well as the political contexts in which they incorporate.

First, drawing on different strands of the mainstream literature on political representation, much of the scholarship has argued on the effects of the background characteristics on immigrant's propensity to gain elected offices. Starting with the set of immigrant related characteristics, a number of studies have highlighted the importance of the socio-economic resources of IOMs at two different levels: the individual and group characteristics. Socio-economic resources have been, for a long time, deemed essential for political participation and political incorporation (Nie et al., 1969a; Nie et al., 1969b; Verba and Nie, 1972). More recently, they have been found to profoundly shape the opportunities for participation of ethnic and racial minorities (Verba et al., 1995). Larger and better-off minorities, as well as those living in areas of greater minority density are often more likely to gain political representation. Resources are not just limited to financial means, but also extend to cognitive (usually related to education) and civic skills. Education has traditionally been considered an important individual resource with a positive impact on electoral participation: higher educational levels imply lower costs to access and process political information, thus facilitating political participation (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993; Blais 2000) and, in turn, political representation.

Additionally, some individual characteristics, such as language proficiency or length of stay in the host country have been also highlighted as structural reasons that can facilitate or hinder immigrants electoral mobilization and implicitly, their political representation. In this vein, the main argument is that newcomers find it more difficult to engage themselves in electoral politics in the host society when facing linguistic barriers; thus, a minimum of language proficiency seems crucial for ensuring their electoral mobilization (De Sipio 1996; Ramacrishnan and Espenshade 2001; Jones-Correa 2001; González-Ferrer 2011). Subsequently, a longer period of residence also has beneficial effects on electoral engagement, as it ensures immigrants familiarity with the political norms and values of their host countries, thus guaranteeing their adaptability to the new political environment (Chui *et al.* 1991; Bass and Casper 2001; White *et al.* 2008; Morales and Giugni 2011).

In any case, related to this body of work, another strand in the scholarly literature argues that what is more relevant is not so much the resources that IOMs have as individuals, but the resources that they effectively mobilize as a group. In this regard, spatial concentration of IOMs is deemed to be critical to facilitate group mobilization,

particularly since some minority-group members can find it difficult to gain seats outside the districts with very high share of minority voters (Fieldhouse and Cutts, 2008; Schonwalder 2011). Spatial concentration -especially when coinciding with electoral district boundaries- sets the conditions for IOMs to have leverage and act as a voting block that will trigger a response from political parties, as they will have a strong incentive to reach out to a constituency of activated and coordinated voters. Based on this argument, we should expect that IOMs living in areas where a) there is a large concentration of foreign-born residents in general (*Hypothesis 1a*) and; b) their own group is more numerous (*Hypothesis 1b*) will be more successful in achieving party nominations and elected office. In the current draft of this paper we have only been able to assess the impact of geographical concentration of IOMs as a whole, but in future drafts we will also consider the impact of demographic concentration of specific groups.

A second type of group resources is related to those enjoyed by different IOMs in relation to their “ethnic” or other group characteristics. As argued, for instance, by Soinien (2011) for the Swedish case, party organizations operate under a common understanding or assumption of ethnic homogeneity and a ‘normal shared identity’ which creates social closure. This means that IOMs as a whole will be often in a position of disadvantage to become candidates in party lists, but also that minorities from certain backgrounds will be in a position of more disadvantage than others, thus leading to a stratification of “ethnic penalties”. From this perspective we derive two hypotheses. First, groups coming from EU-15 countries who, on the whole, follow the pattern of a non-economic migration flow, enjoy higher level of economic and educational resources than other IOMs, which places them in a better position to obtain political representation (*Hypothesis 2a*). Subsequently, IOMs who are not native speakers or arrived more recently to the country will be also more disadvantaged in relation to other groups. Hence, following this second argument, we should expect that IOMs who are native speakers (Latin Americans, in our case) will be more successful in achieving representation than other groups, like Moroccans, Asians, or IOMs coming from other EU Member States (*Hypothesis 2b*).

In any case, independently of immigrants characteristics, a large body of the literature puts forward the argument that the levels of descriptive representation foreign-born residents achieve in the electoral sphere also depend on the political opportunity structure that the host country or the local receiving contexts offer them. Advocates of this approach argue that systematic attention must be given to the formal and informal political conditions that, if not the immediate agents of change, nonetheless can encourage, discourage, and channel the actions of political actors. In seeking to explain immigrant incorporation, the relevant contextual variables would include a state’s legal and institutional dimensions, such as citizenship laws; party system related factors, including electoral laws, the distribution of power in the party system, and parties’ organisational structures; and finally, informal or discursive variables, such as established notions of who and what are considered to be legitimate actors in the political system (Donovan 2007: 458-9; Koopmas, 2004: 451; Kittilson and Tate, 2004).

With regard to the first set of factors, broader aspects of the political context and setting, such as the citizenship or immigrant integration regime/model (Ireland, 2000; Koopmans et al., 2005; Donovan 2007) shape both the political and institutional efforts made to accommodate and respond to the diversity generated by immigration. Applied to our case, on the institutional side, the implementation of the European citizenship and the extension of voting rights to foreigners have established important differences on the POS faced by the most relevant migrant groups in Spain; thus, as we shall argue in the following section, these differences shape the probability of IOMs political mobilization and, in turn, their possibility to achieve political representation. Moreover, the Spanish legal framework for naturalization also creates important differences between groups that might also have an effect on their different levels of political representation. Following the more detailed explanation in section 3 of the paper, we argue that, given the implementation of the European citizenship, EU nationals enjoy the most favorable POS to obtain political representation; followed by groups of Latin American origin, given their easier access to Spanish citizenship, whereas the remaining groups are in the least advantageous situation with regard to the POS, with neither a privileged access to local voting rights nor privileged access to nationality (*Hypothesis 3*). Finally, within this first type of factors related to the POS, electoral rules and systems also seem to matter. Aspects such as the degree of proportionality of the electoral system (Moser, 2008), district boundaries (Canon, 1999; Lublin, 1999) and magnitude can affect minority representation (Rule and Zimmerman 1994; Togeby 1999; Bergh and Bjorklund 2003; Togeby, 2008). However, given our focus on a single-country study and the reduced variation that we find in relation to some of these aspects, there are fewer hypotheses we can establish in this respect.

The second dimension of political opportunity structures for minority representation relates to party and party systems. Political parties play a critical role as gatekeepers to the electoral process and so it is important to take into account the political opportunities they provide to migrant representatives. The way in which parties react to growing diversity with organised efforts to recruit members and candidates from minority groups will determine their access to representative office (Messina, 1989; Geddes, 1998; Saggat, 2000; Kittilson and Tate, 2004). Claro da Fonseca (2011) summarizes some of the constraints and incentives that condition party behaviour in the nomination of IOM candidates: aspects such as the potential mobilization of IOMs as voters and the counter-mobilization of anti-immigrant parties, or the competitiveness of the electoral contests will all be relevant determinants of the chances of IOMs to gain nomination and elected office. This includes their political stances on migrants and migrant issues; party organisations' openness to migrants; their electoral strategies regarding migrant groups; and their nomination processes. Our study focuses on two of these factors, for which we consider two different hypotheses. First, we assess the role of party ideology in IOMs political representation: parties of the left are thought to face a structure of incentives more favorable to 'taking the risk' of nominating IOM candidates (Donovan, 2007: 474) and, therefore, we expect them to be more inclusive than parties of the right (*Hypothesis 4*). Secondly, we also expect the competitiveness of

the electoral contest to have a positive effect on inclusion and therefore we hypothesize that higher levels of party fragmentation will lead to higher levels of inclusion (*Hypothesis 5*). In future drafts of this paper we will consider also the role of ‘incumbency’ in the expectation that incumbents are more conservative in their risk-taking than challengers as they have more to lose.

Summing up, previous research has pointed out that the political representation of IOMs should be examined through a combination of several factors that operate at different levels of aggregation, adding explanatory variables linked to the particular institutional and political contexts in which immigrants incorporate, to the individual or group-related characteristics. Against this general background, the present papers seeks to test the validity of these different interpretative models of IOMs political representation within the Spanish society, particularly focusing on the case of the municipalities of Madrid region. First, we pay attention to the extent to which socio-demographic characteristics of immigrants influence their representation patterns in local politics: thus, we contend that a large concentration of foreign-born residents will increase their chance of getting political representation (*Hypotheses 1a and 1b*); and that groups with higher levels of economic resources, such as those coming from EU15 countries, or with higher cultural/ethnic resources, such as those of Latin American origin, will also have a greater chance to obtain political representation (*Hypotheses 2a and 2b*). Moving on from the socio-demographic characteristics of the groups to political context related factors, we also contend that that the implementation of European citizenship and the Spanish naturalization regime create a particularly advantageous POS to obtain political representation for EU nationals, and to a lesser extent, for Latin-Americans; whereas it is least advantageous for the remaining groups (*Hypothesis 3*). In this section we have also considered the effect of a second POS dimension for minority representation, around two propositions: we expect parties of the left to be more inclusive than parties of the right (*Hypothesis 4*) and that higher levels of party fragmentation will lead to higher levels of inclusion (*Hypothesis 5*)

In the next section we present the case study, describe the context and the data collected. And in the fourth section of the paper we present the main findings and assess some of the hypotheses outlined through bivariate analyses.

