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# Diversity in Political Parties’ Programmes, Organisation and Representation

Diversidad en los Partidos Políticos  
y sus Programas, Organización y  
Representación

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CJD Hamburg + Eutin



EUROPEAN UNION  
European Fund for the Integration  
of Third-Country Nationals



# DIVPOL

## Diversity in Political Parties' Programmes, Organisation and Representation

El proyecto Europeo DIVPOL “Diversidad en los Partidos Políticos y sus Programas, Organización y Representación” (2012-2014), ha sido diseñado con el objetivo de iniciar, apoyar y evaluar los procesos de desarrollo de la diversidad étnica dentro de los partidos políticos de siete estados miembros de la UE. El proyecto tiene como objetivo crear conciencia y desarrollar recomendaciones prácticas e instrumentos que promuevan el desarrollo de la diversidad en los partidos, así como mejorar las posibilidades de participación de los nacionales de terceros países. Se ha contado con la colaboración de institutos de investigación, universidades, organizaciones no gubernamentales, organismos ministeriales, organizaciones de migrantes y con los partidos políticos de ocho estados miembros de la UE.<sup>1</sup> Durante los 20 meses en los que se ha desarrollado el proyecto, más de 500 políticos, tanto de origen migrante como autóctono, representantes de organizaciones de inmigrantes, así como expertos en la materia fueron entrevistados, asistieron a talleres y participaron a eventos públicos. El proyecto ha sido cofinanciado por la Comisión Europea bajo el Fondo Europeo para la Integración de Nacionales de Terceros Países.

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### **1** Los socios del proyecto DIVPOL son:

ACIDI – Alta Comisión para la Inmigración y el Diálogo Intercultural (Portugal)  
CJD Hamburgo + Eutin – Christian Association of Youth Villages (Alemania, coordinador),  
Departamento de Ciencias Políticas, Universidad de Estocolmo (Suecia)  
GRITIM – Grupo de Investigación Interdisciplinario sobre Inmigración, Universidad Pompeu Fabra  
(España)  
IPRS – Instituto Psiconalítico de Investigaciones Sociales (Italia)  
Universidad Łazarski de Varsovia (Polonia)  
MPG – Migration Policy Group (Bélgica)  
The Integration Centre (Irlanda)  
Cada socio involucró como miembros asociados a partidos políticos y organizaciones de migrantes de sus respectivos estados.

# Pie de imprenta

## Coordinador de DIVPOL

### **CJD Hamburg + Eutin**

*Annelies Wiesner*  
Glockengießerwall 17  
20095 Hamburg, Germany  
+49 40 21 11 18 10  
anne.wiesner@cjd-eutin.de  
www.cjd-eutin.eu

## DIVPOL partners

### **ACIDI High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue**

*Catarina Reis Oliveira*  
Rua dos Anjos, nº66, 1º  
1150-039 Lisboa, Portugal  
+351 2 18 10 61 25  
catarina.oliveira@acm.gov.pt

### **IPRS Psychoanalytic Institute for Social Research**

*Raffaele Bracalenti*  
Passeggiata di Ripetta, 11  
00186 Roma, Italy  
+39 06 32 65 24 01  
iprs@iprs.it

### **MPG Migration Policy Group**

*Jan Niessen*  
205 Rue Belliard, Box 1  
1040 Bruxelles, Belgium  
+32 2 2 30 59 30  
info@migpolgroup.com

### **University Pompeu Fabra GRITIM Interdisciplinary Research Group on Immigration**

*Ricard Zapata-Barrero*  
Ramon Trias Fargas, 25-27  
08005 Barcelona, Spain  
+39 06 32 65 24 01  
ricard.zapata@upf.edu

### **The Integration Centre**

*Killian Forde*  
20 Mountjoy Square East  
Dublin 1, Ireland  
+353 16 45 30 70  
info@integrationcentre.ie

### **Lazarski University**

*Krystyna Iglicka*  
43 Świeradowska St.  
02-662 Warsaw, Poland  
+48 2 25 43 54 05  
k.iglicka@lazarski.edu.pl

### **Stockholm University Department of Political Science**

*Maritta Soininen*  
SE-106 91 Stockholm, Sweden  
+46 8 16 26 41  
maritta.soininen@statsvet.su.se

## Autores del informe

*Iris Dähnke*  
*Lea Markard*  
*Annelies Wiesner*  
*Ricard Zapata-Barrero*  
in collaboration with the DIVPOL  
partnership

## Edición

*Iris Dähnke*  
*Glenn Green*  
*Lea Markard*

## Diseño gráfico

*Christian Chladny*  
www.chladny.com

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# 1. Introducción

Pese a que el discurso sobre la crisis de las democracias es tan antiguo como la existencia de las mismas, no es menos cierto, que las sociedades democráticas del Siglo XXI se enfrentan a serios desafíos, especialmente en relación con la participación y representación política. Las migraciones a nivel mundial favorecen la diversificación de unas sociedades cambiantes, y las democracias afrontan el desafío de incrementar la participación ciudadana en unas sociedades cada vez más diversas. Los partidos políticos, como agentes centrales del desarrollo de la sociedad, juegan un papel clave en este proceso. Su tarea es la de integrar la voluntad de la población frente a la del estado, así como influenciar en el desarrollo en todos los ámbitos de la sociedad. Como organizaciones poseedoras de poder legislativo y ejecutivo, los partidos tienen la responsabilidad de incorporar la diversidad. Aumentar la participación de los inmigrantes en la política de partidos es esencial en tanto que les proporciona apoyo como agentes dentro del sistema democrático, y a largo plazo, facilita el mantenimiento de una mayor cohesión social.

El principal obstáculo para la participación política de inmigrantes y personas de origen inmigrante es la representación electoral. Y es que, cuando se trata de reflejar en las filas de los partidos políticos la diversidad existente de las sociedades europeas, los partidos caminan siempre un paso por detrás. En todos los países que han participado en el proyecto DIVPOL, los políticos de origen inmigrante están infrarrepresentados tanto en parlamentos locales como en nacionales. Debido a la falta de igualdad en los datos, no ha sido posible determinar si la proporción de ciudadanos extracomunitarios en las filas de los partidos políticos es proporcional al porcentaje de población total no comunitaria. Por lo tanto, una evaluación cuantitativa y general no es factible. Pocos partidos registran información sobre la nacionalidad o el origen étnico de sus miembros, aunque algunas cifras publicadas sugieren una significativa falta de representación de estos grupos.<sup>2</sup> En el segundo

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<sup>2</sup> Por ejemplo, de acuerdo con a los Social Demócratas Alemanes (SPD en sus siglas en alemán), la proporción de miembros extranjeros era sobre el 1% en 2004, mientras que la proporción de extranjeros sobre el total de la población germana era del 8.9% (datos Eurostat, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> La definición de “origen inmigrante” se trata de la presentada en el Microcenso de “Migrationshintergrund” de la Oficina Federal de Estadística de Alemania, que se refiere a una persona que ha emigrado a Alemania, ya sea a partir de 1949, nació en Alemania como un extranjero, o al menos uno de sus padres migró o nació como extranjero (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2011). En DIVPOL, nos centramos en aquellas personas que han inmigrado a un estado miembro de la UE procedentes de un “tercer país”.

<sup>4</sup> Se refiere a personas etiquetadas como migrante, a todas aquellas que son consideradas como migrantes por otras personas por motivos de aspecto físico (color de piel, pelo y color de ojos), su nombre, o su acento.

capítulo del presente informe se proporciona una idea aproximada sobre la escasa representación de las “personas de origen inmigrante” en los partidos políticos en cada uno de los países participantes en el proyecto DIVPOL.

En el presente informe, el término “personas de origen inmigrante” (OI) es utilizado para designar a aquellas personas de origen no europeo, que a menudo son referidas como nacionales de terceros países (NTP) o personas con origen en terceros países.<sup>3</sup> Pese a la utilización de esta definición para nuestro estudio, cabe señalar que las personas “etiquetadas como migrantes”,<sup>4</sup> suelen ser precisamente aquellas que sufren más experiencias de exclusión. La discriminación interseccional i múltiple determinada por una variedad de marcadores de identidad influye, en diferentes contextos, en las prácticas de exclusión.

Al inicio del proyecto DIVPOL, cada socio preparó una reseña de los actuales debates académicos y públicos, así como las conclusiones de los estudios empíricos más recientes. Se llevó a cabo una investigación documental sobre la evolución de las políticas de los partidos con respecto a la apertura intercultural de estos y también, sobre el esfuerzo por parte de estos para investigar o dar respuesta a la creciente diversidad étnica del electorado.

DIVPOL pretendía crear una representación equilibrada en base a la distribución de los entrevistados entre partidos y niveles políticos, así que políticos de origen inmigrante, y representantes de organizaciones de migrantes. Con el objetivo de involucrar por igual a los partidos políticos a nivel nacional, se enviaron cartas de invitación formal a la sede de cada partido político con representación en el Parlamento Nacional, y en algunos casos, también al partido a nivel regional. Por otra parte, se amplió el proceso de concreción del muestreo con el método de “bola de nieve”, a partir de contactos directos con representantes políticos o representantes de organizaciones.

La respuesta oficial de muchos de los partidos que fueron invitados a participar en el proyecto fue de interés por el estudio. Sin embargo, a nivel práctico la participación y el compromiso de los partidos fue en gran medida dispar. En algunos casos, tanto los miembros de las sedes regionales de los partidos como los políticos a nivel individual, fueron más abiertos a la participación que los representantes de la sede a nivel nacional. Con algunas excepciones -Irlanda, Suecia y Polonia-, se puede observar que algunos partidos políticos del espectro de centro-derecha están infrarrepresentados en DIVPOL. Como consecuencia, los resultados -independientes del enfoque cualitativo de la investigación empírica- no pueden entenderse como representativos de todo el espectro de partidos políticos en relación a la situación general de la mayoría.

En total, se entrevistaron en cada uno de los siete países socios (DE, ES, IE, IT, PL, PT, SE), a 276 personalidades entre los cuales encontramos actores influyentes dentro del partido, líderes políticos, personal del partido y representantes de organizaciones de migrantes. El proceso de entrevistas se llevó a cabo a lo largo de 2013.

Tabla 1

**Participantes en las Entrevistas y en las Sesiones de Grupo de DIVPOL**

País	Políticos (OI)	Políticos (sin OI)	Miembros del partido y actores influyentes (con OI)	Representantes de Organizaciones de Migrantes	Otros (académicos expertos, representantes estatales)	Total
Alemania	13	10	9 (3)	11	—	<b>43</b>
Irlanda	12	11	6	9	1	<b>39</b>
Italia	8	6	15 (10)	16	—	<b>45</b>
Polonia	4	17	—	9	3	<b>33</b>
Portugal	4	12	9 (6)	18	3	<b>46</b>
España	3	1	18 (10)	8	—	<b>30</b>
Suecia	5	5	15	15	—	<b>40</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>72 (29)</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>276</b>

Fuente: DIVPOL 2013

Del total de entrevistados, 22 son NTP y 102 son NTP naturalizados (ver tabla 6 en el Anexo I). Todos los entrevistados son trabajadores o voluntarios que de un modo u otro, participan en política de forma activa en sus respectivos partidos u organizaciones, ya sea a nivel local, regional y/o nacional. Como miembros de los partidos, los políticos entrevistados representan a cada uno de los principales partidos de sus respectivos países. Las organizaciones de migrantes (OM) que participaron, son activas a nivel regional o nacional y funcionan como organizaciones coordinadoras. En total, 38 partidos políticos y 53 organizaciones de inmigrantes participaron en DIVPOL (ver Tabla 8 y Tabla 9 en el Anexo I). Entre los políticos entrevistados, 45 eran miembros de los parlamentos nacionales (diputados) en 2013, lo que representa un 40% de los entrevistados.

Las entrevistas tenían como objetivo principal identificar el rol que juega en la carrera política la existencia o no de tener un origen migrante, así como identificar obstáculos y factores de apoyo experimentados, y si estos se relacionan con el hecho de tener o no un origen migrante. Las entrevistas se iniciaban con preguntas relacionadas con la trayectoria de los entrevistados en la vida política, la motivación para la participación en el partido y la forma en que el entrevistado fue recibido al unirse a este. Se preguntó a los políticos sobre los principales problemas y temáticas que abordaban en su partido, sobre cuál era su experiencia en las estructuras del partido, el papel de las redes, los procesos de nominación, y cuáles son las “típicas” trayectorias profesionales de los actores políticos. En la segunda parte de las entrevistas se preguntaba a los políticos sobre el proceso de apertura intercultural, el desarrollo de la diversidad y la representación de los inmigrantes dentro de sus partidos. Finalmente, se les preguntaba a todos los entrevistados sobre las funciones de los actores políticos de origen inmigrante como titulares de cargos y cuál era su opinión acerca de cómo (y por quién) los NTP están representados políticamente (ver guión de entrevista completo en el Anexo III).



El posterior análisis de las entrevistas se llevó a cabo de conformidad con técnicas cualitativo heurísticas. Los resultados detallados de la exploración nacional y empírica se pueden encontrar en los informes de los países en el sitio web <http://www.upf.edu/gritim/projectes/internacionals/DIVPOL.html> y en la página web [www.cjd-eutin.eu/149.0.html](http://www.cjd-eutin.eu/149.0.html). Los resúmenes se pueden encontrar en el Anexo IV del presente informe.

Se elaboró un cuestionario con el propósito de autoevaluar a los partidos políticos. Este, trata de realizar una evaluación comparativa de los indicadores que miden el nivel de apertura intercultural de un partido político e indica los pasos a seguir para un enfoque estratégico. El cuestionario basado en indicadores se divide en diferentes partes e incluye preguntas que controlan el grado de diversidad y la disponibilidad de datos al respecto, las oportunidades de acceso, así como la existencia de documentos estratégicos. Se centra en los partidos como organizaciones y está dirigido a los diferentes niveles de desarrollo centrados en estrategias de diversidad: a la dirección del partido, a los miembros, al electorado del partido, a sus adjudicatarios y a los empleados. El cuestionario completo se puede encontrar en el Anexo II del presente informe y en el sitio web [www.migpolgroup.com/publications\\_detail.php?id=338](http://www.migpolgroup.com/publications_detail.php?id=338).

Las principales conclusiones del estudio empírico y el cuestionario fueron presentados y discutidos en los talleres nacionales en cada país y en la conferencia final en Bruselas (ver tabla 7 en el Anexo I). Los eventos contaron con la participación de 255 personas entre las cuales encontramos políticos, colaboradores políticos, representantes de organizaciones de migrantes y expertos de los países participantes en el proyecto. Se pusieron en común experiencias relacionadas con la presentación de candidaturas, la pertenencia al partido y la implementación de diversidad. Los participantes también hicieron hincapié en el desafío existente de reforzar y apoyar los procesos de diversidad y apertura de todos los partidos políticos de forma práctica y tangible en cada uno de los distintos niveles.

En el siguiente informe, se presenta un breve resumen acerca de la transformación de los electores en Europa, al cual le sigue una discusión sobre la dimensión normativa y teórica de las razones de los partidos para abrirse a la diversidad (étnica). Por último, el resumen ejecutivo presenta los resultados empíricos del proyecto DIVPOL desde una perspectiva transnacional. Las recomendaciones finales para los partidos políticos cubren los aspectos centrales del análisis realizado a nivel europeo. En los respectivos informes de cada uno de los socios del proyecto se incluye una serie de recomendaciones en clave nacional sobre políticas específicas destinadas a los partidos políticos, resumen de las cuales pueden encontrarse en el Anexo IV.

## 2. Argumentación Cuantitativa a Favor de la Inclusión de los Inmigrantes en la Vida Política

### Una Aproximación a la Situación Migratoria en los Países DIVPOL y al Potencial Electorado en Europa y su Representación Política

Existen buenos argumentos cualitativos y cuantitativos para involucrar a personas de origen inmigrante tanto en la vida política como en las operaciones de los partidos políticos. En este breve capítulo presentamos información estadística para ilustrar el déficit democrático que prevalece en Europa, lo que a su vez puede ayudarnos a reflexionar sobre la necesidad de eliminar las barreras que dificultan la participación política. Con el fin de proporcionar una perspectiva comparativa de la situación europea, proporcionamos cifras referentes a todos los países que han participado en el proyecto DIVPOL (DE, ES, IE, IT, PL, PT, SE).

Desde la Segunda Guerra Mundial, la migración y la globalización han marcado intensamente la composición de la población Europea, cambiando también un electorado cada vez más diversificado. Los nacionales de los siete países incluidos en este proyecto generalmente tienen derechos cívicos y políticos ya que pueden votar y ser elegidos en las elecciones locales, regionales, nacionales y europeas. Por su parte, los nacionales de la UE que residen en otro Estado miembro de la UE pueden participar en las elecciones locales y europeas. Por último, los nacionales de terceros países (NTP) no pueden votar ni presentarse como candidatos en las elecciones de la mayoría de los países estudiados en este proyecto (ver capítulo 4, y tabla 10 en el anexo I). La siguiente tabla muestra el tamaño de la población desglosada por nacionalidad.

Tabla 2

#### Población por nacionalidad (2013)

País	Población Total	Población extranjera	Proporción población extranjera	Población NTP	Proporción Población NTP
Alemania	80,523,746	7,696,413	9.6%	4,674,021	5.8%
Irlanda	4,591,087	543,636	11.8%	164,435	3.6%
Italia	59,685,227	4,387,721	7.4%	3,100,517	5.2%
Polonia	38,533,299	58,859	0.2%	40,229	0.1%
Portugal	10,487,289	417,042	4.0%	316,112	3.0%
España	46,727,890	5,072,680	10.9%	3,012,027	6.4%
Suecia	9,555,893	659,374	6.9%	377,399	3.9%

Fuente: Eurostat 2013

Mientras que el saldo migratorio de países como España, Portugal, Italia e Irlanda se convirtió en significativamente positivo a partir del cambio de milenio, y por lo tanto, se trata de países relativamente nuevos en la recepción de inmigración, la historia de Alemania y Suecia con respecto a la inmigración comenzó ya a mediados de la década de 1950 (DE) y 1960 (SU) respectivamente, y gracias principalmente a los planes de reclutamiento de “trabajadores invitados” provenientes del extranjero. Posteriormente, y pese al freno de estos programas a inicios de la década de los 70s, tanto Alemania como Suecia continuaron con el proceso de recepción de inmigrantes ya fuese por motivos de asilo o refugio, o por procesos de reunificación familiar. Actualmente, la población de origen inmigrante en Suecia pertenece principalmente a primeras y segundas generaciones, mientras que en Alemania la tercera generación ya es adulta. En ambos países, la población de origen inmigrante representa alrededor de una quinta parte de la población total. Polonia es claramente una excepción entre los países DIVPOL ya que la inmigración de la posguerra aún no es significativa.

