

Voters, Parties and Representation
in
European Multicultural Democracies

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European Multicultural Democracies**

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List of Abbreviations

ACE	Electoral Knowledge Network
BNP	British National Party (United Kingdom)
C	Commonwealth citizens
CDU	Christian Democratic Union (Germany)
CHES	Chapel Hill Expert Survey
CONS	Conservative Party (United Kingdom)
CSU	Christian Social Union (Germany)
DE	Germany
Destatis	Federal Statistical Office of Germany
DOM	Overseas Departments and Territories (France)
ESS	European Social Survey
EU	European Union
EU	European Union
EU 15	European Union 15
FDP	Free Democratic Party (Germany)
FR	France
GDP	Gross domestic product
Greens	Green Party (United Kingdom)
Grünen	Green Party (Germany)
H	Hypothesis
HDI	Human Development Index
I	Irish citizens
ICS	Immigrant Citizen Survey
IHDI	Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index
INSEE	National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (France)
LA	Latin American citizens
Lab	Labour Party (United Kingdom)
LibDem	Liberal Democratic Party (United Kingdom)
Linke	Left Party (Germany)
MARPOR	Manifesto Project
Mneg	Multiculturalism Negative
MP	Member of Parliament

MPF	Movement for France Party (France)
Mneg	Multiculturalism Negative
Mpos	Multiculturalism Positive
MSSD	Most Similar System Design
NC	New Centre Party (France)
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONS	Office for National Statistics (United Kingdom)
PCF	French Communist Party
Plaid	Plaid Cymru Party (Wales, United Kingdom)
PR	Proportional representation
PRG	Radical Left Party (France)
PS	Socialist Party (France)
SD	Standard deviation
SES	Socio-economic status
SMC	Single Member Constituency System
SNP	Scottish National Party (United Kingdom)
SPD	Social Democratic Party (Germany)
UDF	French Union for Democracy Party (France)
UK	United Kingdom
UKIP	Independence Party (United Kingdom)
UMP	Union for a Popular Movement (France)
UNPD	United Nations Development Program
US	United States
Verts	Green Party (France)
WQs	Written Questions

1. Introduction

This doctoral dissertation investigates immigrants' political participation and representation in European democracies. It grounds on the observation that immigration to Europe has increased in the last years changing the ethnic and cultural landscape of the hosting democracies. These social phenomena raise several questions: How does immigration affect electoral democracies? Are immigrant and native voters alike? Or, does immigration emerge as a new social cleavage? Are parties concerned about immigration and open to include immigrant candidates? And, how are immigrants represented in national legislatures?

This dissertation is an attempt to provide deep and systematized empirically founded insights on the transformations that national electorates, parties, and political institutions are experiencing in the so-called "age of migration" (Castles & Miller 2009). The studies examine and compare Western European democracies and shed light into some of the substantive changes and their underlying mechanisms.

1.1 Why Immigrants' Participation and Representation?

Ideally all research projects should aim at satisfying two criteria: first, they should examine questions that are "important" in the real world and second, they should make a "contribution" to the existent scholarly literature by scientifically explaining some aspects of our world (King et al. 1994).

Although international migration is far from being a new phenomenon, in the last decades it has expanded to all regions of the world. International mobility has become easier as a result of political changes and the technological advancements in transport and communication, turning into the central dynamic of globalization (Castles & Miller 2009). A crucial characteristic of today's international migration is the challenge that it poses to the sovereignty of states and the very notion of the nation, which are key features of modern polities. First, confronting the idea of a sovereign state constituting the authority which rules over a society, international migration defies the ability of states to regulate movements of people across borders and their integration (Guiraudon and Lahav 2000). Second, challenging the idea of a nation sharing a common ethnic and cultural heritage immigrants change the socio-demographic configuration of countries' nation. This results in major challenges to the conception of national identities grounding on ethnic terms (Howard 2009). Furthermore, immigration contributes to the emergence of a structural conflict between the so-called "winners" and "losers" of globalization. While the winners of globalization benefit from globalization as the opening up of national boundaries enhances their life chances, for the losers of globalization the opening up of national boundaries represent a threat to their social status and security (Kriesi et al. 2008: 4-5). Thus, contemporary migration touches the vertebral bones of Western electoral democracies.