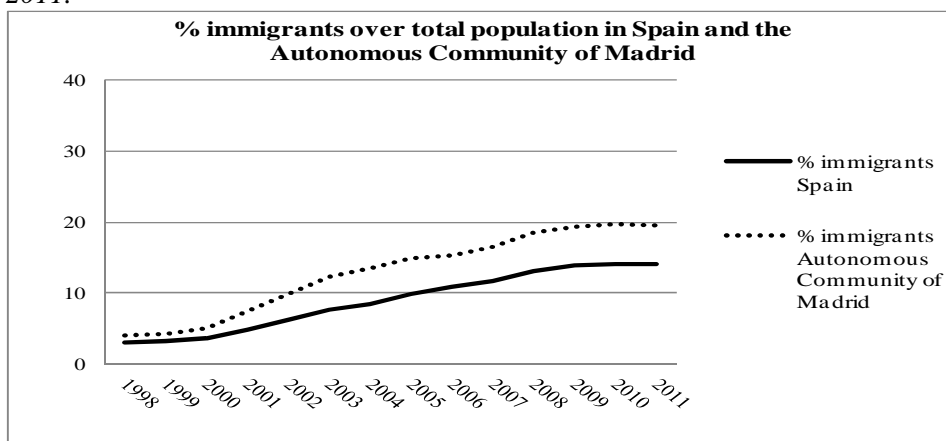
II. IMMIGRATION AND LOCAL ELECTIONS IN MADRID REGION

As previously mentioned, there are several reasons that justify our selection of Spain and, within it, the Madrid region as ideal settings for studying the political representation of IOMs. First, international migration flows to Spain have been unprecedented in the last two decades, the foreign-born population increasing six-fold in just twenty years: from around 1.000.000 in the early 1990s to 6.677.839 in 2011, which represented 14 per cent of the total population. The increase in the immigrant population – though steady since the 1990s – rapidly accelerated since 2000 and was

multiplied by five in less than a decade (Figure 1). This entailed an average entry of around half a million individuals per year, the strong and sustained growth of the Spanish economy during the first half of the 2000s favoring the inflow of migrant workers mostly from Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Maghreb (cf. Cebolla and González, 2008). In just ten years, Spain received such a volume of immigrants that its foreign-born population was in 2009 larger than that residing in the UK or the Netherlands and similar to that in Belgium and Austria, all of them countries with a much longer immigration experience (Morales et al., 2010).

Moreover, this demographic diversification sustained by successive migration waves gained particular visibility in some Autonomous Communities, acquiring special relevance in the region surrounding the country's capital city. As shown in Figure 1, during the last decade, the share of foreign-born residents over the total population in Madrid Metropolitan Area was constantly higher than the national average, the total number of immigrants residing in the municipalities of this Autonomous Community increasing from 202.683 in 1998 to 1.271.240 in 2011, thus reaching almost 20 per cent of the total population.

Figure 1. Trends in immigration to Spain and the Autonomous Community of Madrid, 1998-2011.

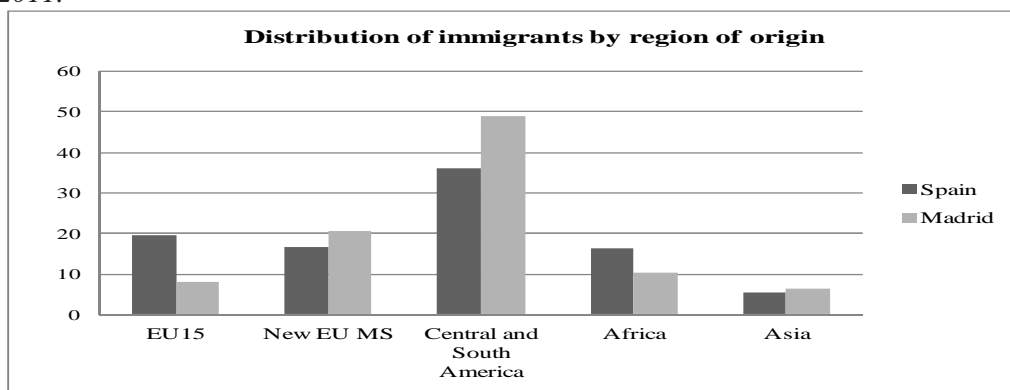


Source: Own elaboration with the data of the Spanish National Institute for Statistics (INE), several years.

Secondly, migration inflows to Spain stand out also for their diversity with regard to the regions of origin. Considering the country as a whole, nearly 40% of immigrants come from other EU Member States (Figure 2). Within this group, we might distinguish those coming from EU15 countries -in which the British are the most representative nationality- many of them retired, and who concentrate on coastal cities; from the most recent wave of migrants coming from the new EU Member States, who entered the country looking for employment. With regard to non-EU inflows, Latin America is the most frequent region of origin, with over 35% of all foreign-born population; but there also relevant waves coming from the Maghreb and Asia. Examining migration inflows in Spain by citizenship, in 2011, Romanians were the largest group (12% of the total foreign-born population), followed by immigrants originating in Morocco (11,5%), Ecuador (7%), UK (6%), Colombia (6%), Germany

(4%), Bolivia (3%), Peru (3%) and France (3%) (INE 2011). Most of these groups generally represent economic migration flows, with the exception the foreign-born residents from EU15 countries that in most cases count with a migration project that goes beyond a merely economic reasoning.

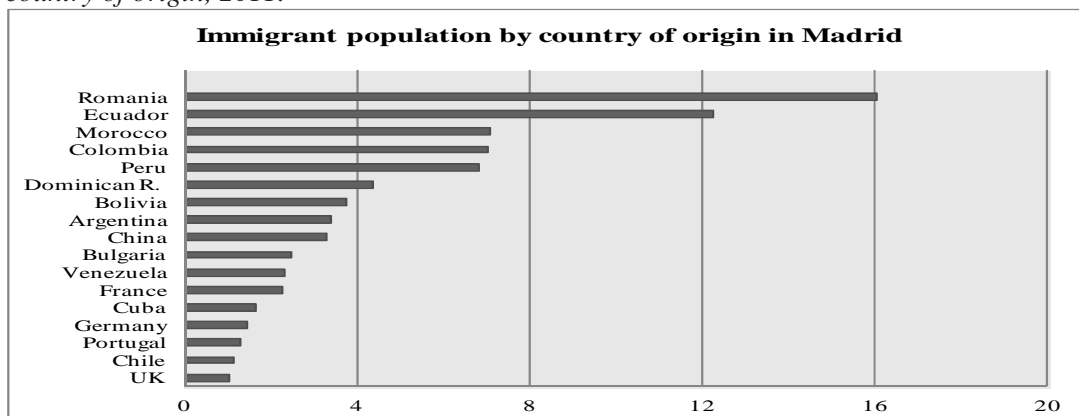
Figure 2. Immigration to Spain and the Autonomous Community of Madrid, by region of origin, 2011.



Source: Own elaboration with the data of the Spanish National Institute for Statistics (INE), 2011.

As shown in Figure 2, the distribution of migrant flows by regions of origin in Madrid is different from the national average in that Latin Americans are better represented than EU citizens. This is due to the fact that non-economic migration flows from EU15 countries are less significant in Madrid, with German, British or French citizens adding to less than 5% of the overall immigrant population in the region. However, when we take into consideration immigrants' distribution by country of origin (Figure 3), we observe that, also in Madrid, Romanians are the largest group (16% of the overall foreign-born population), followed by Ecuadorians (12%), Moroccans (7%), Colombians (7%), Peruvians (7%) and Dominicans (4%). Observing these inflows from a chronological perspective, the Moroccan wave is the oldest (beginning in the 1990s in its earlier manifestations), whereas the Romanian is the most recent, with the Latin American wave in the middle (Cebolla, 2011).

Figure 3. Distribution of immigrant residents in the Autonomous Community of Madrid, by country of origin, 2011.



Source: Own elaboration with the data of the Spanish National Institute for Statistics (INE), 2011.