Los principales grupos de NTP en los países DIVPOL son los procedentes de: Europa del Este en IE, IT, PL; África del Norte y Occidental en IT, ES, IE; y Asia en IE, IT, PL. Debido a la historia colonial de Portugal y España, las principales comunidades de inmigrantes con origen en terceros países son los latinoamericanos en España, y los nacionales brasileños y de otros PALOP<sup>5</sup> en Portugal. La población de NTP en Alemania es principalmente de origen turco. De acuerdo con el Micro Censo de 2012, el 18,3% de la población de origen inmigrante proviene de Turquía (unos 3 millones). En Suecia, los grupos mayoritarios de NTP están formados en su mayoría por refugiados de Oriente Medio (especialmente de Irak), ex Yugoslavia y Somalia.<sup>6</sup>

La tabla que se muestra a continuación representa el tamaño aproximado del electorado potencial, y demuestra que la población inmigrante ha crecido en los últimos diez años, tendencia que podemos esperar que continúe en los próximos años.

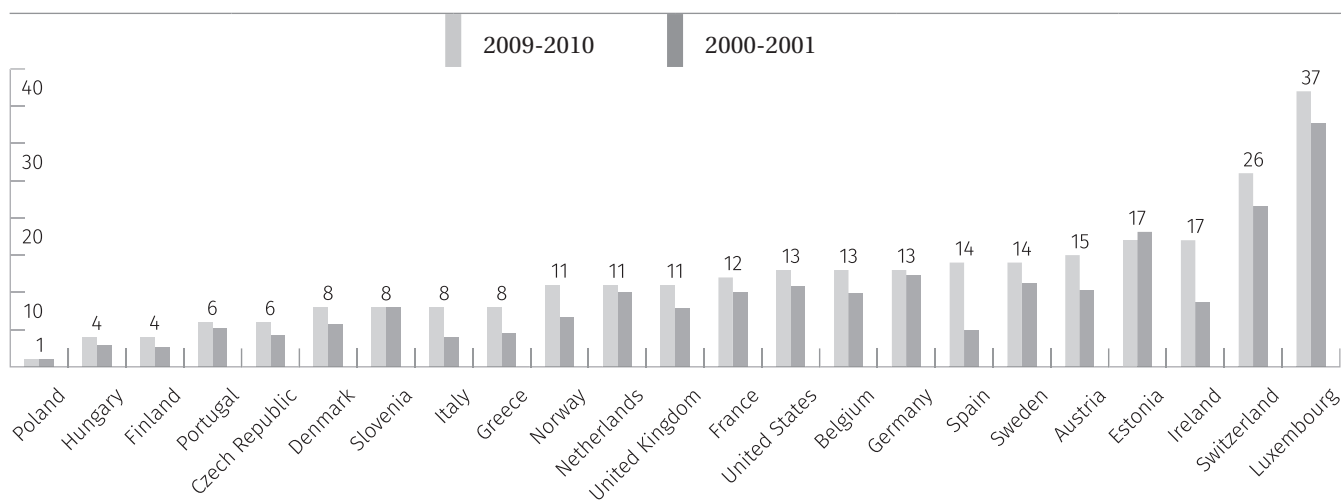
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<sup>5</sup> Ciudadanos procedentes de países africanos de habla portuguesa.

<sup>6</sup> Suecia está entre los países que reciben un mayor número de refugiados en relación al total de su población.

Tabla 3

**Total de población nacida en el extranjero (0+), 2000-1 y 2009-10**



Fuente: Base de datos de la OCDE sobre Migración Internacional y Encuesta de Población Activa de la UE

Este crecimiento representa un cambio en el electorado, aunque sólo tiene efectos reales en el momento en que los inmigrantes adquieren la ciudadanía o se les concede derechos de voto. Según datos de Eurostat, la tasa de adquisición de ciudadanía fueron relativamente altas en Portugal (5,6%, es decir, 5,6 ciudadanía concedidas por cada 100 residentes extranjeros), Polonia (5,0%) y Suecia (4,9%), y muy bajas en Irlanda (1,0%), Alemania (1,3%), Italia (1,4%) y España (1,4%).<sup>7</sup> Es significativo que los grupos mayoritarios de NTP en los respectivos países estudiados son a la vez, los más propensos a adquirir la ciudadanía del país en el que residen. La tabla a continuación da una vista de los principales grupos de residentes de nacionalidad extranjera que se han naturalizados, así que el porcentaje que representan sobre el total de las naturalizaciones concedidas en el país en 2010.

Tabla 4

**Principales grupos obteniendo la nacionalidad por porcentaje sobre las naturalizaciones concedidas en el país, 2010**

País	Grupo mayoritario		Segundo grupo mayoritario		Tercer grupo mayoritario		Cuarto grupo mayoritario	
	Anteriores ciudadanos de	%	Anteriores ciudadanos de	%	Anteriores ciudadanos de	%	Anteriores ciudadanos de	%
Alemania	Turquía	25.1	Iraq	5.0	Rusia	4.0	Polonia	3.7
Irlanda	Nigeria	15.8	Filipinas	9.9	India	6.9	Sud África	5.4
Italia	Marruecos	17.2	Albania	13.8	Rumanía	7.1	Perú	3.4
Polonia	Ucrania	33.9	Bielorrusia	14.3	Rusia	7.3	Armenia	3.5
Portugal	Brazil	18.4	Cabo Verde	18.3	Moldavia	12.3	Angola	9.0
España	Ecuador	34.8	Colombia	19.4	Marruecos	8.7	Perú	6.7
Suecia	Iraq	13.5	Finlandia	9.2	Polonia	4.6	Tailandia	4.4

Fuente: Eurostat 2010

Los obstáculos legales para la participación política pueden ser eliminados a partir de políticas inclusivas de naturalización. La adquisición de la ciudadanía permite a los inmigrantes y a las personas descendientes de inmigrantes obtener derechos civiles y políticos de forma plena. También los protege contra la expulsión y les ofrece una mejor protección jurídica contra la discriminación, lo que puede facilitar la eliminación de posibles temores para participar en política de forma activa y comprometida. En un número limitado de países, los extranjeros tienen derecho a voto en el ámbito local, y en un número aún menor de países, estas personas también tienen estos derechos a nivel nacional (ver capítulo 4, y tabla 10 en el anexo I).

Con el fin de cuantificar la escasa representación de las personas NTP en los parlamentos a nivel nacional, hemos investigado las listas de los miembros de los Parlamentos y se han examinado sus nombres y biografías que fuesen de acceso público. La siguiente tabla muestra la escasa representación de NTP en los parlamentos nacionales. A la vista de que tan sólo los ciudadanos naturalizados (“las personas de origen inmigrante” que sostienen la ciudadanía nacional) pueden ser elegidos para el parlamento, cabe señalar que los porcentajes que se muestran a continuación no son directamente comparables. Con esto, nos referimos a que la proporción de la población de personas NTP (incluyendo NTP y NTP naturalizados) es en realidad más alta y por lo tanto, la falta de representación en la mayoría de países es mayor de la que se muestra en la tabla a continuación.

Tabla 5

### Representación de Nacionales de Terceros Países (NTP) en los parlamentos nacionales

País	Población NTP en % <sup>8</sup> (Población con origen inmigrante)	Parlamentarios con origen NTP/número total de parlamentarios (todos poseedores de la ciudadanía nacional) <sup>9</sup>	Parlamentarios con origen NTP en parlamentos nacionales en %
Alemania	5.8 (19.2%) <sup>10</sup>	21 / 631 (36/631)*	3.3 (5.7)*
Irlanda	3.6	2 / 226	0.9
Italia	5.2	2 / 630	0.3
Polonia	0.1	2 / 460	0.4
Portugal	3.0	3 / 230 <sup>11</sup>	1.3
España	6.4	1 / 616	0.2
Suecia	3.9 (20.1%) <sup>12</sup>	14 / 349 (33/349)*	4.0 (9.5)*

\* (incl. MPs with EU-background and Norwegian background)

Source: DIVPOL, June 2014

<sup>7</sup> [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_STAT-12-162\\_en.pdf](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STAT-12-162_en.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> Fuente: Eurostat 2013.

<sup>9</sup> Fuente: Informes Nacionales de los socios de proyecto.

<sup>10</sup> Fuente: Censo alemán 2011 [https://www.zensus2011.de/SharedDocs/Aktuelles/Ergebnisse/PM\\_Destatis\\_20140603.html?nn=3065474](https://www.zensus2011.de/SharedDocs/Aktuelles/Ergebnisse/PM_Destatis_20140603.html?nn=3065474)

<sup>11</sup> Podrían existir más parlamentarios de los cuales se desconoce su lugar de nacimiento, ya que se trata de una información que el parlamento Portugués no hace pública.

<sup>12</sup> Fuente: Estadísticas de Suecia 2012.

### 3. ¿Por Qué los Partidos Políticos Deberían Incorporar Inmigrantes?

#### Dimensión Normativa

En el marco del proyecto DIVPOL, el objetivo de responder a la cuestión de “por qué”, es *proporcionar razones de peso que convengan a los partidos políticos de cuáles son los aspectos positivos de incluir inmigrantes en sus filas*. Con el objetivo de dibujar un claro esquema de los principales argumentos normativos en relación al nexo entre partidos políticos e incorporación de la diversidad, primero es necesario tomar en consideración dos premisas básicas.

**Premisa 1:** *las características específicas de los partidos políticos pueden influir en el pensamiento normativo*. Este debate puede situarse en torno a una amplia discusión sobre la incorporación de inmigrantes en organizaciones públicas (administraciones, sectores como el de la educación, cuerpos de seguridad, atención sanitaria, etc.). No obstante, en sistemas democráticos los partidos políticos tienen sus propias características distintivas:

- Como organizaciones poseedoras de poderes legislativos y ejecutivos, los partidos tienen la responsabilidad de incorporar diversidad.
- Los partidos también influyen en este desarrollo en todas las esferas de la sociedad, y son un marco referencial para la legitimación de la acción social.
- La diversidad es vista como un objetivo del discurso político (politización de la diversidad), y la incorporación de la diversidad se asienta en estas políticas del discurso.

**Premisa 2:** *la motivación difiere entre los dos principales actores: partidos políticos e inmigrantes*. Desde una perspectiva basada en la teoría de juegos, podemos afirmar que las razones de los partidos políticos para incorporar a inmigrantes difieren de las razones por las cuales los inmigrantes reclaman dicha incorporación. Desde un punto de vista motivacional, las razones de ambos actores son distintas ya que responden a diferentes lógicas de acción. Los inmigrantes pueden responder a objetivos individuales (tales como la promoción individual y de reconocimiento) o comunitarios (como la representación de la diversidad de inmigrantes en general). Como ya sabemos, los partidos políticos pueden incorporar a inmigrantes basándose en razones políticas, tanto en relación a sus votantes, como en relación a la sociedad en general. El pensamiento normativo debe tener en consideración ambas perspectivas. Este pensamiento normativo también incluye otros aspectos clave tales como:

- ¿Puede el reto de la infrarrepresentación de inmigrantes en partidos políticos ser entendida de forma similar a la baja representación de la mujer?<sup>13</sup> Si es así, ¿Por qué? ¿Qué criterio debe ser considerado? (quiénes, cuántos). ¿Nacionalidades? ¿Edad? ¿Religión? ¿Lengua? Se trata de un aspecto clave ya que la forma en la que se gestiona la diversidad conlleva la comprensión de esta como una categoría política.
- ¿Por qué otros grupos (como discapacitados, homosexuales, categorías de clase social, perfiles orientados a determinados sectores) no reciben una atención especial ni un esfuerzo para que se incorporen a la actividad de los partidos?
- ¿En qué la incorporación podría beneficiar a los nacionales de terceros países? ¿Por qué este argumento es legítimo y puede ser una demanda o incluso una reivindicación de los movimientos sociales?

Teniendo en cuenta estas dos premisas fundamentales, sostenemos que existen básicamente dos marcos que pueden ayudar a generar diferentes argumentos normativos: *un enfoque basado en el utilitarismo y otro basado en los derechos humanos*.

El *primer enfoque* puede tener diferentes interpretaciones dependiendo de cuál sea la perspectiva de los actores y sus motivaciones. Para los partidos políticos, su motivación está directamente relacionada con estrategias electorales y con una simbólica lógica discursiva respecto a sus propios votantes en particular, y a la sociedad en general. Para los inmigrantes, se trata de una motivación relacionada con la promoción individual y la progresión profesional, aunque también vinculada a las demandas más generales y que están relacionadas con el concepto de ciudadanía (participación y representación política en los partidos políticos).

El *segundo enfoque* se basa en un argumento vinculado al déficit democrático. Este se centra en la igualdad de principios, una estructura de oportunidades, la representación democrática y argumentos para la participación.

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**13** Estudios recientes sobre este tema incluyen:

Celis, K.: Representativity in Times of Diversity: The Political Representation of Women. *Women's Studies International Forum* 41(3): 179–186, 2013.

Celis, K., Erzeel, S., Mügge, L. and Damstra, A.: Quotas and Intersectionality: Ethnicity and Gender in Candidate Selection. *International Political Science Review* 35(1): 41–54, 2014.

Krook, M. L. and O'Brien, D. Z.: The Politics of Group Representation: Quotas for Women and Minorities Worldwide. *Comparative Politics* 42(3): 253–72, 2010.

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## Enfoque Utilitarista - Lógica Simbólica: Distinción Específica

Este enfoque pertenece a la politización de la diversidad (incorporación de la diversidad en el discurso político), y es consustancial con la estrategia lógica de pensamiento y acción por la cual se rigen los partidos políticos.<sup>14</sup> La principal lógica de acción de los partidos es la de hacer frente a la diversidad sin que eso signifique una pérdida de potenciales votantes, e incluso, tratar de llegar a más votantes a partir de un discurso activo sobre la diversidad. Los partidos políticos que siguen este enfoque son conscientes de que una cierta visibilidad de sus políticas de diversidad dentro de su propia organización, así como una política de hacer visibles dichas diferencias, puede tener un efecto directo sobre las preferencias de voto, ya sea para perder votos o para ganarlos.

De este enfoque también se desprende el hecho de que los partidos políticos están más preocupados por el discurso y la narrativa, que por facilitar a los inmigrantes un espacio suficiente para la promoción interna y la movilidad que les permita alcanzar importancia en el proceso de toma de decisiones. De nuevo, los posibles efectos sobre la preferencia de voto prevalecen sobre otros argumentos relacionados con un enfoque de justicia global o de igualdad democrática. Cuando este enfoque va un paso más allá e incorpora la diversidad, la lógica simbólica sigue motivando las estrategias de los partidos políticos. El principal eje normativo con orientación empírica pretende detectar la presencia y el grado de simbolismo. En este punto, podemos identificar dos factores principales que explican la conducta simbólica de los partidos políticos. En primer lugar, lo que podríamos llamar la “paradoja del vacío de participación”, ya que la mayoría de los inmigrantes incorporados en los partidos políticos y que aún no han obtenido la ciudadanía nacional no pueden votar ni en las elecciones internas de sus propios partidos políticos. La única forma de entender esta paradoja es a través de una lógica simbólica. Un segundo factor está relacionado con la diversidad narrativa del partido político. Durante las campañas electorales, algunos partidos deciden comunicarse con parte de la población inmigrante usando el idioma de estos últimos ya sea durante discursos circunstanciales o incluso con folletos y resúmenes de los manifiestos del partido.

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**14** Ver los siguientes estudios sobre participación política y representación de los inmigrantes:

Bird, K., Saalfeld, T., & Wüst, A. M. (2010): *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, Parties and Parliaments in Liberal Democracies*. Taylor & Francis.

González-Ferrer, A. (2010): *The Electoral participation of Naturalised Immigrants in Ten European Cities*. In: L. Morales y M. Giugni (eds.) *Social Capital, Political Participation and Migration in Europe. Making Multicultural Democracy Work?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Mollenkopf, J. and Hochschild, J. (2010): *Immigrant Political Incorporation: Comparing Success in the United States and Western Europe*. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33(1): 19-38.

Rocha, R. R., Tolbert, C. J., Bowen, D. C., and Clark, C. J. (2010): *Race and Turnout: Does Descriptive Representation in State Legislatures Increase Minority Voting?* *Political Research Quarterly* 63(4): 890-907.

Soininen, M. (1999): *The ‘Swedish Model’ as an Institutional Framework for Immigrant Membership Rights*. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 25(4): 685-702.

Zapata-Barrero, R. and Gropas, R. (2012): *Active Immigrants in Multicultural Contexts: Democratic Challenges in Europe*. In: A. Triandafyllidou, T. Modood, and N. Meer (eds.): *European Multiculturalism(s): Cultural, religious and ethnic challenges*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 167-191.



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## Enfoque basado en Derechos (Humanos)

Este enfoque también está relacionado con la cuestión de igualdad. Se encuentra en el corazón del “por qué” de la cuestión, y centra la atención en lo esencial que es, desde un punto de vista democrático, el incorporar a los inmigrantes en los partidos políticos.

La mayor parte de los argumentos normativos incluyen procesos que se ocupan de cuestiones sobre igualdad y oportunidades, conflictos vinculados a relaciones de diversidad, exclusión política/social y segregación. Esto implica una reducción de las desigualdades de poder y un desafío a las relaciones tradicionales de poder eurocéntricas o etnocéntricas, y a dualismos en la sociedad entre el nosotros/ellos o entre la mayoría/minoría, y que tanto se suelen vincular a la diversidad.

El enfoque basado en los derechos (humanos) tiene como objetivo fortalecer la capacidad de los partidos políticos para que cumplan sus obligaciones como garantes de derechos y aumentar de esta forma las oportunidades para que se establezca un diálogo constructivo con todos los miembros de la sociedad; sin ningún tipo de discriminación, y siguiendo una lógica de acción basada en la ciudadanía, y teniendo en cuenta los derechos de los inmigrantes antes que las preferencias de sus propios votantes.

El principal problema o dilema del enfoque normativo, y que nos encontramos en aquellos estados nacionales que se califican como democracias, es que separan derechos humanos y derechos civiles.<sup>15</sup> Teniendo en cuenta que la mayoría de estados vinculan la participación política a un específico derecho civil y no a un derecho humano de carácter universal, y por lo tanto, a priori consideran el “demos” como exclusivo, es razonable plantearse la pregunta de: ¿Están estos estados realmente comprometidos con la prioridad absoluta de los derechos humanos como base de las democracias? En base al dilema planteado, parece que la democracia y sus instituciones están basadas en una lógica antagónica a la pretensión de universalidad y de acceso exclusivo a la participación política.<sup>16</sup> Este dilema sobre distinguir o no entre derechos humanos y derechos civiles se refleja en los partidos políticos, los cuales no se cuestionan dicho dilema.

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**15** Ver sobre el nexo entre derechos humanos e Inmigración, ver trabajos recientes:

Anderson, B. (2013): *Us and Them? The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rubio-Marín, R. (ed.) (2014): *Human Rights and Immigration*. Oxford University Press.

Zapata-Barrero, R. and Pecoud, A. (eds.) (2012): *New Perspectives on the Ethics of International Migration*. Special Issue of *American Behavioral Scientist* 56 (9).

**16** Ver sobre lógica antagónica de la democracia:

Birsl, U. (forthcoming): *Demokratie in der Migrationsgesellschaft*. In: P. Massing and M. Niehoff (eds.): *Politische Bildung in der Migrationsgesellschaft*. Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau Verlag.

Fijalkowski, J. (2000): *Erfordernisse und Grenzen der Entwicklung eines transnationalen Bürgerstatus in Europa. Demokratietheoretische Reflexionen zur Zuwanderungs- und Integrationspolitik in der Europäischen Union und den Mitgliedstaaten*. In: H.-D. Klingemann and F. Neidhardt (eds.): *Zur Zukunft der Demokratie. Herausforderungen im Zeitalter der Globalisierung*. WZB-Jahrbuch. Berlin: Ed. Sigma, 363-390.

