



Expanding Tools In Addressing Barriers for Migrant Women to Participate in Democratic and Political Life



Alianza por La Solidaridad

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SPAIN CASE STUDY



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Study coordination: Silvina Monteros (Red Latinas)

Quantitative study: Simple Lógica

Research Teams:

Alianza por la Solidaridad: Maria Salvador, Jara Henar and Julissa Jauregui
Red de Mujeres Latinoamericanas y del Caribe: Marisol Herreño, Erika Sarmiento, Edith Espínola, Delmi Galeano, Lily Gálvez and Amanda Pucuhuayla Gálvez

Proofreader: Alison Whyte, with the support of Lina Loth, Gea Meijers and Nurhidayah Hassan

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Expanding Tools in Addressing Barriers for Migrant Women to Participate in Democratic and Political Life: Spain Case Study

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1. PRESENTATION

This study is part of the project, "Expanding Tools in Addressing Barriers for Migrant Women to Participate in Democratic Life". It is funded by the EU funded Erasmus+ programme and coordinated by the European network WIDE+. Next to WIDE+ it is a collaboration of the feminist organisations GADIP (Sweden), NGO Atina (Serbia), KULU Women and Development (Denmark), Romanian Women's Lobby (Romania), Alianza por la Solidaridad (Spain) and Red De Mujeres Latinoamericanas Y Del Caribe (Spain, Red Latinas in short).

The main objective of the project is to support and strengthen the participation of migrant women in Europe, through training activities and the design of tools to enable them to have their voices heard in political spaces.

In this Project, the term "migrant women" refers to all women, including gender non-conforming persons who are displaced between countries, trafficked, or who have moved from a third or European country to a destination in Europe. These women face multiple intersecting discriminations in European societies. Migrant women are underrepresented in political decision-making at local, national and European levels.

The intersection of migration with gender creates enhanced barriers that prevent migrant women from taking part in civic and democratic life. These intersections of multiple aspects of identity with cultural and structural inequality create unique experiences for each woman and gender non-conforming person. COVID-19 has further increased women's precariousness, exposure to violence and abuse.

Migrant women are not only less included and therefore less visible in democratic and civic life in Europe. Formal institutions, including educational organisations, may be less accessible to them. It is therefore important to increase capacity in non-formal educational sectors that reach out to migrant women, to build their ability to take part in civic and democratic life.

Despite this, migrant women play an active, strong and constructive role in European societies through their paid work, unpaid care work, and in other roles they perform in communities. They are also active in civic and political decision making, though in more limited ways compared to other groups. The active participation of migrant women who make up the associations that are part of this project is a sample of the political activism of many of them. It is necessary to extend these opportunities to other migrant women, who for various reasons do not have the opportunity to participate.

This project directly contributes to the horizontal objective of promoting participation in democratic life through research, collective reflection, exchange of activist experiences, and training. It aims to:

- Increase the participation of marginalised citizens in democratic processes.
- Increase knowledge about the European Union and help to address barriers to civic and political participation. This will also foster a stronger connection with the European Union and help to build a common identity in its citizens.
- Support active citizenship and media literacy which will contribute to the further development of intercultural and social competencies of its learners.

The first section of this project is to analyse the right to participation in European countries and the legal barriers that migrants face in accessing it. It is also necessary to consider the opinion of migrants about democratic life in Europe, their knowledge about the electoral system, and their intentions to vote, whether they have the right to vote or not.

The main part of the report provides the results of an investigation into the Spanish situation looking at three relevant aspects: **how the right to vote of foreigners in Spain is regulated; what their voting intentions are; and what specific barriers prevent migrant women from participating in political life.** This exploration aims to increase the participation of migrant women in Spain, specifically through:

- Increasing understanding among migrant women, their associations, and others about the level of inclusion of migrant women in democratic life in Spain and what the barriers are from a migrant woman's perspective.
- Diagnosing potential needs that migrant and refugee women in Spain might have relating to their political training or participation.
- Identifying the (nonformal) educational needs relating to the political participation of migrant and refugee women in order to design appropriate training to fulfil these needs.

The study is based on a quantitative methodology, through the application of a survey, completed by migrants over 18 years of age, residing in Spain. A total of 1,351 questionnaires were completed.

To make the sample representative of migrations in Spain, it was designed for: people born abroad who are naturalised Spanish; migrants residing in the country with the right to vote; and resident migrants without the right to vote (including undocumented people).

To understand the context in which the quantitative study was performed, additional analyses of the following issues were analysed in the first part:

- the right to political participation at the national and international levels (incorporated into this report).

- the right to vote and other forms of formal participation regulated by the Spanish State for migrants residing in the country.
- secondary sources that describe the impact of migration in Spain and its importance in demographic, political and economic terms.
- secondary sources on foreign voters in Spain in the last three municipal elections and the experiences of people born abroad, who are part of local, regional and state governments in the country.

In 2019, Alianza por la Solidaridad coordinated a qualitative study on the political participation of migrant women in Spain. This study was part of the project "Strengthening capacities of migrant women as political subjects through participation and alliances for a city free from all kinds of violence and discrimination".¹ The study drew conclusions through qualitative analysis from focus groups and interviews with migrant women and key agents on the ground.

One of the conclusions of the study was the need to do further research, exploring the opinion of the migrant community in Spain about politics, the system of political participation and the right to vote. Given that this qualitative study gave rise to the research questions on which the current quantitative study is based, a summary of the results of the qualitative study is included in the final section of this report. This is intended to increase understanding of the barriers that prevent migrant women from participating in the democratic life of the country.

Finally, this report includes conclusions and proposals for improving the political participation of migrants in general and migrant women in particular.

¹ The full report can be found at: https://www.alianzaporlasolidaridad.org/axs2020/wp-content/uploads/RESUMEN-MUJERES-MIGRANTES-Y-PARTICIPACION_compressed.pdf

2. PARTICIPATION AS A FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT

In Spain, migrants have a restricted right to active and passive suffrage, depending on their country of origin. Only foreigners from the European Union and some non-EU citizens can vote and be elected in municipal elections. Migrants from non-EU countries can vote if Spain has signed bilateral agreements with their countries of origin, which applies to a mere 12 of the more than 100 countries of migrants' origins. The agreements signed also stipulate that the right to vote can only be exercised in municipal elections. They do not recognise the right to passive suffrage, that is, to be elected as political representatives in the municipalities (such as councillors or mayors).

In addition, migrant women's economic status limit their social, civic and political participation. Migrant women need to support their families financially but their job insecurity and long working hours make it difficult for them to manage work and family life. Associations led by migrant women are not exempt from these limitations. These associations also struggle to gain recognition in a context of highly masculinised and hierarchical migrant associations. And at the same time, migrant women face discrimination, xenophobia and racism that hinders their participation. These obstacles can appear in subtle forms, such as a lack of recognition of their contribution to civil society. In sum, **associations led by migrants experience more difficulty accessing financial resources and sustaining themselves over time.**

2.1. Human development and participation

For a human being to fully develop, it is essential that he, she, or they can participate in the life of the community in which the person resides. In this sense, participation is an objective of human development, as well as enabling its progress.

Active participation brings many benefits to community life. It strengthens the relationship between communities and their local government and improves the functioning of public institutions. It enables local representatives to access self-assessment tools to improve the design of their proposals and public policies and they can improve the transparency and accountability of policies. It helps to improve people's living conditions, contributes to their sense of belonging and generates greater community cohesion. It also nourishes collective identity and bonds of solidarity, encourages responsible citizenship and strengthens plurality, debate and diversity.

The right to participation is recognised in article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political

Rights and is expanded in Observation No. 25 on Participation in Public Affairs and the Right to Vote of the Human Rights Committee. It is defined as the right of each citizen to participate in the conduct of public affairs, to vote and be elected in periodic, fair and authentic elections. Also, it includes access to public service within the framework of democratic processes based on people's consent, which guarantees their well-being together with freedom of expression, peaceful assembly and association, regardless of the form of constitution or government adopted by a state.

Thus defined, the right to participation is the exercise of the popular will on issues of public good. And it is at the same time, the ability to acquire functions in any of the state agencies, in accordance with the principle of equality of conditions and non-discrimination. The exercise of participation practices (popular will and holding public office) require respect for the following democratic principles²:

- The Constitution and laws subordinate public power to popular sovereignty.
- The will of the majority is limited by the rights of minorities.
- Public powers are separated and enjoy independence and balance.
- The representatives of the executive and legislative bodies are freely elected periodically, by universal, direct and secret suffrage.
- Public decisions are decentralised and governed by rules of maximum publicity and transparency.

Essential conditions for the exercise of the right to participation are:

- 1) that there are spaces and mechanisms for participation that can be freely accessed by all, without restrictions or discrimination.
- 2) that people are informed both of the participation mechanisms and of the issues that must be submitted to debate and scrutiny, with enough time for consideration.
- 3) that denounce, claim, and complaint procedures are established for citizens, through which they can channel the difficulties, barriers or discrimination to which they could be subjected in the exercise of their right to participation.
- 4) that there is respect for autonomous and independent participation, without interference or pressure.
- 5) that there is accountability of public bodies, transparency in state management and the effectiveness of the fight against corruption and impunity.

The right to participate under the rubric of the principles of non-discrimination and equal opportunities does not ensure, by itself, people's access to it. Mechanisms are

² Civilis Derechos Humanos, Derecho a la Participación. Disponible en:
<http://www.civilisac.org/nociones/derecho-a-la-participacion>

needed to guarantee said access, which include positive measures to ensure its exercise and legal institutions for denunciation and claim when the right is obstructed or limited.

Some of the forms of formal and informal participation are:

- Active and passive suffrage.
- Referendums or other popular consultation procedures.
- The presentation of proposed laws or the reform of those established, through the popular initiative.
- Participating in consultations, advisory forums or local or regional councils.
- Participating in developing policies and measures set by institutions and administrations.
- Exercising political influence in public affairs through forums, debates or public dialogues with representatives of political parties or any government body.
- Exercising independent control of the government and requesting sanctions when there is a violation of rights by its public bodies.
- Exercising participation through associations, civil society organisations, social movements, meetings and assemblies, at a local, regional or state level.
- Establishing alliances with local, regional, state or international organisations.
- Demonstrating on public roads.

2.2. The right to vote as a right of direct participation

In democratic countries, citizens have the right to participate as voters and candidates in free, periodic and authentic elections, carried out by universal, equal suffrage and by secret ballot, which guarantees the free expression of the will of those who exercised their vote. Electoral rights require compliance with other rights, such as³:

- Freedom to form or join parties or associations for partisan purposes.
- Participating as members of parties or partisan associations in electoral processes.
- Having access to information about the procedures.
- Applying or proposing candidacies with the support of citizens, parties and partisan associations.
- Registering as a voter.
- Promoting and defending the vote.

³ Civilis Derechos Humanos, Derecho a la Participación. Available in: <http://www.civilisac.org/nociones/derecho-a-la-participacion>

- Voting individually, universally, directly and secretly.
- Participating in independent scrutiny of the voting processes.

States must take effective measures to ensure that all persons entitled to vote can exercise their right:

- Where voter registration is necessary, it should be facilitated and no barriers to such registration should be placed.
- Residency requirements must be reasonable and not exclude the homeless.
- No fees, taxes, or other costs shall be imposed in connection with the registration of citizens to vote.
- Electoral systems must guarantee in every election one vote per person and that the vote of one elector is equal to the vote of any other.
- States must guarantee access to information on the electoral process to all citizens, parties and associations for political purposes, as well as its free dissemination through the media in any of its forms.
- All means must be used so that the scrutiny is carried out in a transparent, fair and impartial manner and that voters have confidence in the electoral process.
- During electoral processes, the freedom of peaceful assembly must not be suspended or restricted.

2.2.1. Principle of non-discrimination

Each state decides who has the right to the democratic exercise of formal participation. By referring to “citizens” and not to “persons”, states are placing limits on this right, through previously established requirements, generally constitutionally.

According to the principles of Fundamental Rights, the definition of citizenship in the context of the right to participation cannot be suspended or restricted for reasons of ethnicity, origin, sex, language, religion, political opinion, national origin, economic position, birth or any other natural or social condition, with the exception of distinctions based on objective and reasonable criteria provided by law, such as age (from the consideration of being of legal age) or belonging to a community based on residency, or nationality requirements.

The principle of non-discrimination prevents the right to vote from being restricted based on physical disability or the imposition of literacy, education or property requirements, as well as membership of a particular political party. It also prevents the right to vote of persons deprived of liberty from being suspended. As for the right to

passive suffrage, it suggest that women cannot be underrepresented in public office and requires that special, and preferably temporary, measures be established to ensure parity in these.

2.2.2. The right to participation as a civil right and its relationship with states

Civil and political rights guarantee the ability of citizens to participate in the civic life of a state in conditions of equality and without discrimination. **Civil and political rights are recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, but it was in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966 where they were most developed, highlighting:**

- The right to self-determination of all peoples.
- The right to physical integrity and security.
- Protection against discrimination.
- The right to communication, freedom of thought, expression, press and printing.
- The right to freedom of worship, religion and belief.
- The right to movement and residence.
- The right to vote, the right of assembly and demonstration and the right of association.
- The right to justice: right to procedural fairness, to a fair trial, to procedural guarantees and to legal defence; protection against illegal detention, habeas corpus, presumption of innocence, right not to testify, the right to reparation and the right to the proportionality of sentences.

Civil and political rights guarantee the ability of citizens to participate in the civic life of a state. Not all signatory states to the international pacts and conventions on civil and political rights include these in their national regulations and some do so on a limited basis.

There are also states in which, although these rights are legally recognised, the necessary mechanisms are not available for their full guarantee and access. In practice, states determine citizenship based on elements of a historical, cultural and/or legal nature, which has resulted in many basing it on nationality, excluding people of other national origins.

At the international level, the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, adopted by the General Assembly in its resolution 45/158 of December 18, 1990, makes explicit in article 13:

1. *The right that the opinion of migrant workers and their families will not be subject to any interference.*
2. *Migrant workers and their families shall have the right to freedom of expression. This right includes the freedom to collect, receive and disseminate information and ideas of all kinds, without border limitations, whether orally, in writing or in printed or artistic form, or by any other means of their choice.*

In article 40 it states:

1. *Migrant workers and members of their families shall have the right to establish associations and unions in the State of employment for the promotion and protection of their economic, social, cultural and other interests.*

And in article 42:

2. *States of employment shall facilitate, in accordance with their national legislation, the consultation or participation of migrant workers and members of their families in decisions relating to the life and administration of local communities.*
3. *Migrant workers may enjoy political rights in the State of employment if that State, in the exercise of its sovereignty, grants them such rights.*

This Convention expands the civil rights of migrants, including the rights to information, communication, establishment of associations and trade unions, and the right to participate in decisions relating to the life and administration of local communities, as well as political rights if the state grants them. Despite the extension of rights to migrants, the aforementioned Convention has only been ratified by 46 countries in the world, including no country from the Global North.

At the European level, **the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights refers to civil and political rights as rights of the entire European population, including foreigners**: "the States' parties recognize the rights contained therein to all persons, regardless of their jurisdiction and even whether or not they have a nationality, so it is not reduced to protecting only European citizens".

Regarding the political activity of foreigners, three articles 102, 113, and 144 are proposed in the Convention, which allow freedom of expression, assembly and association and non-discrimination towards foreigners. Article 16 states that "none of the provisions of articles 10, 11 and 14 may be interpreted in the sense of prohibiting

the High Contracting Parties from imposing restrictions on the political activity of foreigners." However, while it promotes this inclusion, it later clarifies that states may impose restrictions according to their national legislation. **Like other treaties, this Convention promotes the recognition of rights, but also restricts this to the decision of the states.**

In 1992, the Council of Europe adopted the European Convention on the participation of foreigners in public life at the local level, whose preamble assumes three important premises:

- 1) *the residence of foreigners is "a permanent characteristic of European societies";*
- 2) *there is talk of residents, a term that, although it refers to those who are in a regular legal situation, also alludes to the fact that they are people who are not temporarily living in Europe, but who reside and live together.*
- 3) *there is a conviction regarding the need to improve the integration of foreigners in local communities, fundamentally, with respect to their opportunity to participate in public affairs.*

Expressly, the rights recognised by this Convention are freedom of expression, assembly and association of foreigners, the creation of advisory bodies that represent foreigners and the right to vote for foreigners at the local level.

The 1992 European Convention only refers to foreigners in a regular situation, but it cannot contradict the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights, which attributes freedom of expression, assembly and association to "any person", as has been widely emphasised by the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights, extending its scope of action to people in an irregular situation.

The 1992 Convention focuses its efforts on the recognition of participation rights of foreigners fundamentally at the local level. It points out that states must make serious efforts to involve foreign residents in public surveys, planning procedures and consultations at the local level. In Chapter B, Article 5, it stipulates that states must commit to removing obstacles that may hinder the creation of advisory bodies that represent foreigners. Therefore, three types of measures must be adopted:

- 1) Ensure the connection between local authorities and foreign residents.
- 2) Offer a forum for discussion and formulation of opinions of foreigners in local political life.
- 3) Promote their integration into the life of the community.

Chapter C expressly refers to the right to vote in local elections. Article 6 states that each state must undertake to grant the right to vote and eligibility in local elections to all foreign residents "provided that they meet the same conditions as those that apply

to nationals and, in addition, have resided legally and habitually in the affected state during the five years prior to the elections”.

Likewise, in the second section of this article, states are allowed to make an exception in terms of passive suffrage, so that both types of suffrage can be activated or only the possibility of voting for foreigners. Article 7 allows the possibility for those states that wish to authorise the right to vote to foreigners with less than five years of legal residence as mentioned in the previous article. Chapter C of the Convention raises doubts regarding the duration of the residence period, which must be considered for the exercise of the right to vote. Although it indicates a period of five years, it does not specify whether it must have been developed entirely in the local community or in the territory of the state. There is a reading, derived from the Explanatory Report of the Convention, which tends towards the second option (legal residence in the state), but this explanation has not ruled out debates and created barriers in some European countries.

After this Convention came into force, a series of European Directives were approved which recommended that Member States promote the integration of foreigners in their countries of residence. These are directives that regulate the non-discrimination of migrants in relation to employment, social security, housing or access to goods or services. However, to date, no directive has been approved in relation to the political participation of foreigners. Thus the existing conventions (such as the one mentioned above) remain mere recommendations that give the states' parties freedom to make a decision on this issue.

Being a foreigner supposes a lack of recognition of civil and political rights, except when the national legislation of the receiving countries makes express mention of their inclusion in legal categories that deserve their recognition. The difference in the recognition of rights between foreigners and nationals derives from a model of the legal-political organisation of the state as a nation-state, based on classical sovereignty, which understands citizenship as derived from nationality.

This organisational model results in a legal and factual exclusion of migrants from the spheres of participation even when they are residents. In fact, only 17 EU countries recognise the right to vote in municipal or local elections for non-EU foreigners. Among these countries is Spain, although as we will see in another section, with limitations that make it very difficult for this group to exercise the right to active suffrage, while passive suffrage is not recognised for non-EU migrants.

3. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION IN SPAIN

In 1960 in Spain, there were 70,000 foreigners, the majority from Europe and some Moroccan citizens who migrated to enter the agriculture or construction sector during a stage of incipient economic development. This population represented only 0.2% of the total population of the country.

By the time the dictator Franco died in 1975, the migrant population had doubled, but it was still a minority (0.5%). In 1985, Spain entered the European Economic Area, and the first Immigration Law was approved, as a direct consequence of this accession, in order to define the new borders in terms of citizenship. One of the lines that determined this policy was the configuration of the Schengen Area, established by the abolition of internal borders in the EU and the reinforcement of external borders. In this way, Spain became responsible for an important part of the European borders due to its geographical location, especially in the Mediterranean.

Before the approval of this Law and after the opening of the Spanish economy during the 1960s, the borders between Spain and the rest of the countries were relatively permeable, due to the existence of lax regulation of the entry requirements to the country. Many people entered and left the country quite easily, which allowed them to work seasonally, as was the case with Moroccans or those from other European countries. In the 1970s, Spain was one of the destinations for people exiled from Latin American dictatorships.

However, since 1985, the borders have become restrictive, the administrative conditions of 'regular' and 'irregular' are clearly delimited - with strong restriction of rights for those who do not have the required permits - and it is intended to manage the flows according to the interests of the job market. A secondary impact of this policy was that those who were in the country before the law came into force were required to remain in the territory, as well as to regroup family members.

Some authors point to the permanent settlement of the Moroccan community in Spain as a direct consequence of the fear of not being able to easily leave and re-enter the country. Likewise, as a result of the law, a gradual immigration of Moroccan women began. Most of them were wives of men already in Spain. They were generally integrated in an uncoordinated way and were absorbed into the domestic services sector, in some cases as servants. On the other hand, the Filipino community had greater immigration facilities due to having been a Spanish colony. This characteristic and the religious (Catholic) affinity determined bilateral agreements between Spain and the Philippines that facilitated the naturalisation of Filipino citizens, unlike Moroccans, despite the fact that some parts of Morocco had also been a Spanish colony.

In the 1990s, the influx of the Latin American population began, which became the third most important community after the European and Moroccan ones. As in the previous migratory flows, Latin Americans generally entered the country as tourists and once the months allowed in their permit had elapsed, found themselves in a situation of legal irregularity as they did not have the required residence permits. The most common trajectory was to look for work, send remittances and in the following years (usually two to four) gain regularisation by obtaining a formal employment contract, possible through extraordinary regularisation processes or by appealing on the basis of "social or labour roots", approved by immigration law 4/200.

The limitations imposed by the 1985 law, which caused irregularities, forced the government to approve various massive documentary regularisation processes, called "normalisation procedures", "amnesties", or simply regularisations. The very name of these procedures' accounts for the ideological consideration of migration and its protagonists, migrants, as outside the law or the norm and in the field of crime.