This diversity of the migration flows is relevant not only in terms of demographic concentration of different groups, or their respective access to economic, social or cultural resources, but also with respect to their incorporation to the electoral sphere, as each group faces a different POS in terms of local political rights, with some of them clearly in a most advantaged position (EU nationals and, to lesser extent, Latin Americans) than others (migrants originating from Africa or Asia). On the one hand, after the implementation of the Maastricht Treaty, non-national EU citizens were granted the right to vote and stand as candidates in Spanish local elections under the regulations of the Directive 94/80/EC, in effect from the 1999 local elections onward. After the 2004-7 (10+2) EU enlargements, voting rights were extended also to the new EU Eastern European nationalities, coming into effect since the 2007 local elections. The consequence of this extension of the suffrage to EU citizens was that a considerable number of municipalities in Spain (also in Madrid) were potentially affected by this change, as 10 per cent or more of their population were EU nationals.

On the other hand, there had been for some time a political debate around the need to extend local voting rights to non-EU foreign residents, a traditional claim of the left-wing party United Left (Izquierda Unida). However, the limitation by a constitutional precept that local voting rights can be only granted on the basis of reciprocity agreements with third countries, meant that its effective implementation required a long process of bilateral diplomatic relations (Closa 1998; Santolaya and Díaz Crego, 2008; Moya, 2010b). Eventually, the Socialist government recently enacted a number of international reciprocity agreements that allowed some (mostly Latin American) immigrant groups to vote in Spanish local elections, starting with 2011.² More exactly, reciprocity agreements were signed with Bolivia, Iceland, Peru, Ecuador, Chile, New Zealand, Colombia, Paraguay and Cape Verde, thus applying to some of the largest migration groups residing in Madrid region, although relevant nationalities such as Dominicans, Argentineans, Cubans or Brazilians, to cite the most representative cases, were not finally included in the reciprocity agreements.

However, unlike the formal regulations applied for EU citizens, these agreements recognized only the active suffrage (i.e. the right to vote), whereas the passive one (i.e. the right to stand as a candidate) is still conditioned by the acquisition of the Spanish citizenship. Moreover, other non-EU nationals (in particular Moroccans, as the most significant non-EU community) can exercise their voting rights only after the acquisition of the Spanish citizenship. Yet, there are also significant differences between immigrant communities *vis-à-vis* this aspect: whereas Latin Americans are in a more privileged situation as they are required only two years of prior legal residence, other third-country nationals like Moroccans, for example, are eligible to apply for the Spanish citizenship only after 10 years of legal residence in the country.

In any case, the gradual extension of voting rights in municipal elections to different foreign groups raised the visibility of the non-national electorate in local

² A similar bilateral agreement had been signed back in 1990 with Norway, still in effect.

politics in Spain (Méndez 2010). As Vintila (2012) showed in her study, taking into consideration the country as a whole, the electoral potential of this foreign electorate increased from 2.9% in the 1999 local elections to almost 7% of the total potential voters in 2011, when 2.464.130 foreign residents were eligible to vote. By the time of the latest municipal elections, non-national EU citizens counted with the highest electoral potential, as they represented almost 86% of the total potential foreign voters, with an almost equal distribution between EU15 citizens (with British, German, Italian, Portuguese and French citizens as the most representative nationalities) and foreigners from the new Member States (mainly Romanians and Bulgarians). Additionally, third-country nationals allowed to vote for the first time in 2011 accounted for only 14% of the total foreign residents entitled to cast their ballot in these elections. Hence, even though some sources had initially estimated an increase in voters between 600.000 and one million due to the incorporation of TCN as part of the electorate in 2011, the registration requirements applied in their case- and particularly the prior residence condition-, meant that only 352.000 non-EU nationals were eligible to apply for inclusion in the electoral roll, with a higher representation of nationals of Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia and Peru.

In any case, despite their initial electoral potential, foreign residents generally showed low levels of electoral engagement in local politics, as only a small share of eligible EU and TCN voters took advantage of their electoral rights in Spain (Méndez 2010). For the 2011 municipal elections, only 20% of the total number of non-national residents entitled to vote were enrolled in the Electoral Census for Foreign Residents (CERE), the registration rate reaching 26% for EU15 citizens, in comparison with 14% for foreigners from the new EU Member States and 15% for TCN (Vintila 2012). Nonetheless, the uncertainty surrounding the eventual electoral strength of the foreign voting introduced some interesting dynamics among parties of the municipalities affected, in terms of attempting to incorporate candidates in their lists to attract the potential new electorate.

In sum, the former legal provisions shape a quite distinct POS for different foreign groups in terms of access to electoral rights at the local level: no doubt, EU nationals stands out as the group with the greater access to voting rights without the need to become Spanish citizens, since the legal barriers are lower for them than for those Latin American nationalities with reciprocity agreements. On the other hand, a more favourable access to the naturalization process gives migrant groups of Latin American origin a comparative advantage in their access to overall political rights, not just voting rights at the local level, also when compared to EU nationals. Finally, migrant groups from Morocco or Asian origin (Chinese, for instance) are in the least advantageous position, with neither a privileged access to local voting rights nor privileged access to nationality.

Regarding the possibility of immigrant residents to access voting rights through the acquisition of the Spanish citizenship, Table 1 (and Figures 1 & 2 in Appendix) show, for example, that nearly half a million foreigners acquired the Spanish citizenship

in the period 2001-2009. Over 75 per cent of these naturalizations involved applicants from Latin American nationalities, from Ecuadorians, Colombians, and Peruvians in particular, thus coinciding with the most relevant migrant flows coming from this region in the last decade. However, the acquisitions of citizenship from these nationalities took place especially after 2005 when rates of naturalization increased substantially. Before 2005, there were also significant naturalization rates involving Moroccans, Dominicans and Cubans, three migration flows with a longer tradition in Spain (Figures 1 & 2 in Appendix). Despite higher legal barriers, more than one out of ten naturalizations involve citizens from Moroccan origin. By contrast, naturalizations by citizens from Chinese origin are almost insignificant, whereas the naturalization rates for non-national EU citizens are also quite low, the latter deriving most probably not only from the fact that migration waves from other EU Member States are more recent, but also because these groups enjoy different opportunities and legal entitlements while residing in Spain based on their status of citizens of the Union.

Table 1. Naturalizations in Spain (2001-9). Total number of naturalizations and percentage of each group over total.

Region/country of origin	Total naturalizations (N)	% over total naturalizations
LATIN AMERICA	337340	75,9
Ecuador	112188	25,3
Colombia	73952	16,6
Peru	41752	9,4
Argentina	24998	5,6
Dominican R.	24676	5,6
Cuba	20011	4,5
Venezuela	8305	1,9
Uruguay	5543	1,2
Bolivia	5102	1,1
AFRICA	71957	16,2
Morocco	55207	12,4
ASIA	18123	4,1
China	3333	0,8
EU	10737	2,4
Portugal	4705	1,1
Romania	1451	0,3
Bulgaria	850	0,2
TOTAL	444184	100.0

Source: Own elaboration from the data of the Spanish National Institute for Statistics (INE).

Finally, before explaining the research design of the study, it's worth mentioning some general aspects regarding the electoral system at the local level in Spain, that can also shape the possibilities of IOM's to get elected office. With regard to the Spanish local electoral system, the councilors that form the municipal assembly are directly elected every four years with the same calendar for all the municipalities, and it is the assembly that elects the mayor from among the councilors. Each municipality forms a single electoral constituency and the elections are based on closed and blocked lists. This means that voters vote for a list, rather than a person. Each list must contain a

number of candidates equal to the number of council seats at stake, the latter being established on the basis of the total population of each municipality.³ Council seats are apportioned proportionally to the number of votes according to the D'Hondt formula, with a minimum vote threshold of 5 per cent for the apportionment of seats. The council members are then drawn from each list using the exact ordering in which the candidates were listed. Hence, there is no scope for the expression of preferences, and parties determine the position of candidates on their lists and, implicitly, their chances of being elected to office.