En el marco de este enfoque algunas dimensiones clave requieren ser incorporadas en el debate inicial. Podemos destacar tres de ellas.

- 1. Enfoque espejo:** perspectiva basada en la coherencia. Los partidos políticos deben ser un reflejo de la propia sociedad.
- 2. Enfoque ideológico:** los partidos políticos siguen una línea ideológica en base a sus intereses: esto explica la diferencia entre partidos en la forma en que se incorpora la diversidad en sus filas.
- 3. Enfoque de potencia/estructural:** Partidos políticos que se hayan abierto a la diversidad pueden contribuir a la reducción de la xenofobia y el racismo, los prejuicios, y las opiniones negativas de la población al respecto.

Para terminar este breve resumen sobre las cuestiones primordiales del proyecto DIVPOL, queremos subrayar algunas **preguntas fundamentales** que necesitan ser contestadas:

- ¿Cómo influye en los programas y en los cambios de política el hecho de incorporar la diversidad en los partidos políticos? El hecho de que los partidos políticos incorporen la diversidad no significa que vayan a incorporar políticas mejores y más inclusivas en sus programas de integración y de ciudadanía, ni siquiera en temas “polémicos” y que están relacionados con la gestión de las fronteras y las políticas migratorias.
- El hecho de que los inmigrantes estén incluidos en las listas electorales y en las estructuras de poder no es suficiente, y es que la incorporación de diversidad no siempre se traduce en la promoción interna de los inmigrantes. Es necesario también analizar las rutas de promoción interna que siguen los políticos de origen inmigrante.

Incorporar políticos de origen inmigrante como representantes visibles o “portavoces” de la diversidad no significa necesariamente que su experiencia como inmigrantes – que puede diferir de la corriente principal de los miembros del partido – también se incluya al mismo nivel que la del resto de miembros del partido. Una inclusión más allá de símbolos significa desafiar los discursos dominantes y las relaciones de poder que se establecen dentro de los partidos y la inclusión de distintas voces y experiencias en los discursos de los partidos (por ejemplo, las experiencias de ser un refugiado o de la discriminación).

## 4. Resumen Procedimental

# Mapeo de Factores que Obstaculizan o Facilitan la Participación de los Inmigrantes y el Desarrollo de la Diversidad en Partidos Políticos de Siete Países Europeos

En el estudio empírico del proyecto DIVPOL fueron entrevistados 269 representantes de partidos políticos y organizaciones de migrantes. A lo largo de 2013 también se entrevistaron a siete expertos de cada uno de los siete países participantes en DIVPOL (DE, ES, IE, IT, PL, PT, SE). En total, participaron 38 partidos políticos y 53 organizaciones de migrantes.

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### 4.1 Restricciones Legislativas para Nacionales de Terceros Países en Partidos Políticos

En casi todos los países europeos participantes en DIVPOL, tan sólo tienen derecho de voto a nivel nacional las personas que tienen la nacionalidad de dicho país. Las únicas excepciones al respecto son los brasileños en Portugal y los británicos en Irlanda, que pueden votar y ser elegidos a nivel nacional.

En el ámbito de las elecciones locales, la situación de los NTP es más diversa: La legislación más restrictiva de los países DIVPOL existe en Italia, Alemania y Polonia, donde los NTP están excluidos de los derechos de voto local. En Polonia, la Constitución es contraria al derecho de los no nacionales de afiliarse a un partido político. En Portugal y España el principio de reciprocidad establece que algunos NTP pueden participar en el proceso de toma de decisiones a nivel local, mientras que otros NTP quedan al margen ya que en sus respectivos países no se permite el voto a nacionales de ambos países a nivel local. Los derechos más favorables para no nacionales se encuentran en Irlanda, donde todos los residentes en el estado pueden votar y participar en las elecciones locales después de 6 meses de residencia (derechos de voto pasivos para NTP desde 1963 y activo desde 1974). Desde 1975 Suecia también concede el derecho de los NTP a participar en las elecciones locales, ya sea como elector o como candidato, y siempre después de haber residido en el país de forma legal por un período mínimo de 3 años.

De forma general, la legislación analizada en los distintos países nos deja una fotografía de Europa donde los derechos que ostentan los NTP ya sea para votar, acceder a la naturalización o para obtener la doble ciudadanía, no sólo están bastante limitados, sino que también están distribuidos de forma muy desigual. Mientras que en algunos países son muy progresistas (IR, PT, SU), en otros es mucho más restrictiva (DE, IT, ES).

Este acceso limitado e injusto para los derechos políticos es visto como un problema por algunos políticos y por una mayoría de las organizaciones de migrantes. Estas

organizaciones hacen hincapié en la importancia de los partidos políticos para que presionen en favor del derecho de voto de los inmigrantes. Algunos ven el derecho de voto a nivel local como un paso intermedio, y remarcan la importancia de facilitar el acceso a la ciudadanía, incluyendo también el derecho a la doble nacionalidad. Curiosamente, en nuestro estudio hemos encontrado muy poca correlación entre la legislación progresista en materia de derechos de voto y la de ciudadanía y participación real de los inmigrantes en la vida política (local). Tanto en Irlanda como en Suecia, los migrantes están sistemáticamente infrarrepresentados en la política local. Parece incluso, que la eliminación de las barreras formales no es suficiente, lo que plantea la existencia de muchas otras barreras informales que también juegan un papel importante.

**Unirse a un partido político:** En casi todos los países DIVPOL (a excepción de Polonia), no existen obstáculos legales para que los NTP se afilien a partidos políticos. En Alemania, España, Suecia e Irlanda los NTP pueden unirse a cualquier partido político, aunque algunos de los partidos tienen requisitos mínimos de residencia. En Italia, los partidos de izquierda permiten la adhesión, mientras que los partidos de derecha no lo permiten. En Portugal, NTP pueden unirse a la mayoría de los partidos aunque en un partido en concreto existen restricciones para aquellos NTP procedentes de países con los que no existe un acuerdo de reciprocidad. Esto significa que en muchas partes en toda Europa existe una brecha de participación. NTP pueden afiliarse a un partido, pero la ley no les permite votar ni presentarse como candidatos. Internamente, sin embargo, muchos partidos permiten a los NTP desempeñar cargos dentro del partido. Los entrevistados naturalizados y que anteriormente no poseían una nacionalidad europea, ven la posibilidad de que los NTP participen en las elecciones internas de los partidos como algo muy positivo ya que les permite sentirse “bienvenidos” dentro de la estructura del partido.

Los grupos locales del Partido Verde en Alemania llevan a cabo elecciones duales para permitir que los NTP sean participes, aunque solo sea de forma simbólica, en la elección de la coordinación. Algunas de las partes han establecido foros especiales, grupos y campañas específicamente dirigidas a las personas de origen inmigrante con el fin de fomentar su participación e implicación. Desafortunadamente, algunos de estos grupos están actualmente inactivos. Sin embargo, sus actividades no están estructuralmente ancladas, y sus redes son volátiles y/o dependientes de las personas individuales.

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## 4.2 Acceso/Entrada a los Partidos Políticos y a la Vida Política de los Partidos

**Extensión:** Debido a un desencanto generalizado con la política, muchos partidos políticos en Europa se enfrentan actualmente a una pérdida de sus militantes de base. A pesar de los incentivos para tratar de lograr nuevos grupos de forma activa, los partidos políticos son particularmente ineficaces cuando se trata de atraer personas de origen inmigrante. Y aunque muchos partidos están creando planes para llegar a los inmigrantes y sus comunidades (por ejemplo, en DE, IE, ES), el número de inmigrantes afiliados a partidos políticos sigue siendo insignificante pese a las múltiples campañas de captación. Un ejemplo de buenas prácticas es el diseño de la iniciativa “Apertura del Poder a la Diversidad”. Esta práctica comenzó

en Irlanda en 2011 y consistía en permitir a NTP hacer prácticas junto a políticos nacionales durante un periodo de seis meses.

**Cultura de Partido:** En general, la competencia y la eficacia de las redes son dos aspectos principales del trabajo interno del partido. Es común encontrarse con impedimentos que favorezcan dicha diversidad, ya sea por unas estructuras de partido demasiado tradicionales, o por la resistencia de algunos miembros que llevan muchos años en el partido y que ven con recelo la entrada de nuevos militantes.

*No es viable decir, “ven aquí”, si luego no hay espacio suficiente para que todos estemos en la misma sala, o si los sitios ya están distribuidos de tal forma que los recién llegados no tienen donde sentarse.* [DE]

Según muchos de los entrevistados (por ejemplo, en DE, PO, PT), los partidos políticos a menudo resultan poco atractivos y son vistos como organizaciones cerradas, homogéneas o “elitistas”.

*Hoy en día existe una fuerte conexión entre los ciudadanos y la política, aunque también una gran desilusión con las actuaciones de muchos agentes políticos.* [PT]

*Partido político significa faccionalismo. A nivel lingüístico el término “partido” es igual a corrupción, poder y terror.* [PL]

**Cultura de Acogida:** En uno de los países se señaló que la estructura de acogida depende en gran medida de “si el presidente local es una persona abierta y agradable o un macho alfa” [DE]. Que el presidente apoye o no una atmósfera donde la dinámica de grupo sea abierta e igualitaria, y los nuevos miembros sean apreciados, puede ser la diferencia entre tener o no una cultura de acogida. Entrevistados en Suecia, España y Alemania, se refieren a menudo a la barrera que supone el realizar “demasiadas reuniones” [SU], así como el tiempo y lugar en el que se llevan a cabo (por ejemplo, en los bares). Es difícil asistir a muchas reuniones en una misma semana – sólo para tratar trabajo interno del partido – si uno se acaba de establecer en un nuevo país, se encuentran en medio de una carrera y/o tiene hijos. Los partidos no adaptan su organización a la diversidad de sus miembros, por ejemplo, cambiando las horas de reuniones o los lugares donde se celebran estas. Las prácticas de exclusión se agravan aún más si tenemos en cuenta que las reuniones están a veces fuertemente influenciadas por estructuras locales e informales.

**Entrada:** Muchos de los políticos entrevistados (con y sin orígenes migrantes) entraron en su partido a través de contactos personales. La mayoría de los políticos de origen inmigrante de Alemania, Italia y España se habían acercado a los partidos por la motivación recibida por parte de miembros del partido. Se observó que muchos de los políticos italianos y españoles de origen inmigrante habían participado durante años de forma activa en asociaciones y sindicatos. En Alemania, los políticos de origen inmigrante que se encuentran en puestos visibles e importantes son vistos como un modelo a seguir, y como tal, tienen un efecto motivador para que la gente participe en política.

**Redes e Introducción:** En cambio, para los entrevistados de origen no inmigrante en países como Suecia y Alemania, la forma de socialización política y de acceso a la arena política se establece a través de las organizaciones juveniles de los partidos. Durante estos primeros años de compromiso político se establecen conexiones personales que resultan de vital importancia para cualquier carrera política. Dicha ausencia de socialización previa con los miembros del partido puede resultar más difícil de superar para los nuevos miembros del partido. La situación puede ser aún más complicada para las personas que hayan podido pasar un proceso migratorio, ya que en ocasiones se enfrentan a dificultades añadidas como son el desconocimiento adecuado del idioma, de las estructuras de partido, o del día a día de aspectos importantes de la vida política. Por otra parte, existen pocas medidas sistemáticas de orientación, tutoría, acogida, o programas de capacitación que faciliten y ayuden a los nuevos miembros a entender tanto la estructura del partido como otras cuestiones sobre las políticas del partido.

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### 4.3 Pasos y Funciones de los Políticos de Origen Inmigrante en sus Carreras Políticas

El etiquetaje identitario como “inmigrante” no debe limitar el rol de un político en el partido. Sin embargo, en la práctica política supone un elemento relevante.<sup>17</sup>

**En el proceso de nominación,** el factor determinante para el éxito de una candidatura son las redes. Estas redes – tanto dentro como fuera del partido – son a menudo de carácter informal y se establecen tras un largo recorrido en el partido, por ejemplo, en las juventudes del partido o a nivel local (por ejemplo, DE, SE, IE). Esto puede suponer un obstáculo para los inmigrantes que entran en el partido en una etapa posterior. Otros criterios individuales que influyen en las posibilidades para ser nominado como candidato son: las competencias de la persona en un tema concreto que sea considerado de relevancia para el partido, la experiencia política, y los criterios de identidad (por ejemplo, género, edad, u origen étnico). En las zonas donde los votantes de origen inmigrante son un objetivo electoral, se observa una tendencia general de los partidos para situar en las listas a más candidatos de origen inmigrante.

En muchas ocasiones, los líderes y miembros relevantes del partido tienen poder para decidir sobre el proceso de confección de las listas electorales. En Italia, la cooptación fue el principio fundamental de la promoción de las personas de origen inmigrante en el partido:

*El proceso de cooptación subjetiva puede tener sus ventajas ya que puede promocionar personalidades que si tuvieran que haber pasado por el proceso electoral interno del partido, podrían no haber tenido la oportunidad de ser elegidos. Y, en un sistema que todavía no es totalmente democrático, esto puede ser un camino necesario a tener en cuenta. [IT]*

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<sup>17</sup> Se refiere a personas etiquetadas como migrante, a todas aquellas que son consideradas como migrantes por otras personas por motivos de aspecto físico (color de piel, pelo y color de ojos), su nombre, o su acento.

Varios de los entrevistados de origen inmigrante en Alemania, Italia y España fueron colocados en la lista directamente por los líderes del partido. Si bien esto demuestra la importancia del liderazgo para aumentar la representación de los inmigrantes, a menudo hay una falta de transparencia en el proceso de elaboración de las listas, y la multiplicidad de intereses también juegan un rol importante en los criterios de nominación – a menudo competitivos. Esta falta de transparencia puede representar un obstáculo para los nuevos políticos de diferentes orígenes y su aceptación dentro de la base del partido. Otro factor a tener en cuenta en la confección de listas a partir de decisiones tomadas desde arriba, es la posible categorización que se haga de aquellos representantes, que al ser elegidos sin un consenso generalizado pueden ser vistos como “migrantes de cuota”, y más si son elegidos sin previamente haber militado de forma activa en el partido.

En varios países, los entrevistados señalaron que los miembros del partido de origen inmigrante tienen más probabilidades de ser arrinconados en los últimos puestos de las listas electorales, sin posibilidad de ser elegidos en para un puesto relevante dentro del partido. Uno de los políticos entrevistados en Portugal dio un ejemplo de lo que él llama “falacias de inclusión”. Los partidos están invitando a ciudadanos negros para que ocupen puestos en las listas locales, puestos que no tienen opción de ser elegidos pero que permiten al partido usar las imágenes de estos candidatos durante la campaña electoral, de modo que pueda inducir a engaño a aquellos electores que creen que ese candidato va a ser elegido, y que por lo tanto, tendrá voz y voto. En España, Alemania e Irlanda se observa una alta rotación entre los políticos de origen inmigrante que poseen puestos de cierta relevancia y que tan solo permanecen una legislatura en el cargo. Se apunta a que la falta de un fuerte apoyo por parte de la red interna de las bases del partido los hace más vulnerables ante la politiquería interna de sus competidores.

**Cuotas transparentes de representación** para las personas de origen inmigrante en las listas electorales, similares a las cuotas de mujeres existentes en diversos partidos, son cada vez más vistos con buenos ojos por los representantes políticos y de organizaciones de migrantes. Los ven como una solución a la infrarrepresentación política de los inmigrantes. Sin embargo, las cuotas son un tema controvertido. Mientras algunos de los entrevistados opinaron que las cuotas se basan en “la cantidad y no en la calidad”, y que estas personas deberían ganarse el puesto por méritos propios [IT], otros señalaron que con decenas de personas compitiendo por las candidaturas, “incluir a los inmigrantes en las listas... no puede ser una prioridad” [PT]. Los socialdemócratas suecos han introducido en algunas zonas del país y a nivel local, cuotas para los candidatos de origen inmigrante, buscando la captación de migrantes que no fuesen solo de otros países nórdicos. En Estocolmo, la cuota se ha fijado en proporción a la población de origen inmigrante en el distrito (25%). La implementación del contingente exige asimismo la representación para estar en la parte de la lista en la que es muy probable que los candidatos sean elegidos. Las cuotas pueden ser entendidas como un instrumento para asegurar el compromiso sostenible de las partes para incrementar el número de políticos de origen inmigrante y como respuesta estructural a la reconocida discriminación estructural que existe actualmente. En Estocolmo, el sistema de cuotas como medio para rectificar la infrarrepresentación política de los inmigrantes se ha recibido con “gran aceptación”. Un político dijo:

*No fue por motivos de bondad. Tuvimos que cambiar las estructuras de poder dentro del partido. [...] Aún no he encontrado un político que voluntariamente abandone el poder. [SE]*

**Temas sobre carreras políticas:** La mayoría de los políticos de origen inmigrante informó de que habían tenido que lidiar con el tema de la migración y la integración en su carrera política. Si bien muchos de ellos ya entraron en el partido con un interés previo en este tema, otros se sintieron alentados por compañeros de partido para que se comprometieran en la materia. En Italia y España, donde la gran mayoría de los políticos de origen inmigrante entraron en política a través de la participación en asociaciones “étnicas”, su trabajo dentro del partido político se limita exclusivamente al tema de la inmigración. Un par de representantes expresó su frustración y deseó no ser “estereotipado” y “anclado” a este tema [DE].

Irlanda y Polonia son excepciones en este aspecto. En Polonia los pocos diputados naturalizados entraron en política “no como inmigrantes que representan a otros inmigrantes” [PL], sino como expertos en su campo y como representantes de sus comunidades locales. En Irlanda, las organizaciones locales del partido (“ramas”) juegan un papel importante y los candidatos tienen que ser vistos como representantes de las comunidades locales con el fin de ser elegidos. Prácticamente todos los candidatos migrantes en 2009 y 2014 centraron sus campañas en la mejora de su entorno local. Este fuerte enfoque local también ofrece la oportunidad de llamar la atención sobre la identidad local de los candidatos y disminuir el foco sobre su origen étnico.

En la mayoría de los países DIVPOL, el hecho de tratar asuntos sobre migración e integración proporciona a los nuevos aspirantes a político una mayor facilidad para progresar en sus carreras que no tratando asuntos políticos que sean más populares y competitivos. Pero por otro lado, estas posiciones de nicho limitan la capacidad de los inmigrantes para crecer en influencia y/o reclamo hacia un electorado más amplio en aquellas ocasiones en las que se está compitiendo por una elección.

**El papel de mediador con las comunidades de migrantes** es adoptado por un gran número de los políticos entrevistados de origen inmigrante. Esta posición de mediador es considerada como muy importante por muchos de los entrevistados – políticos y representantes de organizaciones de migrantes por igual – en España, Italia, Portugal y Alemania. Muchos de los entrevistados están satisfechos de haber asumido esta posición. Los políticos de origen inmigrante se describen como “el mejor posicionado dentro de los partidos y dentro de sus propias comunidades”, ya que “son ellos los que mejor entienden cuáles son las necesidades y demandas de dichas comunidades” [PT]. Sin embargo, algunos de los entrevistados consideran esta posición algo problemática, ya que se encuentran atrapados entre las expectativas de las comunidades migrantes y las de sus propios partidos. Algunos rechazaron este encasillamiento automático del rol de mediador que a veces se les atribuye desde los partidos, donde se les plantea como un papel “natural” dentro de la organización.

