

KILLING TWO BIRDS WITH ONE STONE? THE INCLUSION OF IMMIGRANT-ORIGIN WOMEN ON SPANISH LOCAL PARTY LISTS 2011-2015

¿MATAR DOS PÁJAROS DE UN TIRO? LA INCLUSIÓN DE MUJERES DE ORIGEN INMIGRANTE EN LAS LISTAS MUNICIPALES DE LOS PARTIDOS POLÍTICOS EN ESPAÑA 2011-2015

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Abstract: *This article analyses the descriptive representation of immigrant-origin women in two local Spanish elections. On the basis of the influence of political opportunity structures and the role played by political parties, we quantify their presence on party lists and their degree of success in becoming councilwomen. Using the APREPINM¹ database we compare their levels of representation across different immigrant-origin minorities and the degree of gender disparity within each group. Our results show that women originating from the EU and Latin America benefit from greater access to party lists than their male counterparts and their female peers from other groups. But when it comes to being elected as councilwomen, only Latin-American women maintain this comparative advantage.*

Key words: *immigration; gender; political integration; women candidates; political parties.*

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Resumen: Este artículo analiza los niveles de representación de las mujeres de origen inmigrante en dos elecciones municipales en España. Sobre la base de la estructura de oportunidades políticas y el papel que juegan los partidos políticos, damos cuenta de su nivel de presencia en las listas, así como en las concejalías. Empleando datos del proyecto APREPINM, comparamos los niveles de representación de distintos grupos de mujeres de origen extranjero entre sí, y con los de sus homólogos varones. Nuestros resultados indican que las mujeres de orígenes comunitario y latinoamericano tienen un mayor acceso a las candidaturas en comparación, tanto con las mujeres de otros grupos, como con los varones de sus grupos de referencia. Por contraste, cuando analizamos sus posibilidades de ser elegidas como concejalas, sólo las latinoamericanas mantienen esta ventaja comparativa.

Palabras clave: inmigración; género; integración política; candidatas; partidos políticos.

INTRODUCTION

From the mid-1990s to the early years of the 21st century academic literature on migration in Spain was mainly focused on the socio-economic integration of immigrants. The reason behind this is the highly labour-oriented nature of immigration flows, which turned Spain into an immigrant receiving society, reversing its prior characterization as a migrant-sending country (Oliver, 2006). At a later stage, on the basis of the permanent nature of these inflows, the political participation of the immigrant population received more prominent attention (Bermúdez and Escrivá, 2016). Nevertheless, the onset of the financial crisis in 2007 and its negative impact on the labour market renewed interest in immigrants' labour integration (De Lucas, 2011). At the beginning of the financial crisis, there was a general expectation that a large proportion of the foreign-born population might leave the country, fleeing from lack of job opportunities (Domingo and Sabater, 2013). However, this prospect did not take place as expected. Following a recent study carried out by González (2019), outflows affected only 10% of the immigrant-origin population, proving that immigration in Spain —far from

being a temporary phenomenon—, is a consolidated social reality (Domínguez, Guerra and Parreño, 2012).

This evidence justifies the need to look at the patterns of political participation of the immigrant-origin population, as part of the integration process in host societies. In this paper, we focus on their levels of political representation, and seek to respond to the following questions: to what extent are variations in levels of political representation of different migrant minority groups explained by the differential impact of the political opportunity structure? What is the role played by political parties in selecting and promoting non-autochthonous candidates? Do parties favour certain immigrant-origin groups over others?

Based on the municipal elections of 2011 and 2015, we analyze the levels of political representation of immigrant-origin women in Spain by comparing four of the largest groups: those from Latin America, Morocco, Western Europe —EU14 nationals²— and Romania. Although these latter two share the status of European Citizens we look at them separately because those from the EU14 mainly emigrated as ‘resident tourists’ or highly skilled professionals (González, 2008; Janoschka, 2011), whereas most Romanian inflows pertain to labour-driven migration (Viruela, 2006). The patterns of political representation of these groups are compared with those of autochthonous women, as well as with men within their own minority group. Thus, in this paper we go beyond previous research on the representation of the immigrant population in Spain (Pérez-Nievas, Vintila, Morales and Paradés, 2014; Vintila and Morales, 2018). By employing a gender approach we show the particularities of the selection process of immigrant-origin women by political parties. We focus at the local level because it is there where a greater range of the immigrant-origin population is allowed to vote and run for office.

Within an overall picture of political underrepresentation, our data shows significant differences in patterns of female representation within and between different minority groups. With regard to their presence on party lists, women from Latin America, Romania and the EU14 are overrepresented in relation to their relative weight within their own minority group, as well as when compared to autochthonous women

² This category includes people born in Portugal, France, Ireland, Germany, Austria, Italy, Greece, Finland, Sweden, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, Luxembourg, Belgium and Denmark.

and women of Moroccan origin. The latter are the least represented, not only in comparison with their female peers from the remaining groups, but also in relation to their male counterparts. Focusing on those who succeed in becoming councilwomen, only Latin Americans maintain their prevalence over men of their own group. By contrast, women of Romanian and Moroccan origins do not manage to achieve proportional representation levels in local councils.