Regarding the local elections in Madrid region, it's worth mentioning that the party competition is shaped, to a great extent, by the Spanish party system and its variant in Madrid region, given that regional elections take place on the same day as local elections. The core feature of the Spanish party system since the early 1990s was the intensification of the bipolar competition between the main party on the left of the political spectrum, the PSOE, and the main party on the right, the PP, both of which concentrated 73.6 per cent of the total vote in 1993 to a maximum of 83.7 per cent in the 2008 general election. In Madrid regional elections, the concentration of the vote by the two largest parties reached a maximum of 87.2 in the 2003 regional election, and fell to 79.9 in the 2011 elections, coinciding with the local election on which our sample is based. There are two smaller parties which get representation in Madrid's regional Parliament. United Left- the Greens (IU-LV) is placed to the left of the PSOE and has traditionally managed to get a greater electoral support in Madrid than in the rest of the country. Out of the four parties with representation both at the national and regional level, IU-LV has the more progressive and inclusive agenda on immigrant issues. UPyD is a new party, which got representation for the first time in Madrid's regional parliament in 2011. UPyD is a (Spanish) nationalist party with a very critical stand with the way the process of devolution to the regions has evolved in Spain; but it does not belong to the right-wing populist family and it does not have an explicitly xenophobic discourse. In the left-right scale, voters place UPyD between the PP and the PSOE, but closer to the conservatives than to the socialists.

Table 2 shows electoral support for the main four parties in the last municipal elections in Madrid region. There are also another four tiny parties included in our sample that presented lists in more than one municipality and that cannot, therefore, be defined as locally based parties. Other than this, locally based lists are also relevant in many municipalities, to the extent that, added together, they would constitute the third largest party both in electoral support and in the number of elected councilors. So although party fragmentation is quite moderate at the regional level, we find quite a lot

³ Since in our sample we only have municipalities with a population above 5000 the number of councillors in our sample oscillates between 13 and 57: 13 for those between 5,001 and 10,000; 17 for those between 10,001 and 20,000; 21 for those between 20,001 and 50,000; 25 for those between 50,001 and 100,000; and for municipalities over 100,001 inhabitants, an extra councillor is added for every 100,000 inhabitants or fraction, and still another, if necessary, to avoid local assemblies with even numbers.

of variation in party fragmentation at the local level, with several municipalities where one or more locally based lists compete and get representation.⁴

Table 2. Electoral results for the 2011 local elections in the Autonomous Community of Madrid (Parties of the sample presenting lists in more than one municipality)

<i>Party</i>		<i>% Valid Vote</i>	<i>% Elected Councillors</i>	<i># Elected Councillors</i>
P.P.	People's Party	48.2	49.5	1.207
P.S.O.E.	Spanish Socialist Workers Party	24.1	24.2	546
IU-LV	United Left- The Greens	10.8	11.1	178
UPyD	Union Progress and Democracy	6.9	7.1	64
ECOLO	Ecolo Greens	0.6	0.6	3
C.D.L.	Liberal Democratic Centre	0.2	0.2	7
España 2000	Spain 2000	0.1	0.04	1
UCL	Centrist Liberal Union	0.1	0.08	4
Locally based Lists (see Table A1 in the Appendix)		9	12,11	277

Source: own elaboration from the Electoral Database of the Spanish Ministry of Interior, 2011.

III. RESEARCH DESIGN: CASES, SAMPLE, AND DATA COLLECTING PROCEDURE

Despite the growing presence of immigrant-origin communities we highlighted before both in the case of Spain, in general, as well as in Madrid region, in particular, we know very little about their levels of political representation at the local level. We lack systematic data available on the immigrant-origin of the candidates nominated on the electoral lists for local elections, as the archives of the Ministry of Interior (the Spanish authority that centralizes the lists of candidates for all elections) do not contain information regarding the country of birth, nor the country of citizenship of the candidates. Given this lack of data, for this research we conducted an original survey in different municipalities of Madrid region in which immigrants make up a sizeable share of the total population. In doing so, we focused on all immigrant-origin groups, a methodological decision that enabled us to draw comparisons between several communities counting with different migration patterns and different political opportunities influencing their electoral visibility in local politics.

Hence, our sample includes all those municipalities of the Autonomous Community of Madrid with an overall population of more than 5.000 inhabitants (thus excluding the case of very small municipalities) and in which immigrants represented, in 2011, more than 15 per cent of the total population (Table 3). With regard to this threshold, although the extent to which immigrants are concentrated enough to become a significant share of a constituency's population is still a controversial issue (Schonwalder 2011), we have considered that 15 per cent foreign-born population is

⁴ The complete list of the parties included in our simple can be found in Table A.1 of the Appendix.

sufficient for ensuring a high electoral visibility of immigrants, thus raising the probabilities of immigrant-origin candidate nomination (Bergh and Bjorklud 2011).

Table 3. Municipalities included in the sample

<i>Municipalities included in the sample (% immigrants)</i>		
El Álamo (17)	Alcalá de Henares (22)	Alcobendas (21)
Algete (18)	Aranjuez (16)	Arganda del Rey (28)
Becerril de la Sierra (16)	El Boalo (20)	Brunete (24)
Campo Real (19)	Cercedilla (16)	Chinchón (16)
Ciempozuelos (21)	Cobeña (21)	Collado Mediano (20)
Collado Villalba (24)	Colmenarejo (19)	Colmenar Viejo (19)
Coslada (23)	El Escorial (16)	Fuenlabrada (16)
Fuente el Saz (20)	Galapagar (26)	Getafe (17)
Guadalix de la Sierra (18)	Guadarrama (17)	Hoyo de Manzanares (18)
Humanes de Madrid (19)	Madrid (21)	Majadahonda (20)
Manzanares el Real (18)	Meco (20)	Mejorada del Campo (17)
Miraflores de la Sierra (23)	El Molar (29)	Morata de Tajuna (17)
Móstoles (16)	Navalcarnero (15)	Nuevo Baztán (20)
Paracuellos de Jarama (20)	Parla (28)	Pinto (16)
Rivas Vaciamadrid (15)	Las Rozas de Madrid (16)	San Agustín Guadalix (25)
San Fernando de Henares (19)	San Lorenzo el Escorial (17)	San Martín de la Vega (28)
San Sebastián de los Reyes (16)	Sevilla la Nueva (18)	Soto del Real (16)
Torrejón de Ardoz (22)	Torres de la Alameda (16)	Valdemorillo (19)
Valdemoro (17)	Villa del Prado (22)	Villanueva del Pardillo (19)
Villanueva de la Cañada (22)		

Source: Own elaboration from the data of the Spanish National Institute for Statistics (INE), 2011. In brackets, the share of immigrant residents over the total population of each municipality.

Additionally, in each one of these 58 municipalities included in the sample we sent our survey to all the electoral lists that had gained at least one seat in the 2011 local elections, with the aim of including in the study not only the mainstream political parties represented at the national level, but also those that are particularly relevant for each specific local context. Since our interests in this study also lie in the comparison between nation-wide parties, we adopted a second research strategy of sending our survey to all parties with representation at the national and regional level in all the municipalities in which they presented lists for the 2011 local elections, even if they had not gained seats at the local level (this second criteria basically applied to IU-LV and UPyD lists that did not obtain representation at the local level). Following these two concurrent criteria, our final sample includes more than fifty different political parties, of which eight are distributed between several municipalities of Madrid region (See Table 2), while the rest are locally based lists for the 2011 local election only in one municipality.

Finally, for each one of these parties we designed an individualized questionnaire with the names of all the candidates included in the electoral lists for the 2011 local elections-255 questionnaires in total.⁵ We created our own dataset of local party contacts and sent the questionnaires to the relevant people asking them to identify the IOM candidates, their country and region of origin, and how sure the respondent

⁵ The names of the candidates are published in the official bulletins of the provinces and regions during the electoral period.

was of the information provided. We explicitly provided in each questionnaire a definition of the immigrant-origin candidates based on two criteria: country of birth and country of citizenship. Hence, we defined as immigrant-origin nominees those candidates: a) born abroad of non-Spanish parents (i.e. first generation immigrants) or; b) born in Spain of at least one non-Spanish parent (i.e. offspring of immigrants). Additionally, we also requested some elementary information about the respondents (gender, age, role in the local party organization and length of party membership). The questionnaires were sent by e-mail to local party contacts - accompanied by a letter of presentation of the project and sometimes a letter of support of the national or regional party headquarters- and were in most cases returned also by e-mail, but sometimes were completed through a follow-up telephone call and interview.

As shown in Table 4, after applying all these criteria, our final sample counts with a great variance in terms of size of the municipalities included in the analysis, ranking from 5.159 inhabitants in the smallest municipality (Becerril de la Sierra) to 3.265.038 inhabitants in the biggest one (Madrid capital). More than one third of our sample is constituted by municipalities in which immigrants represent more than 20 per cent of the total population, with the highest share of immigrant population being observed in the municipalities of El Molar, Arganda del Rey and San Martín de la Vega, where almost 3 out of 10 residents had been born abroad. Moreover, the distribution of the foreign-born population residing in these municipalities by specific groups is well diversified, generally subscribing to the pattern observed at the regional level, in the sense in which EU citizens (mainly Romanians and, to a lesser extent, EU15 immigrants) and Latin Americans (with Ecuadorians, Colombians and Peruvians as main nationalities) form the large majority of the immigrant population, with a substantially lower representation of migration inflows from Africa or Asia (see Table 1 in Appendix). Finally, as to the distribution of the sample by political parties represented in the local government, more than a half of the municipalities included in the study were governed, before May 2011, by the conservative People's Party (PP) which also controlled the regional government both before and after the May 2011 local elections. The Socialist Party (PSOE) governed almost 20 per cent of our sample, while the rest of the municipalities taken into consideration in the analysis were divided between the United Left (IU) and locally-based lists. After the elections, the PP governs an even greater number of municipalities.