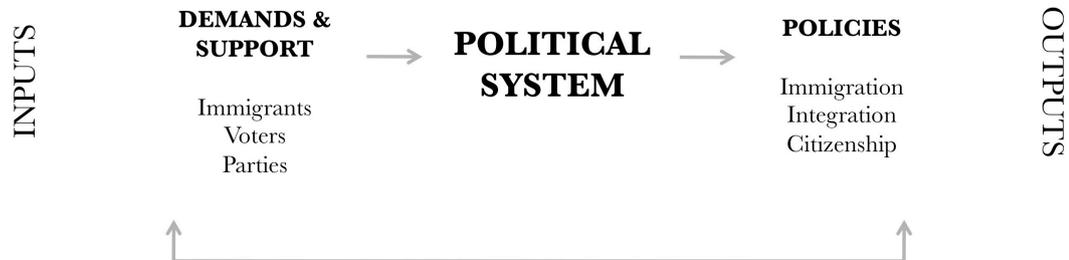
A growing corpus of political literature has started investigating immigrants as voters, and immigrants' interactions with political institutions and parties. Chronologically speaking this research first emanated from countries historically considered as immigration countries like the United States and Canada. Yet in recent years it has reached the old continent, where the field is under development. Recently, a team of researchers formed by Karen Bird and colleagues published one of the most comprehensive comparative studies about

immigrants' political participation and representation in the context of European democracies (Bird et al. 2011). In this book the authors examine the electoral behavior of immigrants, immigrants' candidacy and their representation in national legislatures, setting a fertile ground on which subsequent studies (including this one) build on.

In the essay "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems", David Easton states "the study of politics is concerned with understanding how authoritative decisions are made and executed for a society" (1957: 383). Therefore, in the historical time that is ours, characterized by globalization, this doctoral dissertation seeks to shed further light on the phenomenon of immigration and its effects on electoral democracies based on a series of comparative studies that encompass the process of immigrants' political incorporation into the receiving countries, namely: (1) immigrants' arrival to the host country; (2) their entry into the political arena and the recognition of their specific needs; (3) their political participation as voters, advocates and candidates and (4) the responsiveness of the political system to the needs and preferences of immigrant groups.

Examining key aspects of the political life of immigrants emerged to me as a viable strategy to foster our understanding of the changes that European democracies are undergoing at the age of migration. As Easton observed "each part of the larger political canvas does not stand alone but is related to each other part" (1957: 383).

Figure 1. System of Political Actions



In fact, a political system receives inputs of several kinds, which are converted into outputs, and have consequences for the system and the context in which the system exist (Easton 1957). As Figure 1 illustrates, in the context of multicultural democracies, political systems receive the input in the form of demands from immigrants, citizens of immigrant origin and national voters, which may have the support of specific political parties. Much of what happens within political systems is related to the inputs and forces that shape the process of decision-making. And following that process, authoritative decisions result, which shape the political system and its context (see Easton 1957).

Following this framework of analysis I expect that by examining immigrant groups and their demands, immigrant voters' mobilization, where do political parties stand on immigration and multiculturalism (inputs and support) and immigrants' representation (outputs) I will make a contribution to our understanding of the politics of immigration, integration and citizenship in European democracies.

1.2 Research Design

In order to provide with an overview of the research design of this investigation, in this section I explain the cross-national comparative strategy designed for this study, present a detailed account of the data that is used, and provide explanations for the multi-methodological approach implemented.

1.2.1 Immigrants

This dissertation focuses on the study of international migrants in Western European democracies. International migrants (or immigrants) are defined as individuals that enter a country with the aim of establishing residence¹. The most usual criteria to identify immigrants are place of birth and citizenship (Bilsborrow 1997). On the one hand, individuals' place of birth is an important indicator because it sheds light on the dynamics of international mobility. On the other hand, nationality is one of the crucial identifying factors for international migrants because citizenship determines a person's social, economic, and cultural rights in a country.