**La etnización como representantes de los inmigrantes** tiene lugar cuando una persona es vista como representante de un grupo étnico (supuestamente



homogéneo) ya sea por motivos de su origen real o por atribuirle un supuesto origen. Tanto compañeros de partido, como votantes (potenciales) con y sin origen inmigrante y nacionales de terceros países, declararon una cierta etnización. Esto puede conducir a la autoetnización.

Sin embargo, algunos miembros del partido y representantes de las comunidades de migrantes ven con una cierta ambigüedad esta ambivalencia de la función de mediador y de la etnización de los representantes políticos. Por un lado, la movilización de los votantes inmigrantes es considerada como un éxito para el partido, pero por otro, puede convertirse en un punto de conflicto en cuanto a competencia dentro del partido se refiere, y es que da opción a que se den situaciones en las que un representante político de origen inmigrante sea acusado por sus compañeros de partido de ganarles su puesto “sólo por los votos de los inmigrantes” [DE].

En general, tanto los migrantes como las comunidades “minoritarias” en su conjunto, ven de forma positiva e importante el papel de mediador que juegan los políticos de origen inmigrante dentro de los partidos. Por otro lado, las propias comunidades de inmigrantes sospechan que los partidos políticos utilizan los políticos migrantes simplemente para atraer el “voto migrante”. Representantes de estos grupos acusan a los partidos de proceder a una “incorporación selectiva” [DE], y que dicha incorporación de personalidades de origen inmigrante como representantes étnicos por parte de los partidos, se realiza sin tener en cuenta la experiencia de estos en materia de agenda de partidos. Generalmente, los discursos dominantes y las relaciones de poder que se establecen dentro de los partidos son difícilmente cuestionables.

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#### 4.4 Diversidad dentro de los Partidos Políticos y Discursos sobre la Diversidad

**Actitud de los partidos en pos de la diversidad:** A la luz de los cambios demográficos, los partidos políticos perciben a las personas de origen inmigrante como un grupo demasiado grande como para ser ignorado. Una excepción dentro de los países DIVPOL es Polonia, donde, debido a la menor presencia de inmigrantes, el tema de la participación política de estos todavía no forma parte ni del debate público ni de los partidos políticos. En Italia, la cuestión de la diversidad se está abordando – al menos de forma retórica – por todos los partidos políticos. La inmigración se ha convertido en un tema electoral en Italia, donde existe una evidente polarización entre los que adoptan una posición favorable a los inmigrantes y los que no, aunque también encontramos puntos de vista convergentes con ambos posicionamientos, y que tiene como único objetivo el obtener más votos. El contraste lo encontramos en Portugal, donde los puntos de vista favorables a la presencia de inmigrantes dominan la arena política, y donde varios de los políticos entrevistados, independientemente del espectro político al que perteneciesen, reconocieron que la inmigración no es un tema divisorio. Sin embargo, a pesar del consenso político en torno a los temas de inmigración y la política de integración, los partidos políticos de Portugal no parecen ponerse de acuerdo sobre cuál es la importancia electoral de los inmigrantes en el país luso.

Todos los partidos políticos en Suecia y Alemania están de acuerdo en la importancia que juega el papel de la diversidad cuando se trata de representación y participación política. Su lógica contiene una mezcla de argumentación estratégica y democrática. En el caso de los partidos populares en Alemania como de algunos partidos de España, la representación de la población migrante es parte de una reivindicada autoproclamación de ser el “espejo de la sociedad”. Por lo tanto, los partidos deben reflejar la diversidad existente en la sociedad (en términos cuantitativos) en las diferentes esferas de poder. Esto se basa en el supuesto de que una “masa crítica” de los miembros del partido y el personal le ayudará a equilibrar la participación y representación de las personas de origen inmigrante. Los entrevistados en Suecia y Alemania han dejado claro y de forma unánime que la diversidad no solo es ventajosa, sino que ha de ser la norma a seguir para los partidos políticos. Paradójicamente, esto puede llevar a la renuncia del reconocimiento de casos de racismo y de ciertas barreras estructurales dentro de los partidos.

En Alemania, por ejemplo, el discurso de la diversidad y que es visto de forma positiva está roto en varias ocasiones por un punto de vista deficitario, lo que se refleja en declaraciones relevantes y que contienen un significado simbólico, como es el caso de las adscripciones influyentes realizadas en el contexto del discurso de integración:

*[Dijo] “el multiculturalismo ha fallado” – se trata de un símbolo. Zas, punto. Se mete en tu mente. De acuerdo, dicen que el multiculturalismo ha fallado. Hemos fallado, no pertenecemos aquí. [DE]*

En Portugal, la pertenencia étnica y racial, y el sentimiento y término “Otros” eran a menudo mencionados por los encuestados negros. Uno de los entrevistados señaló el hecho de que el país aún está influenciado por un legado colonial que percibe con preocupación la idea de que personas negras ocupen cargos de poder. Varios representantes de organizaciones de migrantes (en Alemania, por ejemplo) consideraron que para los partidos, el concepto de la diversidad sirve como un instrumento de retórica para las campañas electorales y sin que realmente esté suficientemente integrada de forma real en la cultura política o en las estructuras de los partidos.

**Tratar el racismo y la discriminación:** Por un lado, las declaraciones en público que sean exclusivas, discriminatorias o racistas, pueden disuadir por completo a la gente del partido, sobre todo a los de origen inmigrante, y más, si ocurre como en Alemania, donde la dirección del partido no se distancia suficientemente de estas posturas, o no implementa medidas disciplinarias. En general, se pone muy poco énfasis en el racismo, y ante los casos de discriminación, los partidos suelen rebajar y tomarse a la ligera las protestas. Por otro lado, los comités de los partidos tanto a nivel local y como de distrito, se han encontrado con el desafío de explicar el proceso de transformación de forma “comprensible” [DE] para aquellos “nativos” o autóctonos que forman la base del partido. “Oleadas” [ibíd.] de nuevos miembros de origen inmigrante pueden desencadenar entre las bases un cierto temor de que haya una excesiva infiltración de extranjeros dentro del partido:

*Si alguien viene ahora y trae consigo a diez personas nuevas, y todos ellos parecen de alguna forma u otra diferentes, algo va mal, esconden algo bajo la manga.*

[DE]

En Irlanda, el estado de ánimo que existía (de forma previa a la recesión económica) respecto a la idea de diversidad, ha pasado de ser positivo a desaparecer como consecuencia de la importancia que han cobrado las cuestiones económicas. Los partidos han tomado un enfoque prudente ya que “no quieren ser arrastrados a un debate poco atractivo que pudiese llegar a ser motivo de división” [IE]. En otros países se puede observar que los partidos son reticentes a abordar ciertos temas de inmigración que impliquen algo más de polémica ya que temen que puedan ser usados por los partidos de extrema derecha.

**Redes de diversidad en los partidos:** En Suecia existe una cierta reticencia a organizar partidos que busquen tomar en consideración a las personas de origen inmigrante. En España y en Alemania existe el debate sobre si es mejor integrar a los miembros de origen inmigrante en las estructuras de participación existentes, o bien crear estructuras específicas de participación y reconocimiento para estos grupos. Por un lado, los “espacios seguros” pueden ofrecer un ambiente acogedor que permita acelerar la promoción de personas para que pasen a ser miembros oficiales del partido o incluso candidatos. Además, estas redes proporcionan diversos aspectos positivos ya que son una forma de reconocer la diversidad interna; resaltan la visibilidad dentro del partido; y les permite tener una plataforma para abogar por la diversificación de la organización. Por otra parte, algunos miembros perciben estas estructuras como “espacios sin poder”, y que pueden dar cabida a la segregación de las principales estructuras del partido. Además, temen ser percibidos sólo como miembros/políticos de origen inmigrante y que no se les reconozca el talento o los intereses como persona.

Sin embargo, tener redes que fomenten, den apoyo y promuevan candidatos de origen inmigrante de forma similar a como se ha hecho con las mujeres, tal vez pueda ser una vía para avanzar hacia el reto no solo de conseguir la diversidad como norma, sino también de dar la debida importancia a los casos de racismo. Un claro ejemplo es el comité de inmigrantes de los socialdemócratas en Estocolmo. Su fuerza organizativa y la cooperación con otras estructuras como la organización juvenil asegura una fuerte influencia en las decisiones políticas y en el número de representantes de origen inmigrante, este último, desde la reivindicación de imponer cuotas de representación.

En Alemania, los partidos han creado organizaciones afiliadas a partidos políticos, grupos de trabajo o comités políticos que se ocupan de la inmigración, y que puedan actuar como “puntos de conexión” para la apertura intercultural de los partidos. Funcionan en diferentes contextos como organizaciones de presión y como foros de bienvenida.

En España, uno de los partidos ha creado una fundación conectada al partido, en la que la gente participa en función de su zona geográfica de origen. La fundación también tiene capacidad para acoger en su sede a diversas organizaciones de inmigrantes, y tampoco existe la necesidad de estar afiliado al partido para participar

en las actividades de la fundación. Otro partido ha creado diferentes estructuras de participación que reflejan la diversidad dentro del partido, incluyendo a las personas LGBTI, personas con discapacidad y otros grupos minoritarios, sobre todo a nivel nacional.

En Irlanda, existen dos partidos que cuentan con un coordinador para la igualdad cuya tarea es apoyar el compromiso con las comunidades de migrantes y darles apoyo dentro del partido. Dicha persona también colabora con un subcomité especial del partido en el que divulga las propuestas de igualdad. Por lo tanto, el subcomité ofrece un espacio para la formulación de propuestas y la comunicación de políticas pertinentes.

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#### 4.5 Las Redes entre los Partidos Políticos y las Comunidades Inmigrantes y sus Asociaciones

**El rol de las organizaciones de migrantes:** En muchos países las organizaciones de migrantes (OM) se identifican a sí mismas como organizaciones de presión para defender los derechos de los inmigrantes. Muchas opinan que los partidos políticos no proporcionan la representatividad o la inclusión de los inmigrantes de forma adecuada, y que por lo tanto, “la representación de los derechos e intereses quedan básicamente relegados a las asociaciones” [PT: Representante OM]. Como organizaciones de presión, las OM “existen no por diversión, sino por necesidad” [ibíd.]. Las OM también realizan un uso estratégico de los miembros del partido y que a veces forman parte de sus comités, lo que les permite establecer puentes de comunicación con los partidos políticos. Es habitual que las OM que operan a nivel nacional mantengan un diálogo continuo con los partidos (por ejemplo, en DE o SE). En Suecia, Alemania, Portugal y España destaca el hecho de que las OM buscan siempre tener un papel activo en lo que refiere a temas políticos. Actualmente en Italia, existen disputas sobre cuál es el papel de dichas asociaciones; mientras algunas voces se refieren a estas como actores importantes en materia de integración, otras temen que exista una fragmentación excesiva. En Polonia, las OM son todavía de creación muy reciente y aún no actúan como grupos de presión política.

**Relaciones entre los partidos políticos y las organizaciones de inmigrantes:** en países como Suecia, España, Italia, Alemania e Irlanda podemos encontrar vínculos entre partidos políticos y OM, aunque generalmente difieren en intensidad y estabilidad. En España, existe una estrecha relación entre los partidos socialistas y de izquierdas y las OM, lo que ha facilitado tradicionalmente que estos partidos llegasen con mayor facilidad a los inmigrantes. Sin embargo, un estrecho vínculo con las familias políticas conduce a una situación de clientelismo que puede resultar problemática para las OM. Un cambio en el gobierno puede alterar las relaciones de poder entre gobierno y OM, llegando a afectar al apoyo que reciben estas últimas, ya sea en términos de recortes presupuestarios o de exclusión de los órganos consultivos.

Los partidos tienen una relación instrumental con las OM, y a menudo, líderes destacados de OM son cortejados por los partidos con el objetivo de que se unan

a sus filas y sumar de esta forma tanto la experiencia que puedan aportar, como el acceso a potenciales votantes del partido:

*[Esta persona] planteaba que la sociedad es diversa y que esa diversidad también debe reflejarse en la política y entonces es cuando él me llama, porque yo era una militante de base (...) Pero él mirando cuáles son las asociaciones que pueden ser más significativas y más representativas, me llama para decirme que quiere que vaya en su lista, porque él quiere hacer una comunión del partido con la inmigración para justamente nutrir al partido de las ideas de la inmigración y fortalecerlo en ese sentido. [ES]*

En Italia y Alemania, los representantes de OM declararon que los partidos políticos utilizan sus redes sobre todo durante procesos electorales. En varios países, las OM juegan un papel importante en la formación política, como mediadores y proveedores de diversas medidas educativas, pero el sentimiento generalizado es que los partidos políticos no consideran a estas organizaciones como socios en igualdad de condiciones, ni tampoco hacen uso de todo su potencial. Por ejemplo, en Suecia, algunas OM consideran que a pesar de que sus organizaciones hacen un importante trabajo para la educación política de sus miembros, los partidos son lentos en aceptar las invitaciones y en general, solo se muestran interesados en el mantenimiento de la cooperación. Un diputado local, informa sobre la importancia de visitar las pequeñas OM establecidas en su área:

*Aunque [nuestros] diputados locales saben que no vas a ir a ninguna parte con estas organizaciones... No pueden votar. Pero la política también vive de dar ejemplo... Si queremos vivir en una sociedad que... quiere permanecer unida, es importante ir ahí, remarcar la existencia de estas organizaciones, y destacar que este trabajo se está haciendo. [DE]*

## 5. Recomendaciones para los Partidos Políticos

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### **Restricciones Legislativas para Nacionales de Terceros Países (NTP) en los Partidos Políticos**

- Los partidos políticos deberían permitir que los NTP fueran miembros de pleno derecho dentro del partido, sin restricciones y con cargos dentro del partido que estén abiertos a los no nacionales.
- Los partidos deberían evaluar medidas exitosas e iniciativas para su expansión, especialmente para los nuevos grupos que llegan y atraer de esta forma, a las personas de origen inmigrante que no forman parte de la clientela clásica de los partidos políticos. Los grupos regionales y ciertas estrategias (ejemplos de buenas prácticas) deberían aplicarse a nivel nacional y de forma estructural. Deberían establecerse oportunidades de participación para los NTP y las organizaciones que encuentran un difícil acceso a participar en partidos políticos. Donde dichas oportunidades ya existen, se debería potenciar la información acerca de estos grupos tanto dentro como fuera del partido.
- Se deberían estudiar los efectos de realizar elecciones duales dentro del Partido como símbolo de una cogestión de la inclusión de NTP, con el objetivo de determinar si deben aplicarse a mayor escala y/o establecerlas como estructurales del partido.

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### **Acceso/Entrada a los Partidos Políticos y la Vida Política en los Partidos**

- Es esencial establecer una orientación y una estructura de acogida para conseguir una apertura del partido que sea real y duradera. Se debe crear un clima en la que todos, independientemente de su edad, género, nivel socio-económico, educativo, laboral, religioso y/o étnico, sea bienvenido y reconocido por sus propias cualidades y su experiencia específica (cultura de reconocimiento). Los partidos podrían prestar apoyo a iniciativas y estructuras locales, como por ejemplo ocurre en Irlanda, donde se han creado foros de integración local, lo que despierta el interés por los partidos entre los inmigrantes.
- Programas estructurales de mentorización y guías para los nuevos militantes facilitarían que los nuevos miembros encontraran rápidamente su lugar dentro del partido. Actos de bienvenida o eventos sociales vinculados a temas del partido puede ayudar a que las reuniones del partido sean más atractivas. Además, cada organización local podría disponer de un responsable (por ejemplo, responsable para la igualdad) que se encargase de dar la bienvenida a los nuevos miembros de origen migrante (como es el caso en algunas partes de Irlanda y Alemania).

- La conciencia de diversidad intercultural, así como sus competencias, deben promocionarse en todos los niveles del partido. Las organizaciones de umbral bajo (organizaciones juveniles, asociaciones locales, etc.) y las actividades de divulgación (stands de información, etc.) deben ser incluidos en este proceso. La confección de actividades organizadas para los partidos, tales como horarios de las reuniones, deben ser revisados y adaptados a la diversidad de sus miembros. Estas medidas deben garantizar que las personas interesadas procedentes de diversos orígenes sean valoradas y bienvenidas al partido.
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### **Pasos y Roles en la Carrera Política de Políticos de Origen Inmigrante**

- En términos de reconocimiento, es importante que los políticos de origen inmigrante o personas “etiquetadas” como tales, ocupen puestos públicos y sean conocidos por la población. La existencia de políticos de origen inmigrante que sean públicamente reconocidos posibilita que otras personas se identifiquen con dicha persona, abriendo de esta forma la participación política a grupos de inmigrantes.
- Los líderes del partido deben ser conscientes de su papel y responsabilidad en los procesos de nominación. Las decisiones de nominación deben ser claras y accesibles a las bases del partido. Mientras que los símbolos y modelos a seguir son muy importantes, la inclusión de candidatos de origen inmigrante debe ir más allá de acciones simbólicas, permitiendo nuevas perspectivas que empapen los discursos dominantes. La participación simbólica y etnización deben ser evitadas.
- En vez de acciones centradas en el individuo, es preferible diseñar programas a largo plazo y “medidas de seguridad” que aseguren una representación mínima. Entre las medidas de seguridad, y con el fin de aumentar la diversidad de las listas de nominación, se puede incluir el uso de cuotas para los diferentes grupos infrarrepresentados dentro del partido. Estas medidas pueden basarse en ejemplos con un éxito ya contrastado, como es el caso de la experiencia de aplicar cuotas internas del partido para las mujeres, y que obtuvo una amplia aceptación durante los últimos 15 años en varios países.
- Cuando los grupos de trabajo en materia de diversidad dentro de los partidos (espacios que organizan la participación de las personas de origen inmigrante) dan recomendaciones al comité electoral, como ocurre en España, estas recomendaciones deben tener un carácter vinculante para la dirección de una comisión electoral. La dirección del partido debería estar de acuerdo con posturas acordadas sobre las candidaturas recomendadas, y también debería aumentar la transparencia.
- Se deben ofrecer talleres de información y tutorías para los nuevos candidatos, incluidos los migrantes. Los partidos podrían encontrar formas de ayudar a recaudar fondos para los candidatos migrantes (una medida concreta de Irlanda). Los partidos también deberían estudiar cómo detectar nuevos talentos mediante la participación en foros de integración local, así como en los grupos comunitarios. El talento interno en el partido y los esquemas de desarrollo en liderazgo son buenos ejemplos de esto.