With regard to the response rate, in all the municipalities included in the sample we received at least one completed questionnaire from one of the parties we have contacted, so the partial response rate is 100 per cent. However, we have only obtained responses from all the parties in three out of ten municipalities. By parties, we obtained the highest response rate from IU-LV, followed by the PP (around 90% in each case); and the lowest from locally based lists and UPyD, although even in these cases almost half of the party organizations contacted in each case completed the questionnaire.

Table 4. Main descriptives of the sample

<i>Municipalities included in the sample: main descriptives</i>	
# cases (total)	58
# cases 15%-20% immigrant residents	36
# cases more than 20% immigrant residents	22
Min. % group	15.3
Max. % group	29.3
Average % group	19.5
Median % group	18.7
Min. population size	5159
Max. population size	3265038
Average population size municipality	96565
Median population size municipality	16745
% cases PP in local government	67.2
% cases PSOE in local government	19.0
% cases IU in local government	5.2
% cases other parties in local government	8.6
% partial response rate of municipalities ¹	100.0
% full response rate of municipalities ²	31.0
% response rate of parties	73.3
% response rate of PP	89.7
% response rate of PSOE	72.4
% response rate of IU	93.1
% response rate of UPyD	54.8
% response rate of other parties	44.0

¹ Municipalities for which at least one questionnaire was completed.

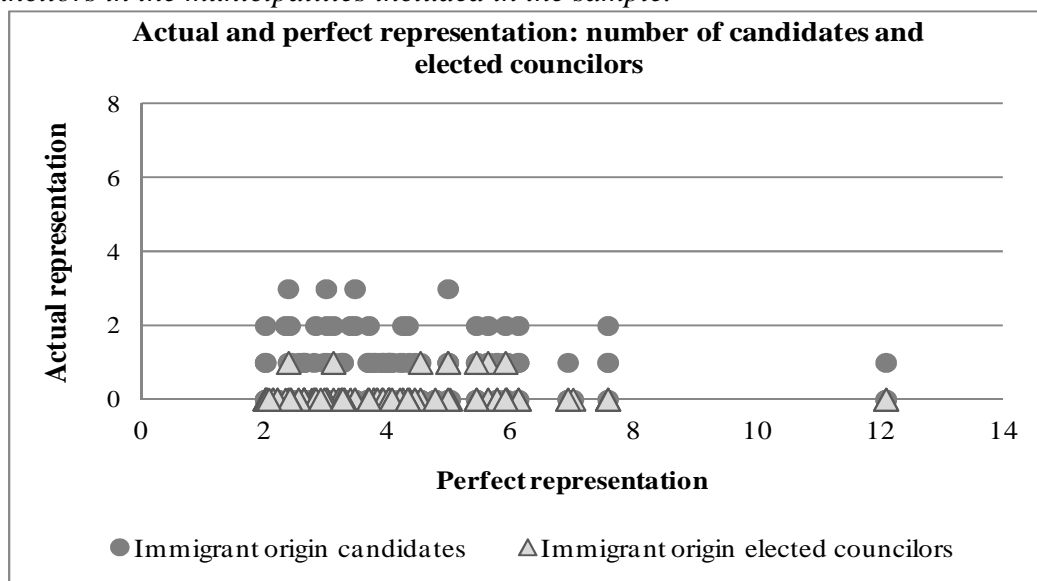
² Municipalities for which all questionnaires were completed.

We now turn, in the next section, to describe the main findings of our study, providing both a number of descriptive univariate and bivariate results

IV. ANALISIS AND RESULTS

How successful have IOMs been in gaining, first, nomination as candidates in the party lists and, second, elected office? Figure 4 compares, based on the electoral lists of the parties included in our sample, the actual number of immigrant-origin nominees and elected councilors with the number that should be expected if perfect representation was achieved. The main results indicate towards a clear pattern of IOMs under-representation in the 2011 local elections in Madrid Region. Following the information provided by local party organizations, and considering the share of foreign-born population, in most municipalities IOMs should be “entitled” between two and six councilors if perfect representation was to be achieved; and yet, in most of the lists within this range, there is either only one candidate or no candidates at all. Fewer lists within this range included two candidates, and only four lists included three candidates.

Figure 4. Actual and expected number of immigrant-origin candidates and elected councilors in the municipalities included in the sample.



Source: Own elaboration. Each unit represents a party list. Information provided only for the lists of those parties that participated in the survey. The perfect representation index was calculated in reference to the size of the overall population, the number of foreign-born residents and the actual number of councilors assigned for each municipality.

Yet the most visible gap between actual and perfect representation was identified in the largest municipality of our sample, the capital city itself, where by perfect representation standards IOMs would be “entitled” to 12 councilors; but only one of the three parties that completed our questionnaire included a candidate with an immigrant background. This single candidate in the capital city, however, was not elected. Finally, with regard to candidate’s nomination, perfect representation was achieved only in five cases, and there is only one case of over-representation in the electoral list presented by the PP in the municipality of Hoyo de Manzanares.⁶ Moreover, in none of these cases of perfect or over-representation, immigrant-origin nominees were elected as councilors. In relation to perfect “descriptive” or “statistical” representation, we find even greater gaps in relation to elected councilors than we do for nominated candidates.

Tables 5, 6 and 7 summarize a more detailed description of our results. Table 5 highlights, once again, the general pattern of under-representation in both the nomination as well as the election of immigrant-origin candidates/councilors in the 2011 local elections in Madrid region. In this respect, our data indicates that from a total number of 3650 nominees, only 106 (2.9 per cent) had an immigrant background, even though in all the municipalities of our sample, IOMs represented at least 15 per cent of the overall population. The gap is even greater with regard to elected representatives, since only 0.9 per cent of all elected councilors belong to an IOM group.

⁶ Three out of these five cases are from electoral lists presented by IU in the municipalities of Miraflores de la Sierra, Paracuellos de Jarama and Sevilla la Nueva, one from a PP list in Manzanares el Real, and one from a locally-based list, AxC, in Colmenarejo.

Moreover, Tables 5, 6 and 7 we also present some bivariate analysis that allow us to test some of the research hypotheses presented in the previous pages. First, regarding the hypothesis of the geographic concentration of immigrants, our results seem to confirm the initial expectation that the higher IOMs as a percentage of the total population, the higher the probability of inclusion of IOMs candidates in party lists (3.4% in municipalities above 20%, as compared to 2.5% in municipalities account for 15-20 % of the population). In future versions of this work we need to find out, through a multivariate analysis, if this positive relationship is related to the concentration of specific IOMs groups or nationalities. Secondly, although we did not state a specific hypothesis on this, one relevant finding of our bivariate analysis is that the lowest municipal size category within our sample (between 5.000-14.999 inhabitants) also seems positively related with the probability of inclusion of IOMs candidates, as the data seem to suggest a higher concentration of IOM nominees in small municipalities.

Table 5. Main descriptives of the sample

	<i>All candidates</i>	<i>IOM candidates</i>
# IOM candidates	3650	106
% IOM candidates	100.0	2.9
Concentration municipalities 15-20% immigrants	100.0	2.5
Concentration municipalities 20% + immigrants	100.0	3.4
Municipalities 5,000-14,999 inhabs.	100.0	4.0
Municipalities 15,000-49,999 inhabs.	100.0	2.8
Municipalities 50,000-99,999 inhabs.	100.0	2.3
Municipalities 100,000+	100.0	2.5
% IOM candidates PP lists	100.0	2.9
% IOM candidates UPyD lists	100.0	4.0
% IOM candidates PSOE lists	100.0	1.6
% IOM candidates IU lists	100.0	3.7
% IOM candidates other parties lists	100.0	2.6
% IOM candidates municipalities 2 parties local gov.	100.0	0
% IOM candidates municipalities 3 parties local gov.	100.0	2.9
% IOM candidates municipalities 4 parties local gov.	100.0	2.7
% IOM candidates municipalities 5 parties local gov.	100.0	3.0
% IOM candidates municipalities 6 parties local gov.	100.0	5.0
# Elected councillors	918	8
% Elected councillors	100.0	0.9

Source: Own elaboration. Percentage of rows.