This paper is structured as follows. In the following section, we present the theoretical framework for our study, focusing on the need to develop a gender approach to understand the political representation of immigrant-origin women. Next, we examine the socio-demographic characteristics and legal-political context of the four largest minorities in Spain. The fourth section describes our two data sources within the APREPINM project. The fifth section compiles our findings and is divided into two parts. First, we focus on the access of immigrant origin women to the electoral lists as candidates. Then we look at their presence in the local chambers as councilwomen. Finally, in the conclusions we highlight the relevance of our contribution.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The underrepresentation of certain groups in decision-making structures implies a notable democratic deficit, as it suggests that political institutions exclude certain minorities by restricting their possibilities to assert their specific demands (Williams, 1998; Philips, 1995). This argument has also been used to justify the need to increase women's political representation, and significant steps have been taken toward increasing their presence in legislative bodies, mainly by implementing gender quotas. This difference is related to the fact that far from representing a minority group, women make up more than half of the population (Paxton, Huges and Painter, 2010). With regard to migrant minorities, previous studies have argued that their opportunities to run for office can be influenced both by their group resources, as well as by the political opportunity structure (POS) of the host society. Within the first group of factors, socioeconomic status and educational attainment have been highlighted in the literature as being the two most influential (Verba and Nie, 1972; Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Blais, 2000). Following this line, those groups with greater

economic and educational constraints would be substantially less represented in politics. Beyond these factors, political socialization also affects levels of representation of immigrant communities (Bloemraad and Schönwälder, 2013). Socialization in a non-democratic country might generate attitudes of distance from the state and political organizations, a factor that could help explain lower participation rates among certain groups, such as Moroccans. With reference to the POS, citizenship regimes or immigrant integration models stand out as variables that condition their political representation (Ireland, 2000; Koopmans, Statham, Giugni and Passy, 2005). Besides this, the extension of voting rights to non-native populations affects their political visibility in terms of inclusion on lists and the odds of winning contested seats (Bergh and Bjørklund, 2011).

The assumption behind these differences requires the use of a gender approach to explain patterns of political representation of immigrant-origin women (Verloo, 2006; Celis and Erzeel, 2013). Some studies carried out from an intersectional perspective argue that these women might face a 'double barrier', resulting from the combination of two circumstances: being a woman, on the one hand; and belonging to an ethnic minority, on the other (Hancock, 2004; Hooks, 2000). Hence, legislative measures aimed at improving the political representation of women might not have an effect among those belonging to a minority group. According to these scholars, increasing the representation of immigrant-origin women would require the implementation of targeted measures (Hughes, 2011).

In contrast, other academics argue that the legislation aimed at increasing the presence of one group might end up benefiting the other (Norris, 2004; Paxton, Hughes and Green, 2006). In countries like Spain, the combination of gender quotas and an electoral system based on closed and blocked lists might encourage parties to deploy the strategy that Hughes (2011) calls 'killing two birds with one stone'. By inserting women of immigrant origin, political parties might comply with the gender quota and bring visibility to minority groups at the same time, thus contradicting in practice the 'double barrier' hypothesis (Celis, Erzeel, Mügge and Damstra, 2014; Celis and Erzeel 2015).

In the recruitment process, gender and origin might interact at different stages. Krook and Norris (2014) identify two main stages: the access of ethnic minorities to candidates' lists, and the leap to elected office. Within a system of closed and blocked lists, the role of political parties is key in both stages, as they have the power to select

candidates to be included on the electoral lists, as well as to place them in upper, middle or lower positions, which determine their chances of becoming elected (Rahat and Hazan, 2001; Mügge, 2016).

The role of parties in the selection of immigrant origin women is also perceived in the overrepresentation or underrepresentation of specific minorities. A study carried out by Celis, Erzeel and Mügge (2015) on the inclusion of non-native women in the Belgian and Dutch Parliaments concludes that electoral lists are often used by political parties to display their ideal 'model' of an immigrant. Although this strategy concerns both male and female candidates, there are two specific implications for immigrant women. Firstly, parties that include ethnic minority women would seek to attract the 'ethnic vote' by prioritizing certain immigrant groups. According to Bird (2003), this would explain party preferences for candidates from the largest communities. Secondly, Celis et al., (2015) also underline that the underrepresentation of immigrant origin women from certain minority groups might be linked to public opinion towards them. In this regard, previous research has paid particular attention to Muslim women (Razack, 2004; Dhamoon, 2009; Hughes, 2016).

Gender and origin interact in a particular way in the case of Muslim women. According to Reynolds (1999) these women face cultural barriers to access representative positions in host societies due to their poor socialization in institutional politics in their countries of origin. In this line, Rule (1995) argues that in most 'non-democratic countries' cultures with dominant religions (such as Islam) women are generally restricted to a subordinate role that results in low participation in political life. On the recruitment side, although minority groups with ties to Islam in Western countries have different national origins, and are linked to different cultural traditions and religious branches, they are nonetheless bound together by a common experience of stigmatization that some scholars have labelled 'racialization' (Roy, 2004; Zibouh, 2013). Muslim communities are often perceived as a threat to Western values, and more specifically to gender equality. Within this context, Muslim women are frequently stereotyped as dependent on the will of the male, with a lack of interest and initiative in public affairs (Allen, 2004; Cesari, 2005). This climate of opinion towards Muslim women as well as their specific political socialization pattern would explain their lower levels of descriptive representation in most Western countries, in comparison with their male counterparts (Razack, 2004; Dhamoon, 2009).