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## **Diversidad dentro de los Partidos Políticos y Discursos sobre la Diversidad**

- En la medida que los partidos se organizan de acuerdo a un principio de “anarquía libremente conectada”, es necesario establecer una estrategia dual para el desarrollo de la diversidad (de arriba a abajo y de abajo a arriba). Esto requiere conceptos claros sobre liderazgo que se pueden enseñar en los cursos previamente mencionados sobre liderazgo (como sucede en una de los partidos de Alemania). También requiere de ciertos cambios en el equilibrio de poder en las propias bases del partido.
- Para contrarrestar la discriminación racial es necesario que haya mecanismos de denuncia interna, que los conceptos de liderazgo sean claros, y que haya miembros con una fuerte personalidad de liderazgo que promuevan un diálogo abierto y honesto, así como un cambio general en las actitudes (el clima de reconocimiento y la eliminación de los tabúes relativos al racismo en el día a día). Tanto la existencia de un sistema disciplinario más concluyente, como las declaraciones positivas a nivel de liderazgo envían un mensaje mucho más potente.
- Es importante que las redes, los grupos de trabajo y los expertos en igualdad y que operan como agentes de diversidad y de creación de una mayor conciencia de la diversidad interna, estén asentados estructuralmente y reciban un amplio apoyo de los consejos de dirección de los partidos.
- Con el fin de evaluar el desarrollo de la diversidad de una manera sistemática, se recomienda recopilar y analizar estadísticas sobre los miembros y los titulares de cargos.

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## **Redes entre los Partidos Políticos y las Comunidades Inmigrantes y sus Asociaciones**

- Los partidos deberán establecer y mantener compromisos estructurales con las organizaciones de migrantes. El interés de los partidos y la clientela de las OM no debería limitarse a los periodos electorales. Para el mantenimiento de las asociaciones, y que estas sean sostenibles, es importante tomar algunas medidas como apoyar y colaborar en la organización de eventos, invitaciones mutuas, o el intercambio regular. La cooperación debe llevarse a cabo en condiciones de igualdad, y las OM deben ser capaz de proporcionar conocimientos sobre la elaboración de la agenda política y sobre la formulación de políticas. La inclusión de OM como actores puede facilitar diferentes perspectivas sobre la discriminación o el racismo, y ajustar así, los distintos puntos de vista que se puedan tener sobre el déficit de representatividad de los inmigrantes.
- Las organizaciones de migrantes pueden fortalecer su papel en la promoción y el apoyo a la participación política y el voto entre sus comunidades. Los partidos deberían apoyar este proceso.





# Tables

Table 6  
**Third-country nationals (TCN) among the interviewees**

Country	Among the interviewees	
	naturalised TCN	TCN
Germany	10	1
Ireland	14	5
Italy	20	9
Poland	5	7
Portugal	21	—
Spain	20	—
Sweden	12	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>102</b>	<b>22</b>

Table 7  
**Participants of interviews, focus groups & workshops of DIVPOL**

Country	Individual interviews	Focus group participants	Participants of workshops
Germany	33	10	25
Ireland	34	5	87
Italy	29	16	25
Poland	24	9	14
Portugal	29	17	23
Spain	25	5	37
Sweden	25	15	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>199</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>224</b>

Table 8  
**Political parties involved in DIVPOL**

Country	Political parties	
Germany	Social Democratic Party (SPD), Green Party (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen), Left Party (DIE LINKE), Free Democratic Party (FDP), Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Christian Social Union in Bavaria (CSU)	6
Ireland	Fine Gael, The Labour Party, Green Party, Fianna Fail, Sinn Fein	5
Italy	Popolo della Libertà (PDL), Partito Democratico (PD), Sinistra Ecologia Libertà (SEL), Partito della Rifondazione Comunista (PRC), Italia dei Valori (IDV)	5
Poland	Polska jest Najważniejsza/Poland Comes First (PiN), Prawo i Sprawiedliwość/Law and Justice (PiS), Platform Obywatelska/ Civic Platform (PO), Polskie Stronictwo Ludowe/Polish People's Party (PSL), Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej/Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), Polska Partia Pracy/ Polish Labour Party (PPP), Ruch Palikota (Polikot's Movement)	7
Portugal	Left Bloc (BE), Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), Green Party (PEV), Socialist Party (PS, centre-left), Social Democrat Party (PSD, centre-right), Popular Party (CDS-PP, Christian-democratic)	6

Table 8

**Political parties involved in DIVPOL**

Country	Political parties	
Spain	People's Party (PP), The Spanish Socialist Workers' party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español – PSOE), Catalan socialists' party (Partit dels socialistes catalans – PSC), Convergence and Union (Convergència i Unió – CiU), United Left (Izquierda Unida – IU), Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds (ICV)	6
Sweden	Socialdemokraterna (Social democrats), Miljöpartiet (Green), Moderaterna (Conservative/liberal)	3
<b>Total no. of parties</b>		<b>38</b>

Table 9

**Migrant organisations involved in DIVPOL**

Country	Migrant Organisations	
Germany	Association of Binational Families and Partnerships (iaf – Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften e.V.); Each One Teach One (EOTO e.V.); Every Vote (Jede Stimme e.V.); Initiative of Black People in Germany (ISD – Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland e.V.); Intercultural Migrant Integration Centre – (IMIC Interkulturelles Migranten Integrations-center e.V.; Network of Member of Parliaments with a Descent from Turkey (Netzwerk türkeistämmiger MandatsträgerInnen); New German Media Maker (Neue Deutsche Medienmacher e.V.); Turkish Community (TGH / TGD – Türkische Gemeinde in Hamburg / in Deutschland e.V.)	8
Ireland	Africa Centre, Crosscare Migrant Project, Doras Luimni, Immigrant Council of Ireland, Islamic Cultural Centre, Migrant Rights Centre, Nasc, New Communities Partnership, Forum Polonia, The Integration Centre	10
Italy	Associazione culturale islamica in Italia (Italian Islamic Cultural Association); Associazione Spirit Romanesc (Spirit Romanesc Association); Associazione Eurolatina (Eurolatin Association); Villaggio Esquilino; Associazione Albanese (Albanian Association); Comunità palestinese del Lazio (Palestinian Community Lazio); Associazione QuestaèRoma (This is Rome Association); Associazione Donne Capoverdiane in Italia (Cape Verdean Women Association); Cambiare Davvero (Association for Real Change); Associazione No.Di. (No.Di. Association); Associazione Stranieri lavoratori in Italia (Foreign Workers in Italy association); Phrala Europa (Phrala Europe); Associazione Beza (Beza Association); Associazione Griot (Griot Association)	14
Poland	Stowarzyszenie dla Somalii (Foundation for Somalia), Stowarzyszenie Nasz Wybór (Foundation Our Choice), Fundacja SMOUŻ (SMOUZ Foundation)	3
Portugal	AGUINENSO, Associação Cabo-Verdiana, Associação do Talude, Casa do Brasil, Federação das organizações cabo-verdianas, Moinho da Juventude, Morabeza, Olho Vivo, Solidariedade Imigrante	9
Spain	Trade Union Workers' Commissions – Centres for the integration of foreign workers (Comisiones obreras – Centro para la integración de trabajadores extranjeros, CCOO-CITE); America-Spain Solidarity and Cooperation (America – España Solidaridad y Cooperación, AESCO), Federation of Latin-American associations (Federación de las asociaciones Latino-Americanas, Fedelatina), Catalan Federation of Pakistanese entities (Federación Catalana de entidades Pakistanies – FEDE-PAK Catala), Association of Senegalese Residents of Catalonia (Asociación de residentes senegaleses de Cataluña -ARSC), Association of Peruvian citizens in Spain (Asociación de ciudadanos Peruanos en España, Ari-Peru), Socio-Cultural association Ibn Batuta (Asociación socio-cultural Ibn Batuta, Ascib), Association Colombian Centre (Asociación Casal Colombiano, ASOCASCOL)	8
Sweden	SIOS (umbrella organization gathering fifteen ethnic associations, e.g. immigrants from China, Kurdistan, Turkey, Finland, Chile, Greece)	1
<b>Total</b>		<b>53</b>

Table 10

**Legal prerequisites and regulations for third-country nationals' political participation**

Country	Active and passive right to vote at local level	Active and passive right to vote at national level
Germany	EU 28	German citizens only
Ireland	every resident that is registered  (possible after 6 months; introduced for non-Irish nationals in 1963 (active) / 1974 (passive); Garda (Irish Police Force) needs to stamp registration forms in respect of the Supplementary Register)	Irish and UK citizens only
Italy	EU 28	Italian citizens only
Poland	EU 28	Polish citizens only
Portugal	EU 28 + some TCNs  Reciprocity agreements with Brazil and Cape Verde (after 2 years = right to vote; after 3 years = right to be elected)  Reciprocity agreements with Norway, Iceland, Argentina, Peru, Uruguay, Vene-zuela and Chile (after 2 years = right to vote but not be elected)	Portuguese citizens, Brazilians who request status of equal political rights (after 3-years-residency; except: Prime-minister (has to be Portuguese citizen) and President of the Republic („Portuguese by origin“)
Spain	EU 28 + some TCNs  Reciprocity agreement with Norway, Ecuador, New Zealand, Colombia, Chile, Peru, Paraguay, Iceland, Bolivia, Cape Verde, Korea, Trinidad and Tobago (after 5 years of continuous legal residence + inscription to CERE – Electoral census of Foreign Residents)	Spanish citizens only
Sweden	EU 28 + TCN (after 3-years-residency, introduced in 1975)	Swedish citizens only

\* Residency period before naturalisation refers to the usual process for immigrants; reduced residency periods often apply for matrimony and/or in cases of special civic engagement

Citizenship / Naturalisation*	Right to dual citizenship	Prerequisites to become a party member
jus sanguinis and jus soli (since 2000); naturalization possible after 8-years-residency	No, but many exceptions (e.g. for children born in Germany, reform of the option obligation in 2014)	left up to internal regulation: CDU min. 3-years-residency, FDP min. 2-years-residency, no restriction in Green & SPD
Naturalisation possible after 5-years-residency	Yes	no limitations through political parties
jus sanguinis; naturalisation possible after 10-year-residency	Yes	left to internal regulation: left wing parties (some require long-term-residency / residence permit) vs. right wing parties (Italian citizenship / only „certain“ nationals)
new law (since 2012): naturalisation possible after 3-/5-years-residency	Yes	Polish citizens only
jus sanguine and jus soli (since 2006); naturalisation possible after 6-years-residency	Yes	left up to internal regulation: In major parties only these TCNs that hold voting rights have the right to join political parties (other TCNs are excluded from membership). The left wing parties declare that everybody may become a member who accepts their programmes and statutes.
jus sanguinis (mainly); nat.poss. after 10-year-residency; 5-years with refugee status; 2-years for Spanish + Portuguese-speaking American countries + Andorra, Filipinos, Equatorial Guinea, Portugal, Sephardic origin; 1-year for born in Spain or to Spanish parents.	Yes for Spanish + Portuguese-speaking American countries, Filipinos, Guinea Equatorial, Sephardic origin; other specific exceptions	no specific legal requisite, no limitations through political parties (exc.: People's party migrants need to prove their authorization) Foreigners are not allowed to create political parties.
jus sanguinis; naturalisation possible after ca. 5-years-residency	Yes	no specific legal requisite; no limitations through political parties

Source: DIVPOL, June 2014

# The Diversity Assessment Tool

**Alex Kirchberger**

**Jan Niessen**

*Migration Policy Group*

The diversity assessment tool is designed to assess to what extent political parties adopt measures to integrate people with an immigrant background into the life of the party. Parties are organisations that are to a greater or lesser extent professional organisations operating at local, regional, national and European levels. In order to achieve their overall goals, parties aim to:

- seek the support of voters
- recruit members
- select candidates for representative office
- select leaders
- employ staff
- purchase goods and services

As part of a broader strategy to achieve these goals, parties can adopt and implement equal opportunity, anti-discrimination and diversity principles. This would make parties more representative and effective to mobilise the population. The tool is primarily meant for the national level where general rules are set for the party as a whole. However, the tool can also be used for party operations at sub-national level and by party affiliated organisations such as training institutes.

For the design of the tool we made use of a compendium of benchmarks and indicators on diversity in political parties.<sup>18</sup> We shaped the tool as a user-friendly questionnaire. A first draft was introduced and discussed with political parties, civil society organisations and academics at workshops organised in seven European countries during the last months of 2013 and the first months of 2014.<sup>19</sup> Clearly, the situation in these countries varies considerably in the way parties are structured and organise their work. These differences notwithstanding, the similarities are significant enough to draw up this international and comparative tool.

In this paper we first briefly deal with issues of terminology before turning to explaining who can use the tool and how. This is followed by the six sections of the questionnaire.

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<sup>18</sup> [www.migpolgroup.com/publications\\_detail.php?id=338](http://www.migpolgroup.com/publications_detail.php?id=338)

<sup>19</sup> These workshops were organised in the context of a European Integration Fund supported project that was carried out by CJD Hamburg + Eutin (Germany), Stockholm University, ACIDI (Portugal), Psychoanalytical Institute for Social Research Institute (Italy), Gritim (Spain), Lazarski University (Poland), the Integration Centre (Ireland) and the Migration Policy Group (Belgium). [www.migpolgroup.com/diversity-integration/divpol-diversity-in-political-parties-programmes-organisation-and-representation](http://www.migpolgroup.com/diversity-integration/divpol-diversity-in-political-parties-programmes-organisation-and-representation)

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## Terminology

For the purpose of this questionnaire, diversity is defined as the differences among members of the population in terms of their immigrant background.

**People with an immigrant background** include:

- Non-EU nationals who can be born within the EU or outside the EU (they are often referred to as third-country nationals)
- Persons with at least one non EU parent
- Former non-EU nationals who have acquired your country's citizenship.

EU nationals from other Member States are not considered as persons with an immigrant background but as EU citizens exercising their free movement rights. They have the right to vote and stand for election at local and European level. In some countries immigrants have a privileged position when it comes to political participation, for example, when reciprocity agreements are signed between countries of origin and destination.

**Dual citizenship** For the purpose of this questionnaire dual citizenship means citizenship of more than one country, including a non-EU country.

**Equality** refers to the equal treatment of persons irrespective of their (perceived or actual) race, ethnicity, religion, belief, nationality or national origin – in accordance with European and national legislation.

For the purpose of this questionnaire, **publicly available data** refers to objective data such as the **nationality** and **place of birth** of a person and his or her parents. Such data is collected by national statistical offices through census and by municipal registers. Such data is also collected from European sources, such as the European statistical office (Eurostat) and through specialised surveys such as the Labour Force Survey, the Survey on Income and Living Conditions, the European Values Survey, etc.

**Single-winner systems** use electoral districts or constituencies that return one office-holder to a body with multiple members such as a local, regional or national legislature, e.g. 'first past the post' and run-off systems. In **list-based multiple-winner systems**, parties draw up lists of candidates for election and seats are allocated to each party in proportion to the number of votes the party receives (proportional representation). There are variations to both systems.

## Reflection of the diverse population

There are different ways to establish whether the population's diversity is reflected in a party's voters, members, candidates, leaders, employees and suppliers. The best way is using publicly available data or data otherwise gathered. The use of personal data is governed by European and national legislation on data protection.

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## Who can use the tool

Political parties as well as persons or organisations outside political parties can use the tool.

In the former case the questionnaire serves the purpose of a self-assessment. The questionnaire is filled out by persons in management positions (for example, a party secretary, or a board member responsible for membership affairs, or diversity, etc.). Decentralised parties may wish to use it in a few regions or big cities and ask party leaders at those levels to answer the questionnaire. Taking them together may provide an interesting picture of the national situation. The party can use the results to set goals and targets and set up a monitoring mechanism to measure progress. The party may invite an independent expert to verify the answers in which case one can speak of a reviewed self-assessment. This will give the assessment more credibility in particular when it is then published.

In the latter case the questionnaire serves the purpose of an external assessment. The questionnaire is filled out by organisations or persons who are concerned about the quality of our democracy and the legitimacy of political parties (for example, immigrant associations, anti-discrimination, equality and diversity organisations, or scholars). They may do so after they have tried and failed to convince parties to undertake a self-assessment. They have to rely on publically available information about political parties and may focus on national parties or local branches. They may also ask for an interview with a party official. The results may be discussed with the parties before publishing them. This may put pressure on parties to become more open to immigrants.

The questionnaire has been kept rather short and simple with most questions in the six sections to be answered by yes, or by no. In addition, the respondents are asked to provide links to relevant documents that the party has made public. These could be party manifestos, statutes, etc. Where these documents are not public, the respondents are asked to state the status of the source and briefly summarise its essence. In this way the questionnaire not only gives a picture of what parties publically state, but also what parties' good practices are.



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**Section I: your details**

*Name of political party:*

*Country:*

*Name of the person who responded to the questionnaire:*

*Function of the person who responded to the questionnaire:*

*Contact email address:*

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**Section II: the party's aspiration to reflect the diversity of the population**

Do key party documents (such as manifestos etc.) recognise the importance of voters with an immigrant background?

Yes

No

*If yes, please give an example and provide a link to the most recent party document:*

Is party membership open to all residents, without nationality requirements?

Yes

No

*Please provide the relevant reference to the party statutes  
(even if your response is no):*

Are candidate applications open to holders of dual citizenship?

Yes

No

*Please provide the relevant reference to the party statutes  
(even if your response is no):*

Are leadership positions and membership of the party's executive structure open to holders of dual citizenship?

Yes

No

*Pease provide the relevant reference to the party statutes  
(even if your response is no):*

Does the party have an internal mechanism in place for handling discrimination complaints?

Yes

No

*If yes, please provide a link to or excerpts of the relevant document and describe how the mechanism works:*

Does the party have an internal rule for dealing with members who express racist views?

Yes

No

*If yes, please provide a link to or excerpts of the relevant document and describe the rule:*

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### **Section III: using demographic data**

Are publically available population data used by the party to map the composition of the potential electorate?

Yes

No

*If yes, please give a recent example of such use:*

Are publically available population data used to assess the party's attractiveness for particular groups in the population (including people with an immigrant background)?

- Yes  No

*If yes, please give a recent example of such use:*

Does the party register the following characteristics of its members?

- |                                      |                                 |   |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Age            | <input type="radio"/> Gender    | <input type="radio"/> Education Level       |
| <input type="radio"/> Profession     | <input type="radio"/> Income    | <input type="radio"/> Nationality           |
| <input type="radio"/> Place of birth | <input type="radio"/> Ethnicity | <input type="radio"/> Other, please specify |

*If yes, please provide the relevant reference to the party's registration form or website:*

Are the internal data collected under the previous question used to inform the party's strategy for and/or to set targets for:

- Recruiting members  Selecting candidates for election
- Selecting leaders and members of the party's executive structure

*If yes, please give an example of how such data helped to inform party strategy and/or give an example of targets based on such data:*

Does the party register the following characteristics of its employees?

- |                                      |                                 |   |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Age            | <input type="radio"/> Gender    | <input type="radio"/> Education Level       |
| <input type="radio"/> Profession     | <input type="radio"/> Income    | <input type="radio"/> Nationality           |
| <input type="radio"/> Place of birth | <input type="radio"/> Ethnicity | <input type="radio"/> Other, please specify |

*If yes, please provide a link to or the excerpt of relevant documents describing your HR monitoring system:*

Are the internal data collected under the previous question used to inform the party's recruitment strategy and/or to set targets for recruiting staff?

Yes

No

*If yes, please give a recent example of such use:*

Does the party monitor the following characteristics of tenderers?