Thirdly, regarding the POS hypotheses and the role of political parties as gatekeepers, we find some differences across the parties in their degree of inclusion of IOMs in their lists, but it is dubious they follow a clear left-right divide pattern.⁷ Against the hypothesis that stated that left-wing parties will be more prone to include IOMs as candidates in their list, our results show that the Conservative PP is considerably more inclusive than the main party of the left, the PSOE (see also Table 2 in Appendix for distribution of the IOM nominees by parties and municipalities). IU-LV (to the left of the PSOE) is, in turn, more inclusive than the PP, but less so than UPyD (although the response rate from this party is significantly lower than in the other three).

⁷ The parties have been ordered approximately from more to the left to more to the right.

These results would suggest a small vs. large parties logic. Indeed, the locally-based lists are more inclusive than PSOE, for example, but still less inclusive than the rest of the mainstream parties like PP, IU or UPyD.

However, when exploring the position of IOM nominees on the electoral lists of each party, we observe an interesting finding (Table 6). More exactly, even though the PP seem to be more inclusive than the Socialists in terms of IOM nomination, it is the PSOE that includes IOM candidates in “safer” positions in comparison with the PP, as the average position that IOMs occupy on the electoral list of the latter is higher than their average position on PSOE’s lists. Additionally, other parties, including the IU, the UPyD and locally-based parties also seem to nominate IOM candidates in “safer” positions than the Conservative PP. However, these results need to be interpreted with caution, as they might be misleading due to the different response rate achieved from the different political parties included in the sample.

Table 6. Position on the electoral lists of IOM nominees, by political parties

Political parties	N	Mean	Std deviation	Minimum	Maximum
PP	28	15.5	5.653	7	27
PSOE	13	9.9	7.100	2	23
IU	38	11.0	5.199	1	22
UPyD	16	12.9	6.486	3	26
Other	11	10.6	5.628	4	20
Total	106	12.3	6.074	1	27

Source: Own elaboration.

Last but not least, we have added at the bottom of Table 5 the number of political parties represented in the local councils, as a proxy to analyze the effect that party fragmentation at the local level might have on the inclusion of immigrant-origin candidates (also see Table 2 in Appendix). In relation to this aspect, the results seem to confirm, in part, our expectations that a higher number of parties competing in elections increases the number of foreign-born candidates in these municipalities; although this pattern becomes more visible only in the extreme values where only two parties or, at the opposite extreme, as many as six different parties have representation in the local councils. In the next version of this paper we need a better evaluation of the effect of party fragmentation, introducing more refined indicators like the Effective Number of Parties by Laakso and Taagapera (1979).

Finally, keeping in mind the general pattern of the low levels of political representation for IOMs as a whole, Table 7 also shows some inter-group variations, although the intensity of the representational gaps is different depending on whether we look at the data on candidates or on *elected councilors*. In terms of electoral nomination (see third column in Table 7), immigrants proceeding from the new EU Member States tend to do better than other immigrant communities (33 per cent of candidates in contrast with only 20 per cent of immigrant-origin population in Madrid), particularly those coming from EU15 countries, which constitute nearly 20 per cent of all IOM

candidates (although they are less than 10 per cent of all IOM groups in Madrid Region). By contrast, Latin Americans account for 35% of IOM candidates, and even though they represent the immigrant group with the highest share of electoral nomination, this share still remains slightly below their relative weight within the overall immigrant population in Madrid (50%: see Figure 2). These observed differences between groups would seem to confirm the POS hypothesis that the European citizenship places EU nationals in the most advantageous position to be nominated in party lists. Additionally, if we consider that overrepresentation is slightly higher for EU15 nationals than for those originating in the new EU Member States, differences in their degree of access to economic resources would also seem to be playing a role in establishing a hierarchy of groups which places the EU15 in the most privileged position, and those of African and Asian descent in the least advantageous. Interestingly enough, however, migrants with a Latin American background are relatively most successful in getting elected, and they do better in this respect than non-national EU citizens from the new Members States (Eastern Europeans) in particular. However, we should be more cautious to draw strong conclusions with regard to the data on elected councilors, given the very low number of cases in our data.

TABLE 7. IOM candidates and elected councillors by region of origin

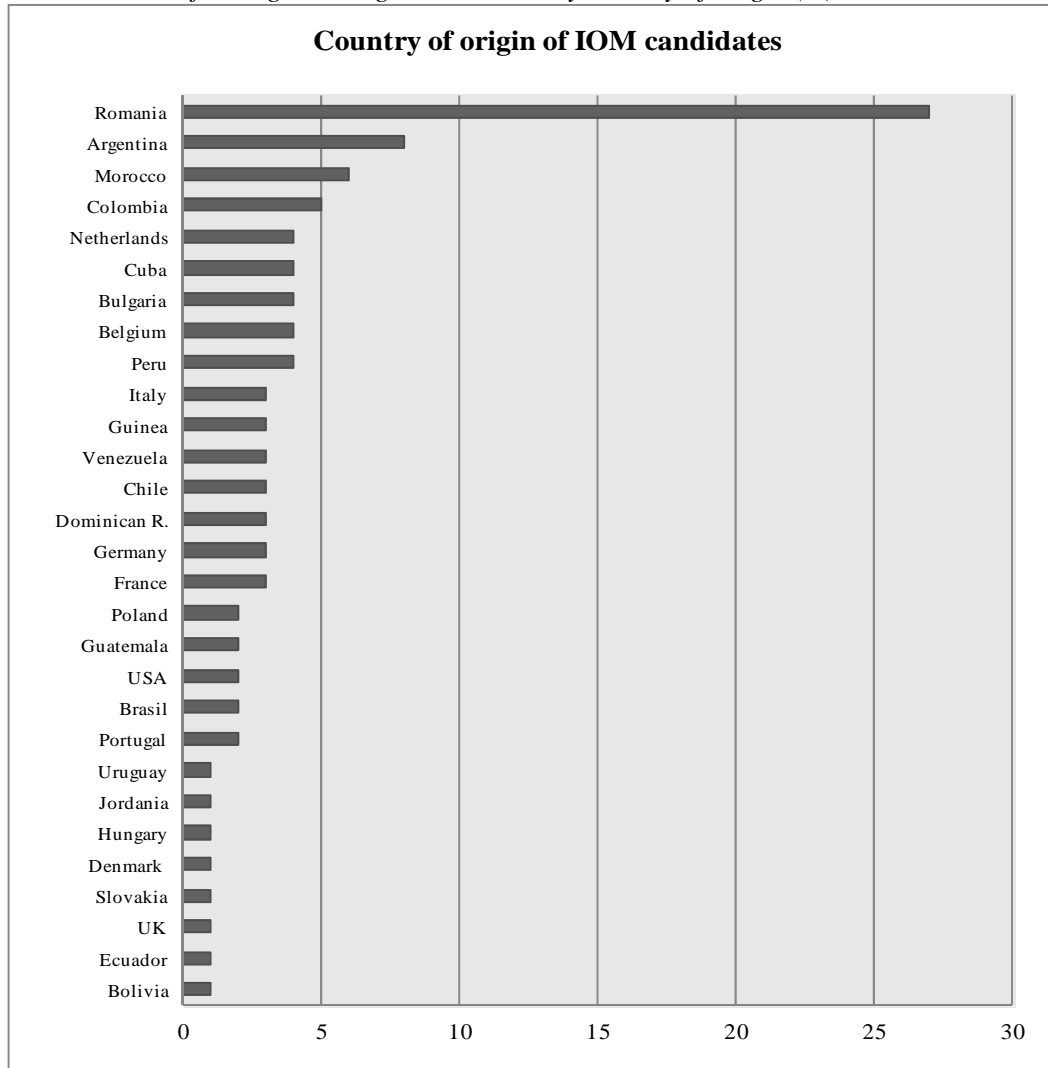
<i>Region of origin</i>	<i># IOM candidates</i>	<i>% IOM candidates of all candidates</i>	<i>% of total IOM candidates</i>	<i># IOM councillors</i>	<i>% IOM councillors of all elected councillors</i>	<i>% of total IOM councillors</i>	<i>% IOM councillors of IOM candidates</i>
EU15	21	0.6	19.8	2	0.2	25.0	9.5
New EU MS	35	1.0	33.0	1	0.1	12.5	2.9
Latin America	37	1.0	34.9	5	0.5	62.5	13.5
Africa	9	0.2	8.5	0	0	0	0
Other IOM	4	0.1	3.8	0	0	0	0

* This category includes two candidates from USA, one from Jordan and one candidate identified as having an immigrant background, although the respondent did not provide, in this case, any information about its specific country/region of origin.