With regard to distinctive patterns of political representation of women with different origins, a study conducted by González and Morales (2006) on the factors driving the political integration of migrants is particularly illustrative. According to the authors, immigrants' associative and organizational networks might play a major role in the success (or failure) of minority women in accessing the political arena. More specifically, this factor might be an advantage for women of Latin American origin, given that they belong to the community with the highest rates of membership in associations (Aparicio and Tornos, 2010) and, what is even more relevant for the purpose of this research, they are women who are overrepresented as leaders of these associations (Oca and Lombardero, 2013).

2. BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

The analysis of the political representation of immigrant-origin women must be framed within the integration processes of the non-native population. In this section, we firstly describe immigration flows to Spain by looking at both the gender distribution and the socio-demographic characteristics of each minority group. Next, we examine the different political opportunity structures faced by each group, both in terms of citizenship regimes and voting rights, since these provide them with varying chances to be nominated. Additionally we offer a brief description of the Spanish quota system due to its potential impact on political representation of immigrant-origin women. Finally, to put patterns of immigrant-origin women into context, we describe the political representation of the different immigrant-origin communities.

2.1. Immigrant population in Spain: evolution and gender distribution

By the mid-1990s, Spain had left behind its traditional role as an emigration country, to become a host country. However, at that time very few dared to predict such a significant growth in migratory flows (González and Requena, 2006; Cebolla-Boado and González, 2008). According to the National Institute of Statistics

(INE, in its Spanish acronym) in 1996, the foreign-born community³ only represented 2.7% of the Spanish population; reaching 13.2% in 2015. In absolute terms, it means that this population almost multiplied by six in two decades, increasing up to 6.1 million by the end of the period. One of the most outstanding features of these flows was the diversity of origins, especially from the mid-1990s, when Europeans from surrounding countries were outnumbered by non-Europeans (Izquierdo and López de Lera, 2003). Those born in EU14 countries were ‘pioneers in swelling the statistics’ on immigration to Spain, mainly from the mid-1970s (Colectivo Ioé, 2000), as they represented around 455,000 residents in 1996 and noticeably increased their presence over time, almost reaching one million by 2015 (17% of all the foreign born). People born in Morocco increased from 158,000 in 1996 to 775,000 (representing 12.6% of the total) in 2015, while those from Latin America, with 250,000 in 1996, exceeded two million (37%) 19 years later. Finally, Romanian immigrants increased from 2,500 residents in the mid-1990s to just over 680,000 by 2015 (11%).

These groups might be categorized into two different types according to their socio-demographic characteristics. On the one hand, those with higher educational levels, including highly-skilled workers and ‘tourist residents’, who were predominantly from European countries with the highest average incomes (González, 2008). On the other, third-country nationals, a large proportion of whom came to Spain looking for better job opportunities—and therefore were labour migrants in a strict sense—. Among these, immigrants with Latin America and Romania origins have, on average, a higher socioeconomic status than those from Morocco, particularly with regard to their higher educational credentials (Viruela, 2003, 2004) and, in the specific case of Latin Americans, also due to their command of the Spanish language (Alonso, 2010).

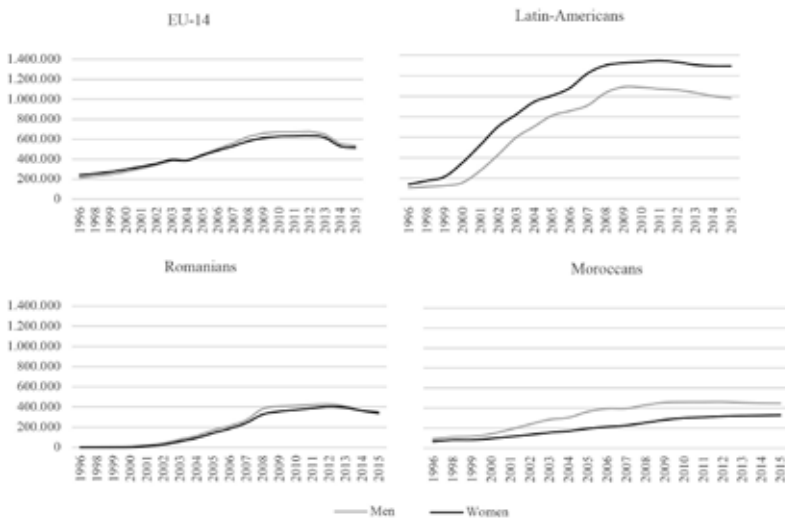
Uneven gender distribution is another relevant feature of the Spanish immigrant-origin population. Figure 1 shows that all groups widened their gender gaps during the peak of the financial crisis (2007-2012) and moved towards a greater gender balance from 2013

³ We use the variable country of birth instead of nationality because it includes both foreign nationals and those immigrants who have acquired Spanish nationality. However, it entails the disadvantage of excluding the second generation (those born in Spain) and including the offspring of Spanish parents living abroad.

onwards. Moreover, all communities faced a population drop by the end of the period, owing to both the slowdown in inflows and the increases in immigrant outflows.

With regard to those born in EU14 countries, from a slight overrepresentation of women in the late 1990's, men became slightly predominant around the 2000's, moving again towards a greater gender balance (49% of women) by 2015. Moroccan-origin immigrants are the only group in which female underrepresentation is a constant throughout the period; having a similar weight at both the beginning and the end of the period (about 42%). By contrast, people from a Latin America background are the most feminized group, completing the period with a female overrepresentation of around 57%. Lastly, the population of Romanian origin moved from a slight overrepresentation of men in the late 2000's, to a narrowing of the gender gap from 2012 onwards; closing the period with an almost perfect gender balance.