Cross-national studies related to immigration embody several challenges. The definition of migrants has been a key source of inconsistency in national population statistics. Countries gather migration data in accordance to their own definitions and measurement traditions, which is not always consistent across countries. To reduce complexity and guarantee comparability in this dissertation I focus on first and second-generation migrants using place of birth as the main identifier. First-generation migrants are those individuals that are born in a different country than where they live, and to foreign parents. Second-generation migrants, in contrast, are those individuals born in the country where they live but

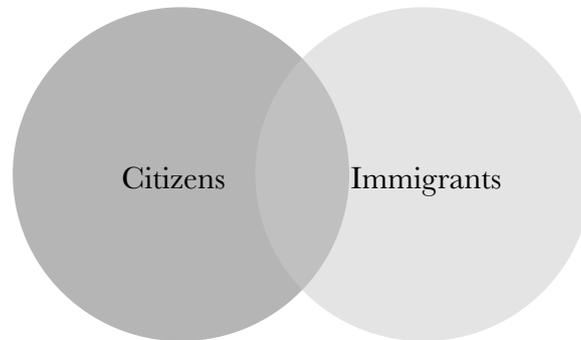
¹ Definition from the United Nations Population Division, International Migration Report 2002, <http://www.un.org/esa/population/psetsublications/ittmig2002/2002ITTMIGTEXT22-11.pdf>

to at least one foreign parent. These definitions are applied to all country, and district-level analyses.

Following the main objective of this thesis some of the empirical analyses focus on immigrant voters and representatives, using citizenship as the main identifying criteria. Therefore having identified international migrants by their country of origin, I then focus on the subset of national citizens of immigrant origin. This is particularly the case in Chapter 1 when I examine the immigrant electorate, Chapter 2 when I analyze the voting behavior of immigrant voters, in Chapter 5 when I investigate immigrants' descriptive representation and in Chapter 6 when I examine whether immigrant-origin deputies represent immigrants in national parliaments.

The Venn diagram presented in Figure 2 illustrates the definitions above established. The circle of the left colored in dark grey represents the population of a country having the citizenship of that country. The circle of the right colored in light grey stands for the immigrant population living in that same country. At the intersection of both groups is the subset of individuals that have both, the citizenship of the country where they live, and a past of migration. Overall, the empirical analysis of this dissertation focuses mainly on immigrant voters and representatives, that is on the population located in the intersection of the diagram.

Figure 2. Venn Diagram of Citizens and Immigrants



To conclude, the main subjects of interest of this dissertation are the immigrant populations residing in Western European countries. And, the main objective is to shed light on the effects that immigrants and immigration has in electoral democracies. As every empirical chapter deals with a different aspect of this phenomenon, depending on the focus I may refer either to the entire immigrant population of a country, or to the subset of immigrants holding the nationality of that given country. This is clearly indicated in every study.

1.2.2 Case Selection

In this dissertation I adopt a two-step approach to examine the transformations of Western European electoral democracies in relation to mass immigration (see Figure 3). First, I apply a cross-country comparative perspective to analyze the effects of mass immigration on the composition of the electorate, voting behavior and party policy positions in 15 Western European countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and United Kingdom. Second, following the case-study approach I go more in depth and examine immigrants' political representation in three Western European countries: France, Germany, and the

United Kingdom, which are in Europe among the countries with the largest immigrant populations.

The combination of the comparative method with the right selection of cases can provide the means to test propositions that are deduced from given theory which derives in a very promising strategy (Mahoney 2003). At first, I examine some of the most important assumptions about immigrants' political participation and representation across Western European countries. The comparative method used in this research can be traced back to the Millian canons. Comparative research is one of the basic scientific methods of establishing general empirical propositions (Lijphart 1971:682). It consists on the systematic search for the necessary and sufficient conditions for the occurrence of political phenomena (Mill 1843 in Clark et al. 2009). And, it is useful for testing propositions that have been validated in other contexts (Rokkan 1966: pp 19-20). In this way, the large N approach serves the purpose of revealing similarities and differences across cases, and to draw generalizations (King et al. 1994, Miller 2007).

Second, the case-study approach follows the small N strategy and aims at providing a deep understanding on the factors that influence political representation and its causal mechanisms. In this sense, the small N strategy can help overcoming some of the weakness of large N comparisons, namely poor data quality, inadequate indicators, and reductionism (Geddes 2003, Brady & Collier 2004).

Figure 3. Scope of the Cross-country Comparison and the Case Studies Analysis

Cross-country Comparison



Case Studies



Therefore, it is expected that by combining the large N and the small N strategies this dissertation can draw some generalizations and provide with a better understanding of the mechanisms of immigrants' participation and representation.