These six procedures took place between 1986 and 2005. Despite these government efforts to reduce the irregularity figures, and with it the underground economy, it is estimated that in 2007 there were still around 370,000 foreigners in the country in a situation of legal irregularity. Irregular immigration relied on the powerful pull factor of employment in emerging sectors, such as domestic and care, construction, hospitality, and the increasing expansion of industrial agriculture. It is a mistake to think that these sectors were reviled by the natives. Research shows that Spaniards continued to work in these sectors but experienced a process of upward labour mobility within them, with more stable jobs such as managers and with better labour conditions.

At the end of the 1990s, migration accelerated and multiplied, reaching 2.3% in relation to the total population of the country in the year 2000. Nevertheless, it was not until 2005 that a substantial number of people became regularised. This allowed for more realistic statistics about the volume of people of migrant origin in the country. In absolute numbers, foreigners varied from around 900,000 to more than 3.5 million people (8.6% of the population). During this period, for the first time, Latin Americans surpassed Europeans - until then the largest group - more than 1.3 million residents. Also in this period, there was an influx of people from Eastern Europe, mainly from Romania and Bulgaria (in 2005 around 400,000 people).

However, the peak of foreign population occurred in 2010, reaching 12.4%, among whom were people from China and Pakistan. That year, people from Latin America exceeded 1.5 million, those from Eastern Europe one million, and Africans (including the Maghreb, West Africa and other regions of the continent) another million.

Table 1. Percentage of foreigners out of the total population residing in Spain (1960-2018)

Year	Total Residents	Foreign Residents	% of foreign over total residents	Main Nationalities
1960	30582936	70000*	0,2	Mostly Europeans and some Moroccans
1970	33950047	100000*	0,3	Mostly Europeans and some Moroccans
1975	35569375	165000*	0,5	Mostly Europeans, Moroccans and people exiled from Latin American dictatorships
1985	38407829	287812	0,7	Mostly Europeans, Moroccans and people exiled from Latin American dictatorships (mainly from Argentina and Chile)
1996	39808374	542314	1,4	48% European Union (United Kingdom, Germany, Portugal and France); 15% Morocco; 13% Latin America, mainly Argentina)
2000	40470182	923879	2,3	40% European Union 15 (United Kingdom, Germany, France and Portugal); 19% Morocco; 15% Latin America (Peru, Colombia, Dominican Republic and Ecuador)
2005	43296335	3730610	8,6	35% Latin America (Ecuador, Colombia, Argentina and Bolivia); 20% European Union 15 (United Kingdom, Germany and Italy); 14% Morocco; 11% Eastern Europe (Romania and Bulgaria)
2010	46486621	5747734	12,4	27% Latin America (Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia and Peru); 21% European Union 15 (United Kingdom, Italy and Germany); 17% Eastern Europe (Romania and Bulgaria); 13% Morocco; 4% Asia (China and Pakistan)
2015	46449565	4729644	10,2	20% European Union (United Kingdom, Italy and Germany); 19% Eastern Europe (Romania and Bulgaria); 18% Latin America (Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia, Peru and Paraguay); 16% Morocco; 6% Asia (China and Pakistan)
2016	46557008	4618581	9,9	
2017	46572132	4572807	9,8	
2018	46722980	4734691	10	38% EU28; 23% Central and South America; 22% Africa, 9% Asia
2022	47475420	5542932	12	39% Europe (includes EU and non-EU citizens; 28% Central and South America; 22% Africa

Fuente: elaboración propia a partir de los datos del Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración y el INE (2022) (translated into English)

In 2012, the profiles of the foreign population changed. There were several causal factors. The most important was the economic crisis suffered by Spain between 2008 and 2014, which seriously affected the labour market and therefore the migrant population. As a consequence of this crisis, many people returned to their countries of

origin or migrated to other European countries. Simultaneously, immigration flows stopped.

Statistics make it possible to analyse the “migratory balance”, which is calculated by subtracting the departures from the country from the entries. The years prior to 2008 recorded a constant positive balance. Even that year the positive balance (of more people coming than leaving) came to more than 300,000 people.

Since 2009, the positive balance has decreased and since 2010 more people have left the country than entered it. Not all communities experienced a negative balance as a result of the crisis. Those with a negative balance are mainly Bolivian, Romanian, Ecuadorian, Argentinian, Portuguese, Moroccan and Bulgarian citizens. On the contrary, citizens of Venezuela, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Italy, Russia and the United Kingdom show a positive jump. However, the population that has left the country the most in recent years has been the Spanish, although we cannot determine how many of them are made up of naturalised foreigners.

In 2010, the foreign population began to decrease, to 9.8% in 2017, with a slight growth in 2018 (up to 10%). The entry into the European Union of several Eastern European countries increased the number of citizens from those countries, rising to 38% in 2018, leaving the Latin American population behind with 23% and the African population with 22%.

In 2022, the foreign population in Spain amounted to 12%. The profiles have not changed substantially, except for a 7% increase in the population from Latin America, mainly from Central America and the Caribbean, probably due to anti-democratic activities in Venezuela, El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua. Of the total foreign population, 50.1% are male and 49.9% female.

To understand certain changes in the migratory profiles in Spain, it is also necessary to explain the importance of the naturalisation of foreigners, who are currently Spanish.

Naturalisation has seen a gradual increase since 1995. There was a sudden rise between 2010 and 2013, the peak years of the Spanish economic crisis, followed by a subsequent but drastic drop in 2017 with similar numbers to 2002. Between 1995 and 2021 a total of 2,088,597 foreigners were naturalised. These people no longer appear in the statistics on foreigners, except in the Municipal Register of the INE in the data on "born abroad".

Table 2. Foreign population naturalised in Spain, according to year and sex (1995-2021)

Year	Total	Males	Females
1995	6756		
1996	8433		
1997	10310		
1998	13177		
1999	16384		
2000	11999		
2001	16743		
2002	21810		
2003*	26556	11740	14790
2004	38335	17457	20854
2005	42829	19174	23619
2006	62339	27655	34614
2007	71810	31857	39837
2008	84170	36476	47597
2009	79597	34010	45486
2010	123721	52991	70604
2011	114599	51217	63319
2012	115557	50843	64651
2013	225793	103087	122706
2014	205880	96043	109837
2015	114351	55197	59154
2016	150944	70489	80455
2017	66498	32748	33750
2018	90774	42786	47988
2019	98954	46600	52354
2020	126266	59107	67159
2021	144012	68879	75133
TOTAL	2088597	908356	1073907

Fuente: elaboración propia a partir de los datos del Observatorio Permanente de la Inmigración y el INE (2022).

There is a substantial difference between women and men in terms of naturalisation procedures. Women make up 54% of naturalised people, while men make up 46%.

Despite the greater difficulties for women to regularise their situation (working in the underground economy, without a labour contract for more than three years, working and living in the employers' homes, and on wages lower than those of migrant men, among others), they are naturalised to a greater extent.

The difference between women and men in obtaining Spanish nationality increased between 2008 and 2013, precisely coinciding with the country's economic crisis. Between 2008 and 2012, there was a difference of between 11,000 and 14,000 naturalisations in favour of women, reaching a peak in 2013, in which women's naturalisations exceeded those of men by 25,000.

Gender differences in terms of naturalisations could indicate that women have a greater need to stabilise their citizenship status and thereby ensure their stability and that of their families, especially of their children.

4. MIGRATIONS AND DIRECT POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: THE LIMITED RIGHT TO VOTE

Article 13 of the Spanish Constitution extends the right to vote to foreigners but refers its development to the Treaties or Laws that regulate it. This article also stipulates a restriction: that the norm that finally concretises said right meets criteria of reciprocity.

This clause was initially thought to favour the situation of Spanish emigrants abroad. However some of the changes that Spanish society has undergone, such as the increase in diversity as a result of the arrival and settlement of immigrants from the middle of 1980, have turned the constitutional mandate into an obstacle in terms of the recognition of the right to political participation for many of these people.

Derived from the constitutional mandate, Organic Law 5/1985, of June 19, on the General Electoral Regime, develops in its articles 176 and 177, the right to active and passive suffrage for foreigners, expressed in the following terms:

Article 176

1. *"Without prejudice to what is regulated in Title I, Chapter I, of this Law, foreign residents in Spain whose respective countries allow Spaniards to vote in said elections enjoy the right to vote in municipal elections, under the terms of a Treaty.*
2. *Likewise, all persons residing in Spain without having acquired Spanish nationality enjoy the right of active suffrage in municipal elections, if they:*
 - a) *have the status of citizens of the European Union as provided in paragraph 2 of section 1 of article 8 of the Treaty establishing the European Community.*
 - b) *meet the requirements to be a voter required by this Law for Spaniards and have expressed their willingness to exercise the right to active suffrage in Spain.*
3. *The Government will notify the Electoral Census Office of the list of foreign States whose nationals, residing in Spain, must be registered in the Census."*

Article 177

1. *"Without prejudice to the provisions of Chapter II of Title I of this Law, all persons residing in Spain without having acquired Spanish nationality, are eligible in municipal elections if they:*

- a. *have the status of citizens of the European Union as provided in paragraph 2 of section 1 of article 8 of the Constitutive Treaty of the European Community or are nationals of countries that grant Spanish citizens the right of passive suffrage in their municipal elections under the terms of a treaty.*
 - b. *meet the requirements to be eligible set forth in this Law for Spaniards.*
 - c. *have not been dispossessed of the right to passive suffrage in their State of origin.*
2. *Those who incur in any of the cases provided for in article 6 of this Law are ineligible for the position of mayor or councillor and, in addition, direct or subsidiary debtors of the corresponding Local Corporation against whom an enforcement order has been issued by resolution judicial".*

Both articles were modified by Organic Law 1/1997, of May 30, modifying the Organic Law of the General Electoral Regime for the transposition of Directive 94/80/CE, of Municipal Elections. The modification affected the extension of the right to vote to the citizens of the European Union as defined by the Constitutive Treaty of the European Community.

The Organic Law of the General Electoral Regime (LOREG) regulates the right to vote, proposing a new limitation. While the Constitution refers the regulation of the right and its possible limitations to the Treaties and Laws, the LOREG only refers to the Treaties, **which in practice has resulted in significant obstacles to the right to vote for foreigners and that can be summarised as follows:**

- In the case of non-EU foreigners, it is regulated in bilateral treaties with the countries of origin.
- These treaties are signed when said countries allow the Spanish to vote in municipal elections.
- Only EU citizens have the right to passive suffrage, non-EU citizens are excluded.
- To be voters, both one and the other must have expressed their desire to do so (by means of a formal declaration model) and, therefore, be registered in the Electoral Census of Foreign Residents (CERE).

For its part, the Immigration Law (4/2000) is expressed in similar terms, although it broadens the regulatory framework, alluding not only to international Treaties, but also to the Constitution or, where appropriate, the Law.

Article 6:

"1. Foreigners residing in Spain may be holders of the right to vote, in municipal elections, in the terms established in the Constitution, in international treaties, where appropriate, and in the Law.

2. Resident foreigners, registered in a municipality, have all the rights established for this concept in the local regime base legislation, and may be heard in matters that affect them in accordance with the provisions of the applicable regulations.

3. The Town Halls will incorporate the foreigners who have their habitual residence in the municipality into the register and will keep the information related to them up to date.

4. The public powers will facilitate the exercise of the right of suffrage of foreigners in the democratic electoral processes of the country of origin."

In addition to the requirements established by the LOREG for the exercise of the right to vote in the case of non-EU foreigners, the signed Bilateral Treaties⁴ expose others, which further restrict the possibilities of access. Among these are:

- Registration in the CERE will be essential in each new electoral process, not being permanent as in the case of European citizens.
- Having resided in Spain, legally and without interruption, for at least five years prior to the application for registration in the electoral roll.
- Exercising the right to vote in the municipality of their habitual residence, in whose register they must appear.

Currently, there are 39 nationalities residing in Spain qualified to vote, of which only 12 are non-EU. So far, bilateral treaties have been signed with the following non-EU countries: Bolivia, Cape Verde, Chile, Colombia, South Korea, Ecuador, Iceland, Norway, New Zealand, Paraguay, Peru, and Trinidad and Tobago. The diversity of countries of origin of migrants who reside in the country, with more than 180 different nationalities, contrasts with the fewer than 40 who have the right to vote and in many cases their access is very limited due to the requirements demanded.

⁴ Noruega (BOE 27-06-1991), Ecuador (BOE 05-01-2010), Colombia (21-01-2010), Nueva Zelanda (BOE 26-01-2010), Chile (BOE 09-02-2010), Perú (BOE 19-05-2010), Paraguay (BOE 21-06-2010), Islandia (BOE 16-12-2010), Bolivia (BOE 17-12-210), Cabo Verde (BOE 13-01-2011), Corea del Sur (BOE 06-07-2011) y Trinidad y Tobago (BOE 02-12-2011).

In addition to the right to vote, the right to political participation extends to other forms of participation to which foreigners who have the capacity to vote also have access unlike other foreigners. These forms are:

- The Referendum, which consists of “the mechanisms that submit a project or a decision to the verdict of the local community. Depending on the case, the referendum procedure is initiated either by local bodies (or a certain number of elected representatives), or by the citizens themselves (on the basis of a petition or a popular legislative initiative) presented by a minimum number of residents or voters. It is necessary to distinguish the consultative Referendum, whose result does not produce binding effects for local bodies, from the decisional Referendum, whose result binds local governments”. The referendum is the main mechanism of direct democracy, the topics that are dealt with can be very diverse, from issues related to the environment to issues related to integration or the European constitution.
- The Popular Consultation. The City Council can consult citizens about matters of municipal competence that are of special importance to the population, apart from those related to local finances. The consultation process is extended to the citizens of the municipality registered in the electoral census or to the city council.
- The Popular Initiative. According to the Council of Europe, this is an instrument that enables citizens to provoke, where appropriate, a decision of the deliberative body. The popular initiative can take the form of a proposal made in general terms or of a draft in all its aspects. The legal effects of the result of the scrutiny may vary.

All of the above is included within what is called direct political participation, but in a democracy, participation can also be indirect or take the form of citizen or civic participation. This includes the right to assembly, association, unionisation and demonstration. These rights are based on an idea of broad participation that includes different aspects that make up modern urban life. The Organic Law on Immigration 8/2000 limited the enjoyment of these rights to persons with residence authorisation, but Judgement 236/2007 of the Constitutional Court declared that said limitation is unconstitutional since it deals with rights that are part of the dignity of the person, so they should have been extended to all foreigners regardless of their legal status.

This step is of fundamental importance because it allows the recognition of civil rights beyond the national state and therefore calls into question some of its foundations. **Therefore, currently in Spain, the recognition of civil rights is legally established without discrimination, based on origin or legal situation.** The current Aliens Law is expressed in the following terms:

"Article 7. Freedom of assembly and demonstration

1. Foreigners have the right of assembly under the same conditions as Spaniards.

2. The promoters of meetings or demonstrations in places of public transit will notify the competent authority in advance as provided for in the Organic Law regulating the Right of Assembly, which may not prohibit it or propose its modification except for the reasons provided for in said Law.

Article 8. Freedom of association

All foreigners have the right of association under the same conditions as Spaniards.

Article 11. Freedom of association and strike

1. Foreigners have the right to unionise freely or to join a professional organisation, under the same conditions as Spanish workers.

2. Foreigners may exercise the right to strike under the same conditions as Spaniards."

Indirect participation can be formal or informal. Formal participation, also called institutional, includes consultation bodies (at national or local level) designed to represent the interests of foreigners, unions and work organisations, political parties and religious and citizen organisations. Informal forms of participation include initiatives by immigrants to defend their political, social and cultural interests regardless of institutional structures. One of the fundamental tools is the right to demonstrate. Other legally sanctioned forms of participation, in which foreigners with a residence permit can participate (here there is no distinction between those who have the right to vote or not) are:

- Community consultation mechanisms: means of dialogue and dialogue with representatives of formally organised groups or communities.
- Citizen committees: permanent bodies that meet regularly, whose functions are to formulate recommendations with respect to some committees of the municipal council (Plenary), and even to participate in the decision-making process. A distinction can be made between:
 - a. Thematic committees that discuss specific issues of interest to a community.

- b. Neighbourhood/area committees made up at least mostly of residents of a particular geographical area or neighbourhood. These can investigate services or issues of concern at the neighbourhood level; they may or may not have officials attached to them and may maintain close ties with the competent neighbourhood councillors or with the councillors in charge of the types of services under discussion.
- Advisory Committees: bodies created and recognised by the local administration, which serve as a means of expressing problems and requirements. They provide a communications channel with the administration, expressing opinions and proposing measures and constituting an institutionalised space for participation. It is an advisory body, appointed local authority and is part of the local administration. This is the model most used in Spanish municipalities.
- Sector Councils: participatory bodies that channel citizens' initiatives on specific issues of interest to the city, for example, education, culture, sport, environment and youth. For its constitution, a proposal by the mayor or mayoress or of 10% of those registered in the municipal file of entities is necessary.
- Territorial councils: bodies comparable to neighbourhood committees, for participation, consultation, information, control and proposals for municipal management, which allow the participation of residents, groups and entities from the same neighbourhood or territory in the co-management of the municipal services.
- City councils or municipal councils: participatory bodies from which the actions that affect the city as a whole are analysed and coordinated. Its main functions are to debate the general action plans, channel complaints and suggestions, issue reports, promote and carry out studies and make proposals on economic and local development, strategic planning of the city and large urban projects.
- Participatory budgets: mechanisms that contribute to defining the municipal budget, setting taxes and investments and monitoring its application, negotiating the result of the process with the municipal authorities, who must formally approve it.

Although there are a number of forms of political and civic participation in which migrants can take part, (even some without the requirement of a regular residence), various studies reveal problems when it comes to accessing them.

Migrants in an irregular administrative situation are excluded from most forms of participation and those who have recognised rights, (such as the right of assembly, association, unionisation, demonstration and strike), but do not have residence

authorisations are discouraged due to the fear of police control or raids. Most do not feel safe to openly participate in these activities.

Secondly, non-EU migrants in a regular situation can only vote in municipal elections if the Spanish State has signed a bilateral agreement with their countries of origin, if they have registered at the foreign voters' centre at each new electoral date and, in some municipalities, if they have resided for more than a certain time. These same requirements are demanded for the other forms of direct political participation (such as the referendum or the popular consultation) and in no case can they be elected as political representatives.

Thirdly, even groups that have legal rights of formal political participation, are prevented from taking part in practice due to their the working conditions, as in the case of domestic workers.

Fourthly, various alternative forms of participation exercised by the migrant population are not recognised, since they are not considered authorised or legitimised (when they are carried out, for example, outside the framework of the associations, in open and informal spaces or through mutual support networks). Spaces where they can express their religious beliefs serve as a binding factor for some migrants, but in general, communities are not usually consulted about citizenship and coexistence policies.

Fifthly, there is the important situation produced by Organic Law 4/2015, of March 30, for the protection of citizen security, known by social movements as **"The Gag Law" which, through sanctions and fines applied to certain behaviours on public roads, violates some of the main civil rights such as the right to demonstrate and assemble**. The law applies fines of between €600 and €60,000 to acts that it considers serious or very serious and that could be related to the exercise of participation, such as the following:

- Unannounced demonstrations or those prohibited in front of critical infrastructures.
- The serious disturbance of citizen security in demonstrations in front of Congress, the Senate and regional assemblies even though they were not meeting at the time of the demonstration.
- Causing disorder in the street or hindering it with barricades.

- Preventing any authority from legitimately exercising its functions in compliance with administrative or judicial resolutions. This point would sanction, for example, gatherings to prevent the execution of evictions.
- Disobedience or resistance to authority, as well as the refusal to identify oneself at the request of the authority or its agents.
- Refusal to dissolve meetings and demonstrations in places of public transit when ordered by the competent authorities when the assumptions of article 5 of the Law Regulating the Right of Assembly concur. Among these cases is "when public order disturbances endanger people or property", so this infraction could be used to penalise the so-called *escraches* (a type of direct action demonstration).
- Refusal to allow inspections in factories, premises, establishments, vessels and aircraft.
- Not collaborating with the Security Forces in the investigation of crimes or in the prevention of actions that may put citizen security at risk.

Several of these sanctioned acts directly affect migrants, many in an irregular administrative situation, who actively participate in movements in defense of rights and who demonstrate in various ways on public roads. This includes people who carry out street sales, such as the *top manta* (street sales on top of a blanket, usually selling imitation products). In addition, the Gag Law institutionalises "hot returns", which has been criticised by international organisations.

The government of Pedro Sánchez promised to repeal the Gag Law, but at the end of 2018 it announced that it did not consider its repeal feasible and that it would propose a modification, citing experts. However, the announcement of the end of the legislature, the advancement of the general elections in 2019 and the difficulties that have occurred in launching a coalition government until the summer 2023, suggest delays in these measures.

In addition to the obstacles to the formal or informal political participation of migrants, there are further circumstances that affect them based on gender. **Aliens policy has traditionally leaned towards favouring a type of migration fundamentally oriented to the labour market, so that the privileged migrant subject was for a long time a male who migrates alone, with the aim of working and fulfilling family breadwinner functions.**

Based on this condition, migrants were able to regroup their spouses and minor children, fulfilling a series of requirements, including a formal employment contract. **However, the labour sectors in which migrant women have been absorbed were characterised - and continue to be characterised today - by precariousness, the underground economy or weak labour regulations (such as the domestic and care employment sector),** which had an impact on the enormous difficulties of these, both to regularise their legal situation, and to regroup their families.

This has also indirectly affected the ability of migrant women to participate in the political life of their places of residence, due to various factors: administrative irregularity in the early years, the need for survival and dedication to obtain resources for the reunification of the family, and once the family is reunited, the difficulties of reconciling work and family life, leaving little room for personal, social and political life, among other factors. Gender operates, in the case of migrants, as a factor in inequality, as well as in their right to participate.