FIGURE 1
IMMIGRANT INFLOWS TO SPAIN, BY GROUP AND GENDER (1996-2015)



Source: INE database. "Padrón continuo".

The data illustrates that the greater balance between genders to which almost all groups moved from 2012 onwards, coincided with a decrease in the number of immigrant-origin populations registered in the INE records (over 500,000). As mentioned above, this decline was related to both the slowdown in inflows and the increases in immigrant outflows. According to González (2019), about 10% of the immigrant population left the country from 2012 to 2016, to flee the crisis. Our data suggests that these outflows mainly comprised Romanian and Latin-American men, which is consistent with the idea that the economic crisis had a greater impact on those labour sectors that employed them (Colectivo Ioé, 2012).

2.2. The Political Opportunity Structure of immigrant-origin Women: Political Rights and the Gender Quota

Studies on the political integration of immigrants highlight access to political and citizenship rights as a key factor in analyzing their patterns of political representation (Koopmans et al., 2005). For immigrant-origin women, gender quota systems emerge as an additional factor to bear in mind (Paxton et al., 2006; Hughes, 2011).

Spanish legislation provides varying access to political rights for immigrant populations, depending on their origin. As beneficiaries of European Citizenship, all EU14 nationalities analyzed here have enjoyed voting rights at the local level (both active and passive suffrage) since the 1999 elections. Romanians have enjoyed this right since the 2007 local elections, following their accession to the EU. Unlike EU citizens, third-country nationals have much more limited access to active suffrage in local elections. Spain applies a selective enfranchisement system, with only some non-EU nationals following bilateral reciprocity agreements with their countries of origin signed in the late 2000s⁴. The remaining third-country nationals must acquire Spanish citizenship in order to vote.

With regard to the procedure to vote, Spanish law states that both EU citizens and nationals of those countries included in the bilateral agreements must be previously registered in the Electoral

⁴ The list of countries includes Norway, Ecuador, New Zealand, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile, Peru, Paraguay, Iceland, Cape Verde, Trinidad and Tobago and South Korea origin countries.

Census of Foreign Residents (CERE in its Spanish acronym)⁵. The aggregated data for the 2011 and 2015 local elections shows that the large majority of those enrolled had EU14 nationalities (68%)—most of them British— followed by Romanians (17%); whereas among Latin Americans (only 9% of those registered) Ecuadorian were the main nationality.

When it comes to passive suffrage, the situation is quite different. EU nationals can run for office to both the European Parliament and local chambers, according to EU Directive 94/80/EC, although again they face specific requirements⁶. For non-EU nationals, only those who acquire Spanish nationality may stand as candidates. This specificity significantly reduces the pool of potential non-EU candidates for local elections, although the legislation again favours some groups over others. Although the standard procedure for ordinary naturalization requires a qualifying period of 10 years of prior legal residence in the country, Latin Americans benefit from fast track access; being able to apply for Spanish nationality after only two years of prior residence, on the basis of former colonial ties (González and Cortina, 2011; Finotelli and La Barbera, 2013). The varying requirements to obtain Spanish citizenship for each immigrant group justify an examination of the evolution of citizenship acquisitions followed by each group.

Figure 2 provides data from 2003 onwards, when the Permanent Immigration Observatory (OPI in its Spanish acronym) started to provide gender-disaggregated data. The figure shows a peak in citizenship acquisitions by residence in 2013 because of the acceleration of administrative procedures (Godenau, Rincken, Martínez de Lizarrondo and Moreno, 2014). When it comes to the general trend, significant growth is observed in these acquisitions in 2010, due to increases in legal and continuous residence of the immigrant population and the perception that citizenship could help them mitigate the effects of the crisis (Martínez de Lizarrondo, 2016). Latin Americans are by far the largest beneficiary of these naturalizations,

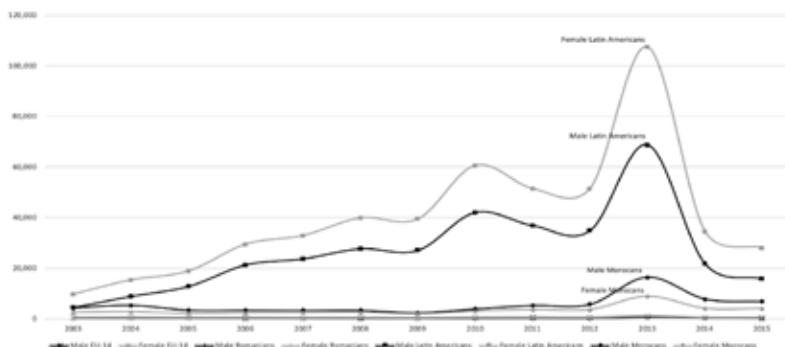
⁵ EU nationals wishing to vote are required to register in CERE the first time only. Non-EU nationals, following bilateral reciprocity agreements, have to register before each election.

⁶ EU nationals must submit an application to the competent authorities with the following information: nationality; address in Spain; the last address in their country of origin; and a certificate proving that they have not been deprived of the right to stand as a candidate in their state of origin.

with 87% of the total (more than 865,000); 60% of which were granted to women. Moroccans are far behind, with 11.5% (115,000); although in this case women only represent 37.3% of total concessions. The other two groups (EU-14 and Romanians) recorded very few acquisitions, although in both cases women benefited the most.