Immigrant background of the company owner

Employment practices (equal opportunities policy, competences-based recruitment process, etc)

*If yes, please provide a link to or the excerpt of relevant documents describing your procurement monitoring system:*

Are the internal data collected under the previous question used to inform the party's procurement strategy and/or to set targets for procurement?

Yes

No

*If yes, please give a recent example of such use:*

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#### **Section IV: targeting voters and recruiting members**

Does the party maintain a structured and systemic dialogue with immigrant associations?

Yes

No

*If yes, please give examples of such associations and describe the dialogue maintained with them:*

Are meetings regularly organised with immigrant communities in areas with large populations of people with an immigrant background; and are such meetings regularly attended by these people?

Yes

No

*If yes, please give examples of such meetings and describe their frequency and average attendance:*

Does the party proactively and explicitly target voters with an immigrant background through voter registration campaigns (in countries with voter registration), and/or to actually vote?

Yes  No

*If yes, please give examples of such campaigns and specify how they are carried out (e.g. in partnership with immigrant associations, using community media, etc.):*

Do party voters with an immigrant background feel that their needs and aspirations are considered by the party on an equal footing with other voters' needs and aspirations?

Yes  No

*If yes, please provide evidence such as results of post-electoral surveys; consultations with immigrant associations and voters with an immigrant background; etc.:*

Are members with an immigrant background welcomed and supported upon joining the party?

Yes  No

*If yes, please provide evidence such as the existence of a specific support network; a specific working group or other structure where they can meet within the party; a person responsible for welcoming and supporting new members with an immigrant background etc.:*

Does the party have an explicit and proactive membership recruitment policy (or action plans) towards persons with an immigrant background?

Yes  No

*If yes, please provide a link to the relevant document and specify how such membership recruitment efforts are carried out (e.g. in partnership with immigrant associations or community centres, through specialised media outlets, etc.):*

Are party members, whatever their background, invited to attend a training course on diversity and equality issues?

Yes

No

*If yes, please give examples of such training courses and specify what the programme and/or training material consist of:*

Does the composition of the party's membership reflect the diversity of the country's population?

Yes

No

*If yes, please provide evidence such as the percentage of party members with an immigrant background compared to the percentage of people with an immigrant background in the overall population and what methods you use to establish this?*

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### Section V: selecting candidates and party leaders

Are diversity and equality principles integrated into candidate selection procedures?

Yes

No

*If yes, please provide evidence, such as diversity and equality training for members of selection committees; competence-based assessment processes; etc.:*

Does the party offer training and support opportunities to talented candidates with an immigrant background? When these opportunities apply to all, are measures taken helping immigrants to overcome barriers to seize the opportunities?

Yes

No

*If yes, please provide evidence, such as talent-spotting mechanisms for identifying promising candidates; mentoring or shadowing schemes; training courses for leadership, use of media, public-speaking and team-building skills; etc.:*

Does the composition of the party's national list of candidates reflect the diversity of the country's population?<sup>19</sup>

Yes

No

*If yes, please provide evidence (for example the percentage of candidates with an immigrant background compared to the percentage of people with an immigrant background in the overall population):*

Are candidates with an immigrant background allocated as many winnable constituencies as other candidates?<sup>20</sup> The answer is (also) yes if constituencies with large immigrant populations have party candidates with an immigrant background.

Yes

No

*If yes, please provide evidence such as the percentage of candidates with an immigrant background allocated winnable constituencies (i.e. considered 'safe' by the party):*

Does the party have a proactive policy of selecting members with an immigrant background in its executive structure?

Yes

No

*If yes, please provide evidence such as relevant excerpts from internal party statements:*

Are leaders and (other) members of the executive structure with an immigrant background given responsibilities in line with their interests and expertise, not only with their backgrounds?

Yes

No

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**19** Relevant for single-winner systems. For list-based multiple-winner systems, the question should read as follows: "The proportion of candidates with a migrant background on the party's national list is commensurate with the proportion of people with a migrant background living in the country."

**20** Relevant for single-winner systems. For list-based multiple-winner systems, the question should read as follows: "The proportion of candidates with a migrant background occupying eligible positions on the party's area list is commensurate with the proportion of people with a migrant background living in the area."

*If yes, please provide evidence such as the proportion of members with an immigrant background that are responsible for diversity and equality issues compared to other areas:*

Does the composition of the party's leadership and executive structure reflect the diversity of the country's population?

Yes  No

*If yes, please provide evidence such as the percentage of leaders and members of the executive structure with an immigrant background compared to the percentage of people with an immigrant background in the overall population:*

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### **Section VI: the party as employer and buyer of goods and services**

Are diversity and equality principles integrated into the party's recruitment, promotion and appraisal systems and procedures?

Yes  No

*If yes, please provide a link to or excerpts of relevant documents (e.g. describing competency-based recruitment procedures), including an example of a recruitment advertisement:*

Does the party's employment policy contain an equal opportunity or diversity statement welcoming applications from people with an immigrant background?

Yes  No

*If yes, please provide a link to the relevant document. If it is an internal document, please only explain the status of the document and include the relevant excerpt:*

Does the composition of the party's workforce, across all staffing levels, reflect the diversity of the country's/area's population?

Yes  No



*If yes, please provide evidence such as the percentage of staff with an immigrant background, at each staffing level, compared to the percentage of people with an immigrant background in the overall population:*

[Redacted area]

Does the party's procurement policy contain a statement welcoming tenderers who have a diversity and equality policy?

Yes  No

*If yes, please provide a link to the relevant document. If it is an internal document, please only explain the status of the document and include the relevant excerpt:*

[Redacted area]

Are diversity and equality principles integrated into the party's procurement procedures?

Yes  No

*If yes, please provide a link to or excerpts of relevant documents such as tender specifications; selection and award criteria; contract performance clauses; training material for procurement officers; etc.:*

[Redacted area]

Is the party's pool of suppliers composed of a majority of businesses which apply diversity and equality principles in their employment practices?

Yes  No

*If yes, please provide evidence that a majority of suppliers train staff in intercultural awareness and understanding; use competency-based recruitment procedures; have set up an internal mechanism for handling discrimination complaints; etc.:*

[Redacted area]

## DIVPOL Methodology

### Exemplary Interview Guideline for Politicians with and without Immigrant Background/Third-Country Nationality & Party Members of Third-Country Nationality

- 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?

## Theses Papers

# Factors which Hinder or Support Party-Political Participation of Immigrants

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GERMANY

Iris Dähnke

Lea Markard

CJD Hamburg + Eutin

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### 1. Access/Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

In the empirical study of the DIVPOL project we interviewed 43 representatives of political parties and migrant organisations in Germany. Many of the politicians (with and without a migration background)<sup>21</sup> gained access to a party via personal contacts. A disproportionate number of interviewees with a migration background had been approached and encouraged directly by party functionaries. In addition, politicians with a migration background in visible and important positions were role models. They had a signal effect and were in a position to motivate people to party-political participation. For interviewees without a migration background political socialisation through the parties' youth organisations represented an important form of access to the political arena.

People are put off when parties appear to them as closed, homogenous and “elitist” organisations in which the positions of power are taken by just a few occupational groups. Competition and effective networks are two main aspects of internal party work. This can be even more intimidating for people who, for example, on grounds of their migration history do not have the necessary language skills, knowledge of the structures or habitus (a sense of “belonging to the same stable”) that are important in political life in Germany. Personal and regional differences lead to the fact that the welcoming structure strongly depends on “*whether the local chairman is a nice, open person or an ‘alpha male’*” [E19].

Migrant organisations' representatives argued that in connection with intersectional and multiple discrimination and in the light of the fact that competition was a crucial element, ‘safe spaces’ within political parties were needed. They doubted

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**21** In this study the focus is on people of non-European background (“Third-Country Nationals”, TCN). The term “people with migration background” follows the definition of the Microcensus of the German Federal Statistical Office. Accordingly every person is considered as “with migration background” that immigrated to Germany after 1949, was born in Germany as a foreigner or has at least one immigrated parent or parent who was born as foreigner (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2011). While using this definition, it should be pointed out that it is often people “marked as migrants” and “marked as the ‘Other’” who experience exclusion.

that people in position of power were willing to „*split the cake [of power] into smaller pieces* [FG2] in order to open up their party. One politician described (non)existence of a welcoming culture for newcomers:

*You can't say, come over, if there aren't enough places to sit in the living room or the seating is so arranged that the new arrival can't sit down.* [E10]

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

The general exclusion of dual nationality and the lack of active and passive voting rights for non-EU citizens mean that immigrants from third-countries can only enjoy restricted participation in party-political systems, as neither may they vote for mandates, nor run as candidates. A factor which strongly supports political participation is that third-country nationals (TCN) can become members of all the parties we investigated (in some only after 2 or 3 years in the country) and can assume positions within the party such as secretary, treasurer or party chair. *“Being able to participate in internal party elections as a party member without voting rights”* [E3] is viewed very positively by (former) third-country nationals in the parties. Some parties have established special forums or groups, or made other arrangements aimed specifically at people with a migration background – irrespective of their nationality – and encourage them to participate (for example “Inländerstammtisch”; “SPD ve biz”; “Yesiliz – We are Green”). Some regional groups in fact conduct dual elections for candidates to allow TCN a symbolic form of co-determination.

It is not possible in any of the parties we investigated to say whether the proportion of non-EU citizens among the membership reflects approximately their numbers in the population, as the parties do not measure this systematically. However, some published figures do point to a significant under-representation (SPD membership: 1% foreign members, 2004, compared to 8.9% in the population, Eurostat, 2004).

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## 3. Career Paths and Roles of Politicians with “migration background”

The identity marker “migrant”<sup>22</sup> should not represent a determining characteristic for the internal party role of a politician. However, *de facto* it is relevant in political practice. Almost all of the interviewees with a migration background had had to deal with the topic of integration at least temporarily in their political career. Many brought an interest in this topic with them, others were advised by party colleagues to deal with it because they could be “plausible representatives” of the topic. Others did not wish to let themselves be “*stereotyped*” and be “*nailed*” to this topic [E7].

Politicians with a migration background experienced ethnicization in various contexts and by various actors (party members, potential autochthone voters and

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<sup>22</sup> People marked as migrant are those who, on account of their appearance (skin colour, hair and eye colour), their name or their accent are regarded as migrants by others.

of immigrant background). Ethnicization means that on the grounds of their real or assumed origin they are seen as representatives of a (supposedly homogenous) ethnic group. In practice, this often entailed them being ascribed the function of mediator with migrant communities as a matter of course, which some interviewees strongly rejected. Many politicians have a bridging function to migrant communities, and therefore ensure the inclusion of their topics in the party and encourage others to participate in politics. On the one hand, mobilisation of migrant voters is regarded as a success for the party, but on the other, can become a point of attack for the competition within the party.

The attribute “migration background” is becoming increasingly relevant in the nomination process. This may lead to politicians with a migration background being viewed as quota “migrants” and them receiving less recognition for their competences.

*I too have the feeling that you've always got to assert yourself [and] prove that you've got abilities, and possibly more than those without a migration background, and to find your place and fight for it – that takes a lot of energy.*

[E4]

Migrant organisations’ representatives pointed to the danger of politicians of migrant background being used as “tokens” for diversity. This was apprehended when individual politicians of migrant background were seen as “spokespersons” of an ethnic, religious or national group, while their specific experiences would stay outside of the dominant discourses of the party. Some interviewed politicians and migrant representatives indicated a high fluctuation of politicians with a migrant background, who often stayed in office only for one legislative period. A lack of sustainability of diversity development in the party and a lack of established networks were given as possible reasons for this trend.

The ambivalence of dealing with and implementing diversity shows that the diversity discourse within the parties and outside – contrary to all rhetorical appreciation of diversity – is full of tension.

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#### 4. Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

In the light of demographic change, parties perceive people with a migration background increasingly as a group within society which is to be taken seriously in all fields. Their logic contains a mixture of strategic and democratic argumentation. In the case of the people’s parties, representation of the migrant population is part of the self-proclaimed assertion to be the “*Mirror of Society*” [E18]. Potential is now in the foreground of the diversity discourse. However, this is repeatedly broken by a deficit-ridden viewpoint, which is reflected in powerful statements with symbolic meaning such as influential ascriptions made within the context of the integration discourse:

*[She said] multiculti has failed – that is a symbol. Whoosh, full stop. That sticks in your mind. All right, they say multiculti has failed. We have failed, we don't belong here. [FG2]*

Exclusive, discriminative or racist statements uttered in public can deter people from the party for a long time, especially those with a migration background, if the party leadership does not distance itself sufficiently and draw consequences. Some interviewees felt that overall not enough emphasis was laid on the topic of (day-to-day) racism and experiences of discrimination were often played down or made light of by the committees concerned. Party policy that is more restrictive with regard to the interests of migrants can also deter these from party-political engagement.

Party committees at the district and local levels have been challenged to make transformation processes “understandable” [E24] for the (autochthonous) base. „Waves“ [E25] of new members with a migration background can trigger fears of foreign infiltration among the base:

*If someone comes along now and brings along ten new people with them and they all look different somehow – something's wrong, they've got something up their sleeves. [E17]*

Inner-party working groups and networks concerned with (ethnic) diversity are a factor that further supports the involvement of immigrants in political parties. All of the parties have created party-affiliated organisations and working groups that can act as “docking points” for the intercultural opening of the parties. The tasks of these networks still appear unclear in some cases: Are they pure political committees that deal with immigration issues or are they also welcoming forums for interested people (with a migration background)? Do they work for internal party diversity development? The networks can indeed be described as examples of good practice, especially where they act as lobbies to bring “diversity” as a mainstream topic into the party. Another important network for several interviewees was a cross-party network for office-holders organised around Turkish background.

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## **5. Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their Associations**

Networks between the parties and migrant organisations (MOs) exist, even if they do receive more attention from the parties during election campaigns. It is chiefly the nationally active MOs who keep in regular dialogue with the parties. Leaders of MOs considered to be important are often courted by party functionaries to join or take a position in the party. Many MOs increasingly emerge as self-confident political lobbies. They also make strategic use of party members who sit on their committees to set up lines of communication to the parties to exert influence on political debates and decision-making processes. Many MOs organise events for the promotion of political participation, often with local politicians. One politician pointed out that visits to smaller organisations gives important signals of recognition and esteem:

*Although [our] local MPs know that you won't get anywhere with these organisations... They can't vote. But politics also live from setting examples... If we want to live in a society that... would like to stick together, it's important to go there, to point out that these organisations exist, that this work is being done.*

[E3]

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## 6. Recommendations to Political Parties

- Political parties should allow third-country nationals to become members without restrictions. Inner-party positions should remain open to them and they should furthermore be encouraged to take these positions.
- Regional examples of good practice for the inclusion of TCN (initiatives and groups targeting TCN, double inner-party elections) should be structurally anchored and expanded, where possible to national level.
- The establishment of a welcoming structure is essential for a sustainable opening up of the party. A climate should be supported in which everyone, regardless of their age, gender, educational, occupational or ethnic background recognised for their own specific competences. A culture of recognition should be supported which guarantees that people who differ from the majority of the party base on the grounds of the above are welcomed into the party. Structurally anchored mentoring programmes can help new members to quickly find their place within the party.
- Parties' decentralised organisational structure of national, regional and local subsystems has been described as *"loosely connected anarchy"* [E16]. We recommend a bilateral strategy for diversity development: top-down and bottom-up. On the one hand, clear leadership concepts and their communication are essential. On the other, motivation and drive for change must be implemented in and the base itself.
- Intercultural competence and a welcoming culture as described above should be promoted at all levels within the parties. Special attention should be paid to low-threshold access organisations, like youth organisations and local groups, and to the party's outreach activities, like information stands.
- Inner-party or party-affiliated working groups, who are agents for the intercultural opening of parties should be structurally anchored, supported by the board level and act as 'save spaces'.
- Politicians with migration background in visible position of power send out crucial signals of inclusion. Their positions have great symbolic value and are important for the strategic intercultural opening of parties.
- Political parties should implement measures to increase the proportion of candidates of immigrant background on nomination lists, with the aim of reflecting the (local) population the election addresses. This should be applied to the whole list, including promising positions with good chances to get elected. Migrant organisation representatives consider the introduction of structurally anchored quotas as necessary instrument to ensure a sustainable diversity development.
- Data on composition of the membership base, candidate lists and office holders can help to measure change and the success of programs/actions to increase diversity.

- Parties should maintain networks to migrant organisations continuously and on equal level. These networks should enable the perspectives people of immigrant background to enter the political discourses and the formulation of legislative proposals.
- To increase the political participation of immigrants, representatives of migrant organisations considered very important the introduction of local voting rights for resident TCN, a reformation of the citizenship law to make naturalisation more accessible and the abolition of the obligation.
- Parties should be aware of the ambivalence of the diversity discourse within their own ranks and German society as a whole. They should discuss internal inconsistencies openly and transparently, promote an honest dialogue and removal of taboos, for example concerning day-to-day racism. Internal complaints mechanisms are helpful for individuals and can support this process.

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Péter Szlovák

IRELAND

*The Integration Centre*

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### 1. Access/ Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

In Ireland anyone can join a political party and vote in elections. It has been found that political parties are in general open to new members including those of migrant backgrounds. It is difficult to quantify the number of migrant members due to lack of data but all parties have migrant members. Migrants are likely to be under-represented in parties although some parties seem to have more migrant members.

Important aspects of the political system are the strong role played by local party organisations, so-called branches, as well as the frequent canvassing, visiting people in their homes, and operating information service, known as clinics, for local residents. Accordingly, there are a number of access points for newcomers who wish to engage with Irish political parties. Before making a stronger commitment, involvement in campaigns and canvassing also offers a “trial period” for anyone in a political party. In 2009 large parties did make a concerted effort to target particularly the Polish but also some other migrant communities; however the perception was that the return was poor in light of resources deployed (full-time integration officer, information material).

While local branches were described by most as friendly and welcoming informally, there was no systematic **orientation measure** to help new members understand the party structure, party issues or policies. It was argued that only by being involved in party activities that new members gain skills and knowledge necessary for progressing: “*Each step on the political ladder teaches you something that is essential for the next rung*”. Nevertheless there are proactive steps that parties have taken and can take.



In terms of positions within parties, it appears that several migrant members have gained positions within parties, primarily at local level, but it is unlikely that they have advanced further than that. The argument is that migrants are too few and too new within parties to affect representation among party officials and post-holders.

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

In Ireland anyone who has been resident in Ireland for six months can vote and run in local elections – including non-EU citizens – and can join any political parties. That affords migrants and particularly non-EU nationals with an excellent opportunity to engage with political activities and join parties. However, there are some factors that may slow down involvement of non-EU nationals.

Local authorities have limited power in Ireland; for instance, they have no role in education or health services and, of course, they do not have influence over immigration matters. Many non-EU nationals do not have a secure status and this can also discourage them from active political involvement. It was suggested that a considerable number of non-EU nationals may postpone political involvement until such a time that they receive citizenship that provides them with a secure status and the right to vote in national elections. In this context however it is important to acknowledge that more than 80,000 non-EU nationals received citizenship between 2005 and 2013.

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

Most migrants were active in the community before deciding upon joining a party and contesting election. Non-EU nationals were members of both ethnic-led and community organisations and showed a progression from working with their own community to engaging with the wider local community. Practically all migrant candidates in 2009 and 2014 have focused in their **campaigns on improving the local environment** where they live, understanding that in the Irish political context it is essential that candidates are seen as local community representatives. But the strong local focus also offers an opportunity to draw attention to their local identity and lessen focus on their ethnicity.