4.1. The reality of the right to vote for foreigners

The restrictions on the right to vote for non-EU foreigners meant that before 2011, they did not vote. The 2011 municipal elections could be considered the first they were able to access. This was due to the will of the government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero of the PSOE party who signed the bulk of international treaties during his term.

In these elections, of the 4,745,542 foreigners residing in the country at that time who were over 18 years of age, only 479,816 had the right to vote, because they were European citizens who had expressed their interest to vote by registering with the CERE (Census of Foreign Residents), or because they were non-EU citizens of countries with which Spain had signed bilateral treaties up to that time. The latter group comprised only 10% of the total number of possible voters (52,045 in absolute numbers).

Table 3. Voters from the EU and from countries with agreements for municipal elections and regional authorities of May 2011

Countries	Voters
TOTAL	479.816
Total European countries	427.771
Total non-EU countries	52.045
Iceland	28

Norway	829
Cape Verde	22
Bolivia	5.042
Colombia	12.632
Chile	1.249
Ecuador	25.668
Paraguay	645
Peru	5.897
New Zealand	33

Fuente: Censo Electoral, INE 2019

Four years later, in the 2015 municipal elections, there was not only a lack of improvement, but the situation actually worsened in terms of participation. Anticipating this situation, the INE sent an informative letter inviting foreigners with the right to vote to participate in the elections. However, the number of eligible foreign voters dropped to 464,074, of which non-EU voters were only 5% (22,765), half the number in the previous municipal elections. Of the total number of foreigners residing in the country in 2015 over the age of 18 (3,893,166), qualified voters accounted for 12%, a slight increase compared to the 2011 elections⁵, but with a considerable drop among non-EU citizens.

Table 4. Voters from the EU and from countries with agreements for municipal elections and regional authorities of May 2015

Countries	Voters
TOTAL	464.074
Total European countries	441.309
Total non-EU countries	22.765
Iceland	35
Norway	854
Cape Verde	112
Bolivia	3.952
Colombia	5.763
Chile	999
Ecuador	6.485
Paraguay	1.300
Peru	3.110
New Zealand	28
Trinidad and Tobago	2

Fuente: Censo Electoral, INE, 2019

⁵ Although the percentage of foreign voters increases by two points, what generally decreases is the number of foreigners residing in the country in relation to previous years, due to returns and nationalisations.

In the 2019 municipal elections, the number of foreign voters barely increased - by about 2,700 people, despite the fact that the total number of foreign residents in that year had risen by approximately 280,000 (from 3,893,166 to 4,176,219). Of the total number of foreign voters (464,074), there were 19,121 non-EU voters (a lower number than in the 2015 elections) and representing only 4.3% of the total number of voters born outside of Spain.

Table 5. Voters from the EU and from countries with agreements for municipal elections and regional authorities of May 2019

Countries	Voters
TOTAL	466.696
Total European countries	447.575
Total non-EU countries	2.473
Iceland	32
Norway	647
Cape Verde	92
Bolivia	3.086
Colombia	4.055
Chile	945
Ecuador	3.473
Paraguay	2.007
Peru	2.140
New Zealand	32
Trinidad and Tobago	1
Korea	138

Fuente: Censo Electoral, INE, 2023

In all these cases we are only talking about possible voters, since registration in the CERE does not mean that these people will later vote. This issue has not been properly investigated and it is difficult to establish precisely the voting behaviour of migrants, however there may be a lack of information (or misinformation) about the procedure, mainly the renewal of registration in the census at each electoral date.

Although the INE sends reminder letters, many migrants cite the fact that they have to move around because of the precarious nature of their work, which means they do not receive the letters. In addition, letters or information are disseminated in periods when elections are imminent, leaving very little leeway and no long-term awareness-raising outside of the election period.

Some migrant groups, such as internal domestic workers or those who work intensive shifts, have little chance of taking part in procedures during public administration

hours. Regarding the data, the surveys on post-election voting behaviour, generally prepared by the Center for Sociological Research (CIS), do not disaggregate by nationality, or else disaggregate this variable, but not in relation to the type of elections (autonomous, European and municipal).

4.2. Legal obstacles to the exercise of the right to direct political participation of non-EU foreigners

The law imposes totally unjustified restrictions on the right to vote for non-EU foreigners. The LOREG grants excessive power to bilateral treaties when in reality the Spanish Constitution does not make this exclusive delegation. The Constitution alludes to a normative development that can be carried out both by Law and by treaties. **This means that it is not even necessary to modify the Constitution or (re-)negotiate bilateral treaties to expand the right to vote. LOREG's exclusive reference to treaties is problematic for several reasons:**

- The need to satisfy the reciprocity requirement understood in terms set out by law, means that citizens who come from countries where municipal elections are simply not held because they are dictatorships, do not have the opportunity to vote in a country like Spain. Exercising the right to vote is especially important in these cases because, in addition to recognising their right, it serves as an example of democracy.
- There are countries in which Spanish citizens can vote, but in provincial elections because there are no municipal entities that are exposed to citizen scrutiny. In these cases, reciprocity treaties cannot be signed, with no flexibility.
- There are decentralised, federal countries, in which the decision on the right to vote for Spaniards is made by each province or autonomous region. As it is not a state decision, Spain has not been able to sign bilateral treaties with these countries. This is the case, for example, with Argentina.
- The unjustified requirement that non-EU foreigners register with the CERE in each new electoral process further reduces the chances of voting.
- These requirements impose a paradoxical situation in which it is possible for Spaniards to have the right to vote in foreign countries, while citizens of those countries living in Spain may find themselves in different situations regarding the right to vote: some with the recognized right and others without it. This leads to discrimination based on nationality concerning the right to suffrage, which could be unconstitutional (Article 14 of the Spanish Constitution).

In the international context, due to the continuity of certain regimes and the increase of those with a right-wing or populist orientation, the possibility of continuing to sign bilateral treaties are practically nil at this time. Korean citizens were included in the 2019 municipal elections, although the treaty with Korea was signed in 2011. No other bilateral treaty has been signed since then and it does not appear that the number of non-EU voters in the elections will increase in the next municipal elections of 2023.

The reciprocity requirement is the reason why to date Spain has not ratified the European Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at the Local Level, signed in Strasbourg on February 5, 1992. This criterion does not appear in the text of the Convention, which extends the right to all foreigners regardless of their state of origin, once a maximum period of five years of residence in the state has been completed.

Migrant collectives have organised around the issue of the right to vote in Spain. The Latin American Women's Network (Red Latinas), in their 2019 Political Forum⁶, strongly opposed the lack of recognition of this right. For their part, **sons and daughters of migrants, born in Spain but without Spanish nationality, have for some time been denouncing the obstacles they face in order to vote.** Considering that Spain is their country of birth and of which they feel part, they are excluded because their parents' country of origin has not signed a bilateral treaty on the right to vote.⁷

In Barcelona, the Platform for the right to vote carries out similar work, urging municipalities to guarantee the right to vote and to raise awareness of the need for migrants to participate politically to generate changes in society.⁸ Some of these platforms consider that the right to vote should be extended beyond municipal elections and include regional and state elections. They also consider the five-year period of residence in Spain to access this right too long and propose a six-month legal residence to be able to carry out the necessary procedures to vote. They also claim the right to active suffrage, as a means for the needs of migrants to be taken into account and channelled through more relevant policies.

⁶ Ver: <http://redlatinas.blogspot.com/2019/04/iii-foro-politico-2019.html>

⁷ "Votar es un derecho". Ver: <https://votaresunderecho.es/>

⁸ "Vot X Tothom". Ver: <https://votxtothom.wordpress.com/>

4.3. Political representation of foreigners in the Spanish municipal elections

There are practically no studies into the political representation of foreigners in Spain. **An investigation published by the CIS in 2014, which specifically analysed this issue in the municipal elections of 2003, 2007 and 2011, shows minimal percentages of mayors and councillors among this population.**

The study was based on a survey sent to political parties in all Spanish municipalities with more than 1,000 inhabitants. What is interesting about this study is that it focused mainly on non-EU foreigners who had become Spanish nationals. Of the total number of candidates included in the lists, only 1% were of non-EU immigrant origin, but the underrepresentation of immigrants was even more notable for the number of positions to which they were finally elected, which accounted for only 0.5% of the total number of councillors in the three analysed municipal elections.

In absolute numbers, a total of 6,497 candidates appeared on the electoral lists, of whom 79 were of foreign origin (37 of Latin American origin, 21 Romanian and 21 of other nationalities). From the lists, 2,068 councillors were elected, of whom only nine were of migrant origin. The citizens with a Latin American background were the majority both in the electoral lists and among elected councillors. However, as another similar study shows, non-EU people of foreign origin who are Spanish nationals tend to appear on the electoral lists in the last positions or fill-in, which is why they are very often left out in the electoral results.

The study also detected differences in the percentage of foreigners on the electoral lists of political parties, but this difference does not seem to be due to a division between left and right. The party that presented the most foreigners was Coalición Canaria (with 6.5%) followed by UPyD (2.7%), PP (1.2%), IU (1%), PSOE (0.8%) and CiU (0.7), among the most representative in the country. **Non-state and political parties with fewer votes had higher percentages of people of foreign origin on their electoral lists.**

The difference between citizens of EU and non-EU background is great. The Registry of Local Entities of the Ministry of Territorial Policy publishes the lists of councillors and mayors throughout the country. In 2009, this registry reported that there were only two mayors and 85 foreign councillors, but in all these cases they were Europeans, mainly British and German.⁹ This registry did not publish any similar report for the 2015 or 2019 elections, so it is not possible to know the number of foreign mayors and councillors during these years.

⁹ Registro de Entidades Locales del Ministerio de Política Territorial. Ministerio de Política Territorial y Función Pública. Ver: http://www.mptfp.gob.es/portal/prensa/notas_de_prensa/notas/2009/08/20090807.html

A European project that evaluates the direct political participation of migrants in several countries in the region, concludes that in the case of Spain the parties have not designed a quota policy to encourage the participation of groups traditionally marginalised, except in the case of quotas with a gender perspective.¹⁰

The emergence of new political parties from the social mobilisations of 15M of 2011, changed the landscape of political participation of migrants. There is a general idea that they have actively participated in the construction of parties like Podemos. More critical voices point out that Podemos could have taken advantage of this collective process to capture what was initially a political movement. There is no study that analyses the impact of the political representation of people either foreign or of foreign origin both in these elections and in those of 2015 and 2019, so no reliable data can be provided on the subject.

In relation to migrants in Spanish partisan politics, it is worth noting highly relevant figures with a migration background. Pablo Echenique Robba, secretary of the Podemos Organisation in Spain, who was general secretary of Podemos in Aragon between 2015 and 2017. In 2014, he was elected member of the European Parliament and is currently a deputy in the Cortes of Aragon. Other significant figures include Rommy Arce, of Peruvian origin, councillor of Ahora Madrid during the mandate of Manuela Carmena in the City Council. Gabriel Paduraru, of Romanian origin, is a Ciudadanos councillor in the Castellón City Council.

In the Congress of Deputies, during the 2016-2019 legislature, the deputy was Rita Bosaho Gori, of Equatorial Guinean origin, deputy of Podemos for Alicante. Bosaho positioned herself as the first racialised woman deputy in Spain. Currently, she is General Director for Equal Treatment and Racial Ethnic Diversity of the Ministry of Equality.

In 2004, a Colombian woman deputy, Yolanda Villavicencio, entered the Madrid Assembly for the first time, and was seconded by Julia Martínez, of Paraguayan origin, and later followed by Mónica Silvana González, federal secretary for Diversity and Social Movements of the PSOE. Iris Urquidi, of Bolivian origin, achieved the number nine position on the Ahora Madrid list in the City Council in 2015, however she had to resign as councillor for not having Spanish nationality.

During the April 2019 general elections, three people of foreign origin stood: Luc André Diouf, a Senegalese who won a PSOE seat for Las Palmas; María Carvalho Dantas,

¹⁰ "Pathways to Power: The Political Representation of Citizens of Immigrant Origin in Seven European Democracies". The principal investigators are Prof. Manlio Cinalli (SciencesPo), Prof. Laura Morales (Leicester), Prof. Thomas Saalfeld (Bamberg), and Prof. Jean Tillie (Netherlands). Ver: http://pathways.eu/?page_id=3659

Brazilian, from Esquerra Republicana (ERC); Gerardo Pisarello, from En Comú, of Argentine origin, previously advisor to Ada Colau in the Barcelona City Council and currently a Deputy for this group. **Diversity is increasingly common in Spanish politics, although proportionally in relation to the foreign resident population it is far from being representative.**

5. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF PEOPLE OF MIGRANT ORIGIN IN SPAIN. QUANTITATIVE STUDY

This section presents the results of a quantitative study on the political participation of the migrant population in Spain. Taking into account the objectives set by the WE-EMPOWER Project in the first phase, this study responds to the need to know the opinion of migrants in general, and migrant women in particular, on politics in the country, the different modalities of participation and their training needs. More specifically, the survey was based on the following specific objectives:

1. To study the awareness of certain nationalities of their rights in relation to voting in municipal elections and the formal process set out for exercising these rights.
2. Analysis of electoral participation in municipal elections of persons born abroad in the last elections held or in the last elections held before they obtained Spanish nationality if they are naturalised: their opinion on the process and motivations, both for participating and for not participating.
3. Analysis of electoral participation once Spanish nationality has been obtained: memory of voting in the last general elections, current voting intentions for a hypothetical general election.
4. Interest in and value attached to participation in electoral processes.
5. Analysis of other forms of political participation: knowledge, interest and practices.
6. Difficulties and barriers to active participation in Spanish society.

5.1. Study fact sheet

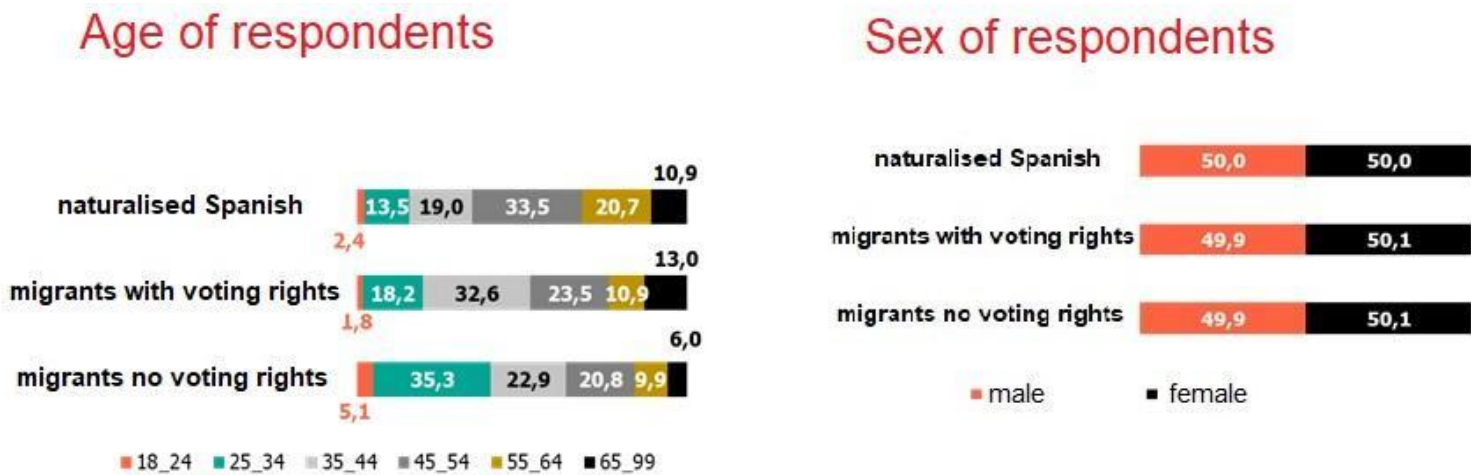
This study looks at the population over 18 years of age resident in Spain, born abroad and residents throughout the national territory. Initially, the sample consisted of 1,400 interviews. In the end, a total of 1,351 interviews were considered valid (error for overall data of +2.67 points*). We took into account the distribution according to country of origin, area of current residence, gender and age. For the sample to be representative of migrations in Spain, it was designed with three different profiles: people born abroad who obtained Spanish citizenship (naturalised Spanish); migrants

residing in the country with the right to vote; and resident migrants without the right to vote (including undocumented people).

The interviews were mainly self-administered through a panel of internet users, although personal interviews were necessary to access some groups (see questionnaires in Annex).

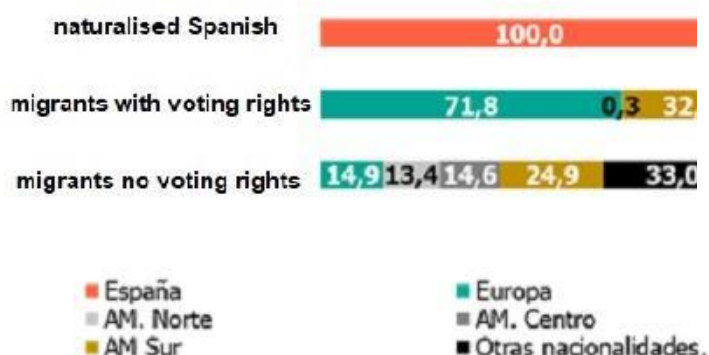
5.2. Characterisation of the sample

In the three sub-samples, the participation of men and women is practically identical, a clear reflection of the weighting process. With regard to age, the three groups of migrants show considerable differences: the youngest group is composed of migrants without voting rights (40.4% are under 35 years old, and only 15.9% are aged 55 or over). By contrast, naturalised migrants are the oldest: those under 35 account for 16%, while those over 55 account for 32%. In the middle, between naturalised and migrants without voting rights, are migrants with voting rights, with 20% under 35 and 24% over 55.

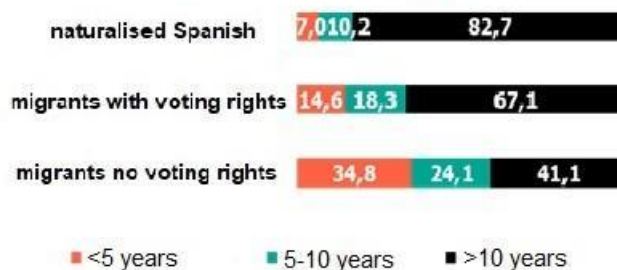


Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho a voto: 336)

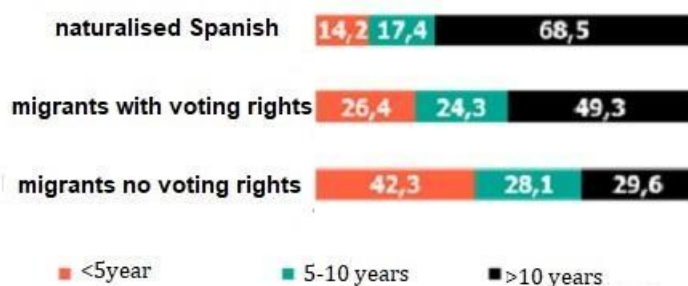
Nationality of respondents



Time of residency in Spain



Years of residence in the current municipality



Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho a voto: 336)

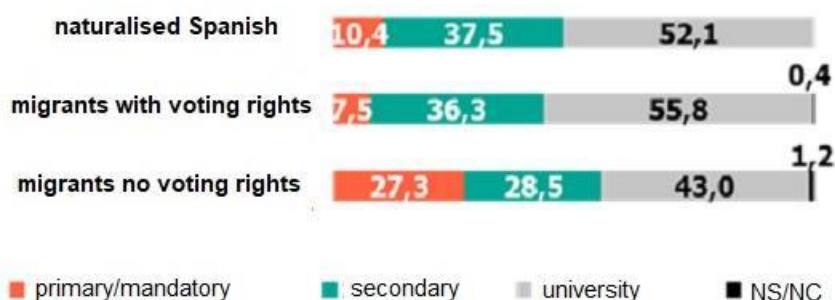
Among naturalised persons and those with the right to vote, there is a considerable difference in the age of men and women: in both cases, women are younger (naturalised: 42.3% of women are under 45 years old, as opposed to 27.5% of men. In the same age groups, women with the right to vote represent 62.2%, as opposed to 42.9%) of men. In contrast, among migrants without voting rights, the ages of men and women are similar (65.7% of men and 60.9% of women are under 45).

In terms of nationality, among migrants with the right to vote, the largest group is people of European origin (71.8%), while among migrants without the right to vote, with a much greater dispersion, the largest group is made up of people with a South American nationality (24.9%). If we add Asian and African nationalities, this number increases to 33%.

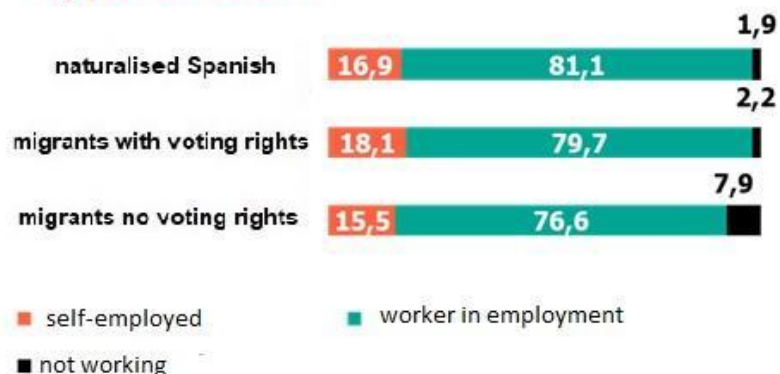
The length of residence in Spain is also different for the three sub-groups of migrants: naturalised and those with voting rights have been residing in Spain for longer (82.7% of naturalised migrants and 67.1% of those with voting rights have been in Spain for more than 10 years). Among migrant women without the right to vote, these periods of residence drop to 41.1%. There is a close correlation between age and years of residence, with the youngest groups having been in Spain for the shortest period of time. This trend is also clear if the number of years of residence in the current municipality is analysed: 68.5% of those with Spanish nationality, 49.3% of those with the right to vote, and 29.6% of those without this right have been residing in Spain for more than 10 years.