1.2.2.1 Cross-country Comparison

In order to obtain scientific findings it is important to define clear criteria delimitating the scope of this inquire (Horowitz 1986). Accordingly, the selection of cases has followed the logic of a most-similar systems design (Przeworski and Teune 1970). Therefore to examine immigrants' participation and representation the countries included in the analyses have been selected on the basis of their social, economic, demographic, and political similarities, which are discussed below.

a) Socio-economic Development

The “push-pull” economic theory of migration shows that difficult conditions in the country of origin, and attractive economic prospects in the receiving country are among the major forces behind migration (Castles and Miller 2009:22). Following this assumption the countries included in the comparative analyses outperform the majority of the countries in the region and in the world in terms of their socio-economic development. Prosperous economic and living conditions are strongly related to the topic studied here because they attract migrant workers from countries with less developed economies.

The Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI) is a composite statistics that combines life expectancy, education, and income indices accounting for inequality designed to rank countries in terms of their human development (United Nations Development Program). In short, the IHDI can be defined as

“the level of human development when inequality is accounted for”², which is considered as the actual level of human development.

As it is shown in Table 1 Western European countries, which are the cases, analyzed in this dissertation are considered to belong to the “very high human development” group, which means that they are located in the top quintile. Among the top 10 countries worldwide in terms of their Human Development we find four European countries including Ireland in the 5th position, Netherlands in the 7th position, Sweden in the 8th position, and Germany in the 10th position. In the second ten of the rank appear France in the 14th place, Finland in the 16th position, Belgium in the 18th place, and Denmark and Spain in the 19th and 20th places respectively. Down in the list appear Greece in the 22nd place, Italy in the 23rd position, followed by Luxembourg, Austria and United Kingdom, which are in the 24th, 25th and 26th positions respectively. Finally, Portugal is located in the 40th place worldwide.

² <http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdr14-report-en-1.pdf> (page 157)

Table 1. Rank of Countries by Human Development in 2010

Rank	Country	Adjusted HDI
5	Ireland	0.89
7	Netherlands	0.89
9	Sweden	0.88
10	Germany	0.88
14	France	0.87
16	Finland	0.87
18	Belgium	0.86
19	Denmark	0.86
20	Spain	0.86
22	Greece	0.85
23	Italy	0.85
24	Luxembourg	0.85
25	Austria	0.85
26	United Kingdom	0.84
40	Portugal	0.79

Source: IHDI, UNPD

In other words, countries' socio-economic conditions in terms of life quality, opportunities, and economic conditions are among the most important determinants of international migration. From this perspective the fact that European countries outperform other countries and regions in the world explains why they had become the recipient of mass immigration. And, mass immigration as I will show below is transforming the demographic landscape of these societies, making them the ideal cases to analyze to examine the effects of immigration on electoral democracies.

b) Immigration Countries

In line to what I have argued above, socio-economic development comes almost always hand in hand with mass immigration. The pursuit of better economic opportunities is among the most important determinants of international migration. The relationship between socio-economic conditions and immigration is well established. As it is shown in Table 2 Western European countries are among the main destination of international migration. These countries have a considerable percentage of their population being born abroad.

On the upper extreme is Luxemburg, which has one third of its population of immigrant origin. Ireland, Austria, Spain, and Sweden follow with more than 15 percent of their population of immigrant origin. Then, Belgium, Germany, Greece, United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands have between 10 and 15 percent of their population of immigrant origin. Finally, in Denmark, Portugal, and Italy around 10 percent of the population is non-national. And on the extreme lower side is Finland scoring the lowest percentages of immigrants among their population with 4.6 percent of their residents being of immigrant origin.

Table 2.Share of Immigrants per Country

Country	% Immigrants
Luxembourg	36.3
Ireland	17.6
Austria	16.8
Spain	16.6
Sweden	15.1
Belgium	14.8
Germany	13.6
Greece	12.3
United Kingdom	11.9
France	11.8
Netherlands	11.6
Denmark	9.8
Portugal	8.7
Italy	8.2
Finland	4.6

Source: Eurostat

Western European countries have followed a transformation phase in which they have step-by-step turned from emigration countries into immigration countries (Fassmann et al. 2014³). Transformations in countries' migration cycles are often times accompanied by periods of stagnation, which then stabilize when immigration becomes one of the central components of demographic growth. In this latest stadium of the migration cycle, policy evolutions related to migration regulations are re-examined and integration policies are put forward.