FIGURE 2

EVOLUTION OF THE ACQUISITIONS OF SPANISH CITIZENSHIP WITHIN THE DIFFERENT IMMIGRANT-ORIGIN GROUPS, BY GENDER (2003-2015)



Source: own elaboration with data from the "Observatorio Permanente de Inmigración".

With regard to the electoral gender quota in Spain, between 1996 and 2003 the United Left Party (IU in its Spanish acronym) and the Spanish Socialist Party (PSOE) submitted several bills on women's political representation (Jenson and Valiente, 2003). However, these initiatives failed due to the blockade of the right-wing Popular Party (PP) in Parliament. The PSOE defended quotas as a way to improve the quality and fairness of the democratic system, while the PP rejected them by emphasizing the need for individual responsibility and the lack of structural obstacles to women's equal political representation (Lombardo, 2008; Verge, 2006). A significant step was made in 2007, when the PSOE government drafted the Law for the Effective Equality of Women and Men, known as the Equality Law, which was approved with the sole abstention of the PP. The law states that party lists must include a minimum of 40% and a maximum of 60% of either gender, a proportion to be also

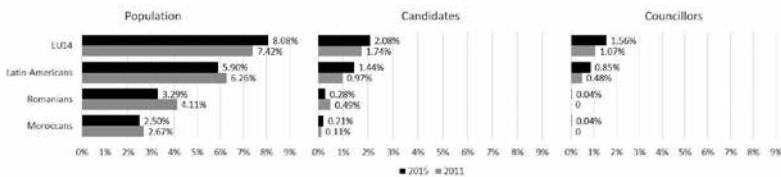
respected in each stretch of five candidates. Additionally to these legal measures, Spanish left-wing parties internally introduced zipper lists (i.e. a method of drawing up party lists in proportional representation electoral systems), which the PSOE implemented for the first time in the European Parliamentary elections in 2014. IU and Podemos adopted the same system later, in the 2016 general elections (Lombardo and Verge, 2017).

2.3. The starting point: political representation of immigrant-origin communities in Spain

The political representation of immigrant-origin women at the local level in Spain is framed within the general context of an ongoing underrepresentation of all immigrant-origin minorities (see Figure 3 and Pérez-Nievas, Vintila, Pamies and Paradés, 2020). Despite this, a slight improvement is shown from the 2011 to 2015 elections, regarding candidates —from 3.3% to 4.1% in 2015— and councillors -from 1.5% to 2.5% in 2015.

FIGURE 3

PERCENTAGE OF IMMIGRANT-ORIGIN CANDIDATES FROM EACH GROUP OVER THE TOTAL CANDIDATES AND PERCENTAGE OF ELECTED IMMIGRANT-ORIGIN COUNCILLORS FROM EACH GROUP OVER THE TOTAL COUNCILLORS (2011-2015)



Source: APREPINM database.

By groups, those from EU14 countries were the best represented in the 2015 local elections (2%), followed by Latin American-origin immigrants (1.4%). Both minorities, as well as Moroccans to a lesser extent, increased their weight on the electoral lists from 2011 to 2015.

On the other hand, Romanians were the only group that had a lower presence in the candidatures. When it comes to their representation as councillors, again the EU14 and Latin American-origin immigrants were better represented in 2015, with 1.5% and 0.8%, respectively; increasing their weight from the previous election. In turn, Romanian and Moroccan-origin immigrants, with no access to councils in 2011, managed to achieve a tiny representation four years later.

The advantageous position of the EU14 group on party lists coincides with its overwhelming record in the Electoral Census of Foreign Residents: 66% of all registered for the 2011 local elections and 71% for 2015. The second position of Latin-Americans in this respect might be mainly related to their greater access to Spanish citizenship, compared with the other groups (87% of all concessions from 2003 to 2015).

Additionally, on the basis of the fact that both UE14 and Latin American-origin immigrants are the two major communities in Spain, these data would suggest that political parties might be keeping in mind the potential of their electoral base when it comes to including minorities on their lists, in order to attract the ethnic vote (Bird, 2014).

3. DATA

In this paper, we use two main data sources, both from the APREPINM project, and mixed methods research. On the one hand, quantitative data from parties' lists that competed in the 2011 and 2015 elections. By means of a questionnaire sent to 1,618 party lists in 514 municipalities, 574 responses were collected, which represents a response rate of 35,5%. Our sample covers all nationwide mainstream parties, including the Socialist Party (PSOE), People's Party (PP), Ciudadanos (Cs), United Left (IU), Union Progress and Democracy (UPyD) and the left-wing coalitions that ran for the 2015 elections supported by Podemos. It also includes all regional parties⁷. By party, the response rate was 41% for the

⁷ Convergence and Union (CiU), Republican Left of Catalonia (ERC), Popular Unity Candidacy (CUP), Canarian Coalition (CC), Aragonese Party (PAR), Aragonese Union (CHA), Compromise Coalition (Compromís), Valencian Nationalist Bloc (BLOC), Basque Country Unite (Bildu), Navarese People's Union (UPN), More for Majorca (MÉS), Proposal for the Islands (El Pi).