The concentration of the three groups in the Community of Madrid, Catalonia, and the Community of Valencia is high. In addition, there is a strong presence of naturalised migrants in Andalusia (13.4%). The three groups are distributed in a similar way in all municipalities classified according to their size, although the concentration of migrants without voting rights is higher in municipalities with more than 500,000 inhabitants. In these municipalities, 42.2% are without voting rights, 32.7% have voting rights and 29.8% are naturalised migrants.

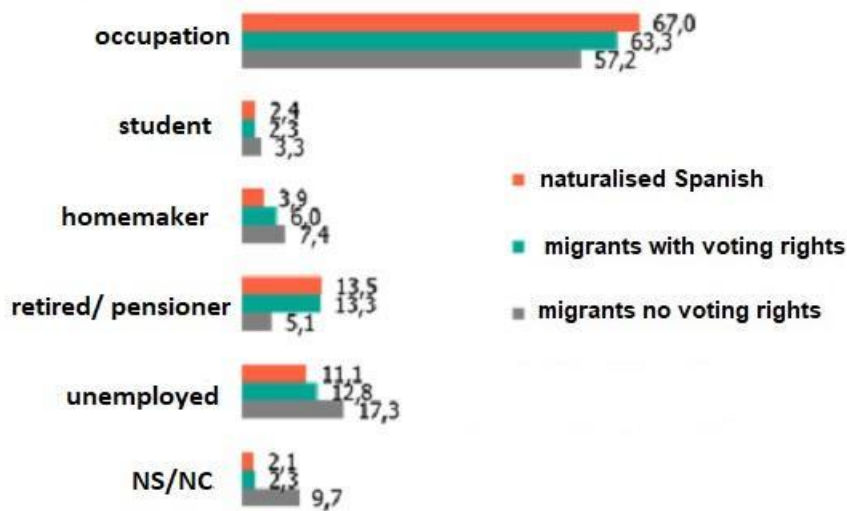
Education Level



Type of Work



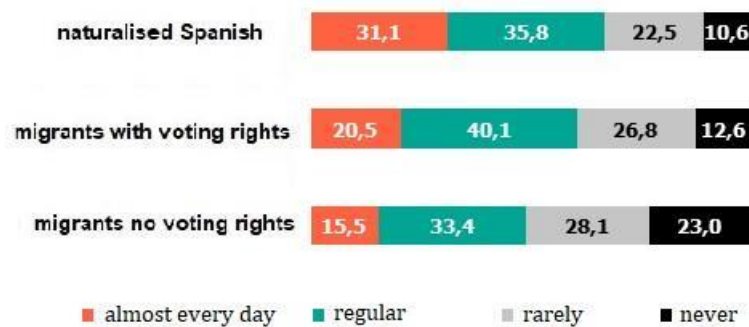
Employment situation



Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho a voto: 336)

5.3. Information and interest in politics

Frequency of reading about topics of the municipality or autonomous community in which you live



P1. ¿Con qué frecuencia lee periódicos, ve o escucha programas de televisión o radio sobre asuntos de interés público relativos a...

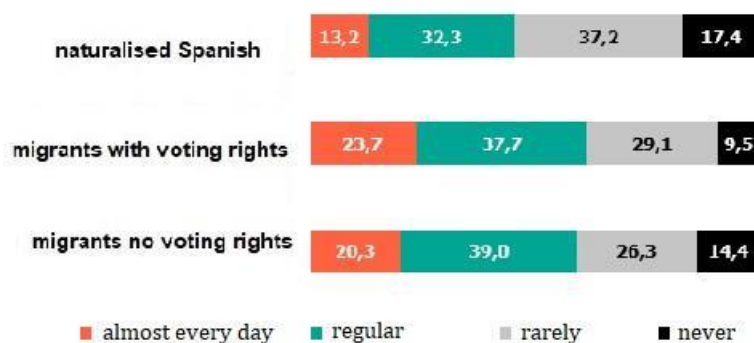
Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho. a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho. a voto: 336)

Naturalised persons or migrants with the right to vote more frequently consume local or regional news (66.9% and 60.6%, respectively) than migrants without the right to vote (48.9%). In fact, in the latter group, almost one in four (23.0%) stated that they never read, watch, or listen to the media to find out about the issues closest to them.

In all three groups, the relationship with local or regional information increases as the age of the person increases. Those up to 34 years of age access this information the least when compared with the older age groups. The number who 'never' access news is 24.5% among naturalised persons, 32.4% among migrants without the right to vote and 11% among young people with the right to vote.

The greatest disconnection from local and regional issues among migrants with the right to vote is found among people of non-European origin (19.3%, compared to 10% among those of European origin). In the case of migrants without the right to vote, 31% of those who are not from Central or South America and 26.3% of those who have been living in Spain for less than ten years are disconnected from local and regional news.

Frequency of reading: Spanish topics



Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho a voto: 336)
P1. ¿Con qué frecuencia lee periódicos, ve o escucha programas de televisión o radio sobre asuntos de interés público relativos a...

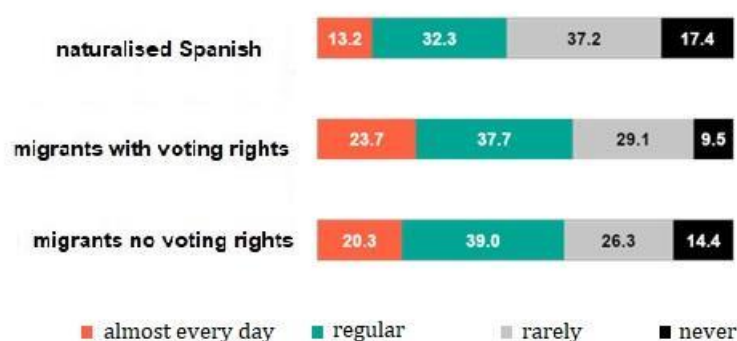
In all three groups, national information seems to be of greater interest than local or community information.

In the case of the group of naturalised persons, daily reading is reported by slightly less than half of the group (44.2%). This rate drops slightly among migrants with voting rights (36.4%) and even more among migrants without voting rights (23.8%). The monitoring of this information on a regular, though not daily basis is reported by slightly less than two out of five people in the three groups.

The rate of total disconnection (never read, watch or listen to information about Spain) is considerably lower than that observed with local or regional information. Those who consume the least national news are:

- Legal migrants of non-European origin (13.7%)
- Among those who do not have the right to vote: young women (27%), those who are not of Latin American origin (25.2%) and those who have been resident in Spain for less than 10 years (26.3%).

Frequency of reading: topics from country of origin



Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho. a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho. a voto: 336)

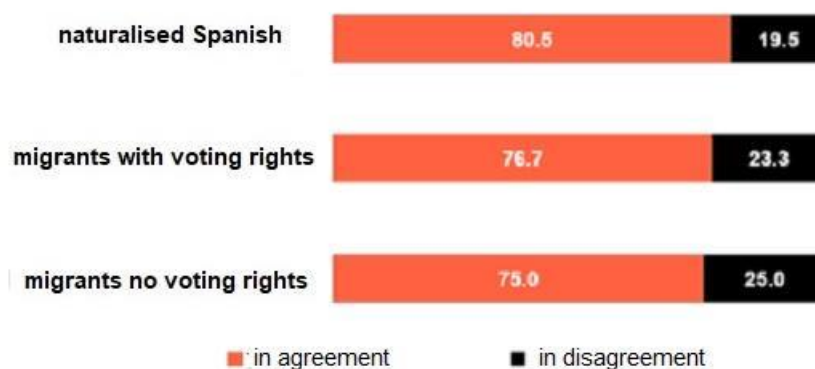
P1. ¿Con qué frecuencia lee periódicos, ve o escucha programas de televisión o radio sobre asuntos de interés público relativos a...

Naturalised persons are the least likely to regularly monitor information from their countries of origin (45.5%). This is in contrast to both local and national monitoring which exceeded 65%.

There is a similar difference between the two groups regarding the monitoring of information about their country of origin: six out of 10 do so regularly, although, in both cases it is lower than the monitoring of information about Spain. The difference (in terms of monitoring information about Spain) is much higher among migrants with voting rights (14 percentage points higher) than among those without voting rights (three percentage points higher).

Also, interest in issues from the country of origin is related to age (the older the higher the interest) and to the time spent in Spain (the shorter the time spent in Spain, the greater the interest).

Degree of agreement with: “Politicians don't care about what people like me think and how they think”



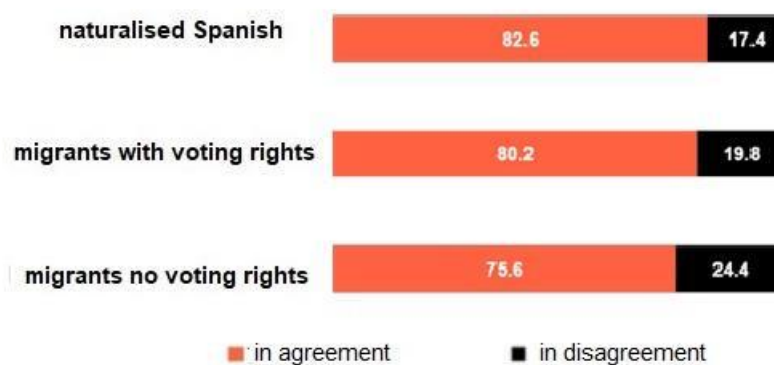
Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho. a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho. a voto: 336)

P2. Por favor, dígame si está usted de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con cada una de las siguientes afirmaciones

All three groups have a very similar perception of politicians' concern for them: the majority (between 75% and 81%) agree that they "do not care". This is the majority opinion in all the subgroups and is similar in terms of gender, origin or length of residence for each of the three groups of migrants studied.

The only factor that creates an appreciable difference is being over 65 years of age. Among this age group, agreement with this statement drops considerably, whether they have the right to vote (65.2%) or not (54.3%).

Degree of agreement with: “Politics has a great influence on the life of every citizen”



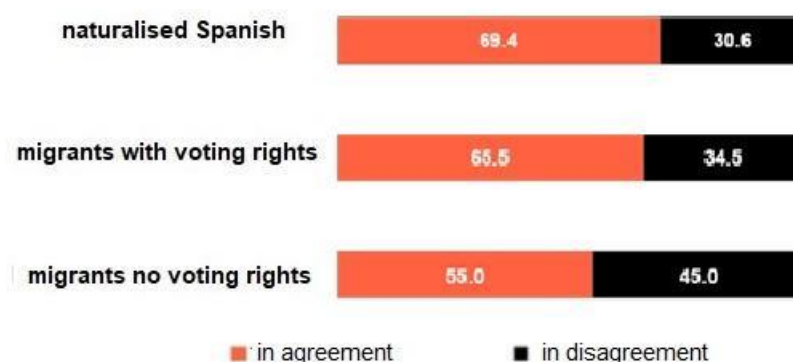
Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho a voto: 336)

P2. Por favor, dígame si está usted de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con cada una de las siguientes afirmaciones

Agreement on how much politics affects citizens' lives is very high and homogeneous among the three groups studied. Among naturalised persons, only age affects opinion, with those between 25 and 34 years of age being the least likely to agree with the statement (74.1%) and those between 55 and 64 years of age expressing the greatest agreement (90.8%).

In the case of migrants without the right to vote in Spain, the only variable that establishes significant differences is the length of residence in Spain: agreement with the statement rises to 81.9% among those who have been in Spain for more than 10 years.

Degree of agreement with: "I am interested in current political issues"



Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho. a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho. a voto: 336)

P2. Por favor, dígame si está usted de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con cada una de las siguientes afirmaciones

Current political issues are of interest to the majority in all three categories of migrants. Interest is significantly higher among citizens (69.4%), while those who do not have the right to vote are less interested (55.0%).

In all three groups, the influence of age is evident, with interest in political news increasing with age. Thus, among those over 65 years of age, interest exceeds 80% (93.1% naturalised migrants, 83.3% with the right to vote and 91.9% without the right to vote).

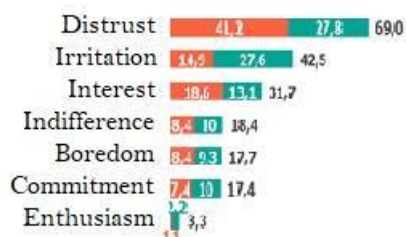
Among those who do not have the right to vote, in addition to age, there are considerable differences depending on origin. Those from Central or South America (65.5%) and those who have been living in Spain for more than 10 years (67.1%) show the greatest differences between the three categories.

Feelings inspired by politics

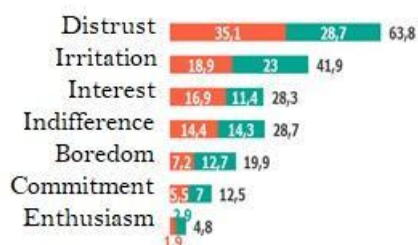
Naturalised Spanish



Migrants with voting rights



Migrants without voting rights

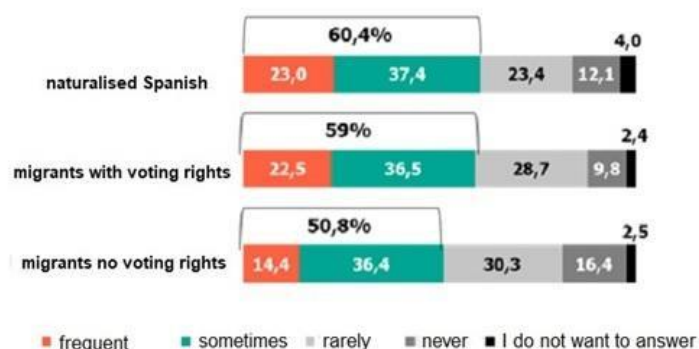


Base: Muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho. a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho. a voto: 336)
P3. De los siguientes, ¿qué sentimientos le inspira a Ud., principalmente, la política? (1ª y 2ª mención)

The feelings inspired by politics are similar in the three groups. The three feelings that politics inspires most are 'distrust', 'irritation' and 'interest'. In the case of migrants without the right to vote, interest comes in fourth place, slightly surpassed by 'indifference'. Of the positive feelings, 'interest' is always higher than 'commitment' or 'enthusiasm', and among negative feelings, 'distrust' is higher than 'irritation' and 'indifference' or 'boredom'.

In each of the groups, only the length of residence in Spain generates clear differences in feelings, especially indifference. This feeling is significantly lower when people have lived in Spain for more than 10 years: it is 10.9 points lower among naturalised citizens, 7.5 points lower among those who have the right to vote and 8.8 points lower among those who do not have this right.

Frequency of Political Conversations



Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho. a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho. a voto: 336)

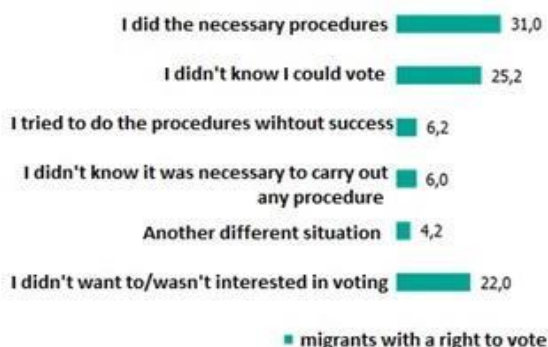
P4. ¿Con qué frecuencia hablan de política cuando Ud.: se reúne con sus amigos, parientes, vecinos, compañeros de trabajo, compañeros de estudio u otros conocidos?

None of the three groups have a majority in which they have frequent conversations about politics but the majority say that they do have them sometimes or frequently. Conversations about politics increase when their ability to participate in elections appears likely, even if it is limited. **Among the group of naturalised persons there are hardly any differences between men and women, but there are differences according to age. Very few people under 35 years of age have frequent political conversation (7.7%) compared to those aged 55 and over (27.7%).**

Among migrants eligible to vote, men have more frequent political conversations (26.8%) than women (18.2%). A significantly larger number of people over 55 (40%) discuss politics frequently. Among the people without the right to vote, the percentage also rises with people aged 55 and over (34.5%).

5.4. Electoral participation

Experience with trying to vote in the last municipal elections



Base: Podían votar en el momento de las elecciones (Migrantes dcho. a voto: 482)

PS. El 26 de mayo de 2019 se celebraron las últimas elecciones municipales ¿podría decirme cuál de las siguientes situaciones describe mejor su caso?

Only one in three people (naturalised or migrants) with the right to vote in the 2019 municipal elections, carried out the necessary steps to enable them to vote.

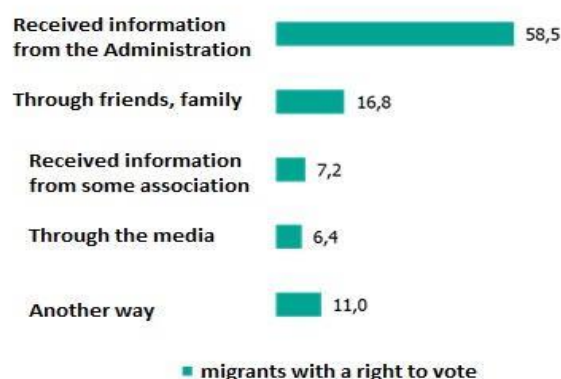
If we analyse the group of migrants with the right to vote (only 18 had not obtained nationality in the last municipal elections), the most common factor is their lack of knowledge about their right to vote. Only 25.2% of migrants in this group were aware of this right and 22% were not interested in participating (22%).

Men show a greater interest in participating: 37.7% carried out the necessary formalities compared to 23.9% of women. On the other hand, the proportion of those who had done so increased progressively with age (57.8% among those aged 65 and over).

Communication prior to the voting process

Base: Hizo los trámites o lo intentó (Migrantes dcho. a voto: 162)

P6. ¿Cómo supo usted que era necesario expresar su voluntad de votar en España para figurar en el censo electoral y poder votar?

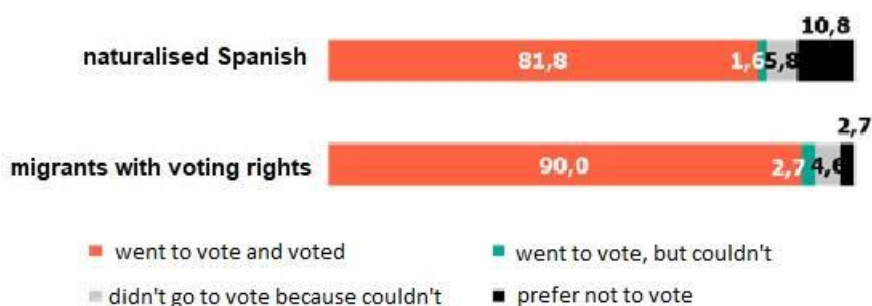


The main source of information on the voting process was via formal correspondence: 58.5% received information directly from a public administration body. The second source of information was informal through personal relations (16.8%).

The government's communications seem much more effective as the age of potential voters increases, with the number of people who mention it as a source of information rising progressively from 37.3% among the youngest to 77% among the oldest.

Voting experience in the last municipal elections

Base: Hizo los trámites (Personas nacionalizadas: 427; Migrantes dcho a voto que solicitaron el voto: 135)
P8. ¿En las últimas elecciones municipales, las del 26 de mayo de 2019 usted...



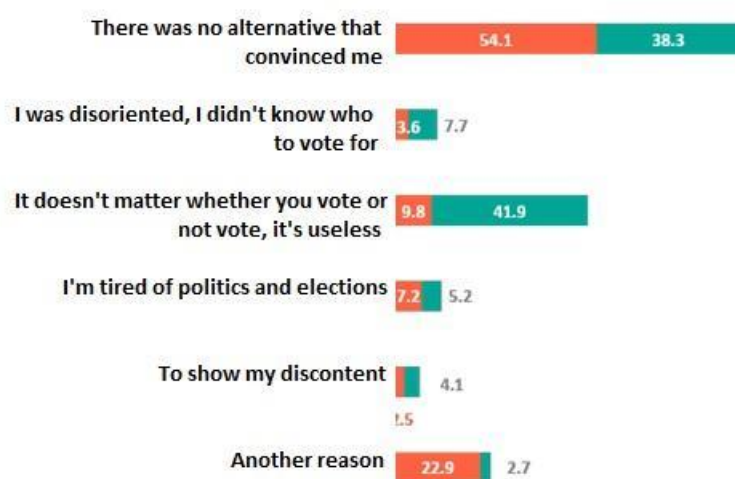
Voter turnout in the last municipal elections was very high among naturalised migrants, with 81.8% stating that they voted.

Participation increases with the age of the naturalised persons (from 58% among the youngest to 92% among those over 65 years of age). Participation is also higher when the stay in Spain is longer than 10 years (83.2%, compared to 67.8% among those who have been living in the country for less than 10 years).

Among migrant women with the right to vote, the participation of those who had completed the necessary formalities was even higher (90%), although regarding the overall group, this suggests that 26% exercised their right.

If, as we saw above, older people are more likely to carry out the necessary procedures prior to voting, they are also more likely to participate: 73.2% of those under 35 years of age participated, while this rate increases to 85% for those over 35.