Under those circumstances, Western European democracies are interesting cases to examine for two main reasons. On the one hand, the aim of this dissertation is to provide new insights on the interplay of immigration and democracy in “new” immigration countries. Much of what we know today about these phenomena

³ <http://epc2014.princeton.edu/papers/140803>

originates from “old” immigrant countries, mainly the United States and Canada. For this reason, centering our focus on the European contexts allows for testing whether the same factors that explain immigrants’ political participation and representation in “old” immigration countries are useful to explain this in the “new” immigration countries. On the other hand, due to the fact that the phenomenon of immigration is relatively new in Western Europe, many transformations are taking place at the present time in these democracies. Therefore, we are in a privileged position when examining this phenomenon in Europe because these evolutions are on the go, making the European democracies the ideal cases to investigate how immigration affects electoral democracies.

c) Consolidated Democracies

The democratic history of a polity is an important factor to take into account in comparative analyses. In the first place the length of the democratic trajectory of a given country is crucial factor explaining the characteristics of institutions, party systems and the electorate. Established democratic systems guarantees that “the democracies studied are not ephemeral entities but reasonably stable and consolidated democratic systems” (Lijphart 1999: 53). In contrast, countries that have democratized more recently have a re-structuring party system and volatile electorates.

From this perspective, drawing the line for the case selection along the iron curtain has been a vital decision in this dissertation. Western European countries have followed a differentiated political trajectory in comparison to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe that were part of the Soviet Union. While the former, have more solid and stable democratic institutions, the latter are still experiencing considerable institutional, partisan, and demographic re-structuring. And this is quite consequential in defining the stadium of democracy. From this perspective,

in stable democracies classic cleavages are more or less solved and new issues can emerge in the public agenda, among which immigration (Kriesi et al. 2008), therefore older and stable democracies of the West of Europe are the ideal framework for examining the interplay of immigration and democracy.

d) European Union Membership

In addition to the above-mentioned characteristics that make Western European countries suitable for comparison in terms of their socio-economic conditions, migration dynamics and democratic history, another key point that is crucial in this study is countries' early membership to the European Union. Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands constitute the "Inner Six", the founding members who set the basis for the economic and political regional cooperation. In 1973 Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom joined the community. In 1981 Greece was included and later Portugal and Spain in 1986, and Austria, Finland and Sweden in 1995.

In 2004 the European Union made the steps towards the big enlargement, including Eastern European countries and symbolizing the unification of Eastern and Western Europe. Even so, including countries that have been EU members for a long time responds to a major concern. These countries play an important regional role as agenda-setters and policy-makers in the EU. It must be remembered that as part of the European Union, member states adhere to collaborative immigration policies applied on the borders of the Union to control for non-European immigration. As a result older members of the EU have been deciding on immigration matters, shaping EU immigration policies. And, a point often overlooked is that these countries have set the conditions for accession of the new EU members states, including the conditions related to intra-European and

third-country migration. Given these points it is reasonable to center the empirical analyses of this dissertation on the older members of the European Union.

Finally, EU membership (which explains also the exclusion of non-EU members like Norway and Switzerland from this study) is an important determinant of immigration policies within the regional territory. First, it must be remarked that an increasing convergence on border control, citizenship and integration policies is observed across these countries (Koopmans 2005). Notably, since the Schengen Agreement signed in 1985 European citizens have the right to live and work everywhere within the EU. These institutional changes contributed immensely to intra-European migration. And, with the adoption of the Maastricht agreement in 1992 the European citizenship was created which setting higher standards in terms of the integration of European migrants. In particular, social and political rights have been granted to EU nationals living in other European countries.

1.2.2.2 Case Studies

The second part of the analysis focuses on immigrants' political representation in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, and examines in particular their national parliaments. This design is conceived to reducing "the number of "disturbing" variables to be kept under control" (Della Porta & Keating 2008: 214) and therefore we can better explain similarities and variations in terms of immigrants' political representation.