PSOE, 30% for the People's Party⁸, 37% for left-wing coalitions, 36% Ciudadanos, 19% IU, 4% UPyD and between 33 and 45% for the three main regionalist parties (Canarian Coalition, Republican Left of Catalonia and Convergence and Union).

The data gathered contains information on the gender, nationality, party and position of the candidates on the electoral list, among other relevant information. The comparison of this data and the results of the 2011 and 2015 local elections, allows us to analyze which candidates were elected. More than a half of the immigrant-origin candidates included in our database were women (52%). In the questionnaire, immigrant-origin candidates were defined as: a) a foreign-born person of non-Spanish parents or b) a person born in Spain with, at least, a foreign parent (i.e. second generation). The questionnaire was sent to parties with representation, at the national and/or regional level, in municipalities with more than 1,000 inhabitants in which Moroccan, Romanian, Bulgarian, Latin American or EU14 communities represented more than 10% of the local population.

Apart from this data, information from 44 in-depth interviews with gatekeepers and other party members was gathered, with the intention of examining their attitudes towards women from different communities, including the obstacles perceived to include them on lists, as well as with immigrant origin candidates and councillors in order to gain first-hand insight into their selection processes. Interviewees were selected from 23 Spanish municipalities with a high concentration of immigrant population close to or above the average in Spain in 2015 (13%) in Andalusia, the Madrid Region, Catalonia, the Valencian Community, The Region of Murcia and Ceuta. Since our main goal is to understand parties' motives for selecting different types of candidates, most of these interviews (21) were with party gatekeepers and other party members (three of them with immigrant backgrounds); while the remaining 13 were undertaken with non-native candidates. In the process, we sought a balance between left and right-wing parties. When it comes to candidates, we focused on those immigrant-origin groups with the highest levels of representation on the electoral lists in 2011 and 2015

⁸ The lower response rate of the People's Party in our sample is in line with that of similar studies. In the Spanish version of the Comparative Candidate Survey 2019, its rate was 38%; 20 points below that of the Socialist Party.

(EU14 and Latin America); also maintaining an overrepresentation of women in our sample of candidates (8 out of 13 interviews).

In this paper, we focus on the four largest immigrant-origin groups in Spain: EU14, Romanians, Latin Americans and Moroccans. Although Romanians are European Citizens, we analyze them separately for two reasons. Firstly, Romanians were allowed to vote and to run for office in Spain for the first time in 2007, whereas EU14 nationals have been benefiting from these rights since 1999. Therefore, it is reasonable to think that in 2011 the Romanian population was still less acquainted with these requirements to exercise the right to vote than those from EU14 nations. Secondly, Romanian migratory inflows are largely related to the lack of job opportunities in their home country (Viruela, 2006) and they tend to take lower skilled jobs; while most nationals from Western EU countries respond to a profile of 'resident tourists' or highly skilled professionals (González, 2008).

4. RESULTS

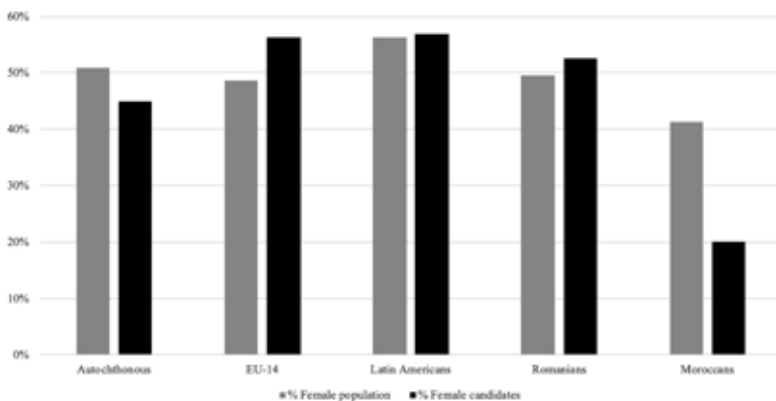
This section shows the levels of political representation achieved by women belonging to each of our four immigrant-origin groups as well as those of autochthonous women in Spanish municipalities. This is compared with the levels of political representation observed among their male counterparts, on the one hand, as well as between the different female groups, on the other. Since our aim here is not to show a longitudinal analysis of these trends, we use aggregate data for the 2011 and 2015 elections. We implement this analysis in two different stages. In the first, we focus on the inclusion of minority women on party lists. In the second stage, we examine their presence in office as councilwomen, which implies a qualitative leap from the previous one. For both stages, we provide data from our survey combined with that gathered from the in-depth interviews with party leaders and immigrant-origin candidates who were included on party lists in the 2011 and/or the 2015 local elections.

We start by describing the extent to which the relative weight of women within each minority group —examined in detail in section 3— is linked to their weight on party lists. According to figure 4, this is only accomplished by the Latin American-origin group, in which

women represent 57% of total candidates from this same group. The two groups originating in the EU —EU14 and Romanian—, also show relatively large female majorities in the lists when compared to their male counterparts, even though these two minorities are better gender-balanced than Latin Americans. This is particularly evident for the EU14 group, in which women represent 56% of candidates, whereas Romanian women represent 52%. On the other hand, autochthonous women are underrepresented on party lists, even though they outnumber males in society. Thus, despite the significant step forward achieved by the gender quota system in Spain, it does not guarantee a representation of women on lists in accordance to their demographic weight. This might be related to a certain ‘inertia’ on behalf of parties to keep women within the 40% of candidates that the ‘Equality Law’ establishes as the minimum assigned to any of the two genders (Calvo, 2014).