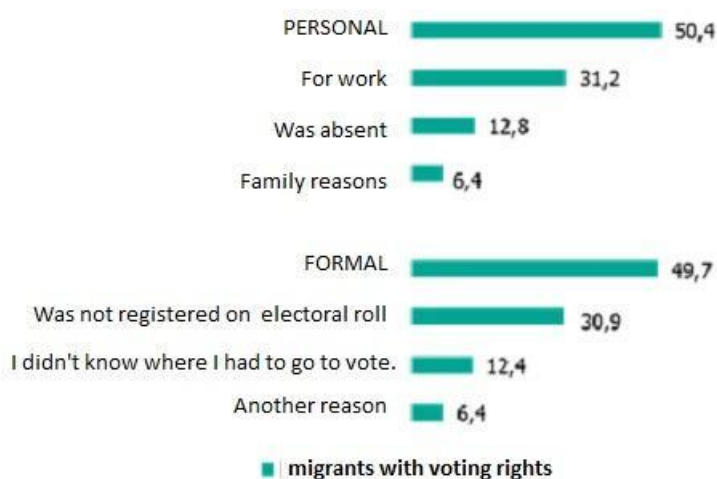
Reason for not voting in the last local elections



Base: sin voto (Personas nacionalizadas: 44)
*. Base demasiado pequeña
P9. ¿Cuál fue la razón que le impulsó a no votar en las pasadas elecciones municipales del 26 de mayo de 2019?
Posible respuesta múltiple

Practically all the naturalised persons who did not vote in the last elections (18% of the total) said no political alternative was of interest to them (92.4%). More than half of those had the feeling that voting is useless (52%). To a much smaller extent, reasons such as disorientation, weariness or dissatisfaction with politics are mentioned by between 7% and 12%.

Reason you could not vote

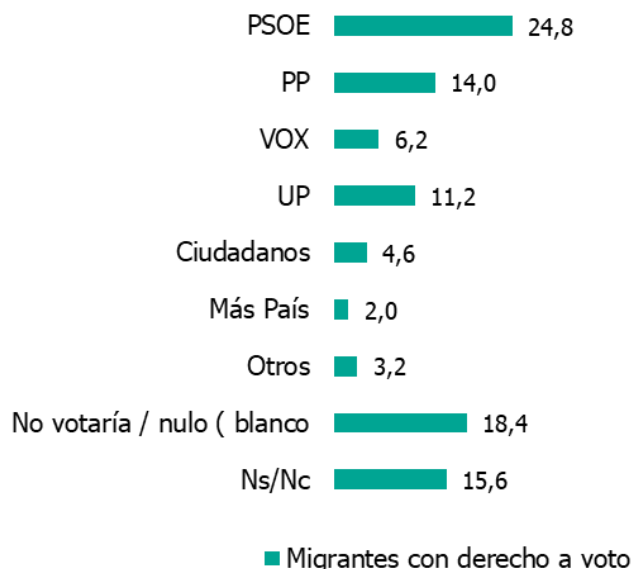


Base: No pudo votar Migrantes dcho a voto: 11*) *Base muy reducida
P10. ¿Me podría decir cuál de las siguientes razones le impidió votar?

Although the sample sizes (of barriers to voting) are very small (few eligible migrants did not exercise their right after applying to vote), the main results are:

- Both personal and formal barriers were similarly weighted: about half did not vote because of personal issues and half because of formal barriers.
- Of the personal reasons, those concerning work-related problems that made it impossible to exercise the right to vote stand out (31.2%).
- Among the formal barriers, the most common is not being registered on the electoral roll (30.9%), followed by not knowing where to go to vote (12.4%).

Intention to vote if possible



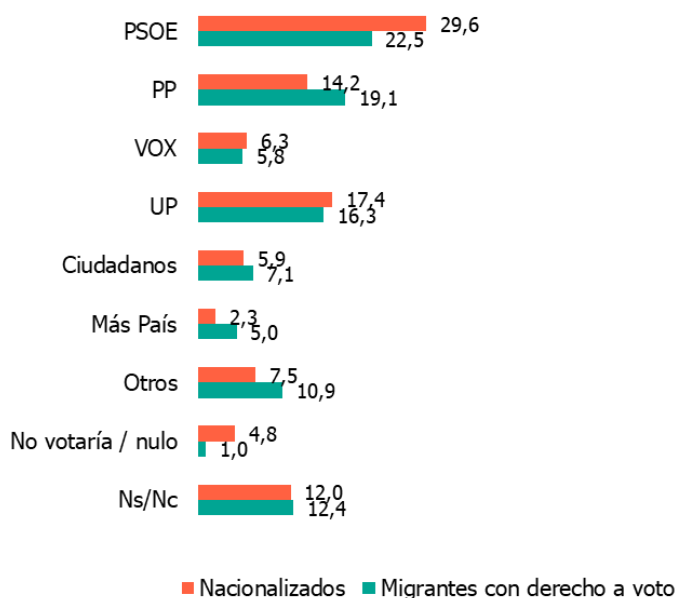
Base: Tenía derecho y no votó (Migrantes dcho. a voto: 248)

P11. En el caso de que hubiera podido votar ¿A qué partido habría votado en caso de haber podido hacerlo?

If migrants with the right to vote (Migrantes con derecho a voto) who did not vote in the last municipal elections – except those who say they did not want to vote (which represents 48% of the total) – had voted, the PSOE would have had the most votes (24.8%), followed by the PP (14%) and, in third place, UNO Podemos (11.2%).

A considerable number say that they would not have voted at all or would not have voted for any candidate (18.4%). The percentage of people who do not know what their choice would have been is also considerable (15.6%).

Party you voted for in the last local elections



Base: Votó (Personas nacionalizadas: 366; Migrantes dcho. a voto: 121)

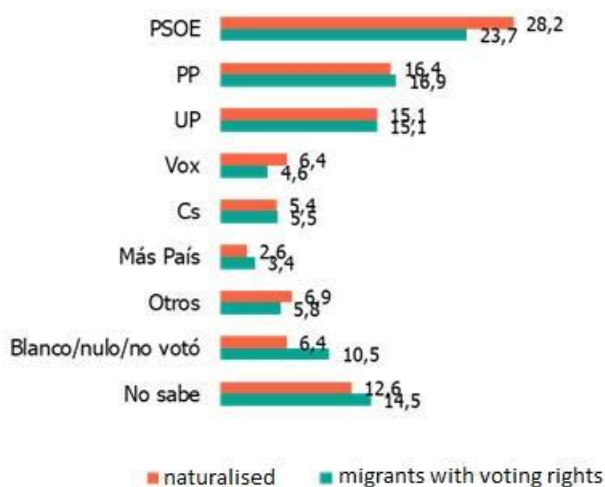
P12. ¿Podría decirme el nombre del partido o coalición por el cual votó usted en las elecciones municipales del 26 de mayo de 2019?

Among those who voted, the most popular option was the PSOE, both among naturalised (29.6%) and non-naturalised voters (22.5%). Among naturalised persons, the second most popular option was UN Podemos (17.4%), while among non-naturalised persons it was the PP (19.1%). In both groups, 6% opted to vote for the far right.

Men and women have different voting behaviour, especially with respect to some parties: In the case of naturalised people, 9.4% of men opted for Vox, compared to 3.4% of women.

In the case of non-naturalised persons, although there are also more men than women opting for Vox, the difference does not reach statistical significance (6.7% of men vs. 4.3% of women), the biggest difference is in the choice of Unidas Podemos: 24.8% of women choose this party, compared to 11.1% of men.

Voting intention + effective vote in the last municipal elections



Base: Nacionalizados: 390; Migrantes dcho. un voto: 325

P12. ¿Podría decirme el nombre del partido o coalición por el cual votó usted en las elecciones municipales del 26 de mayo de 2019?

To find out the overall positioning of preferences with respect to the main parties, we have combined the voting intentions of those who did not vote and the actual vote.

The preference for the PSOE is clear in both groups, followed by very similar proportions opting for PP or for Unidas Podemos.

Far behind these parties is Vox, which would be the fourth choice in the preferences of naturalised people (6.4%) and the fifth, behind Más País among non-naturalised people.

Party you voted for in the last general election



Base: nacionalizados hace más de dos años (444)

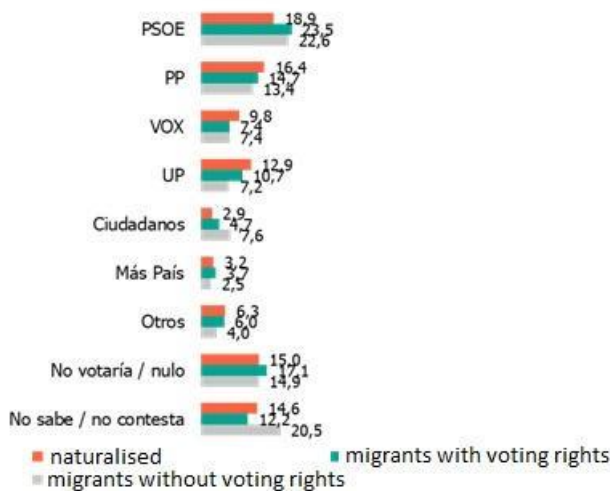
P14. Pensando ahora en las elecciones generales del 10 de noviembre de 2019 ¿Votó usted? ¿A quién votó?

Of the 444 people who already had Spanish nationality in November 2019 and who were mostly eligible to vote in the last general elections (10 of them obtained it after 10 November) 85.5% responded about their voting behaviour in those elections:

- 12.4% abstained, most due to their own decision (7.7%).
- The majority went to vote and chose a particular candidate (69.9%).
- The PSOE won the most votes (27.8%), followed by Unidas Podemos (11.6%) and the PP (10.6%).
- In fourth place is Vox, elected by 7.4%.

According to their socio-demographic characteristics, the two most important differences are: the greater choice of Vox among men (11.1% compared to 3.6% among women) and the greater choice of the PP among those who have been living in Spain for more than 10 years (11.8%), compared to only 0.6% among those who have lived in Spain for less than 10 years.

Voting intention for the next general elections



Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho. a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho. a voto: 336)
P22. Y si finalmente decidiera ir a votar ¿A qué partido o coalición política cree que votaría usted en esas Elecciones Generales al Parlamento Español?

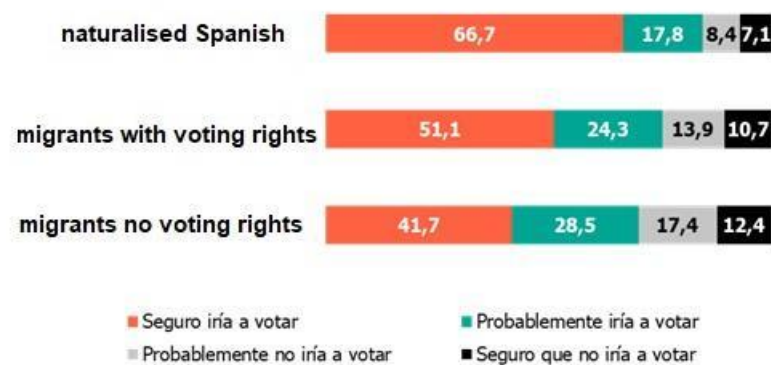
Voting intentions for the next General Election among nationals, the only ones who will be able to vote under current legislation, can be summarised as follows:

- Participation of at least 70.4% (on the assumption that all non-respondents are abstentionists).

- The most voted party would be the PSOE (18.9%), with the PP 2.5 percentage points behind. In third position would be Unidas Podemos (12.9%) and in fourth would be Vox (9.8%).
- Grouping the information into the traditional left/right blocs: the left (PSOE, UP, Más País) would get 35% of the vote and the right (PP, Vox, Cs) 29.1%. A difference in favour of the left bloc of 5.9 percentage points.

The behaviour of migrants who will not be able to vote is similar. The difference between left/right blocs increases among voters entitled to vote in the municipal elections (11.1 points) as a consequence of the increase of the PSOE. On the contrary, among those who are not entitled to vote, the distance between blocs narrows (3.9 points). In this case, this was mainly due to the fall of UP.

Probability of voting in a general election



Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho a voto: 336)
P21. Si el domingo se celebraran las próximas Elecciones Generales al Parlamento Español [si no nacionalidad española: y usted pudiera votar] ¿Cómo de probable cree usted que sería que usted fuera a votar?

Two out of three naturalised persons say that they will vote in the general elections (67%). More than four out of five (85%) of this group say they are very likely to vote.

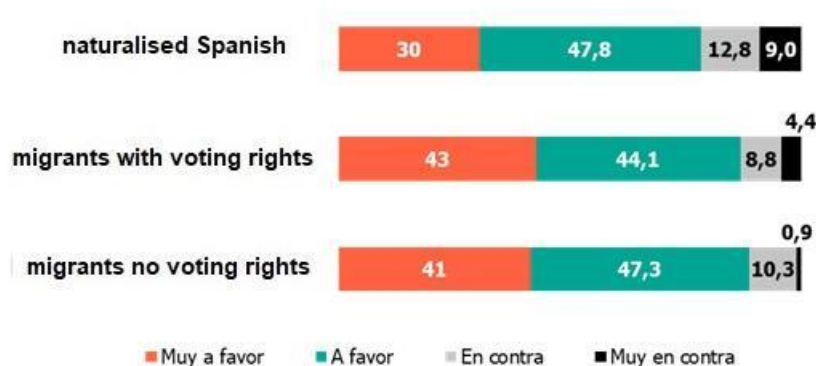
This positive probability of voting drops by almost 10 points among migrants with voting rights (75.4%) and by slightly more among migrants without voting rights (70.2%).

In any case, in all three groups these rates are very high in comparison with the voting rate in the last general elections in Spain, which was 66.2%.

Among naturalised persons, the number of those under 35 years of age likely to vote is very low compared to the total group (37.5% are sure to vote), which increases significantly after this age (around 70%).

The same trend, albeit less strongly, is observed in the two groups of non-naturalised migrants.

Opinion on the extension of the right to vote to legal resident migrants



Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho a voto: 336)
P13. ¿Estaría usted muy a favor, a favor, en contra o muy en contra de ampliar este derecho a voto a los extranjeros de otros países que residen legalmente en España?

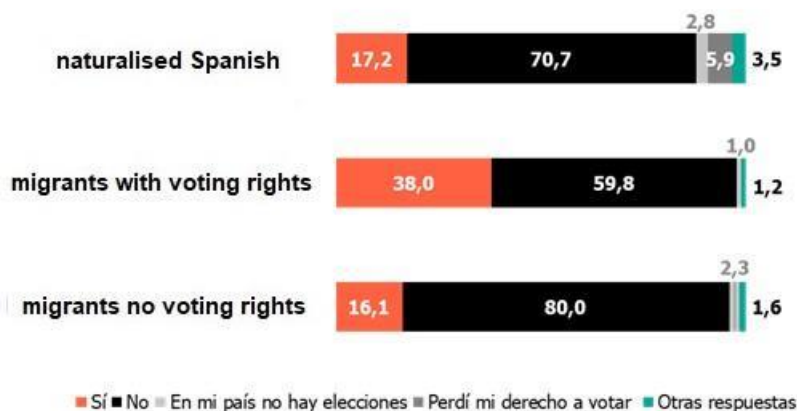
More than four out of five people in each of the groups are in favour, or even very much in favour, of extending the right to vote to all foreigners legally resident in Spain.

There are big differences between men and women in the group of naturalised persons women (against: 30% and 13.5%, respectively). There are also differences according to years of residence (against: 25.2% among those with more than 10 years of residence and 5.1% among those with a shorter stay). The number against extending the right increases with age (ranging from 10.9% among the youngest to 30.9% among the oldest).

In the group of migrants with the right to vote, the only notable difference is in terms of age. There is considerable rejection of enlargement among those over 65 (28.4%), reflected in the number of years of residence (against: 10% of those who have been living in Spain for less than 10 years and 15% among those who have been living in Spain for longer than 10 years).

Finally, among migrants without the right to vote, all the groups analysed show very homogeneous opinions.

Vote in the last parliamentary elections of the country of origin

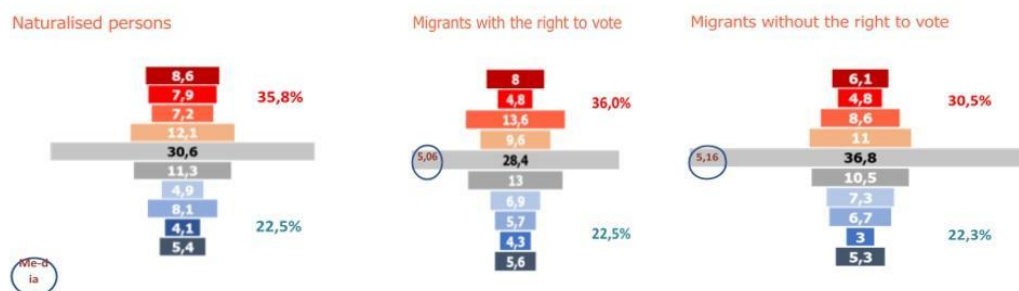


Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho. a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho. a voto: 336)
P15. ¿Votó usted en las últimas elecciones al Parlamento que se han celebrado en su país de origen?

In all three groups studied, there is low voter turnout in the countries of origin. The highest turnout is among migrants with the right to vote in Spain, with 38% reporting having voted in their country of origin. The participation of naturalised and non-voting migrants is similar: 17% and 16%, respectively.

Finally, among naturalised persons, there were more circumstances that made it impossible for them to vote in their country of origin, the most frequent being the loss of the right to vote (5.9%).

No differences of interest were observed in terms of the different sample segments within each group.

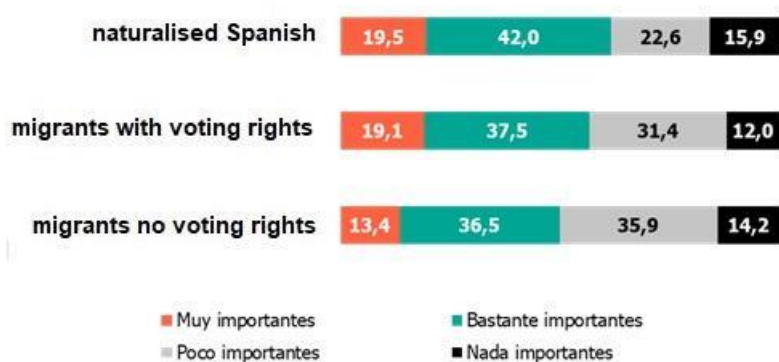


Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho. a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho. a voto: 336)

P16. Cuando se habla de política se utilizan normalmente las expresiones izquierda y derecha. En la siguiente escala de 1 a 10, en la que 1 es la izquierda y el 10 la derecha ¿en qué casilla se colocaría usted?

There are no major differences in the political positioning of the three groups studied. Specifically, there is no difference between the group of naturalised persons and migrants with the right to vote. The differences between these two groups and the group without voting rights show that the latter are more in the middle ground (five points), with a reduction in those who are on the left (five points).

Importance of political positioning



Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho. a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho. a voto: 336)
 P17. Y estas ideas de izquierda-derecha ¿cómo son de importantes para usted?

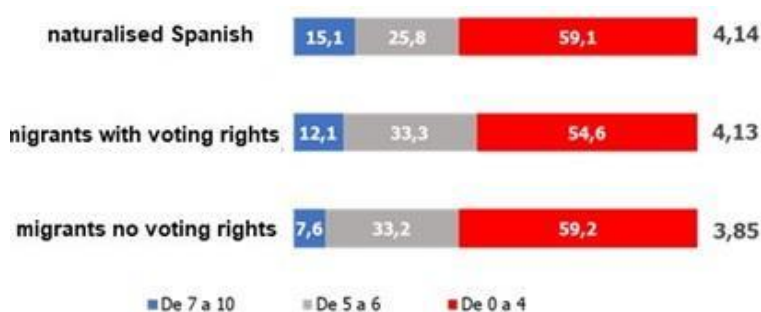
61.5% of naturalised people attach a lot or quite a bit of importance to political positioning. The only group where the importance clearly increases is those over 65 years old. Of those, 88.2% consider it very or quite important.

The importance of political positioning is considered slightly less important among other migrants, both those with and without the right to vote (56.6% and 49.9%, respectively).

In these groups, those over 65 years of age stand out for placing greater importance on these ideas: 87.4% of those over 65 without the right to vote consider it important, as well as 77.7% of those over 65 with the right to vote.

5.4.1. View of Spanish politicians and parties

View on the political position of PSOE from right to left

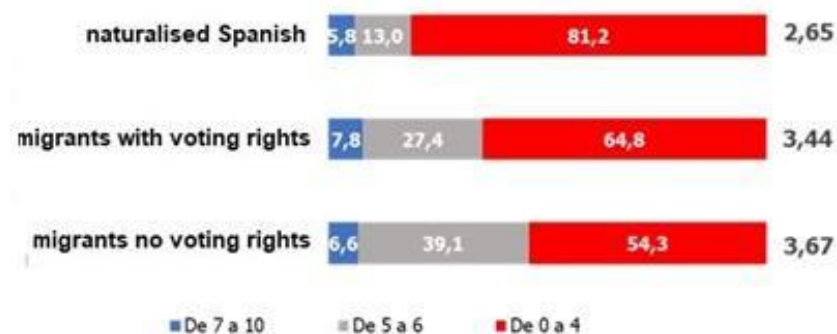


Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho. a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho. a voto: 336)
P18. Y en qué casilla de esta misma escala colocaría usted a cada uno de los siguientes partidos o coaliciones?

The positioning of the PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party) seems quite clear and homogeneous among the members of the three investigated groups. However, among some migrants with the right to vote and some naturalised citizens, there seems to be a little more confusion. One in six naturalised citizens placed the PSOE in the part of the table next to right-wing parties (15.1% scored seven to 10 points).

Among naturalised citizens, confusion increases significantly among women (19.1%) compared to men (11.2%). Among migrants with the right to vote, the confusion is observed less among people from European countries (9.9%, vs. 17.4% from other origins). Among migrants without the right to vote, those who are most confused are those between 55 and 64 years old (18.1%).

View on the political position of Unidas Podemos



Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho. a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho. a voto: 336)
P18. Y en qué casilla de esta misma escala colocaría usted a cada uno de los siguientes partidos o coaliciones?