In the vast majority of the lower houses across bicameralist democracies, representatives are elected directly by citizens in which equal weight is given to each and single eligible voter (Tsebelis and Money 1997:46). Independently of the electoral system (single-member constituency, first-past-the post, two-round system, proportional representation) the lower house normally serves the purpose

of legitimating because is elected by the citizens of the country where one citizen equals one vote (Tsebelis and Money 1997:46). The focus of the last empirical analyses on the lower houses responds to the fact that these are elected directly in the aim of representing the citizens.

The three countries selected for the analysis of political representation have key characteristics in common. They have adopted single-member constituency systems (albeit some differences), which have as a constitutive characteristic to emphasize the relationship between members of parliament and their territorial constituencies. From this perspective, single-member constituency systems are particularly interesting for the research topic I investigate in this dissertation because international migrants tend to concentrate geographically within the borders of legislative constituencies. This characteristic facilitates testing the explanatory power of different variables such as the effect of the size of the immigrant community in a given constituency on immigrants' representation, against party or individual-based explanations. In addition, France has a two-round system whereas the United Kingdom has a first-past-the-post system, and Germany combines single-member constituency system with open list proportional systems⁴. These institutional differences are taken into account by the researcher and linked to the empirical outcomes of the analyses to explain how and to what extent institutions shape immigrants' representation.

In summary, I have presented in this section the case selection procedures adopted in the selection of countries for the cross-country comparison, and the three cases for the in-depth analyses, that structure the two-step approach I follow in this dissertation. Next, I will show the time-span covered in the empirical analyses that conform this doctoral thesis.

⁴ The implications of these differences for immigrants' political representation are further discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

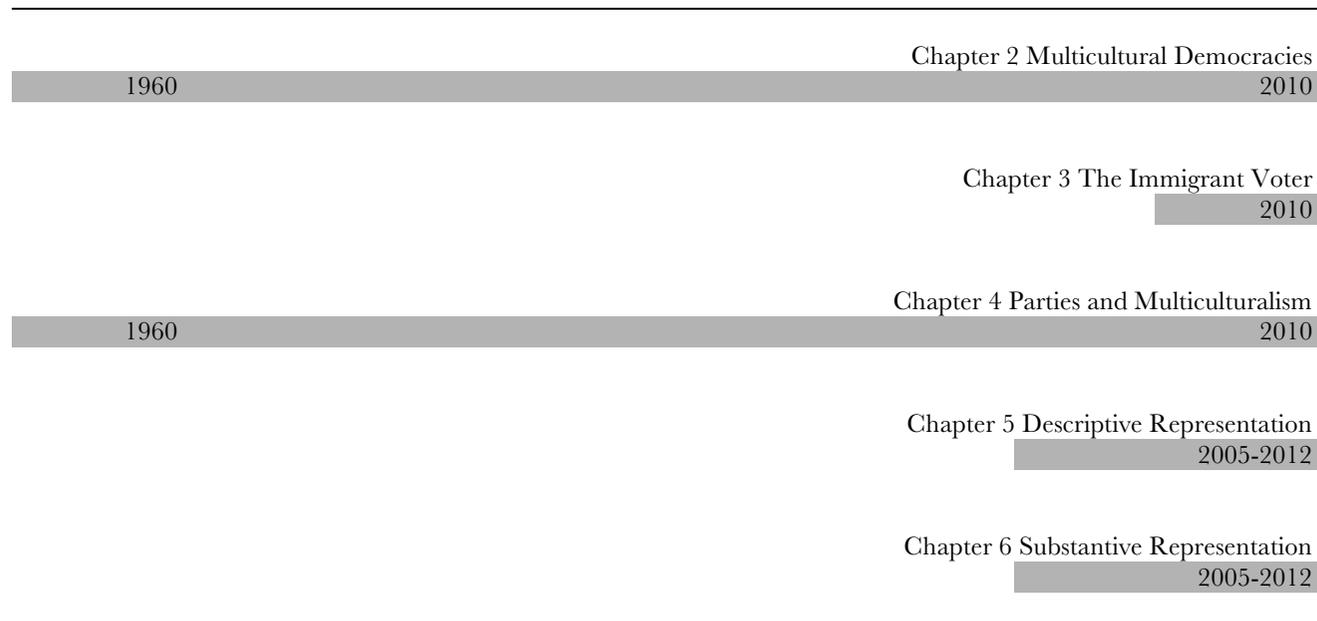
1.2.3 Time Frame Overview

The interest of this doctoral dissertation is to understand how the phenomenon of immigration affects our contemporary democracies. In order to do so, I examine some of the most important pillars of our democracies: the electorate, political parties, and political representation in national legislatures. The vast majority of the empirical research focuses in the present years. This is in particular the case to explain immigrants' voting behavior, and immigrants' political representation. In contrast, to explain the emergence and evolution of multicultural democracies, and parties' policy position, I adopt a broader historical perspective that covers the period from the 1960s until 2010.