Both Irish and migrant candidates have agreed that party involvement – attending meetings, campaigns, canvassing for someone else in previous elections – were very useful experiences that benefited them. However, some challenges do remain. In terms of **nomination**, incumbents within the same parties may see newcomers (regardless of their background) as competitors particularly in urban areas. In this context it is important to highlight that nominations are decided by local branches and constituency organisations, over which the headquarters have little influence, therefore newcomers need to convince local members about their electoral potential. While this creates difficulties for every new candidate, the perception was that is harder for migrants to mount a serious nomination bid. In a recession party members may also feel that there is a greater risk of running a migrant candidate.

Parties also cite the less than desirable results for migrant candidates in 2009, when most parties did try to seek out and run migrant candidates. In 2014 the main parties are running only a few (or no) migrant candidates. Importantly, the number of local authority seats has also been reduced by 500. The closing down of town councils, where migrants were elected in 2009, has removed more winnable seats.

*The party supported me as well, to a certain extent, but it was harder to build this support, maybe because they didn't see from the beginning my real potential as a candidate to succeed.*

The **electoral campaign** in Ireland does not lend itself to intervention by parties. Candidates need to finance their campaign and develop their strategies. The party's assistance revolves around the production of information material (design and subsidised printing) and some general advice. Migrants tend to have less developed networks and this creates difficulties in securing volunteers and donors for their campaign. Candidates learn about how to run an electoral campaign through informal networks and being involved in campaigns.

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#### 4. Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

In terms of discourse, since the recession the previous celebratory mood in relation to diversity has disappeared and discussion has also shifted to economic issues. An important exception is the citizenship process which the current government prioritised by speeding up the application process and introducing citizenship ceremonies that received great publicity. In general, however, parties took a cautious approach as “they did not want to be dragged into a debate that might become divisive and ugly”, whereas a small but significant number of local residents began to raise concerns about migrants' accessing social services. Racist incidents in the form of verbal threats and damage to property were reported in some disadvantaged urban areas. To their credit, several politicians made an attempt to constructively engage with those views and they too have organised collective action to address incidents. Nevertheless some local politicians also made anti-immigrant statements.

Two parties have an **equality officer** in place whose task it is to support engagement with migrant communities, among other groups; although much of the work is focused on women. The officer also leads outreach efforts in collaboration with a special sub-committee in the party. The sub-committee primarily offers a space for formulating relevant policy proposals and communication.

Since 2011 the **targeted scheme** Opening Power to Diversity, has placed migrants (non-EU nationals) to work as interns with national politicians for six months. Both parties and migrant interns praised the initiative. This kind of targeted internship increases confidence in and familiarity with Irish politics among migrants, while politicians have also developed relationships with members of migrant communities. On the other hand, the scheme has not led to any new initiatives within parties and collaboration with migrant interns did not continue beyond the placements.

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## 5. Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their Associations

**Initial engagement** between political representatives and migrant communities is significant. Assistance by politicians through so-called information clinics created interest among some migrant clients in **getting involved** in political parties. In terms of groups, a number of politicians visited places associated with migrant communities and helped migrant groups with their initiatives. Most parties could make a more structural attempt to engage with migrant organisations notwithstanding great efforts of “integration champions” within parties. Migrant organisations, that often play a neutral lobbying role, should also put more emphasis on encouraging engagement between parties and migrant groups and promoting voting.

*If new communities all decided to vote, the parties would give them a whole lot more attention.*

Several parties were unsure if there is enough interest among migrants to lead a **registration and voting campaign** although some did produce resources. It can be pointed out however that targeted drives (with migrant party members’ taking the lead) can bring reasonable success. The State also needs to promote voter registration using such public events as the citizenship ceremony and introduce an online registration system that is more accessible and helps to monitor voter registration levels of groups.

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## 6. Recommendations for Political Parties

- Political parties could employ more long-term strategy in their outreach: using statistical data and other sources of information to map out the migrant population, target selected areas and ensure that local branches are aware of the need for reaching out to migrant communities. They should engage on a regular basis with local groups and integration forums, invite migrant organisations and groups to attend meetings and in turn visit their venues. They should target non-EU groups that are most likely to receive citizenship.
- Organising welcoming events or social events, with consideration of inclusivity (e.g. food choice), attached to a party meeting could help orientation and thus retention of new members including migrants. Added to that, membership packs should be made available more widely. Parties could also hold thematic meetings that could bring together new and older members.
- One officer (e.g. equality officer) should be responsible in every branch or constituency for reaching out to and welcoming new migrant members.
- Drawing on the positive experience of the Opening Power to Diversity Scheme, parties should explore recruitment of migrant volunteers in selected local areas. Furthermore, the interns of the OPD programme run by parties should be approached with a view to helping organising outreach sessions.
- Parties should consider monitoring measures such as introducing a question on birthplace within their membership database system. Alternatively, anonymous

diversity surveys asking questions about birthplace as well as other demographic information could be conducted within political parties.

- Parties should explore talent-spotting measures to identify migrant candidates. They should organise workshops for migrant and other new candidates and offer mentoring in a more structured format. Given their less extensive networks, parties could also try to find ways to help fundraising of migrant and other new candidates that encounter difficulties in funding their campaigns.
- A more conclusive disciplinary system and positive statements at leadership level would send out a strong message to condemn anti-immigrant statements by party members. Willingness and preparation for challenging anti-immigrant statements made by constituency members would be beneficial.
- Parties' efforts should be led by an official (not necessarily his/her only responsibility) and helped by a working group or committee. It is essential that the party's executive is aware of and support such a group's activities.

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Giovanna Castagna  
IPRS

## ITALY

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

Italy denies third country nationals the right to vote whether in local, general or European elections. The country has ratified sections A and B of the **Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Local Public Life (Strasbourg)** while excluding section C, which grants them the right to vote, claiming that it was in conflict with Art. 48 of the Italian Constitution. **At present naturalization is the only way for foreign citizens to acquire the right to vote.**

This means, *de facto*, that the choice will depend on the individual, whether to acquire Italian citizenship in order to participate actively in politics, by fully enjoying active and passive electoral rights, or to limit oneself to less effective forms of representation.

In fact, whilst bodies such as councils and deputy councillors guarantee foreigners a certain level of representation, they allow forms of political participation that are rather weak, as they are excluded from decision-making processes and lack a structural role at the institutional level.

In this general context, the research conducted under the DIVPOL project brought out a contradiction which is peculiar to Italy: while third country citizens do not see their rights to political participation recognized at a constitutional and legislative level, their active participation finds space and visibility at least among left-wing parties.

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## 2. Access/ Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

By analysing the access to political parties by third country citizens, two completely different situations are observed in Italy: on the one hand, left-wing parties have widely allowed access and participation to non-Italian citizens who, as such, have not the right to vote in Italy; on the other hand, right-wing parties restrict membership only to Italian citizens and, more generally, show a lack of interest in involving foreign nationals, believing that the party is not their natural place as they can neither vote nor be voted for.

Therefore, the analysis of the measures taken by parties to promote the inclusion of third country nationals in Italy considers almost exclusively left-wing parties. Their openness is demonstrated not only by their statutory provisions, by virtue of which foreign citizens are granted the possibility of entering and participating in the party's political life, by the creation of immigration sections and departments, by the possibility to vote for the choice of party candidates for the main institutional positions in the primary elections, but also by the presence of elected politicians with a migrant background.

The majority of foreign nationals involved in political parties come from the world of associations, trade unions and the third sector in general. However, they are mainly first generations of migrants, with whom foreign associations were born, while this observation seems to be less relevant to second generations, who look instead for direct access to parties. Especially for the youth, it also counts a lot if the family environment is favourable to activism and political commitment.

According to the interviews conducted under the project, co-optation is the main method of selection and assignment of roles to citizens of foreign origin: this mechanism acts transversely within the different organizations, both parties and trade unions, in order to promote the entry of those foreign citizens who currently hold positions within a party.

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## 3. Career Paths and Roles of Politicians with “Immigrant Background”

Generally the career of politicians with immigrant background is limited on the issue of immigration: this thematic relegation, characterized by the assignment of roles almost exclusively regarding immigration policies, arises from the political path typical for citizens with immigrant background, who, starting from their involvement in an association, deal with the issue of immigration; and it also arises from the politicization of this issue on which the right- and the left-wing fronts (and the latter even within itself) clash.

Although the interviewees complained about restrictions on access to decision-making positions, and despite the absence of regulations guaranteeing the presence of quotas dedicated to foreigners, *de facto*, in the political parties opened to foreign membership, there is no legal constraint that prevents them from holding even high-ranking positions, as the statutes allow access to leadership roles to party members.

The perception that the assumption of responsibilities within parties passes through selective mechanisms fluctuates between moments in which the feeling prevails that these mechanisms work in a discriminatory way against foreign citizens and moments in which the acknowledgement prevails that these mechanisms work also for Italians. Actually, the migrants themselves have the feeling that stressing the discriminatory mechanism would be inappropriate and counterproductive. The second generations, who have more direct access to the life of the party, are less likely to follow this type of reasoning.

Furthermore some relevant cases should be pointed out that seem to contradict the tendency towards thematic relegation and the existence of restrictions on access to important political offices: for example, Jean-Léonard Touadi, of Congolese origins, former member of the Italian parliament and also safety councillor at the Municipality of Rome, and Cécile Kyenge, of Congolese origins as well, the first Italian Minister of Integration.

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

The issue of diversity is being addressed, at least in rhetoric, by all political parties, especially in consideration of the fact that it plays a prominent role during electoral campaigns, when a strong polarization emerges around the issue of immigration, one of the main topics able to attract and move votes between left- and right-wing coalitions and within the coalitions themselves.

On the one hand, right-wing parties tend to minimize the issue of diversity (with the extreme case of the Northern League, which is against it): for these parties, in fact, the issue of diversity does not arise *a priori*, as one can vote only if one is an Italian citizen. On the other hand, left-wing parties have played a lot on the issue of diversity, even within them, allowing the establishment of favourable practices in this sense. The commitment of left-wing parties in favour of diversity materialized also in their support of some campaigns against racism and for the respect of diversity, such as: Racism is an ugly story (2008); I am not afraid (2009); Clandestine (2009); 24hrs Without Us (2010) and I am Italy (2012). Admittedly, however, rhetoric does not always correspond to the practical life within parties, where sometimes forms of discrimination persist.

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#### **5. Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their Associations**

The role of migrant associations and their relation with political parties is an open issue that confronts essentially two positions: on the one hand, there are those who consider migrant associations as important integration players and consider their strengthening as the fulfillment of a process:

*We need to enhance the associations linked to their communities as they are the first contact bridge with the entire migrant world.*

On the other hand, there are those who fear an excessive fragmentation, which does not promote integration and does not put the associations in a position to achieve political results:

*Within the same community there are many associations and this is often an element that creates great division and conflicts in the community itself.*

Beyond this attitude, which is not uniform, the weakness of migrant associations in Italy is admittedly due to a general lack of support and the consequent risk of remaining subordinate at a political level (with the notable exception of the Islamic associations, which have become very strong). Some associations are struggling more than others in establishing an instrumental relation with political parties, and on the other hand they feel that they are being exploited by parties, thereby creating among migrants an attitude of resentment against parties.

Although there has probably been a change with the second generations, in Italy the majority of foreign citizens that have become members of political parties come from associations, which as mouthpiece of the instances coming from the specific social category of migrants, are part of the groups of interest with which political parties must relate.

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## **6. Recommendations for Political Parties**

- Political parties should allow third-country nationals to become members without any restrictions and to hold inner-party positions.
- Political parties should not relegate politicians with a migrant background to roles exclusively regarding immigration issues.
- Political parties should promote the training of their members, including migrants, through the organization of seminars and workshops, as well as through party schools.
- Political parties should give strong public evidence of the respect and promotion of diversity expressed by members who are bearers of ethnic and cultural diversity.
- Political parties should establish an internal body, possibly made up of persons who are bearers of ethnic and cultural diversity, responsible for the control of non-discriminatory practices and the design of positive discrimination strategies.
- Political parties are called to recognize the migrant associations as relevant actors in the integration paths: they should actively support them, as well as establish and maintain an ongoing dialogue with them.

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

*For us party membership is like a marriage. It is treated as a sacramental union, of which we are reminded in different situations. If someone has been a member of three different parties, it is treated as a huge disadvantage. Party membership and promotion within a party structure have very negative connotations. This is a heritage of communism (...) where "political party" means factionalism. On the linguistic level, the term "party" is equal to corruption, power, and terror.*

According to Article 11 of the Polish Constitution (1997) freedom of association in political parties is reserved for Polish citizens only. Therefore, from the formal and legal point of view TCNs are excluded from participation in elections and political party membership. Taking into consideration the low number of naturalised citizens in Poland and the fact that naturalised politicians are still rare, it seems that it is too early to speak about diversity in political parties. Currently in Poland non-Polish citizens are excluded from the membership of any political party.

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### 2. Access/ Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

*Politics might raise quite a few eyebrows in the neighbourhood. Strong political affiliation can be a disadvantage in contacts e.g. between councillors and community residents.*

In Poland there are no large-scale parties except for the biggest one – PSL (Polskie Stronictwo Ludowe/Polish Peasant Party) – that has approximately 140,000 members. Such a situation is a heritage of the 45 year post-war, communist period. None of our interviewees could point out any particular program or procedure that introduces new party members into political party activities. They were convinced that structures existing in the parties and interpersonal relations allow new members to acquaint themselves with party activities. Interviewees classified as politicians with a migrant background stressed that political party membership is not a precondition for success at communal/municipal elections. Their view of the Polish contemporary self-governance system is not positive: in short – too much politics and too little care regarding constituency needs. However, others joined a political party when they realised that in order to implement their social visions it is better to be a part of a bigger structure.



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

*I have seen the effects of lack of medical care or its low quality. Therefore, this area of activity is the most important for me.*

The motivation of so-called elected politicians with a migration background to become politically active in a party is often a consequence of their being recognised by local communities due to their professional position and social activities. Recalled MPs do not raise claims on behalf of the immigrants and do not refer to immigrants as potential supporters because immigrants' votes cannot provide political victory to naturalized candidates. To be elected they have to appeal to the Polish electorate for their support. Our partner organization, the Foundation “Our Choice” also underlined that these politicians

*did not take part in the election as immigrants representing other immigrants, but as representatives of their local community who happen to be immigrants.*

Nomination processes in parties are regulated by political party statute. Even in the case of new party members who are highly-skilled professionals some obstacles may appear. These obstacles are related to the resistance of longer-serving party members to newer ones. With regard to motivation: firstly, our interviewees pointed to a desire to make a real impact on social life at different levels, from the communal right up to the national level. Secondly, they came to the pragmatic conclusion that outside the party system it is much more difficult to have this impact. Thirdly, interviewees mentioned that during their previous activities they had experienced close cooperation with a certain party, so the decision on their formal access seemed to be a formalization of an ongoing situation and a kind of manifestation of their loyalty. Fourthly, activities undertaken in the party can be an area where the creative potential of interviewees is employed.

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### 4. Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

*For example, when there are conflicts, someone suggests you: Remember that you were not born here, so you should just sit quietly.*

The topic of the political participation of migrants is still waiting to find its place in public debate generally and in/among political parties specifically. There are various reasons for this. Firstly, the immigrant population in Poland is very small. Secondly, according to the Constitution Polish nationality is a precondition to active participation in political life in Poland. Therefore if the media show examples of naturalized politicians it is more to point to the extraordinary situation than to promote diversity in political parties or, more generally, in political life. Our partner organization also indicates that

*in public debate, immigrants are regarded as ‘visitors’ whose stay in our country is probably temporary, so dealing with their problems is not a priority.*

The political participation of immigrants as a particular category of residents in Poland receives no coverage in the media at all.

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### **5. Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their Associations**

Discussion on networks between parties and migrant organizations where Poland is concerned is rather impossible. None of our interviewees could point out any examples of this. It is better to talk about co-operation of individual politicians with migrants. One should be aware that migrants' organisations are still very "fresh" in Poland and they are not strong enough to be recognised as partners by political parties. The year 2007 was a turning point for migrants' organisations, when financial support from the EIF was introduced to Poland. The EIF is still the main source of support for migrants' organisations in Poland. As a result, they work on a project basis and their activities chiefly depend on winning or failing to win funding in the European Integration Fund. It is a significant obstacle for their professionalization.

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### **6. Recommendations**

- The introduction of a broader scope of political rights for non-citizens in Poland should be preceded by a social campaign.
- Our partner organization, the Foundation "Our Choice" indicates that migrants in the immediate future could claim political rights, and especially voting rights in local elections.

The Foundation "Our Choice" states that

*the number of TCN immigrants who live in large urban agglomerations who have a work permit and are EU residents or have a long- or short-term stay permit is continually growing. For them, the influence on the situation in the town where they live is becoming a very important issue and they are starting to claim voting rights at least at a local level. Local politicians can become promoters of immigrants' participation in the future if they believe that these immigrants can constitute their electorate. This is possible in cities such as Warsaw or Gdansk.*

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## 1. Access/ Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

In Portugal the political actors that were interviewed were consensual in presenting their parties with no constraint about nationality in regard to the admission rules of new members, and some considered that the lists of candidates are guided by criteria of competence and merit only. However it also became fairly obvious during the interviews that: **(a)** most of them do not actually master the statuses of their own parties and/or do not know the legal limitations that might exist to access/entry; **(b)** respondents tend to make a kind of *mea culpa* in recognising that there are not many immigrant politicians (IP) or politicians with an immigrant background (PIB) in the party's structures and/or do not have information on that issue. Respondents attributed their lack of information to the fact that parties do not make any sort of differentiation between members on the basis of nationality or ethnic background, there are therefore no statistics available on their numbers; **(c)** some respondents denounced the existence of too complex balances of power that do not enable the access, not only to immigrants but also to other groups in society.

The under-representation of immigrants in the internal structures of parties, in political leading roles, as well as in lists of candidates, especially in eligible places, was explained by respondents as reflecting: **(1)** the existence of **strongly rooted power relations** and prevailing status quo inside the parties that cannot be easily challenged – “*established internal codes not always easy to understand*”; **(2)** the **lack of lobbying of immigrants** – some participants argued on the need of communities to join, identify the best political actors among them and lobby collectively on their behalf to the various political parties; finally, **(3)** the **lack of parties' awareness about the electoral relevance of immigrants**. Some participants argued that once parties begin to realise that immigrant communities are demographically expressive and have their own specificities, they will be more careful about calling out candidates who may be closer to these communities' reality.

On the other hand, when trying to explore possible explanations for the lack of immigrants' political engagement, participants in Portugal underlined a set of common reasons, among which: **(1) political culture:** Portuguese society, in general, distrusts politicians at present, so immigrants are just part of a wider sentiment of frustration about politics. Respondents were also unanimous in portraying the Portuguese political class as quite conservative and closed as far as the functioning of their internal structures are concerned; **(2) language** was also signalled as a problem not only when immigrants do not have a good command of it, but also when they do. Speaking Portuguese was in some respondents' views one reason

underlying the lack of political concern about a better social and political integration of lusophone immigrants; (3) **lack of political interest** of immigrant communities; (4) **economic reasons**: most respondents from the left to the right, with and without migrant background, were rather consensual in linking immigrants lack of political engagement to their economic vulnerability or labour motivations to be in Portugal; (5) **legal reasons**: most interviewees consider the persistence of the reciprocity principle as a paramount obstacle to immigrants' political participation; (6) **immigrants' political representation**: regardless of how much immigrants participate politically, another different matter is to reflect on who is responsible for representing them.