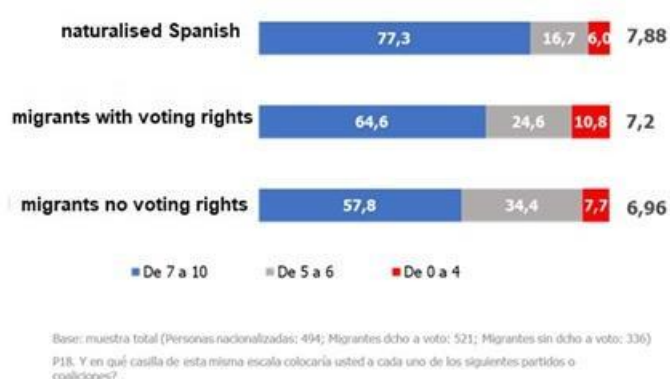
Although the majority in the three groups place Unidas Podemos on the left (between 0 and 4), the proportion placing them in central positions increases among migrants with the right to vote and even more among those without this right.

Thus, on average, the naturalised citizens place the party further to the left (2.65 on average).

Among naturalised citizens there are practically no differences, although the average positioning among men is slightly more to the left (2.86 vs. 2.44 among women). In the group of migrants with the right to vote, those over 65 years old stand out for placing the party further to the left (3.00 on average).

Among migrants without the right to vote, women show more confusion than men (11.4% of women place the party in right-wing positions vs. 1.7% of men). Depending on the years of residence, those who have been living in Spain for less than 10 years place UP mainly in central positions (51.1%), while this decreases to 22% among those who have been residing in Spain for a longer period of time.

View on the political position of PP

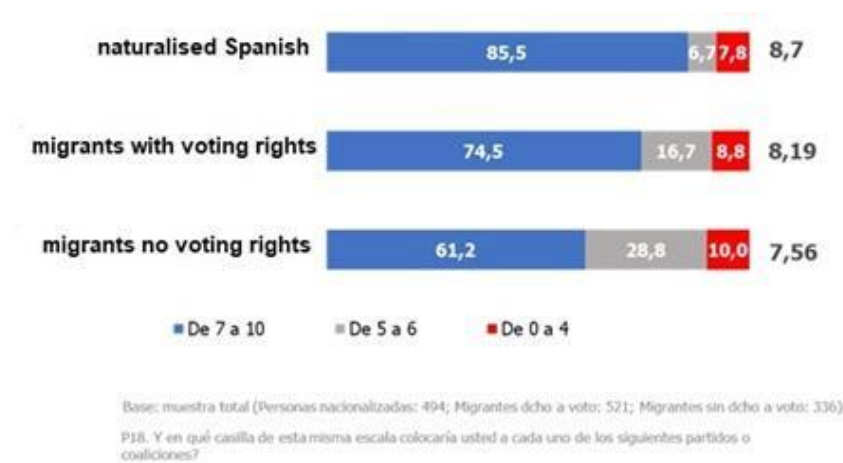


The Partido Popular (PP) is viewed mainly on the conservative, right side of the political spectrum. Notably there is a correlation between the increase in neutral positions, when the possibilities for political participation of migrant people decrease (from 16.7% among naturalised individuals to 34.4% among those who do not have the right to vote). There are also trends based on their sociodemographic characteristics:

- Among naturalised individuals (average position of PP: 7.88), women tend to place the PP more on the left (12.6% compared to 2.8% of men), while people over 55 tend to place the PP more on the right (their average position exceeds eight points).

- Among those who have the right to vote, those aged 25 to 34 place the PP less often on the right (52.6%), while those over 65 place it on the right in 81.1% of cases. The proportion that places the PP on the right is also higher among those born in a European country (69.9%).
- Among those who do not have the right to vote, similar trends are observed: older people place the PP more on the right (the average position is over eight), as do those who have been residing in Spain for longer periods (an average of 7.6), which in many cases, are the same individuals.

View on the political position of VOX

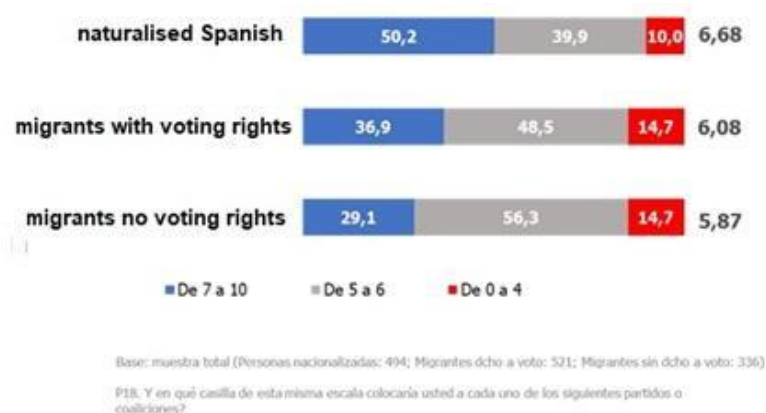


Naturalised citizens who place Vox as a far-right political party are aged between 25 and 34 years (median position of 9,40), while those above 65 place Vox as centre-right (median position of 6,77).

In the group of migrants with the right to vote, people who were born in a European country consider Vox as a more far-right (median position of 9,10), while those who come from Latin America think that they are a left-centre political party (median position of 5,90).

In the group of migrants with no right to vote, the people who consider Vox as a far-right party are between the ages of 35 and 44 years (median position of 9,24), while those between 18 and 24 years consider them left-centre (median position of 6,06).

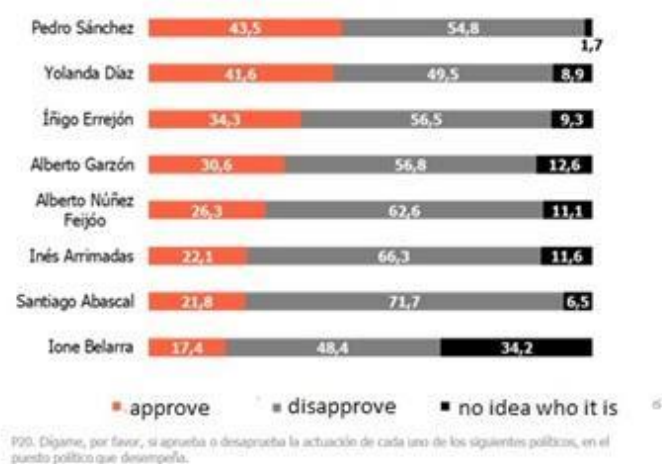
View on political position of Ciudadanos



A majority of naturalised persons place Ciudadanos in right-wing positions, while the majority in the other two groups place it in a central position. If we compare the average position, in the case of naturalised persons, Ciudadanos would be very close to the right (6.7 points), while it would clearly occupy a central position for migrants with and without voting rights.

Among naturalised persons, there is no profile (concerning age or gender) that stands out as different, for the position they assign to Ciudadanos. In the group of migrants with voting rights, the percentage of people who place the party in the centre range decreases as age increases (33.5% of those over 64 years old). On the other hand, more people who have been living in Spain for over 10 years place it on the right (39.8%) than those who have been here for less time (30.8%). Migrants without voting rights place it more to the right: women (36.6% compared to 21.6% of men) and people over 65 years old (54.3%).

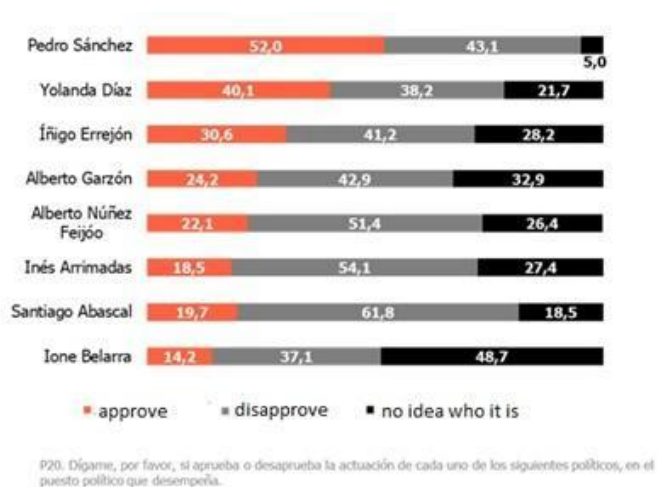
Group naturalised Spanish



Regarding political leaders, naturalised citizens have the highest levels of knowledge among the three groups (the least familiar is Ione Belarra on 34.2%, while her unfamiliarity exceeds 48% in the other two groups).

Overall, all politicians "fail", either in that they are not known or that the respondents disapprove of their work. The president, Pedro Sánchez, is the closest to passing, followed by Vice President Yolanda Díaz. The worst rating is for Santiago Abascal: 71.7% of naturalised migrants disapprove of him. Pedro Sánchez's rating is better among women, with an approval rate of 52.3% (34.7% among men), and the same goes for Iñigo Errejón (approved by 38.7% of women and 29.8% of men). The opposite is true for Santiago Abascal: he is approved by 27.4% of women and 16.1% of men. The rating of Núñez Feijóo increases as age increases (from 5.6% among the youngest to 37.7% among those over 65).

Group migrants with voting rights



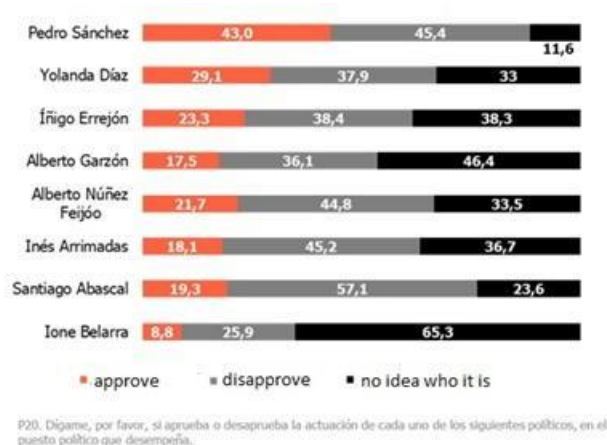
Among migrants with voting rights, the levels of unfamiliarity increase.

There are two politicians who receive more approval than disapproval: Pedro Sánchez and Yolanda Díaz. Men are more critical of both: 36.8% of women disapprove of Pedro Sánchez, compared to 49.4% of men; Yolanda Díaz is disapproved by 48.1% of women and 60.2% of men.

In fact, gender establishes differences in the evaluations of all politicians, except for Núñez Feijóo where opinions are similar. Although, in general terms, women show greater unfamiliarity and less disapproval, there is an exception: Santiago Abascal, who receives less approval among women (14.9%, compared to 24.5% of men).

Years of residency also affect knowledge of politicians, higher among those who have been residing in Spain for more than 10 years, but also, people with more seniority are more critical of all politicians.

Group migrant without voting rights



Among migrants without voting rights, the level of unfamiliarity with politicians increases even more, reaching a third or more for most politicians. Only two politicians have a level of unfamiliarity below 33%: Pedro Sánchez, the best evaluated (43% approval), and one of the worst (19.3%): Santiago Abascal.

In this group, Pedro Sánchez and Yolanda Díaz are also the most approved of the evaluated politicians, although neither of them receives more approvals than disapprovals.

The only difference in the evaluation of Santiago Abascal, is in terms of gender. He (as in the other migrant groups) is considered 'the worst' by women (11.1% approval) compared to men (27.5% approval).

As to migrants with voting rights, an increase in years of residence leads to a decrease in unfamiliarity and an increase in a more critical view of political leaders.

Interest in obtaining nationality

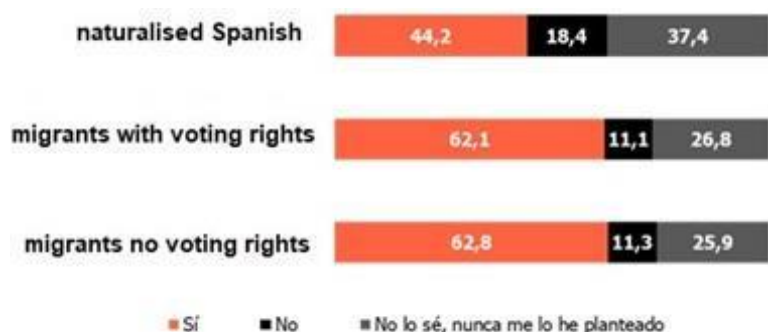


Base: no tienen nacionalidad española (Con dicho, a voto: 521; Sin dicho, a voto: 336)
 P19b. Independientemente de que cumpla o no los requisitos actualmente ¿Hasta qué punto le interesaría obtener la nacionalidad?

Interest in obtaining citizenship is high in both those with and those without the right to vote, although there is significantly more interest among **migrants without the right to vote** (88.7% vs 70.7%). In fact, among migrants without the right to vote, almost half (49.2%) expressed a high level of interest, up to 68% when the origin is from a Latin American country.

Among **migrants with the right to vote**, the maximum interest is 70 points (31.8%). In this group, younger people show more interest (42.9% maximum interest), decreasing as age increases (24% among people aged 55 or older). In this group, there is also much higher interest among migrants of non-European origin (72.4% maximum interest, compared to 16.3% among Europeans). In both groups of migrants, interest seems to decrease as the length of stay increases.

Opinion on the creation of other ways to obtain full citizen rights

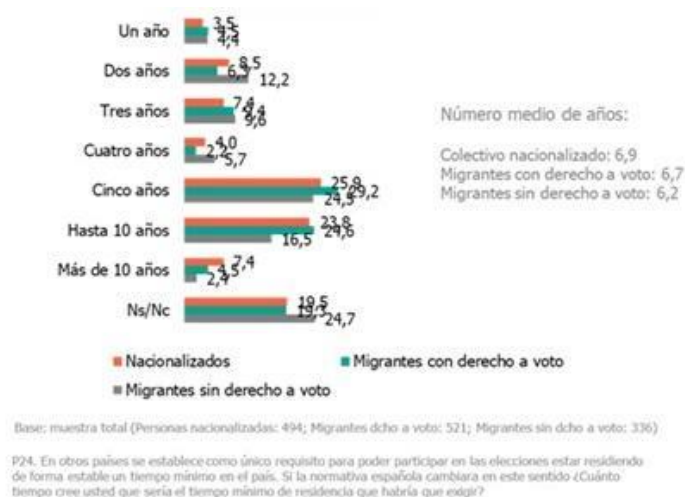


Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dicho, a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dicho, a voto: 336)
 P23. ¿Sería usted partidario de que hubiera otras vías de obtener plenos derechos ciudadanos, como el derecho al voto, más allá de la obtención de la nacionalidad española?

Among migrants with or without the right to vote, almost two out of three (62.1% and 62.8%, respectively) are in favour of creating new ways to obtain full citizenship rights. This opinion decreases among naturalised individuals (44.2%), with an increase in opposition and especially among those who do not take a position.

Among naturalised individuals, men (24.6%) and those over 55 (24.8%) show the greatest opposition to finding other pathways. Opposition is also higher among migrant men with the right to vote (15.8%, compared to 6.3% of women).

Opinion on the minimum residence time to participate in elections



On average, the number of years of residence that the three groups consider adequate to be able to participate in an election is between 6.2 years, for migrants without voting rights, and 6.9 years for those who have obtained citizenship.

In all three cases: the longer someone has been residing in Spain the longer they consider adequate to be able to vote. Thus, among those who have been residing for more than 10 years, the average length of time they consider adequate, is:

- Naturalised citizens: 7.4 years, compared to five years for those who have been residing for a shorter time.
- With voting rights: 7.7 years, compared to 4.4 years for those who have been residing for less than 10 years.
- Without voting rights: 8.1 years, compared to 4.5 years.

5.4.2. Citizen participation

Naturalised Spanish



The percentage of naturalised migrant people currently belonging to any association or organisation varies from 16.1% belonging to a humanitarian organisation to 2.4% to an association of elderly people.

If we consider membership at any point in time, regardless of their current engagement, the three most common types of organisations are sports clubs, humanitarian organisations, and cultural or leisure groups (one third of naturalised people have belonged to at least one of them).

The behaviour is quite homogeneous among different sociodemographic profiles, although it is observed that in the four types of associations with the highest penetration, people over 55 years old show the highest participation rates.

Migrants with voting rights



Among migrants with the right to vote, current membership in any organisation is very similar to naturalised migrants: ranging from 17% belonging to a humanitarian association to 3% being a member of an association for older people.

Participation in religious organisations is a peculiar characteristic of this group (9.1% among naturalised citizens and 7.5% among those with the right to vote are currently member of such organization).

Youth or student associations stand out as organisations to which a larger number of migrants with the right to vote have belonged (24.7%), although currently only 4% continue in them.

Behaviour is very homogeneous among the following sociodemographic subgroups, beyond the evident differences that occur when dealing with specific organisations: older people, women, and young people.

Migrants without voting rights



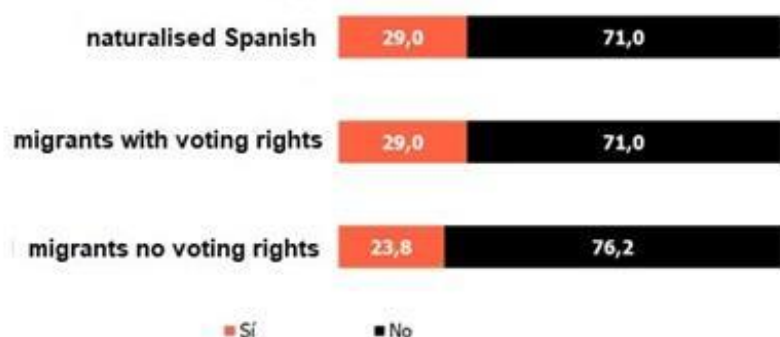
The membership of organisations among migrants without the right to vote is very similar to that of the other analysed migrants. It ranges from 17% who belong to a humanitarian organisation or a religious organisation to 4.2% who belong to an organisation for seniors.

The type of organisation with the highest percentage of members is the same as in the group of naturalised citizens: humanitarian aid (18.7%: 11% participate and 7.7% do not participate).

On the other hand, this group has had the least contact with political parties: 89.3% have never been members, while among naturalised citizens and migrants with the right to vote, the lack of contact is somewhat lower (83% and 85.7%, respectively).

Behaviour related to joining groups is very homogeneous among different sociodemographic profiles. In addition to their participation in women's associations, women were more often members of cultural groups (37.9% compared to 22% of men) and of entities related to education, probably PTA (33% vs. 18.7%).

Participation in activities



Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho a voto: 336)

P26. Independientemente de que usted sea miembro o no ¿en los últimos 12 meses ha participado en alguna actividad organizada por una de esas organizaciones?

Beyond membership, participation in activities facilitated by any organisation during the last 12 months is quite homogeneous across the three groups, and relatively low in total. 29% of naturalised persons and those with voting rights have participated in some activity, while 23.8% of migrants without voting rights have participated in some activity.

The differences based on demographic profiles are minimal, the only one that shows a different participation rate is the group of older persons, but only among naturalised persons and migrants with voting rights: among naturalised persons, the participation of older persons is lower (14.7%), while among those with voting rights, older persons participate more (39.1%).

Of the three ways of taking part in specific actions or activities, signing a petition has generated the highest participation.

Participation in signing a petition



Base: muestra total (Personas nacionalizadas: 494; Migrantes dcho a voto: 521; Migrantes sin dcho a voto: 336)

P27. Existen diversas formas de participación en acciones sociales y políticas que la gente puede llevar a cabo. Por favor, indique para cada una de estas si usted ha participado y cuando lo hizo por última vez.

65.9% of naturalised persons have signed a petition at some point, slightly fewer in the case of those who have the right to vote (61%), and significantly fewer among those who do not have this right (44.8%).

Despite the considerable difference in participation, the complete rejection of signing petitions is much more similar in the three groups, although it also increases as the possibility of electoral participation decreases. The analysis by profiles of each of the groups points to gender as the variable that establishes the greatest differences:

- Among those who do not have the right to vote: lower rejection among women (16.6% vs. 25.1% in men)
- Among naturalised persons: higher recent participation of women in signing petitions (45.9% vs. 32.7%)
- Among those who do not have the right to vote: lower rejection among women (18.4% vs. 28.9%)

In short, a greater willingness to participate is common among women.

Groups of people affected by the issue that led to signing a petition



Considering all those who have ever signed a petition, in all three groups, the petitions signed mostly affect people throughout Spain or worldwide.

This is true in the case of naturalised people and those without the right to vote, while among those who have the right to vote, the order is reversed: there are more petitions

with a global scope than national ones. Petitions that limit their scope to the country of origin are scarce.

Signatures related to the country of origin are much more frequent among people who have been living in Spain for less than 10 years, both among those who have the right to vote (27.6% vs. 6.3% among those who have been living in the country for more than 10 years) and among those who do not have that right (16.8% vs. 5.2%).

Attended a demonstration



As with signing petitions, participation decreases as the possibility of electoral participation decreases. However, rejection is lower among naturalised citizens but very similar in the two groups without Spanish nationality.

In this case, the rejection rate is similar between men and women, except in the case of naturalised citizens; in this group, the percentage of men who reject participating in a demonstration is 32.8%, while for women it is 20%.

Groups of people affected by the issue that led to attending the demonstration



The demonstrations that migrants attend more often address national and regional issues than the petitions, but also in many cases they were related to their country of origin. The lower the possibility of electoral participation, the greater the participation in demonstrations related to country of origin.

Among those with the right to vote, those of European origin participate in fewer demonstrations related to their country of origin (16.2%, compared to 32% with other origins). Among those without the right to vote, the greatest significance of the country of origin is found among those of Latin American origin (47.4%, compared to 11.4% for others).

Participation in a strike



Taking part in a strike is the least common action, and, as in the previous cases, participation decreases as the possibility of participating electorally decreases. As participation decreases, rejection to participate increases, although at least among naturalised individuals and those with the right to vote, the most common response is "I have not participated, but I could." **Among naturalised women and those with the right to vote, the rejection of a strike is much lower than among their male counterparts** (24.7% vs. 35.6% and 35% vs. 46.8%, respectively). In the case of the group without the right to vote, the differences between the two are not significant, although they point in the same direction (39.6% for women vs. 47.1% for men).