Figure 4 summarizes the time covered in every empirical analysis. To start with, Chapter 2, which examines the emergence and evolution of European Multicultural Democracies, examines their evolution since the 1960s till today. Chapter 3, explains the participation and voting behavior of immigrant voters in contemporary democracies, and uses a survey conducted in several Western European democracies in 2010. Chapter 4 examines the evolution of the issue of Multiculturalism across party systems in the last five decades. Finally Chapters 5 and 6 study descriptive and substantive representation in France (2007-2012), Germany (2005 – 2009) and the United Kingdom (2005 – 2010).

Therefore for the most part, this research is centered in examining contemporary democracies. Nonetheless, when it is appropriate I take a retrospective approach that help us revealing the long-term development of contemporary European democracies in the context of immigration.

Figure 4. Empirical Chapters Time Frame Overview



1.2.4 Data

Given its empirical nature this dissertation makes use of a wide variety of primary and secondary data⁵. Table 3 presents a summary of the data by category, type, and source.

Table 3. Summary of the Empirical Data

Category	Type	Source
Demographic	Population	Population registers
	Migration	Population registers
Economic	GDP Growth	World Bank
	Human Development	United Nations
Legal	Migration	Several
	Citizenship	Several
	Political rights	Several
Preferences	Electoral behaviour	European Social Survey
	Opinion	Several
Representation	Policy position	Manifesto Project
	MPs' demographics	Several
	MPs' questions	National parliaments

The empirical analyses that conform this dissertation are based on five categories of data: (1) demographic, (2) economic, (3) legal, (4) preferences, and (5) representation data. These categories are sub-divided into different types, which have been extracted from different sources. Demographic data includes population and migration information, extracted from population registers. Economic data comprises economic growth and development data obtained from the databanks from the World Bank and the United Nations Statistics. Legal evidence includes migration, citizenship, and political rights, which have been extracted from legal documents and institutional databases. Preference data refer

⁵ Data specifications are provided in the single chapters

to individuals' vote choice and opinion, which are captured via opinion surveys. Finally, representation data comprises parties policy positions extracted from the Manifesto Project database, MPs' demographics obtained from representatives' biographies in combination with secondary data, and MPs' written parliamentary questions obtained from the websites of National Parliaments. All in all, the question of immigrants' political participation and representation in European democracies is explained using different kinds of data.

1.2.5 Measurements

The aim of this dissertation is to measure immigrants' political participation and representation in European democracies. In order to achieve such objectives I have identified crucial elements of our contemporary democracies and examined them in the light of the phenomenon of immigration. These include national electorates' demographics, voting behavior, and descriptive and substantive representation. Table 4 presents a summary of the main variables examined in this doctoral dissertation⁶.

⁶ Specifications related to the definition of these variables can be found on the empirical chapters.

Table 4. Summary of Measurements

Chapter Number	Latent Variable	Systematized Concept	Indicator
Chapter 2	Multiculturalization of Democracies	Diversifying Electorate	Electorates' ethnic and cultural diversity
Chapter 3	Electoral Behaviour of Immigrants	Turnout	Share of immigrant voters that participated
Chapter 3		Vote Choice	Immigrants' party choice
Chapter 4	Political Representation of Immigrants	Substantive Representation	Party position on multiculturalism
Chapter 5		Descriptive Representation	Proportion of immigrant MPs' related to immigrant population
Chapter 6		Substantive Representation	MPs' questions in parliament