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

The granting of political rights to foreigners in Portugal is dependent on the **principle of reciprocity** (RP) – only immigrants that come from countries where the Portuguese can vote, can vote in Portugal. Several respondents stated that the reciprocity principle is an obstacle to immigrants' political participation in Portugal. Still this is a controversial theme: some considered that it should be abolished, while others stressed that it should be abolished at the local level but kept at the national one, and others held the more conservative position, considering that the RP has a legal frame provided by international law that cannot be simply overstepped. In general terms, most respondents (within the entire political spectrum) agreed that the RP is relevant in the diplomatic relations between states, but that for the practical purpose of fostering the integration of immigrant communities at local level, it has become too constraining.

Furthermore, although closely linked, in Portugal electoral participation and the freedom to join and act within a political party do not exactly coincide. The Political Parties legal Act considers that “*political parties are constituted by citizens who hold political rights*”; in other words that includes all TCNs that have political rights recognised by Portuguese law and international bilateral agreements. This Law also establishes that “*no person shall be denied membership in any particular political party or expulsion on grounds of...place of origin*”. Therefore, in general terms, TCNs who hold political rights and are legally resident in Portugal have the right to join a political party if they want to do so. However, over the past decade, depending on particular parties statutes it is possible to identify some variety in the criteria regarding the admittance of TCNs and/or their roles in the political party, i.e. some parties are more open than others.

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

So far, all members of parliament (MPs) in the National Parliament have been Portuguese citizens, even if holding dual citizenship. The respondents provided few examples of MPs that they perceived as having immigrant background. Two of those examples arrived at the Parliament in the 1990s in a special programme promoted by one MP to bring immigrant leaders to support the discussion of

immigration policies and extraordinary regularization processes that were being defined and discussed at that time in the Parliament. These examples were reported as being positive to the approval of important Legal Acts for the life of immigrants in Portugal, such as the law for the financial support of immigrants associations, the reform of the citizenship law and the creation of the public institution devoted to the integration of immigrants (the High Commission for Immigration).

It is still interesting to underline that those same politicians with immigrant background when asked if they represented the immigrants interests, stated that as soon as elected they represented all of the electorate (and not only the immigrants electorate) and the parties interests.

At the local level non-national politicians (IP) and national politicians with immigrant background (PIB) are easier to identify. However, the numbers have not been impressive over the years. The interviewees and focus group participants stated, however, that in the last local elections (2013) there was an increase of citizens with immigrant background in the lists of candidates, especially in metropolitan areas with a higher concentration of immigrant residents to capture new voters and/or immigrants voters.

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#### 4. Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

During the last ten years in Portugal, there has been a significant convergence of the political positions of the major political parties on immigration and integration policies. Political arguments made by the extreme right, propagating racist attitudes and xenophobia, have not led, at this point, to electoral gains. Consequently all respondents conveyed both personally and institutionally, very positive views on the presence of immigrants in Portugal and on the need to continue fostering the social and political integration of immigrants. Several politicians from different areas of the political spectrum defended the notion that “*immigration is not a fracturing issue in Portugal*”, contrary to what seems to be the case in other European countries, according to our respondents’ views. Although there is a political consensus around immigration issues and integration policy, there are also divergences among political parties related to the concession of political rights to immigrants. Still, parties do not have specific concessions for foreigners or immigrants. Programmes or party manifestos on this are also absent. Although most respondents mentioned a certain preoccupation with including immigration on the parties’ agendas, this seems to follow very random strategies.

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#### 5. Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their Associations

There was wide consent among the respondents on the relevance that PIB and IP have or may have in the parties’ relationships with communities. As for why they are relevant, the main reasons given were: **(1) Know-how:** IP and PIB may bring great added value to parties’ approach to immigration, integration, and social cohesion, because they have a powerful know-how that parties should recognize. By

the same token, their presence is very important for communities, which see them as privileged interlocutors, as individuals more capable of implementing projects according to immigrant communities' interests; **(2) Communication facilitators:** several respondents state the idea that *"immigrant politicians are definitely in the best position to hold dialogue with parties and with their own communities"*, because *"they facilitate communication, they understand better the communities' needs and demands"*. More trust is also achieved in parties' proposals and promises if immigrants see party members that are closer to the communities.

Several immigrant associations' leaders argued that associations may turn into fundamental spaces of immigrants' political empowerment. However, they must want to become that. Indeed, while recognized and cherished by most participants for their roles and potentials, associations were also perceived as spaces of limited efficacy. Lack of multiple resources (money, boards, expertise, time), lack of dialogue and cooperative strategies among associative leaders, and lack of empowering agendas, were among the internal explanations for such limited efficacy.

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## 6. Recommendations

The following list summarises participants' contributions to recommendations to enhance immigrants' participation in political parties in Portugal:

- Parties need to track their members. This is important not only in regards to a better knowledge of the immigrants' presence inside the party, but also of other sectors and groups in society and if the party have a representation of such diversity inside its structures.
- Parties must study deeper, along with entities such as COCAI, ACIDI and academics, the immigrant reality, its various communities, their demands, their specificities. In practical terms this means parties must invest in working groups dedicated to immigration issues.
- It is very important to preserve the positive legislative legacy that so far exists, which includes integration policies, the nationality law, legal instruments to foster integration of migrants (in the health and education systems, in the labour market), the constitutional prohibition of any fascist or xenophobic acts and organizations. Still more is needed in respect to political rights: revising the Reciprocity Principle, in order to widen access to electoral rights to include immigrants.
- Automatic registration in the electoral registers of legal residents entitled to political rights (as happens with Portuguese nationals from age 18) could increase political participation.
- Immigrant associations and other relevant NGOs should invest more in disseminating citizenship rights, with special emphasis among immigrant communities already entitled to electoral rights. Associations should perform regular and consistent activities in the communities, including training sessions to inform individuals about their rights, to explain how people may register to vote.
- Immigrant associations should work more as lobbying platforms in addition to the political parties and decision-making structures.

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## 1. Access / Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

There are similarities in the majority of entry processes of the politicians and party members who were interviewed for the DIVPOL project. The most common aspect is the existence of a long experience of activism in associations or social organisations before entering the party, either as active members or as leaders of the organisation. Activism in political parties represents 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 of foreign origin are chosen for their social or community activism to take part in 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 are ways to attract new skilled members who will be promoted in the party.

*During [a] meeting, I met directly people of the party [...]. At that time, they were just building their Immigration sector and they told me: "We have immigrants here and we want to know what they think". [...] Before, I had not seen [the party] from that close. We talked for a year and I started to work. [Interview 5, party officer with foreign background]*

Where political parties are concerned, most have developed outreach campaigns and structures dedicated to the affiliation and political activity of members with an 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 association representatives to party activities. This is a way to generate immigrant affiliation. However, there does not appear to be a clear relation between a party's pro-migrant rights position and the level of immigrant affiliation to the party.

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

**Welcoming culture and party's incidence on the decision to affiliate:** Contrasting experiences related to a welcoming culture in the party have been reported. It mainly depends on the way the person has 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 or family life.

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

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## 2. 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 of existing parties, whatever their nationality, legal situation or length of stay. Only the People’s party restricts membership to authorised foreigners.

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

**Right to vote and passive suffrage:** Foreigners have neither the right to vote nor passive suffrage at national and regional levels. At local level, only nationals of countries which have 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 the establishment of a favourable regime for citizens of these countries who apply for Spanish citizenship (two years’ residence instead of ten). However, the administrative complexity often adds years to the process. Similarly, Spain forbids dual citizenship in theory except for the citizens of these countries, but in practice many people manage to keep both citizenships.

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## 3. Career Paths and Roles of Politicians with an “immigrant background”

Undoubtedly, the main obstacle for people with a foreign background is on the road towards **representation** and representatives with foreign origin are still rare. Only one senator and two members of the 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 career paths 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.



*I was only a base member; I wasn't participating in any area of decision of the party or anything. But [the leader candidate] looked at the most significant and representative associations and he called me to ask me to go on his list, because he wanted a connection between the party and immigration (...). [Interview 6: politician with foreign background]*

**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 does it guarantee the candidates to be in an eligible position.

**Control of party officers and leaders over list making:** Party officers still most frequently compile electoral lists, even if primaries or members’ votes have sometimes been implemented. Overall, members with an immigrant origin play no 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 an immigrant background relate contrasting **experiences as office holders**. Most feel that their position was valuable and recognized. They picture their role as mediating for immigrants’ interests and push this issue onto the general agenda. Some felt that they also represented “powerless” or “ordinary” citizens and tried to speak for them. Others, however, stressed that party politics was interfering with their ability to take action and felt powerless most of the time. Most politicians stayed in office only for a short time (one or two mandates).

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#### 4. Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

As regards the internal organisation of the party in relation to diversity membership, we found that two tensions cross most party- and immigration association discourses.

**Normal vs. Specific:** There is a tension between the will that diversity members have to enjoy a “normalised” and career participation inside the party, with no difference made with other native members on the one hand, and the necessity for the party to adapt to diversity and to create specific structures of participation and recognition. Some parties have created spaces/working groups 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 organisations 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 a foreign background are encouraged to participate primarily in

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 in “diversity” spaces/groups. While they tend to be more welcoming, may accelerate promotions to positions or candidatures and tackle topics which often interest members with a foreign background, many perceive these structures as powerless 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 hand that the staff, politicians and membership of the party 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 equalise participation and give equal opportunities to diverse members to access offices. On the other hand, it was stressed that politicians with a 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 these issues differently. TCN and diversity members are clearly under-represented in areas of power as well as in the membership base. Even if participation spaces/groups are a way to recognize the internal diversity, make it visible, and advocate for the diversification of the organisation, they fail in influencing the main areas of power. In addition, there is still no prominent politician with a foreign background in Spanish politics. The 2011 local elections introduced a novelty when the two main parties made visible their candidates with an immigrant background and organised meetings to introduce them. Nevertheless, it is often underlined that the lack of a public figure with diverse background remains an obstacle to immigrants’ political participation. At the same time, strategies of visibilisation are suspected of being a way to gain immigrant voters’ support without really diversifying the party. While associations recognise that the lack of a public figures is a problem, they also feel that most immigrant candidates and politicians are being played by party executives.

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## 5. Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their associations

Networking is often done through meetings, participation in celebrations or participation in pro-immigrant social movements. For associations, relations with parties lead to tricky situations. Their identification with one party can lead to a deterioration of their resources when a new party enters government (cut in budgets and subventions, exclusion from consultative bodies). They thus condemn clientele relations that political parties try to establish, but they recognise that associations often accept these arrangements because they fear being left out. Clientele relations in the politics of countries of origin make it also difficult to perceive some practices as abnormal, such as trading votes for services or subventions. Immigrant organisations mention other challenges, such as the fact that many immigrants are still more politically active towards their countries of origin.

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## 6. Recommendations for political parties and policy makers

### Regarding 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, misuse of this tool leads to greater discrimination towards 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 in other spaces not 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 under-represented 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 a 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 a 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 better representation, including under-represented groups such as immigrants and persons with a 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 more diverse representation. Therefore, **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 of 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 a foreign background are represented in political institutions.

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**Katarina Bivald**

**Tyra Hertz**

**Martin Qvist**

**Maritta Soininen**

*Stockholm University*

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## **SWEDEN**

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

The legal framework strongly favours the political participation of migrants in Sweden. Differences in formal rights between citizens and non-citizens with permanent residence permits are held at a minimum. Most important for political participation is that foreign citizens with a minimum of three years residence have the right to vote, and be elected, in municipal and regional elections. Only Swedish citizens, however, are entitled to vote in the national parliament elections. Another favourable factor is that according to the Swedish Citizenship Act of 2001 it is possible to hold dual citizenship. While it is likely that these formal rights have had a positive impact on political participation among migrants, it is also important to note that migrants are still consistently under-represented in parliament as well as in regional and local councils. Hence, there are other more informal barriers to be taken into account.

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### **2. Access/Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties**

Despite the lack of formal barriers to accessing political parties, there are still informal factors that make it more difficult to access a political party as a new citizen. One possible reason may be found in parties having a larger proportion of people with an immigrant background. Here, the barrier is not so much to their being nominated or elected, but recruited as members and active participants in the first place. This image is confirmed in the shrinking membership base of many political parties: many political parties have general challenges in recruiting members, and many parties acknowledge they are particularly weak when it comes to reaching people with an immigrant background. Of course, the shrinking membership base also represents a possible strong incentive for political parties actively to try to reach new groups and recruit members from different segments of society.

For some, the role of language represents a possible barrier. Not only do newly arrived immigrants have to learn a new language, the nature of party political work requires the ability for members to “weigh their words”, to understand subtle differences and adapt to the cultural milieu of the party organization. When difference is seen as a strength, the party opens up to the participation of more recently arrive migrants, making it possible for them also to develop the personal connections needed

eventually to be elected as a Member of Parliament. When it is not, people are likely to stop trying and become active somewhere else.

When asked about possible barriers to becoming active in a political party, the single most common response was: “the many meetings”. Attending several meetings a week – just for the internal party work – is difficult if you’re establishing yourself in a new country, are in the middle of a career or have children. The fact that the meetings are sometimes heavily influenced by local informal structures and exclusionary practices further exacerbates the problem.

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

Contrary to what might have been expected, the people we interviewed did not feel that their migrant background had been capitalized on in order for the party to reach new groups in an impending election. Outreach potential might be important later on, during an election campaign, but it was the internal connections detailed above that were seen as paramount to becoming a nominated candidate. The election committees themselves reasoned around the importance of having networks within more groups in society, but since they still acknowledge that their role is often about weighing internal party interests against each other, this confirms the internal focus of nomination processes. This internal focus of the nomination processes might hinder the election of candidates with their strongest support outside of the party (for example, through work in non-party political non-governmental organizations) and prevent strong support from different ethnic groups from being considered an advantage for the party.

Another factor identified is the importance of personal networks, and the informality of their nature. The networks mentioned were described as “having friends”, connections established during many more or less informal meetings over a long period of time, either from long service at the local level or a long time within the youth organization. It could prove difficult for people to gain access to the political party, and may discourage some from trying if you have to have been active for years to be nominated for a position.

It is a strong recommendation of this report that some sort of “safety measures” for a minimum level of representation is introduced with regard to immigrant background, similar to those regarding gender. The use of internal party quotas for women over the last fifteen years and their subsequent widespread acceptance is an important experience to draw from. This is especially important when the influence of the election committee is limited by formal or informal practices, limiting their ability to look at the entire list.

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

The Members of Parliament represent the successful cases. From these, however, it is possible to discern some possible barriers. The factors representing favourable conditions for our cases may in other cases hinder the participation of people

with migrant background. One such factor is the importance placed on individual personalities and traits. Explaining their success in terms of their own personality – not being a person who gives up when faced with resistance, for example – may undermine the ability to consider structural problems or explanations. This individual focus was also observed when describing support from other people – individuals who nominated them and encouraged them to accept the nominations.

All parties agree that diversity is important when it comes to representation and participation. It relates to issues of legitimacy – for the political system and the specific party, justice, and utility. That diversity is the official norm for the party and unanimously seen as an advantage is clear. Paradoxically, this can perhaps lead to reluctance to be aware of instances of racism and structural barriers within the party. While all parties agree that diversity needs to embrace gender, age and immigrant background, immigrant background was seen as the most problematic. The obvious example is the reluctance to organize around immigrant background within the party, or to acknowledge the need for it. When talking about diversity, it was more common to speak of gender or age as an example of it.

Having networks that encourage, support and profile candidates with immigrant background similar to those for women, can perhaps address the challenge of simultaneously advancing diversity as a norm and acknowledging instances of racism. One example is the immigrant committee of the Social Democrats in Stockholm. Its organizational strength ensures that it can both influence political policy and the number of representatives with immigrant backgrounds. In preparation for the upcoming election it did so by co-operating with the Youth organization, leading to local quotas not only for women (which is a nationally set guideline), but for young people and people with immigrant background as well (25 % of people under 35 on the list, 25 % with immigrant background).

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## **5. Networks Between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and Their Associations**

Immigrant or ethnically based associations represent an important way for political parties to reach groups they have traditionally been weak in targeting. However, our interviews suggest that political parties seldom utilize ethnic associations. This is a cause for frustration in many ethnic associations in Sweden. They have the networks the political parties need, and they already do a lot of work when it comes to educating and encouraging their members to learn more about Swedish politics. And yet they feel political parties are slow to respond to invitations, largely uninterested in co-operation and failing to sustain any co-operation over time. While this is expressed in terms of frustration, it is also in a way hopeful: it shows that ethnic associations want to take an active role when it comes to politics, a commitment that political parties can in time better acknowledge and channel.

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## **6. Recommendations to Political Parties**

These recommendations are based on the conclusion from the DIVPOL project in Sweden. It includes interviews with political parties and with ethnic associations and a workshop with the political parties.

### **Acknowledge the problem**

All political parties interviewed in the project agree that diversity is important. Paradoxically, this can perhaps lead to reluctance to be aware of instances of racism and structural barriers within the party. The obvious example is the reluctance to organize within political parties based on immigrant background (as compared to e.g. gender or age).

### **Increase cooperation with ethnic associations**

The ethnic associations interviewed in this project are all willing and able to work as an intermediate link between their members and the political parties; organizing meetings, translating information etc.

Ethnic associations are an enormous though underused resource for the political parties.

### **Establish networks**

Networks within the political parties are vital for increased political representation. This is partly because networks in general are so important, for nominations, elections etc. These informal networks take time to establish, and having semi-formal networks for support, training and exchange of experiences can strengthen diversity.

### **Have safety measures for representation**

It is a recommendation of this report to establish some sort of safety measure for representation, similar to those based on gender. This should not be interpreted as a need for formal quotas, although one party has successfully employed them. As with gender, these safety measures can be different in character and formality.













Con la globalización y las migraciones internacionales, las sociedades Europeas se vuelven cada vez mas diversas. Esto plantea nuevos retos a las democracias Europeas, que necesitan el compromiso de cada nueva generación con sus sistemas políticos. Los partidos políticos juegan un papel clave en este proceso. Como organizaciones que detienen el poder legislativo y gubernamental, los partidos necesitan reflejar la diversidad en sus rangos. La participación de los inmigrantes en la política de partidos es crucial tanto para los propios inmigrantes que para la cohesión a largo plazo de las democracias.

Sin embargo, los partidos se enfrentan todavía a este tema. ¿Qué pueden hacer para permitir una mayor participación de los inmigrantes? ¿Cuáles son las barreras que se necesita superar? ¿Y qué argumentos existen para defender su diversificación?

En el marco del proyecto DIVPOL, se ha entrevistado a más de 250 políticos y representantes de organizaciones de inmigrantes de siete países de la Unión Europea para explorar los factores que dificultan o favorecen la diversificación de los partidos políticos.