Nonetheless, Moroccan women are by far the most underrepresented group on party lists, both in relation to women of the remaining groups, as well as in relation to their male counterparts. Only 20% of Moroccan-origin candidates included on lists are women; even though they represent 41% of their group.

FIGURE 4
PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN WITHIN EACH GROUP OF
POPULATION AND WITHIN EACH GROUP OF CANDIDATES
(2011-2015)



Source: APREPINM database.

Leaving aside the significant underrepresentation of Moroccan-origin women, the question then arises as to why political parties prefer non-national origin women rather than men? According to interviews conducted with party leaders, this might be related to parties' difficulties in complying with gender quota requirements. The following statements by two local party leaders in Catalonia and Madrid serve to illustrate this:

L: What is my main interest? In politics, at least in this city, we are mostly men, so I would like to incorporate women, but not only as a way of complying with the electoral gender quota, but because we need to feminize politics [...]. In (party name) we have to insert a man, then a woman..., and so on. It's a pain in the ass but it's also needed.

L: There are far more problems to include women than men [on lists]. The party membership is still highly masculinized [...] So, I think that this is related to the fact that, to be in politics, you need time. Moreover, I think the reconciliation of family life is, in this respect, detrimental to women.

Hence, when parties are willing to include immigrant-origin candidates, they take a step to co-opt women as a strategy of 'killing two birds with one stone' (i.e., providing diversity on party lists and complying with gender quota requirements at the same time), a finding that is consistent with previous research (Norris, 2004; Paxton et al., 2006). In the following statement, a Colombian female candidate recruited in Andalusia for the 2015 elections illustrates this idea:

C: I had recently joined the party and there were people... older and experienced men, who were seeking a position. However, obviously, the eighth [position] had to be for a woman, and they got angry: 'How is that possible? She is new!' So, well, [the party leader] stated 'it's not our fault, it's an obligation. It has to be man/woman or woman/man. So, if I hadn't gone in the eighth position, I would have been the sixth because... they did want to include someone of immigrant origin...

This strategy of 'killing two birds with one stone' also operates for women of EU origin. The following statement from a local party leader in Andalusia with a Romanian woman candidate in the 2015 elections illustrates this:

L: Undoubtedly [...].I also think that from now on women granted with suffrage rights, including the right to run for office, will have greater chances in (party name) rather than other parties, mainly thanks to the zipper lists.

With regard to the underrepresentation of women of Moroccan origin in candidacies in comparison with women from other origins, these results are consistent with previous research carried out in the international context (Razack, 2004; Sinno, 2009; Hughes, 2016). It might be connected to the fact that they belong to the group that generates the greatest distrust among the public (Roy, 2004; Zibouh, 2013), which is also perceived in Spain (Noya, 2007; Desrues and Pérez Yruela, 2008), but also with their low socio-educational profile as well as with their poor political socialization. The following statements from two party leaders in Andalusia corroborate these ideas:

L: Women are not active at all. Nowadays, one of the problems linked to immigration is the poor integration of foreign women, especially Moroccan women. In parents' meetings [at school], where they [Moroccan women] should be, they are not. Those who go are men. They have very strict norms with regard to women [...] Very different, very different...

INT: Who do you think is more likely to be included on party lists, a Moroccan man or a woman?

L: A man, a man. But it's not us, it's them. We do our best. We arrange meetings with the immigrant population and in the case of Muslim women, the youngest ones come, but men treble women, or they even multiply them. So, there is a bit of a cultural clash, in a way. But this year... to be honest, I was positively surprised, because in a meeting with immigrants in Almeria there were 10 women, but they were young and with higher education... For parties it is a bit difficult...maybe because they marry young, they have partners... However, I think that this will gradually change in the future...

This evidence indicates that the overrepresentation of Latin American and European-origin women in candidacies might be mainly explained by their belonging to two social categories simultaneously: women and immigrant-origin minority. It does not apply, however, to women of Moroccan origin. Their remarkable underrepresentation on lists —both in comparison with their male counterparts and with the remaining female groups— can be better

explained, first, by the fact that they belong to a religious minority, which has greater levels of mistrust among the public, and second, because of their lack of economic and cultural capital compared to their male counterparts, and the other women's groups.

4.1. Immigrant-origin women in office: a qualitative leap

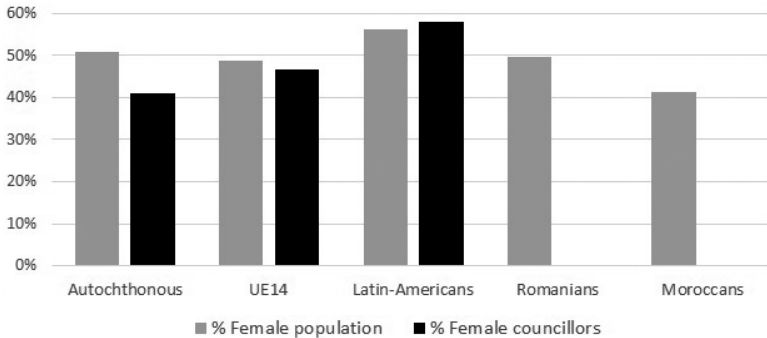
Following electoral law, Spanish political parties place candidates in 'quite safe' or 'unsafe' positions, which in turn determine their chances of being councillors. Figure 5 shows that among the three groups that were overrepresented as candidates in relation to men (Latin Americans, EU14 nationals and Romanians) only Latin-American women maintain this overrepresentation as councillors, even showing a slight increase over the previous stage. The reason for this comparative advantage of Latin American-origin women might be related to the fact that these women tend to be more active in local associative life than other minority groups (Aparicio and Tornos, 2010), with women also overrepresented in its leadership (Oca and Lombardero, 2018). Considering that, the interlocution between political parties and immigrant-origin candidates is often routed through immigrant associations, Latin American-origin women would have more opportunities to be called for office. In the interviews with party leaders, this visibility of Latin American women in local associations and organizations, as well as the idea that their lifestyle and customs are closer to Spanish ones, are the most frequently mentioned factors given to explain their preference for them. In a joint interview conducted with two leaders of the same party in the Community of Madrid, they explained this idea as follows:

L1: They [Latin Americans] are more trusted, much more trusted...

L2: We share the same language and with regard to their leisure activities...they don't disturb, don't bother. They are different from the other [immigrant] communities. So, of course. In one of our most important churches, for example, the leader is a Venezuelan woman.

FIGURE 5

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN WITHIN EACH GROUP OF POPULATION AND WITHIN EACH GROUP OF COUNCILLORS (2011-2015)



Source: APREPINM database.

Despite the significant weight of Romanian-origin women in candidatures in contrast to their male counterparts (52%), they are totally absent from councils. It seems, therefore, that the strategy developed by parties of 'killing two birds with one stone' is restricted, in the case of these women, to insecure positions; a trend also apparent among Romanian-origin men. EU14 and Spanish-origin women also have a lower presence in councils compared to the previous stage, although this is less sharp than in the case of Romanians women. For both, representation in office is still above 40%. Women of Moroccan origin are, together with Romanians, absent as councillors.

These results suggest that, in order to hold office, the advantage gained by the 'killing two birds with one stone' strategy only remains for women of Latin American-origin. Although Moroccan-origin women are the least represented in councils by far, the double barrier also affects those born in EU14 countries and Romania.

CONCLUSIONS

The presence of immigrant-origin women in politics at the local level shows specific patterns with regard to their male counterparts, as well as compared to other women in Spain.

Concerning their presence in party lists, both Latin American and European-origin women (EU14 and Romania) show the greatest levels of inclusion, compared to men and even to autochthonous women. This might be explained by the preference of political parties for immigrant-origin women rather than men, when it comes to increasing diversity on the lists. Considering that parties are still reluctant to insert non-native candidates—and bearing in mind the difficulty expressed by them in fulfilling the gender quota—, immigrant-origin women seems to be the best option by ‘killing two birds with one stone’.

The greater inclusion of women with Latin American-origins—compared to their male counterparts and women from the other groups— can also be explained by the feminization of this minority (57% of women) and their greater access to naturalization (60% of the total naturalized Latin-American population were women). Moroccan-origin women are the only non-native women who are underrepresented in candidatures, in relation to the men of their own group. Additionally they are the least represented in candidacies among all minority women. Although the first result might be partly explained by the strong masculinization of the Moroccan-origin population in Spain, in-depth interviews indicate that their particular underrepresentation can be also explained by the existence of a ‘double barrier’. Firstly, as a minority, they belong to the Muslim community; the migrant group that generates the greatest objection among the public opinion due to the gap observed between their lifestyle and values, and those of the Western societies. Additionally, as Muslim women, they are perceived as strongly dependent on their husbands and more inactive than the rest of minority women in the social and political sphere.

With regard to their representation as councillors, with the exception of Latin American-origin women, our results show different patterns compared to the previous stage (presence on party lists). Although the presence of European-origin women is reduced in councils compared to the previous stage of candidate nomination, they still manage to keep a relative balance in councils (above 40%). On the contrary, Romanian-origin women, despite having a significant presence in the candidatures, do not manage to gain representatives at the local level. Political parties seem to rely on them only to cover ‘filler positions’; a strategy that is also implemented with their male counterparts. This absence of representation in councils is also apparent among women of Moroccan origin.

Regarding the motivations of political parties to privilege Latin American-origin women over other immigrant-origin females—both in candidatures and councils—, the interviews with candidates and gatekeepers point to the local associations as the main source of external recruitment of immigrants at the local level. Among these associations, those of the Latin American community are particularly visible, with women overrepresented as members, as well as leaders.

Despite the low levels of political representation of immigrant-origin women shown in this paper, our results also herald a—to a certain degree— brighter future. Political parties seem to be more sensitive to the insertion of immigrant-origin candidates on their lists. Bearing in mind that the gender quota system will remain in force in upcoming elections, we expect a positive evolution for women of immigrant background, as long as parties keep implementing the strategy of ‘killing two birds with one stone’. However, the election of more immigrant-origin women through gender quotas may also be related to autochthonous men’s efforts to remain in power, and preserve their dominance. Further studies on political inclusion of non-native women are necessary to look into the gap between their interests and skills, and the positions offered by parties.

Finally, autochthonous women, despite the implementation of gender quotas, still have a lesser presence on local party lists and councils compared to men; and at a lower level than their relative weight in society at large. Hence, future research should aim to analyze whether the inclusion of non-autochthonous women limits their presence in parties’ list or local councils in any way.

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