To start with, in Chapter 2 I analyze the characteristics of the diversifying electorate across Western European democracies. From this perspective I examine the evolution of national electorates in terms of their ethnic and cultural diversity. In Chapter 3 I study the electoral behavior of immigrant voters. Therefore, the main variables of interests are immigrants' turnout and vote choice. Chapters 4 to 6 focus on political representation, and in every chapter a different component of representation is tackled. Chapter 4 examines the evolution of the issue of multiculturalism across parties and party systems. In this chapter, political parties are the main units of interest, and I look in particular at their position on the issue

of multiculturalism. Chapter 5 examines the representation of immigrants in national legislatures. It studies the nomination and election of immigrant deputies. Finally, Chapter 6 investigates immigrants' substantive representation in parliament by looking at the content of the questions they tabled by individual MPs.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter 2 “Setting the Context: Multicultural Democracies” addresses the state-of-the-art on the impact of immigration on Western European electoral democracies. Relying on demographic and economic data it sets the reasons and contexts of immigration. It argues that these countries have now multicultural democracies, and discusses how immigration alters the composition of the electorate, voting behavior, and political representation. On the whole, the first chapter sets the ground for the empirical analyses that precede this dissertation.

Chapter 3 “The Immigrant Voter” examines the voting behavior of citizens of immigrant origin in European democracies. So far, only few studies conduct comparative analyses of this type due to lack of survey data on voters' backgrounds. This is why in this chapter a method is proposed that allows extracting this information from a combination of different items from the European social survey in a comparative manner. Through this novel approach, the thesis renders more visible the inherent specificities of the immigrant electorate. Furthermore, an additional contribution of this chapter to the literature resides on the way I have measured party preferences. The results show that immigrant voters participate less in elections and are more prone to support left parties than native voters. Thereby, this chapter provides cross-country evidence sustaining the findings reached in single case studies, showing that these patterns are observed across countries and immigrant groups.

Chapter 4 “Issue Evolution and Political Parties” complements the research immigrant voters by analyzing the evolution of the issue of multiculturalism and parties’ positions on this issue over the last five decades in ten democracies. All in all, it makes two main contributions. First, and contrary to what is generally assumed in the literature, the study shows that the issue of multiculturalism was present in the political arena before the emergence and success of anti-immigration parties. Second, it provides evidence which signal that all party families in the 1960s and 1970s (including nationalist parties) had positive views on multiculturalism. It is shown that by the end of the 1970s a radical shift in party systems occurred towards more conservative views. And, it is at this point that anti-immigration parties adopted more radical positions against multiculturalism. That process was accentuated in the 2000s parallel to the occurrence of major immigration-related events (terrorism, social unrest, and controversial statements by the media and political actors). In this way, Chapter 4 sheds light on the evolution of the issue of multiculturalism across party families and party systems, and provides with some keys to unlock the underlying dynamics of these developments.

Chapter 5 “Descriptive Representation” deals with how immigrants are represented in parliament. It is an attempt to move beyond the “counting-faces” approach focused on the number of minority representatives in office by incorporating additional elements in the study of descriptive representation. Coping with the challenges of the limited data available, the study makes two essential contributions. It proposes a framework of analysis by which descriptive representation is examined in relation to the characteristics of the immigrant electorate. Through this novel framework, this thesis sheds light on the role that immigrant voters play in the election of immigrant representatives, together with the strategies that parties follow in the nomination of candidates in the immigrant constituencies. Besides, it focuses on immigrant deputies socio-demographics in

order to explain how much these “mirror” immigrant voters. The results of the study reveal that this analytical framework is very useful to understand immigrants’ representation. The study shows that institutional characteristics are among the most important determinant of immigrants’ descriptive representation. Furthermore, there is evidence confirming that party ideology is highly associated with immigrants’ nominations and that immigrant deputies are more likely to get elected in “immigrant constituencies”. Finally, biographical data sheds light on the fact that immigrant deputies resemble more national elites than the members of the immigrant community.

Chapter 6 “Substantive Representation” examines how immigrant and native deputies deal with immigration issues, especially when they represent “immigrant constituencies”. The sixth chapter makes three substantial contributions to the existing literature on political representation. By examining a massive amount of parliamentary questions from an original dataset it sheds light on how members of parliament respond to their constituencies, whether differences between immigrant and native deputies exist, and the extent to which parties influence immigrants’ representation. The study shows that overall members of parliament respond to their immigrant constituents when these constitute a large group.

Chapter 7 “Conclusion and Discussion” summarizes the findings of this dissertation, discusses the main limitations of the study and path the way for future research.