In any case, Figure 5 shows that the effects of demographic concentration on levels of descriptive representation seem somehow different if we look at the distribution of immigrant-origin candidates by country of origin. In this regard, we observe, for instance, that Romanians, as the largest immigrant community in Madrid region, is also the largest group in our data set of candidates; and that Moroccans occupy both the third place in the ranking of the largest immigrant groups in Madrid and in the candidates' data set. As for Latin American groups, the general picture is much more heterogeneous. Ecuadorians (the second largest national community in Madrid) are very underrepresented as candidates, receiving only one nomination in our sample. To a lesser extent, this also holds for Peruvians (the fifth largest group in Madrid) or Dominicans (the sixth largest community), although not for Colombians (the fourth largest in Madrid and in the candidates' data set). Argentineans or Cubans, on the other hand, are overrepresented in relation to other Latin American nationalities, since they are among the most nominated nationalities, and yet they represent small shares of

the total foreign-born population in Madrid region (1.6 per cent in the case of Cubans and 3.4 per cent for Argentineans). Additionally, a similar situation seems to hold for other EU foreign-born communities, like Dutch, Bulgarians, Germans, Portuguese, etc., whose representatives were nominated as candidates for the 2011 elections, even though these groups are not very well represented within the total immigrant population in Madrid Metropolitan Area. However, these differences might be attributed to the share of these particular groups in specific local contexts, a possible explication we will take into consideration in future drafts of this paper.

Figure 5. Distribution of immigrant-origin candidates by country of origin (N)



Source: Own elaboration.

And finally, regarding the representation outcomes by origin of the elected councillors, once again, our results show interesting patterns. More exactly, the data suggests that of the total number of 8 immigrant councillors, 5 proceed from third countries (2 Cubans, 1 Argentinean, 1 Colombian and 1 Brazilian), while the rest proceed from other EU Member States: 2 from EU15 countries (1 German and 1 Italian) and 1 from a new Member State (Hungary). These findings indicates that although Romanians or Moroccans, for example, are nominated in larger numbers than other

immigrant-origin communities, they were very unsuccessful in obtaining representation in local councils. Additionally, another interesting result is related to the distribution of these elected candidates by parties. As previously observed, among the mainstream political parties, IU and UPyD were more inclusive in terms of IOM candidate nomination than PP and PSOE and, at the same time, the PP included twice more immigrant nominees in their lists than the Socialists. However, the distribution of the immigrant elected councillors, even though the number of cases is very low, shows that half of these councillors were included in PSOE's lists, and only 2 in PP's lists, 1 from IU and 1 from UPyD. This might be an indicator of the fact that the probability of getting an elected office is closely linked to the position (or the "safe" position) in which immigrants are nominated on the electoral lists of each party, thus seeming to corroborate the results previously observed in terms of variation in the degree of nomination of IOM candidates between the different parties analyzed and the position occupied by these candidates in the party lists.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The present paper aimed to examine the unexplored issue of the political representation of IOMs in the Spanish local context, with a particular focus on the municipalities of Madrid region that count with a sizeable share of foreign-born residents within the overall population. Drawing on the data from the 2011 municipal elections, our research confirmed the still existing huge gaps in the under-representation in local politics of all IOMs, in comparison to its native counterparts. Although we have also identified differences between the groups, as well as some factors that might help to explain this variation, our results point to the fact that all IOMs fared poorly, both as running candidates and elected councillors, as their levels of representation are well below the percentage levels they would be "entitled" following descriptive representation criteria (Pitkin, 1967). The successive extensions of local voting rights seem to have had some small effects in improving the levels of representation EU nationals and, to a lesser extent, also Latin Americans. In this respect, our results are in accordance with those studies that find that important inequalities in the representation of IOMs (in relation to the majoritarian group) remain high even after the extension of local voting rights (Bergh and Bjorklund, 2011, Soininen, 2011, Messina, 2007, Michon et al., 2007). Following the literature that suggests that the "presence" of traditional minorities in democratic institutions leads also to a better representation of their preferences, interests and demands (Vega and Firestone, 1995, Lovenduski and Norris, 2003, Celis and Childs, 2008, Wängnerud, 2009, Bird, 2011, Wüst, 2011) a relevant conclusion of our study is that this under-representation signals important implications for the social integration, and not just the political integration, of IOMs.

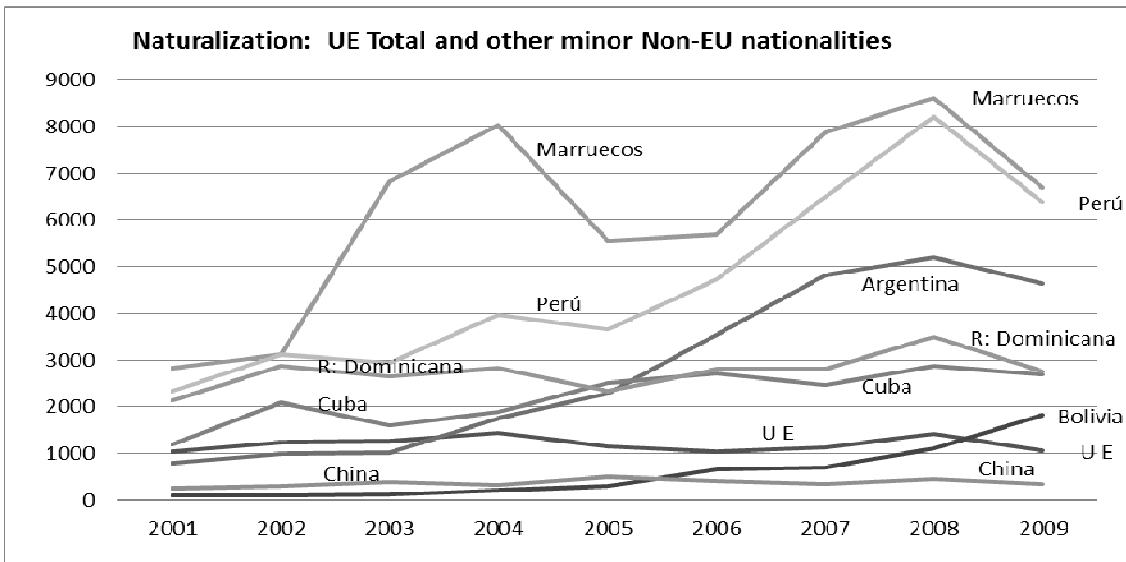
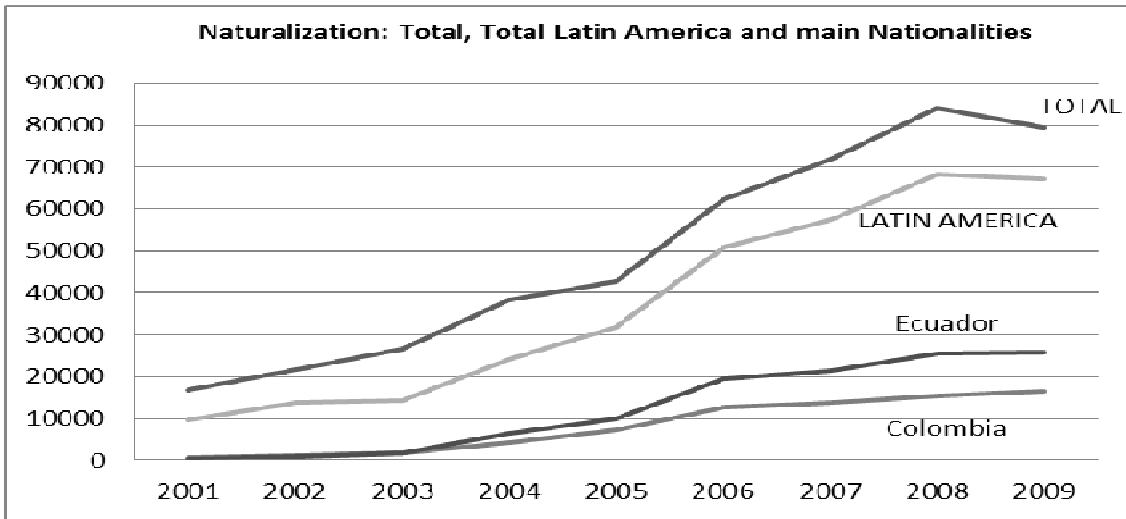
However, our bivariate analysis also shows that there a number of factors that have an impact in varying degrees of political representation of IOMs at the local level. First, our results seem to confirm our initial expectation that the higher IOMs as a percentage of the total population the higher the probability of inclusion of IOMs candidates in party lists, although we still need to test, in future versions of the paper, if the effect of the concentration of specific IOMs groups also has an effect. Secondly, following our hypotheses on access to resources; or on the different POS faced by each group, we found some inter-group variations. However these variations are different depending on whether we look at the data on *candidates* or on *elected councilors*. On the one hand, our data on candidates seem to confirm the idea that European citizenship creates a more favorable POS to EU nationals, than to Latin Americans. Also, within the former group, those coming from EU-15 countries are the most successful in entering party lists, thus endorsing the idea that access to economic resources is also relevant. By contrast, immigrants from Latin America are more successful than EU nationals in getting elected as councilors. Whether we look at one type of data or the other, both groups fare better than those of African, and particularly, Asian descent.