Groups of people affected by the issue that led to participation in strike



In the case of strikes, participation in those with a global scope (worldwide) is greatly reduced, and participation mainly increases in national strikes. This general trend is valid for naturalised people and those with voting rights, but not for people without voting rights, who show great heterogeneity in scope with similar weights (regional/national and country of origin). Additionally, this group is also unique in the important role played by strikes related to their country of origin, which are the most frequent.

Strikes related to the country of origin are less frequent among European people (16.5%) than among those of other origins (39.3% for those with voting rights). For those without voting rights, this type of strike is more frequent among migrant workers of Latin American origin (47.4%) than those of other origins (11.4%).

Participation in a neighbourhood council or in meetings of some association



Finally, we asked about participation in a neighbourhood council or in meetings of associations. In this type of participation, the differences between the three groups are greatly reduced: in fact, only if we focus on participation in the last twelve months statistically significant differences can be found.

The variation in recent participation follows the same logic as the three actions analysed previously: it decreases as the possibility of electoral participation decreases.

For different sociodemographic profiles, the differences are minimal.

Groups of people affected by the issue that led to participation in meeting(s) council/association



These types of actions have a much smaller scope, mainly focusing on something that affects very few people or people in their municipality or autonomous community. In the case of naturalised persons, such near or local impact account for over 90%, and around 80% for the two groups of non-naturalised persons.

This high concentration is repeated in all profiles, essentially replicating the response structure that we obtain overall.

5.5. Discussion of results and main conclusions of the quantitative study

The main results of the quantitative study and the conclusions derived from these are presented below.

- Among the group of people who have the right to vote, almost 72% is made up of people of European origin, which accounts for their greater ability to exercise said right. Among migrants without the right to vote, the largest group are people with a South American nationality (24.9%), and Asian and African nationalities are 33%. In other words, almost 60% of those who do not have the right to vote belong to non-European countries.
- The length of residence in Spain is different in the three subgroups analysed: naturalised people and those with the right to vote have been residing in Spain for longer (82.7% of those naturalised and 67.1% of those with the right to vote have been in the country for more than 10 years). It could be said that the right to vote "is achieved" over time.
- Between 75% and 81%, depending on the group, agree that "politicians don't care about them", indicating they believe that migrants are not a priority. This feeling is greater among those who do not have the right to vote.
- Despite this, current political issues are of interest to the majority, in the three subgroups studied. Interest is significantly higher among naturalised people (69.4%), while those with less interest are those who do not have the right to vote (55.0%). Not exercising the right to participate can be one of the causes of disinterest in politics. Among the negative feelings towards politics and politicians, distrust towards the system stands out, which is consistent with the idea that "politicians are not interested in migrants".
- Conversations about politics are increasing between those who are naturalised and those who have the right to vote.

- Only one in three people, naturalised or migrants with the right to vote in the 2019 municipal elections, carried out the necessary procedures to be able to vote. This means that, despite having the right to vote, **registering with the CERE is an administrative step that works as a barrier to exercising the right to vote. As a result, voter turnout in the last municipal elections was very high among naturalised migrants, 81.8% affirm that they participated, while only 26% of migrants with the right to vote exercised their right.**
- Other reasons for not voting in the 2019 elections were: lack of knowledge about the possession of this right (25.2% in the case of migrants with the right to vote), followed by lack of interest in participating (22%). **Men show greater interest: 37.7% completed the procedures compared to 23.9% of women. This may be due to a greater difficulty for women in dealing with procedures (for reasons of work or care work at home).**
- The main source of information on the voting process was a public administration body (58.5%). The second source of information was informal through personal relationships (16.8%). This means that the exercise of the right to vote entails an important responsibility on the part of public administrations.
- Among those who voted, the most popular option was the PSOE, both among naturalised people (29.6%), and among non-naturalised people (22.5%). Among the naturalised, the second most chosen option was Unidas Podemos (17.4%), while among the non-naturalised it was the PP (19.1%). In both groups, 6% chose to give their vote to the extreme right.
- Men and women have different electoral behaviours, especially with respect to some parties: in the case of naturalised people, Vox is a more masculine option (9.4% of men opt for Vox, compared to 3.4% of women). In the case of non-naturalised women, the difference is smaller (6.7% of men vs. 4.3% of women). The greatest difference occurs in the election of Unidas Podemos: 24.8% of women choose this party, compared to 11.1% of men. It therefore appears that women are more inclined to the left than men.
- Under current legislation the only people who can vote in the next General Election are those who are naturalised. At least 70% of them are expected to vote. The most popular party among this group would be the PSOE (19%), followed by the PP (17%), Unidas Podemos (13%) and Vox (9%). Grouping the information into the traditional left/right blocks: the left (PSOE, UP, Más País)

would get the vote of 35% and the right (PP, Vox, Cs) of 29.1%. A difference in favour of the left of 5.9 percentage points. This pattern is also reflected in the other two groups (people with the right to vote and those without the right to vote), although with a greater preference for the PSOE among those who have the right to vote and fewer votes for Unidas Podemos among those who do not have the right to vote.

- **More than four out of five people from each of the groups are in favour, or even very much in favour, of extending the right to vote to the entire group of foreigners with legal residence in Spain, especially among those who do not have the right to vote. The group of naturalised people shows large differences between the opinions of men and women (against: 30% and 13.5%, respectively).**
- **For the three groups studied there is low electoral participation in the countries of origin.**
- Regarding political leaders, naturalised people stand out for presenting the highest levels of knowledge of the three groups. Generally, all politicians “fail” (more people disapprove or don't know them than approve) when it comes to their approval by all three groups asked. The President, Pedro Sánchez has the highest approval, followed by Vice President Yolanda Díaz. The worst assessment is that of Santiago Abascal: 71.7% of naturalised migrants disapprove of him. The evaluation of Pedro Sánchez is higher among women at 52.3%, while among men it is 34.7%. Similarly, Iñigo Errejón is approved of by 38.7% of women and 29.8% of men. The opposite is the case with Santiago Abascal: 27.4% of men and 16.1% of women approve. In general terms, women show greater ignorance of politicians and less disapproval, except in the case of Santiago Abascal, who has less approval among women (14.9%, compared to 24.5% of men).
- Among migrants without the right to vote, ignorance increases even more, reaching, for most politicians, a third or more. **The less accessible the right to vote, the greater the ignorance about political figures.**
- **Among migrants with or without the right to vote, almost two out of three (62.1% and 62.8%, respectively) are in favour of creating new ways to obtain full citizen rights. Women are more endorsing.**

- On average, the number of years of residence that the three groups consider adequate to be able to participate in elections is between 6.2 years (migrants without the right to vote) and 6.9 years (those who have obtained nationality).
- In the three groups, the participation in associations ranges from 16% or 17% who participate or belong to humanitarian organisations, to 12% or 13% to Human Rights organisations, and 12% to cultural associations. 7% participate or belong to women's associations and 6% belong to migrants' associations. **In general, associative participation is low, but it should be noted that people who do not have the right to vote participate more in migrant, women's, neighbourhood, migrant care, and religious associations. This means that, once the right to political participation is restricted, these people find other ways of social participation.**
- In addition to their engagement in women's associations, **women have belonged more often to cultural groups (37.9%, compared to 22% of men) and to entities related to education, probably PTA (33% vs. 18.7%).**
- Membership of political parties is very low in the three groups: between 83% and 85% of those naturalised and with the right to vote do not belong to any political party, a percentage that increases to 89.3% among those who do not have the right to vote. **This is consistent with the fact that the right to passive suffrage (to be elected as a political representative) is even more limited for migrants.**
- Other than membership, during the last 12 months, participation in activities facilitated by organisations is quite low in the three groups. Among the naturalised people and those who have the right to vote, 29% have participated in some activities and among migrants without the right to vote, 23.8%.
- **Women generally show a greater willingness to participate in society.**
- Participation in demonstrations is decreasing and rejection of them is increasing. It should be noted that participation in demonstrations decreases alongside the possibility of electoral participation. In fact, the refusal to demonstrate is lower in the case of naturalised people, particularly women who are 10% less likely to reject taking part in demonstrations.
- All three groups are least likely to take part in a strike and, once again, participation decreases as the possibility of participating electorally decreases. This is especially the case among people who do not have the right to vote. The

rejection of strikes is much lower among naturalised women and those with the right to vote than among their male colleagues (24.7% vs. 35.6% and 35% vs. 46.8%, respectively). **Despite the barriers to participating in strikes when they do not have Spanish nationality, women seem to be more in agreement with this type of political participation.**

- Participation in a neighbourhood council or in an association meeting decreases, the lower the possibility of participating electorally (18% among naturalised citizens, compared to 11% among non-naturalised citizens, participated in meetings in the last 12 months).

The main conclusion of the quantitative study is that the acquisition of Spanish nationality and the formal recognition of the right to political participation, exemplified in the right to vote, increases the motivation to participate. Specifically, accessing the right to vote encourages people to be more informed, talk more about politics, learn more about political parties and their representatives, demonstrate, go on strike and participate in associations.

Those who do not have the right to vote express their willingness to participate, demonstrate and go on strike, but do so to a lower extent, probably for fear of losing their job, residence permit or being expelled from the country. In addition, these people have greater ignorance of politics and its representatives.

In all three groups, participation in political parties is minimal, although naturalised people show greater participation in them (17%) than those with the right to vote (15%) and those who do not have the right to vote (10%).

In general, in the three groups, there is a low associative participation (less than 40% currently do it or have done it at some point). However, it stands out that people who do not have the right to vote participate more than the other two groups in migrant, women's, migrant aid, neighbourhood, and religious associations. This means that the limitation to the right to vote - and, in general, to political rights - is channelled by participation in other social spheres.

Only 26% of the people with the right to vote have participated in the 2019 municipal elections. This accounts for the existing administrative barriers to voting, specifically, the obligation to register with the CERE, as well as the lack of information in this regard and it emphasises the need to abolish this requirement.

The participation in elections in the countries of origin is, in general, very low. However, in Spain, more than four out of five people (of the three groups) are in favour, or even very much in favour, of extending the right to vote to the entire group of foreigners with

legal residence in Spain. Those who do not have the right to vote are especially in favour of this. Residing in Spain increases the sense of democratic participation, but most of the migrant population in the country does not have access to the right to vote.

There is a leftward inclination among migrants in general (in all three groups), although between 5% and 9% vote or would vote for the extreme right. This applies to naturalised people to a greater extent.

Women present lower percentages of participation in general but show a greater willingness to participate if they could. This accounts for specific barriers, which may have to do with the type of jobs they perform and their care responsibilities. In general, women lean even more to the left in terms of voting intentions and less to the extreme right than men.

Among women there is more misinformation about politics in the country and its representatives, but they present higher percentages of participation in migrant, neighbourhood and women's associations. The participation of women seems to lean more towards the immediate environment.

6. BARRIERS TO THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF MIGRANT WOMEN IN SPAIN

The qualitative study on the political participation of migrant women in Spain, coordinated by Alianza por la Solidaridad in 2019, allowed us to uncover the existing barriers to the exercise of this right, to which this study provides further analysis and insight.

The results of this study provide a contextual in-depth understanding of some of the conclusions drawn from this quantitative study, specifically related to the lower percentages in political participation of migrant women. For this reason, a summary of the results of the qualitative study is presented below, in order to respond to two of the three research objectives proposed for this study:

- Create knowledge that will enable migrant women, their associations, and others to understand at what level migrant women are included in democratic life and what barriers exist in Spain from a migrant woman's perspective.
- Research the (nonformal) educational needs relating to the political participation of migrant and refugee women, to design adequate training plans to fulfil these needs.

The qualitative study was carried out through semi-structured interviews and focus groups with key agents and migrant women in Spain. In total, 59 people participated (15 key agents and 44 migrant women, including activists and women who do not actively participate in associations or advocacy groups). The ages of the participating women ranged from 16 to 65 years.

The sample consisted of women with origins in 22 different countries: Argentina, Colombia, Chile, Brazil, Senegal, China, Morocco, Uruguay, Mexico, Paraguay, Ecuador, Ukraine, Honduras, Romania, Peru, Bolivia, Venezuela, Guinea Bissau, Cameroon, Dominican Republic, Spain, and El Salvador. The variety of nationalities also reflected a diversity of ethnic origin, with black, indigenous, white and mixed-race women, as well as a range of languages. The residence time that these women had been in Spain ranged from two months to 33 years.

The study not only resulted in conclusions, but also recommendations to different stakeholders, notably political parties, civil society, and public authorities in Spain. The intersectionality approach has made it possible to make visible the complexity of the situations that migrant women experience, as well as the obstacles they face and the

personal skills they possess to overcome these situations and claim their rights as women and citizens.

6.1. Barriers to Participation

From the interviews and focus groups, it can be deduced that the main obstacles to the social and political participation of migrant women are the following:

- The status of "foreigner", as regulated by the Immigration Law, largely determines **the incorporation of migrant women into a segregated, precarious and low-skilled job market, generating a permanent situation of instability and precariousness**, which is maintained beyond the initial stage of the migratory process. Therefore, ensuring daily survival is a priority for these women and it represents an obstacle to active participation.
- **Social and family ties in Spain are very weak during the first years of residence. This negatively influences access to information.**
- **Lack of familiarity with language (not only Spanish, but also the languages of some autonomous communities) contributes to segregation and social isolation.** This was highlighted with great emphasis in the accounts of the African women, especially Senegalese and Moroccan women interviewed. In the case of Eastern European women, although the majority come from EU countries, they also experience language barriers in Spain.
- **There is racism and multiple discriminations** in the workplace, social environment and school. This is especially experienced by Afro-descendant and Moroccan women. There are also stereotypes and prejudices that are reproduced socially and culturally, accentuating the undervaluation of migrants in general. The existence of cultural stereotypes not only distances migrant women from participation spaces, but also causes them feelings of otherness and/or of isolation, which has an effect on their living conditions.
- There is institutional violence when some migrant women go to Social Services to ask for financial aid or to ask for help to get out of situations of gender-based violence. **Institutional violence has its roots in the prejudices and stereotypes of social, police and judicial operators** and is a factor in the exclusion of migrant women and their children from care and protection services.

- **The situation of administrative irregularity generates mistrust and fear in many women** and may therefore prevent them from establishing interpersonal relationships and hinder their participation in formal institutional settings and other spaces for civic and social participation. This fear reinforces the fact that they are found in jobs such as domestic labour and care as "live-in workers" where labour exploitation often occurs.
- **The need to send remittances to relatives in their countries of origin is an important responsibility** for many women, who focus all their attention, time, and efforts on them. This means that they do not have the time or strength to actively participate in associative and political life in Spain.
- In addition to the emotional imbalances and readjustments typical for the migratory process, there are feelings of guilt, low self-esteem, self-perception of not meeting the demands of their relatives of origin, professional disqualification, and loss of status. All these factors mean that **some do not recognise their capacities for social transformation.**
- Given the precariousness of work and life, many migrant women are forced to change residence in Spain several times or migrate to other European countries. **Labour and residential mobility generate feelings of rootlessness** which can make it impossible to build a sense of local and community belonging, which further discourages participation.
- **There are difficulties in reconciling work and family life, mainly among women who are mothers of young children.** When support networks are weak, care responsibilities do not allow active participation in society.

Despite the multiple obstacles and difficulties impeding the social, civil, and political participation of migrant women, **their voices show their great potential and capacity to exercise various forms of participation, within the constraints of their lives. This places migrant women in the position of active agents, far removed from the stereotype of "vulnerable" women,** which is sometimes assigned to them and from which a position of inferiority is determined.

6.2. Participation defined by migrant women themselves

In the interviews and focus groups, the women were asked how they interpreted the term “participation”. The results show that it is a polysemic concept that goes beyond the formal idea of political participation. Women identify the term “participation” with:

- A formative, educational, gradual process and awareness of human rights.
- A process closely linked to the establishment of group relationships and networks with other women who have similar needs, and which requires a minimum degree of organisation.
- Relating, sharing, strengthening self-esteem and developing as a person.
- Information and access to resources.
- Empowering yourself.
- Strengthening support networks and community values, and bonds of collectivity.

When migrant women talk about participation, they refer to any action that allows them to be connected with the community, which also alludes to the idea of "belonging".

6.3. Spaces for the participation of migrant women

So, what are the concrete spaces for the participation of migrant women? The spaces for participation are very diverse and differ depending on age, gender, legal status, length of residence, type of migration and/or interests.

- **At the beginning of the migratory process, it is communities of the same national origin that usually provide spaces for participation.** They provide financial aid, information, care and support. They are spaces that are linked to leisure, national festivities or religious activities, allowing for ‘migratory mourning’ and, in some cases, provide spaces for personal and collective care and healing.
- **Religious and worship spaces have become support and solidarity centres** for many migrant women by offering accompanying aid programmes, such as food banks, language workshops, school support and job guidance. In addition, they are flexible in terms of schedules and activities during weekends or on rest days and holidays, unlike public institutions and/or entities that support the migrant population. Additionally, through volunteering they involve migrants

who can be participants in a collective purpose, although this also comes under the heading of welfare and charity.

- Many of the activities that bring together the migrant population are related to the need to reinforce cultural and identity issues linked to the countries of origin. This need prompted the emergence of a large part of the migrant association movement as a way of responding to new spaces for participation and leadership.
- **Migrant associations play an important role in creating support networks and access to resources.** The diversity of particular interests of migrant women means that some only attend as service users to obtain information or participate in cultural activities and workshops. While others, with more social and political interests, look to the associative environment for a way to advocate and join as activists. For this reason, **many of the migrant women interviewed talk about how participation in the associative movement strengthens their awareness of personal empowerment and recognition of citizenship rights.**
- This double function of migrant associations is also carried out by Spanish entities and NGOs that work with the migrant population, and that offer advice, information, training and attend to needs. However, many of these entities maintain a relationship with migrant women, which derives from their position as "service users", hindering their activism or leadership. Several of the women interviewed expressed difficulty in taking part in decision-making in these organisations.
- **Although there is an important recognition of the role played by the migrant associative movement, critical voices emerge that highlight the strong "ghettoisation" of these spaces, as well as the hierarchical and patriarchal structure that some of the associations led by migrants present. This caused migrant women to create their own associations, as safer spaces.**

Unlike the support and assistance to the migrant population carried out by local Social Services and some NGOs, one thing that differentiates many migrant women's associations is community work and the development of political participation related to defending the rights of migrants. Some migrant women have positioned themselves with important activists in Spain, who have known how to collectivise political advocacy processes. **The political activism of migrant women seems to be related to certain factors such as:**

- A strong correlation between prior political experience that many migrant women have had in their countries of origin and their participation in advocacy activities in Spain.
- Once the subsistence or residence needs are covered, incorporation into political activism is closely related to the approach taken to encourage their involvement, for example by offering to include them in support and empowerment networks. This is reinforced when it comes to spaces where personal experiences are shared and women feel empathy and solidarity through having shared experiences, and when they feel heard, not judged, understood and free to express themselves.
- The empowerment process is a condition and a prerequisite for political participation. It is an inverse process to that practised in the care context in which the needs of migrants have traditionally been addressed, reducing them to their vulnerability. It makes it possible to show that there are unequal and unfair structures, that their experience is shared, but also transcends collective action. In this way participation ceases to have a merely individual and instrumental nature to become a joint action, which aims at community and even global solutions.
- **When migrant women recognise themselves as subjects of rights, their participation becomes political**, not in the partisan sense of the term, but as the need to do something for the common good, to act against injustices. That is, when the personal becomes political.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

This study in the context of the previous study and other analysis leads to specific recommendations for different stakeholders in order to improve the access of migrant women to political and democratic participation. Generating a favourable environment for the participation of migrant women acting on various fronts:

- Stakeholders need to address the factors that hinder migrant women's participation, which has to do with their lack of infrastructural citizenship. This is a concept used in urban geography to highlight a broader understanding of citizenship, which is about the day to day options to participate. **Migrant women are hindered to exercise their citizenship on a daily basis as a result of** their subordinate place in the labour market, their difficulties in reconciling family and work life, the lack of recognition of their work experience or profession, difficulties in reuniting their families, their administrative-legal status or their non-recognition as interlocutors in projects or participation actions. **In this context, the full recognition of both the active and passive right to vote for migrants residing in Spain becomes essential.**
- Plans, programmes, projects and actions need to be developed and implemented aiming at **expanding information and training in the field of active citizenship among migrant women, and the extension of spaces for participation both formal and informal.**
- Participation cannot be restricted to the provision of limited and temporary economic resources, or access to a space for certain groups but not others. It must combine all action aimed at combating discrimination and inequalities. **It is essential to consider the voices of migrant women in all decisions that have direct or indirect repercussions on them.**
- **A particular focus is needed on the extension of places that allow migrant women to generate, sustain and reproduce social support networks and critical and collective reflections on their condition as migrants.** These dynamics contribute to increasing self-esteem, mutual trust, solidarity, security and belonging. Therefore, they are oriented towards individual and collective empowerment.

Below are specific recommendations addressed to different agents in the political and state sphere.

7.1. AT THE STATE LEVEL

1) Adjust Immigration Law and migration management

The government is to facilitate and expedite the processes of administrative regularisation of migrants and approve an extraordinary regularisation of the nearly 500,000 people in an irregular administrative situation. The current migratory management by the state establishes inequalities and violates the fundamental rights of migrants by leaving them in a situation of legal irregularity for three years or more before obtaining the corresponding authorisations. This affects the participation of migrants in all areas of life.

2) Ensure right to vote and access to all channels of formal political participation

The right to vote, both active and passive, in state, regional and local elections, must be fully recognised for long-term resident migrants (agreed according to EU guidelines in five years and for all migrants). Civil and political rights are recognised in international treaties ratified by Spain. The recognition of these rights for migrants residing in Europe is an example of the exercise of democracy by the Member States. Suffrage rights cannot be conditional upon the signing of bilateral agreements, which establish discrimination based on nationality, without taking into account the contribution that said persons make in their places of residence.