In the second dimension of the POS, we did not find a systematic effect of party ideology on levels of inclusion; and, again, we observe some differences whether we look at the *candidates* or the *councillors* data base. In the *candidates* data base, the PP is clearly more inclusive than the PSOE in *quantitative* terms; the PSOE, by contrast, places immigrant origin candidates in *qualitative* “safer” positions on the list, and it is, therefore, more successful in getting them elected. Also, with regard to this second dimension of the POS that we have examined, the results seem to confirm, in part, our expectations that a higher number of parties competing in elections increase the number of foreign-born candidates in these municipalities.

Last but not least, inter variation among groups is relevant not only when looking at regional and/or ethnic aggregate groups, but also when looking at nationalities. This last aspect is particularly apparent if we disaggregate the Latin American group. Thus, some Latin American nationalities that are more relevant in terms of migration flows (Ecuadorians, for example) are clearly underrepresented in terms of achieving success in political representation; whereas other nationalities, such as Argentinians or Cubans are clearly overrepresented in relation to other groups.

APPENDIX:

Figures 1 & 2. Naturalization rates in Spain, by regions and nationalities, 2001-2009.



Source: Own elaboration from the data of the Spanish National Institute for Statistics (INE), several years.

Table 1. Distribution of the municipalities included in the sample, by region of origin of foreign-born residents (% of groups over the total immigrant population)

Municipality	Total population	% EU of total IOM	% Africa of total IOM	% America of total IOM	% Asia of total IOM
El Álamo	8.079	26.6	37.2	32.7	1.3
Alcalá de Henares	204.120	58.4	10.2	24.3	2.9
Alcobendas	110.080	23.4	7.4	58.7	6.0
Algete	20.481	40.4	7.4	44.4	4.1
Aranjuez	55.054	42.0	14.9	38.6	2.5
Arganda del Rey	53.135	75.2	2.9	14.8	5.7
Becerril de la Sierra	5.159	26.0	34.3	35.2	2.0
El Boalo	6.638	52.0	17.2	27.2	1.0
Brunete	9.814	52.2	13.4	29.8	1.1
Campo Real	5.278	65.1	9.0	21.8	2.2
Cercedilla	7.089	32.8	26.5	35.9	1.9
Ciempozuelos	22.656	40.6	16.8	37.7	2.2
Cobeña	6.164	59.6	4.8	29.8	2.7
Collado Mediano	6.527	39.3	32.6	22.5	2.7
Collado Villalba	59.900	29.8	16.2	49.8	1.6
Colmenar Viejo	44.437	26.9	14.3	53.6	3.3
Colmenarejo	8.525	45.2	12.8	36.9	2.4
Chinchón	5.344	50.3	10.0	33.1	2.8
Coslada	91.218	81.0	3.0	12.5	2.1
El Escorial	15.108	38.2	11.3	35.5	2.6
Fuenlabrada	198.973	27.2	26.5	37.3	5.2
Fuente el Saz	6.320	36.9	18.0	41.7	1.9
Galapagar	32.393	24.7	19.7	50.7	1.7
Getafe	169.130	31.1	13.8	44.9	4.9
Guadalix Sierra	5.877	30.4	31.4	31.3	2.0
Guadarrama	15.155	31.2	19.3	42.8	2.6
Hoyo de Manzanares	7.600	21.5	14.7	58.9	1.9
Humanes de Madrid	18.541	23.5	36.2	32.4	5.9
Madrid	3.273.049	20.2	7.5	61.5	7.9
Majadahonda	69.439	16.0	7.0	70.3	4.3
Manzanares	7.450	29.9	14.2	48.8	2.0
Meco	12.580	61.9	9.3	24.6	2.5
Mejorada del Campo	22.812	62.7	7.1	27.2	1.4
Miraflores de la Sierra	5.934	34.3	27.1	35.3	1.0
El Molar	7.645	50.6	11.9	32.0	1.1
Morata de Tajuña	7.382	56.6	13.9	25.6	1.5
Móstoles	206.015	30.3	19.7	39.0	3.9
Nuevo Baztán	6.286	64.0	3.0	27.5	2.9
Paracuellos	16.219	50.5	7.9	35.8	2.8
Parla	120.182	23.0	25.3	42.5	6.3
Pinto	44.524	30.0	11.7	48.7	6.3
Rivas	70.840	52.2	9.8	29.8	4.8
Las Rozas	88.065	24.8	7.2	58.0	6.7
San Agustín Guadalix	11.885	47.1	5.6	42.2	2.1
San Fernando Henares	41.384	74.0	4.0	17.5	2.1
San Lorenzo Escorial	18.352	28.6	13.0	47.9	3.3
San Martín Vega	18.863	58.2	15.9	23.0	1.2
San Sebastián	78.157	21.8	7.5	62.8	5.1
Sevilla la Nueva	8.578	41.1	21.6	33.4	1.5
Soto del Real	8.434	37.1	13.1	43.4	2.3
Torrejón	118.441	39.4	18.8	36.5	2.7
Valdemorillo	11.210	29.9	23.5	41.2	2.6
Valdemoro	65.922	36.8	10.7	45.5	3.2
Villa del Prado	6.462	24.2	31.7	42.0	0.8
Villanueva Cañada	17.271	34.9	7.4	50.4	3.9
Villanueva Pardillo	15.609	33.0	13.4	48.9	2.2

Table 2. Distribution of IOM candidates, by municipality and political parties

Municipality	IOMs candidates/political parties	Response rate parties
Alcalá de Henares	PP (1), PSOE (1), IU (1), UPyD (1)	5/5
Alcobendas	PP (2), (PSOE (1), IU (1), UPyD (1)	4/4
Algete	PP (1), Other (1)	5/5
Aranjuez	PP (1), PSOE (1), IU (1)	4/5
Arganda del Rey	PSOE (1)	4/4
El Boalo	IU (1)	1/5
Brunete	PP (1), PSOE (2), IU (1)	3/4
Campo Real	PP (1)	3/5
Ciempozuelos	PP (1)	4/5
Collado Mediano	PSOE (1)	4/4
Collado Villalba	PSOE (1), IU (1), UPyD (2)	4/4
Colmenar Viejo	UPyD (1)	4/4
Colmenarejo	IU (1)	5/5
Coslada	UPyD (1), Other (1)	4/5
El Escorial	Other (1)	5/5
Fuenlabrada	IU (1)	4/4
Fuente el Saz	PP (1), Other (1)	4/4
Galapagar	PP (2), PSOE (1), Other (1)	4/7
Getafe	PSOE (1)	4/4
Guadalix de la Sierra	IU (1)	2/4
Guadarrama	IU (2)	5/5
Hoyo de Manzanares	PP (1), IU (3)	2/4
Madrid	UPyD (1)	3/4
Majadahonda	PSOE (1), IU (1), UPyD (3), Other (1)	5/5
Manzanares	PP (2), IU (2)	2/5
Meco	IU (2)	2/4
Mejorada del Campo	PSOE (1)	3/4
Miraflores de la Sierra	IU (3)	2/4
El Molar	PP (1)	2/4
Móstoles	IU (1)	3/4
Nuevo Baztán	PP (1), UPyD (1)	4/5
Paracuellos	PP (2), IU (3)	4/6
Parla	PP (1), IU (1), UPyD (2)	4/4
Pinto	IU (2)	5/5
San Agustín Guadalix	IU (1)	4/4
San Fernando Henares	PP (1), PSOE (1), IU (1)	3/4
San Lorenzo Escorial	IU (1)	3/4
San Sebastián Reyes	IU (1), Other (1)	4/5
Sevilla la Nueva	PP (1), IU (2)	3/4
Torrejón	PP (1), UPyD (2)	3/4
Valdemorillo	PP (1)	3/5
Valdemoro	PP (2)	4/6
Villanueva Cañada	PP (1), IU (2), UPyD (1)	3/4
Villanuevo del Pardillo	IU (1), Other (1)	2/5
Total # municipalities with IOM candidates		44

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