In the same way, the mechanisms for access of said persons to all channels of formal political participation must be included in law. This requires abolishing the administrative procedures of registration in the Electoral Census for Foreigners in each call for elections, since it has become evident that it is a barrier for migrants with eligibility to vote to exercise their right. And finally, there is a need for the design of a quota policy to promote the political representation of long-term resident migrants.

3) Improvement of the working conditions of migrant women to facilitate their participation

The government should implement programmes that facilitate the access to decent work for migrant women in order to avoid job insecurity, instability and intermittency. This includes for Spain to facilitate the accreditation of educational qualifications from abroad, with the aim of guaranteeing greater and better inclusion in the professional world of work. What happens in the workplace directly determines personal and family living conditions, as well as opportunities for social, civil or political participation.

4) Access to public employment

One direct way to increase decent work options for migrant women is the promotion of hiring in public employment among the migrant community, especially women. The state can support civil society organisations to provide information and training for migrant women to be able to obtain these opportunities while dealing with several challenges.

5) Sensitisation and fight against racism

It is also important to implement and reinforce actions, anti-racist training and awareness programmes aimed at public employees, public service providers, and personnel who work directly serving the migrant population (health, justice, social services, migration, education, etc.).

6) Fight against the police practice of “racial profiling”

In particular, awareness programmes aimed at security forces personnel should be developed. The law should put a limit on police actions using "racial profiling", which means asking for documentation from people of colour, seeking to identify those who are in an irregular situation, and which make it difficult for migrant women to participate in activities in the public domain for fear of being arrested.

7) Intercultural mediation with a gender perspective

Another targeted action for public personnel is to increase the number of personnel specialised in intercultural mediation and community revitalisation, which can provide training in gender, intersectional, anti-racist, and decolonial perspectives. This also means the promotion of migrant people, especially women, in this group of workers.

8) Research on racism and xenophobia

The government should strengthen the actions of the Spanish Observatory on Racism and Xenophobia (Oberaxe) and request updated diagnoses on the existence of these in the institutional, social, labour and community spheres.

9) Access to justice in matters of gender-based violence

Guarantee access to justice, due attention, protection and access to resources for migrant women who experience gender-based violence regardless of their administrative situation. Gender-based violence is a social scourge that physically and psychologically affects the victims and prevents their full participation in working, social, civil and political life. Research of Red Latinas suggests that migrant women

survivors of gender-based violence faced increased barriers to access government services.

10) Facilitation of participation at the collective level

The government should facilitate the work of networks and platforms of associations and groups created or supported by migrant women, through economic support, provision of spaces, visibility in networks and the internet.

11) Education for citizenship

There needs to be more education for citizenship in the school environment at all levels, which includes learning of the perspectives of human rights, gender, anti-racism and intersectionality.

12) Reconciliation of work and family life

The government should increase measures that facilitate the reconciliation of migrant women and co-responsibility between genders, families, public and private agents. This includes improvement of aid for dependent children, declaration of 'big families' in the case of women as heads of single-parent families, free universal education between zero and three years, promotion of alternative and collective measures of care and mutual support. Finally, there needs to be specialised resources for migrant women working in domestic employment.

7.2. AT LOCAL LEVEL

1) Analysis of the actual participation of migrant women

Authorities should investigate the opportunities and difficulties in the participation of migrant women based on the different profiles that constitute the communities in their local areas.

2) Training of public service providers and technical staff of Civil Society Organisations

Training of public and civil servants is not only something to do at national level. Local authorities need to improve the training of public service providers and NGO technical staff, which includes communication skills adapted to cultural diversity, empathic and listening skills, and good treatment. This training must include theoretical bases for the

use of participatory tools and a gender, intersectional, anti-racist and decolonial perspective.

3) Evaluation of the care provided by service providers and technical personnel

Authorities should create innovative systems for assessing the care received through all public services, NGOs and associations that care for migrant women. These feedback systems should be very inclusive to all kinds of formats for input, especially for migrant women facing language barriers. It should include voice messages, evaluation sheets through writing, emoticons, or similar possibilities for those who do not speak the language.

4) Single mothers

In providing solutions for work and family reconciliation, special emphasis is to be placed on migrant women who are heads of single-parent families.

5) Training in languages and political participation

The local authorities should carry out continuous training programmes in Spanish or official languages of the State, explaining citizenship, participation, human rights, the Spanish political system, social welfare and labour rights, aimed at migrant women.

6) Strategic alliances

It is also important to promote the connection and linkage with the migrant groups, associations, and networks and feminist movements. This can also be in the form of offering information about their activities and projects to others.

7) Sensitisation and training in diversity

Another form of training needed is training workshops on cultural, ethnic, sexual, and functional diversity aimed at the general population.

8) Spaces for empowerment

Authorities should expand programmes for the empowerment of migrant women, which include improving self-esteem, developing solidarity and sisterhood, active leisure, and self-care. Training aimed at NGO technicians on intersectionality and gender is needed to avoid the paternalism with which they often approach the lived experience of migrant women.

9) Cross-Cultural psychological care

Psychological care services should be extended for individuals and groups, aimed at the migrant population, especially women. Mental health professionals must have training in cross-cultural psychology and psychiatry, with a gender and intersectional perspective.

10) Childhood, adolescence and youth involved in migratory processes

Another important target group are children and the youth. Programmes are needed to encourage participation among boys, girls, adolescents and young people of migrant origin, which include methodologies adapted to their ages and which take into account the spaces in which they meet in the city. The children of migrant women can be true intercultural mediators between them and the community.

11) Strategies for the dissemination of public services

There is a whole range of actions to diversify the dissemination strategies of the activities or services offered in each district, for example, by sending WhatsApp messages to key agents, leaders or mediators; delivery of small pamphlets with short, simple and easy-to-read sentences; SMS summons; social networks, etc.

12) Participation of the neighbourhood commercial sector in neighbourhood activities and their dissemination

Disseminate and invite migrants to participate in the activities, resources and services that are carried out in their district or neighbourhood. Involve businesses, bars, restaurants, etc., in the provision of information and dissemination of these activities. Particularly involve businesses owned by migrants or which mainly employ migrants.

13) Support by local authorities for migrant associations

Town halls can offer more support to the work carried out by migrant (women) associations, which perform actions of reception, accompaniment, support and attention to the migrant population, especially women.

It is recommended to finance their activities, provide suitable premises, strengthen their organisational structures and their coordination with other municipal resources. A more stable personnel recruitment policy should also be promoted, which sets limits to the precarious employment in associations. These associations should be included in the municipal protocols for attention to different problems that may directly affect

migrant women (gender-based violence, mental health, addictions, school absenteeism, the elderly, etc.).

14) Training of migrant women in associative management, promotion of migrant volunteering and migrant cooperatives

Part of the capacity building of migrant (women) associations and groups is to facilitate access to economic resources, through management training, subsidies, agreements, improvement of self-management, future sustainability, search for municipal, state and European financing. Also, volunteering can be promoted by improving the conditions of volunteer staff, such as providing transportation, maintenance, training, stress management and conflict resolution. Overall, it is imperative to foster and facilitate cooperatives emerging from migrant women's movements or associations.

15) Participation of migrant women at the local level, including intercultural community revitalisation

Municipalities should improve the access mechanisms of migrant women to district participation spaces (tables, forums, platforms), through training, motivation, management of communication skills and public speaking, management of social networks and conflict resolution. All stakeholders can promote the participation of migrant women in parents' associations of educational centres, neighbourhood associations, participation in commissions in the districts and workplace groups, among other spaces. Part of this approach is intercultural mediation and community revitalisation work in parks and open spaces where migrant women gather on their day off.

16) Remote participation

There should be channels of participation other than face-to-face ones. Enable migrant women to participate through telematic or online means, which implies training them in social networks, video conferences, webinars or online seminars, applications that facilitate remote meetings. This also implies improving internet access in women's homes. These pathways could be useful for women with family responsibilities, single mothers or women working in domestic employment.

17) Dissemination of information related to municipal elections

Of course, the dissemination of information about municipal elections should be improved, diversifying the means of media used and giving migrants the opportunity to participate in training workshops in each new call.

18) The time of participation

It seems a simple issue, but it is not to be forgotten: All the activities of services, resources and associations (public and private) should be adapted to the schedules of migrant women.

7.3. AT CIVIL SOCIETY LEVEL

Migrant associations have become spaces that substitute and/or complement public social services, when the latter are inaccessible to migrant women. They do this work on a voluntary basis to a large extent. These associations often carry out their valuable task without financial resources or with limited resources, despite filling the gaps in the welfare state. For all these reasons, these associations must be recognised as key agents for the transmission of information, mediation and accompaniment of migrant women, especially those that are managed by the women themselves.

1) Community sponsorship

Develop street accompaniment or sponsorship programmes with migrant women who have recently arrived or who do not know the social, civic or resource framework of the places where they live. The accompaniments must include sufficient and adapted information, support in bureaucratic management and administrative procedures, knowledge of the means of transport and the city, communication skills to carry out procedures, mediation and translation.

2) Social and civil movements

Encourage participation outside of institutional frameworks. Make visible and disseminate the work of non-formalised social and civil movements, as it has great political potential.

3) Synergies between local authorities and migrant women's associations

Promote coordinated work between the different local administrations and migrant women's associations, creating synergies that take advantage of the experience and trajectory of these women and contribute to strengthening public interventions.

4) Political leadership of migrant women

Training in political leadership to contribute to the participation of migrant women in the field of political representation.

5) Training of active members of the community

Training on interculturality, anti-racism, gender and intersectionality aimed at active members of neighbourhood, youth and migrant associations for them to better incorporate the participation of migrant women in their activities.

6) Toy libraries and shared spaces

Children's playroom services must be provided in all participation spaces. A space to share breakfasts and snacks, available for women, is also recommended. In some associations or services, these spaces could be exclusively for them so that they can express themselves freely.

7) Diversity of origins

Facilitate spaces for participation in which there is a diversity of nationalities to avoid fragmentation and promote interculturality. Have common spaces and resources so that they can share leisure and recreational activities. In these spaces women should be informed about associations, NGOs, movements or networks in which they can participate in a more stable way.

ANNEX

Proportional distribution of the quantitative study sample

Quantitative study questionnaire

SIMPLE LOGIC – 59172 Political participation

three groups:

col1. MIGRANTS WITH VOTING RIGHTS IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (COUNTRY LIST) (m-vot)

col2. MIGRANTS WITHOUT VOTING RIGHTS IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (m-novot)

col3. FOREIGN-BORN NATURALIZED SPANISH CITIZENS (nac-e)

Initial data - sample

(For all M-VOT / M-NOVOT / NAC-E)

P01. Are you male or female?

Male	1
Female	2

P02. What was your age on your last birthday?

_____ (If under 18, ☐ INVALID END)

P03. What is your country of birth?

Spain ☐ INVALID END

Other (List of countries)

P04. What is your nationality?

Dual (Spanish and other) ☐ What other nationalities do you have? ____

LIST + OTHERS (SPECIFY)

(If they have Spanish nationality NAC-E)

P05a. How many years have you had Spanish nationality?

1 year or less	1
From 1 to 2 years	2
From 2 to 3 years	3
From 3 to 4 years	4
From 5 to 6 years	5
From 7 to 8 years	6
From 9 to 10 years	7
11 years or more	8

(If they don't have Spanish nationality M-VOT y M-NO-VOT)

P05b. What is your current legal status?

PRECODED SITUATIONS

(For all M-VOT / M-NOVOT / NAC-E)

P06. How many years have you been living in Spain?

1 years or less	1
From 1 to 2 years	2
From 2 to 3 years	3
From 3 to 4 years	4
From 5 to 6 years	5
From 7 to 8 years	6
From 9 to 10 years	7
11 years or more	8

P07. In which province do you habitually reside?

PRECODED LIST OF PROVINCES

P08. In which municipality do you currently reside?

PRECODED (complete list of municipalities in the province)

P09. How long have you been living in this municipality [province]?

2 years or less	1
From 3 to 4 years	2
From 5 to 6 years	3
From 7 to 8 years	4
From 9 to 10 years	5
11 years or more	6

INTEREST IN POLITICS

(For all M-VOT / M-NOVOT / NAC-E)

P1. How often do you read newspapers, watch or listen to TV or radio programs about public interest matters related to...

	Almost every day	Regularly	Rarely	Never
Topics of the municipality where you reside or your Autonomous Community	1	2	3	4
Topics about Spain	1	2	3	4
Topics about (country of origin)	1	2	3	4

P2Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

	Agree	Disagree
Politicians don't care about what people like me think	1	2
Politics has a great influence on the life of any citizen	1	2

I am interested in current political issues	1	2
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P3. Of the following, which two types of feelings does politics primarily inspire in you? (MAXIMUM TWO ANSWERS)

	First feeling	Second feeling
Enthusiasm	1	1
Indifference	2	2
Boredom	3	3
Distrust	4	4
Commitment	5	5
Irritation	6	6
Interest	7	7
Don't know	98	98
No answer	99	99

P4. How often do you talk about politics when you: meet with friends, relatives, neighbours, co-workers, classmates, or other acquaintances?

Frequently	1
Sometimes	2
Rarely	3
Never	4
No answer	9

VOTER PARTICIPATION

(M-VOT and residents for more than 3 years P06>3) 6

(NAC-E and naturalized for less than 3 years P05<3 and from one of the countries entitled to vote in local elections and residents in Spain for more than 3 years P06>3)

P5. On May 26, 2019, the last municipal elections were held. Which of the following best describes your situation?

- . I completed the necessary procedures to be listed on the electoral roll and vote
1
- . I tried to complete the procedures, but I couldn't
2
- . I wanted to vote, but I didn't know that it was necessary to complete any procedures to be listed on the electoral roll
3
- . I wanted to vote, but I couldn't complete the procedures due to work problems
4
- . I didn't know I could vote
5
- . I didn't want to vote
6

. Other reason(specify)

7

(Made the procedures or tried to do so. Answers 1 or 2 in P5)

P6. How did you find out that it was necessary to express your desire to vote in Spain to be listed on the electoral roll and vote?

- . Received information from the Administration (City Hall, Ministry, Electoral Census Office, etc.) 1
- . Received information from an association (migrant, pro-migrant, or other type) 2
- . Through friends, relatives, or co-workers 3
- . Through the media 4
- . In another way 5

(tried to complete the procedures but couldn't. Answer 2 in P5)

P7. Which party would you have voted for if you had been able to?

PARTY LIST

(If you completed the procedures to vote. Answer 1 in P5) or (NAC-E and naturalized for more than 3 years P05a>3)

P8. In the last municipal elections, held on May 26, 2019, did you....

- . Go to vote and voted.....1
- . Go to vote but couldn't do it.....2
- . Didn't go to vote because I couldn't 3
- . Preferred not to vote 4

(If they preferred not to vote. Answer 4 in P8)

P9. There are several reasons why a person may decide not to vote. In your case, what was the main reason that led you not to vote in the last municipal elections on May 26, 2019? And in second place?

	First place	Second place
There was no choice that convinced me		
I was disoriented, didn't know who to vote for		
I didn't trust any party or politician		
To show my discontent		
I'm fed up with politics and elections		
Voting or not voting is the same, it doesn't serve any purpose		
Whatever happens, the same people always govern		
I don't understand Spanish politics.		

Another reason (please specify)		
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(Did went to vote but couldn't or didn't go in the. Answers 2 or 3 in P8)

P10. Which of the following reasons prevented you from voting?

- . I wasn't registered in the electoral census 1
- . I didn't have my ID card or passport 2
- . I didn't know where to go to vote 3
- . Family reasons 4
- . Health reasons 5
- . Work-related reasons 6
- . I was absent 7
- . Other reason (please specify) 8

(If you were eligible to vote and didn't vote – for any reason except not wanting to - P5=2,3,4,5,7 or P8=2,3)

P11. In case you could have voted, which party would you have voted for?

PARTY LIST

(went to vote and voted. Answer 1 in P8)

P12. Can you say which party or coalition you voted for in the municipal elections on May 26, 2019?

LISTADO DE PARTIDOS

(For everyone)

P13. Currently, only foreigners from European Union member states and XXX... can vote in municipal elections. Would you be very much in favour, in favour, against, or very much against extending this voting right to foreigners from other countries who legally reside in Spain?

- Very much in favour 1
- In favour 2
- Against 3
- Very much against 4

(NAC-E and naturalized more than 2 years ago P05a>2)

P14. Thinking now about the general elections on November 10, 2019, did you vote? Who did you vote for?

PARTY LIST + Blank Vote + Null Vote + Didn't vote because couldn't + Didn't vote because didn't want to + Was not old enough to vote + Didn't have Spanish nationality yet

(For everyone?)

P15. Did you vote in the last parliamentary elections held in (Country of origin)?

- Yes 1
- No 2
- There are no elections in my country 3
- [if naturalized] I lost my right to vote when I became a Spanish citizen 4
- Other responses (please specify) 5

(For everyone)

P16. When talking about politics, people usually use the expressions left and right. On the following scale from 1 to 10, where 1 is left and 10 is right, where would you place yourself?

Left-wing					Right-wing				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

P17. And how important are these left-right ideas to you?

- . Very important 1
- . Quite important 2
- . Not very important 3
- . Not important at all 4

P18. And on this same scale, where would you place each of the following parties or coalitions?

	Left-wing							Right-wing			
PSOE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
PP	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
UNIDAS PODEMOS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
VOX	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
CIUDADANOS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

P20. Please say if you approve or disapprove of the performance of each of the following politicians in their current political positions.

	Approves	Disapproves	Don't know the person
Pedro Sánchez	1	2	3
Alberto Núñez Feijóo	1	2	3
Santiago Abascal	1	2	3
Inés Arrimadas	1	2	3
Alberto Garzón	1	2	3
Yolanda Díaz	1	2	3
Iñe Belarra	1	2	3
Íñigo Errejón	1	2	3

P21. If the next week there were General Elections to the Spanish Parliament [if not Spanish nationality: and you could vote], how likely do you think it would be that you would go and vote?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Definitely would go and vote | 1 |
| Probably would go and vote | 2 |
| Probably would not go and vote | 3 |
| Definitely would not go and vote | 4 |

P22. And if you finally decided to go and vote, which political party or coalition do you think you would vote for in these General Elections to the Spanish Parliament?

- . Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE)
- . Partido Popular (PP)
- . Vox
- . Unidas Podemos (Podemos, IU, En Comú Podem, Guanyem el Canvi, En Marea...)
- . Ciudadanos
- . Más País (Más País-Equo-Compromís)
- . Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC)
- . Junts per Catalunya – Junts (JxC – Junts)
- . Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV)
- . Bildu (Euskal Herria Bildu)
- . Coalición Canaria (CC)
- . Otros partidos de izquierda (especificar)
- . Otros partidos de derecha (especificar)
- . Blanco
- . Nulo
- . No votaría
- . NS/NC

(Only no Spanish nationality)

P19a. Do you know if you meet the requirements to obtain Spanish nationality?

Yes, I know that I do meet them.

Yes, I know that I don't meet them.

I don't know what the requirements are

I'm not sure if I meet them or not.

P19b. Regardless of whether you currently meet the requirements or not, to what extent would you be interested in obtaining Spanish nationality?

A lot

Quite a bit

Somewhat

A Little

Not at all

(To all)

P20. Would you be in favour of there being other ways to obtain full citizenship rights, such as the right to vote, beyond obtaining Spanish nationality?

Yes

No

I don't know, I've never considered it.

P21. In other countries, the only requirement to participate in elections is to reside in the country for a minimum period of time. If Spanish regulations were to change in this regard, what do you think would be the minimum residence time that should be required?

___ years

Don't know

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

(To all)

P22. People sometimes belong to certain groups or associations. Please say if you currently belong, used to belong, or have never participated in the following organizations and associations.

	Is a member and participates	Member but does not participate	Used to be a member	Has never been a member
[RANDOMIZE]	1	2	3	4
A political party	1	2	3	4
A labour union, employers' association, or professional organization	1	2	3	4
A neighbourhood association (excluding homeowners' associations)	1	2	3	4
A sports group/club	1	2	3	4
A cultural or recreational group	1	2	3	4
An organization supporting migrants/pro-migrants (EXAMPLES)	1	2	3	4
An association of migrants (EXAMPLES)	1	2	3	4
A humanitarian, charity, or social assistance organization (Red Cross, Caritas, (EXAMPLES)	1	2	3	4
A human rights, peace, environmental, or animal rights defence organization (Greenpeace, Amnesty International, EXAMPLES)	1	2	3	4
A parish organization or other religious organization	1	2	3	4
A youth or student association	1	2	3	4
An educational association, teachers' association, or parents' association	1	2	3	4
A retirees' or senior citizens' association or club	1	2	3	4
A women's association	1	2	3	4
Another type of association or organization (specify)	1	2	3	4

P23. Regardless of whether you are a member or not, have you joined any activities organized by these organizations in the past 12 months?

Yes

No

P24. There are various forms of participation in social and political actions that people can engage in. Please indicate for each of the following if you have participated and when was the last time you did so.

	Participated in the past 12 months	Participated in the past but not recently	Not participated, but would be willing to	Not participated and would not do so
Signing a petition				

Attending a demonstration				
Participating in a strike				

P25. Think about the last time you did each of these things. In your opinion, which groups of people were affected by the issue that led you to do so?

<i>(Only for those you participated in according to PX)</i>	Only you, your family, or a few people	People from your municipality or autonomous community	People from all over Spain	People from your country of origin	People from all over the world
Signing a petition					
Attending a demonstration					
Participating in a strike					

CLASSIFICATION DATA

Education level

Socioeconomic situation

Current occupation or last occupation for employed/unemployed/retired individuals