



Open Access Journal

The Political Participation and Representation of Migrants: An Overview

Sorina Soare ¹⁰ and Sergiu Gherghina ²⁰

¹ Department of Political Science, University of Florence, Italy

² Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Glasgow, UK

Correspondence: Sergiu Gherghina (sergiu.gherghina@glasgow.ac.uk)

Submitted: 22 January 2024 Published: 13 March 2024

Issue: This editorial is part of the issue "The Political Representation and Participation of Migrants" edited by Sergiu Gherghina (University of Glasgow) and Sorina Soare (University of Florence), fully open access at https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.i354

Abstract

This thematic issue covers the participation and representation of migrants in contemporary politics. It focuses on two interconnected analytical dimensions: countries of residence and countries of origin, as arenas of political engagement and the supply and demand sides of political representation. The articles in the thematic issue advance the existing knowledge in migration studies and party politics both theoretically and empirically. They do so by proposing innovative analytical frameworks to assess the extent of participation and representation and by bringing evidence that fosters a better understanding of the intricate relationship between migration and politics.

Keywords

democracy; elections; migrants; political participation; representation

1. Introduction

The theory of democracy underscores the connection between liberal democracy, citizens' participation, and representation. At the core of this relationship lies the responsiveness of government to its citizens and the quality of democracy (Sartori, 2006). The variation in political participation has been frequently linked to citizens' support for democratic institutions, norms, values, and principles (Almond & Verba, 1963; Dalton, 2019). Central to this concept is the idea that political participation reduces the gap between citizens and institutions and contributes to reinforcing social cohesion and democratic quality (Norris, 2011; Putnam, 2000). Although migrants form a relevant share in contemporary societies (McAuliffe & Triandafyllidou, 2022), their demographic weight is not reflected in democratic institutions and policies. The identification of



a representation gap underlines a notable disparity in the political participation of migrants (Dancygier et al., 2021). Initially considered politically passive due to their limited electoral engagement, more recent evidence reveals that migrants' political engagement has gradually expanded and reached beyond conventional arenas (Finn, 2020; Mügge et al., 2021; Tsuda, 2012; Vintila & Martiniello, 2021). Examples include unconventional forms of political participation such as demonstrations, protests, boycotts, or sit-ins (Gherghina, 2016; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003; Pilati, 2016). This emphasizes the need to consider alternative avenues through which migrants actively contribute to the contemporary political landscape.

Previous research about the multifaceted aspects of migration (Römer, 2023; Yeung, 2021) covers the supranational, national, and local political dimensions, but often maintains an exclusive focus on the conventional state-centered hierarchy of power. The migration scholarship acknowledges that migrants maintain ties to their countries of origin while actively participating in their countries of residence (Gherghina & Tseng, 2016; Green et al., 2014; Lafleur & Sánchez-Domínguez, 2015; Peltoniemi, 2018; Umpierrez de Reguero & Finn, 2023). This perspective outlines the multi-dimensional processes of migration, generating diverse connections, contiguities, and identities across borders (Grzymala-Kazlowska & Ryan, 2022). The interaction between countries of origin, settlement, and transnational networks has an impact on the migrants' sense of (political) belonging and their political participation (Mișcoiu et al., 2024).

Political parties adjusted their discourse to address the widespread migration process. On the one hand, there is political conflict around migration, which is often used by radical right parties for mobilization purposes (Art, 2011; Grande et al., 2019; Hatton, 2016; Pirro, 2015; Shehaj et al., 2021). Some Eurosceptic messages make direct reference to the threats of migration to the formation of national identity (Marian, 2018; Taggart & Szczerbiak, 2018). On the other hand, political parties in both the country of residence and the country of origin tailor their messages to appeal to immigrants or emigrants (Burgess, 2018; Dancygier, 2014; Dancygier et al., 2021; Gherghina et al., 2022; Østergaard-Nielsen & Ciornei, 2019).

2. Content of the Thematic Issue

Building on these strands of literature, this thematic issue covers the participation and representation of migrants in contemporary politics. It focuses on two interconnected analytical dimensions: countries of residence and countries of origin, as arenas of political engagement and the supply (political parties and politicians) and demand (migrants) sides of political representation. The articles provide a nuanced understanding of the intricate relationship between migration and politics. They advance the existing knowledge in migration studies and party politics both theoretically and empirically. First, they propose innovative analytical frameworks to assess the extent of participation and representation. Second, they reflect empirically on the intertwined nature of migration and politics in contemporary societies. In doing so, the thematic issue proposes three main lines of inquiry that are discussed briefly in the following subsections.

2.1. External Voting

Finn and Ramaciotti (2024) offer fresh perspectives on the reluctance of certain countries to extend external voting rights. Their legal historical analysis of the Chilean case advocates for a nuanced understanding of external voting bill failures. The comparison of proposals dismisses simplistic reasoning and highlights a



deficiency in political consensus akin to Uruguay. Soare's (2024) study focuses on parties' operational behavior abroad and introduces a typology based on the party's origin and degree of formalization. This conceptual framework enhances comparability between organizational configurations abroad and the existing research on party structures.

2.2. Migrant Communities' and Their Countries of Origin

Yener-Roderburg and Yetiş (2024) delve into transnational political mobilization within the Turkey-originated diasporic community in Europe. Their study underscores the influence of diaspora groups on Turkish voters abroad, emphasizing the pivotal role of organizations' activities and mobilization capacities. Gherghina and Basarabă (2024) contribute to transnational political participation literature and explore the individual determinants based on migrants' experiences and ties. Their analysis challenges the idea that voter turnout is linked exclusively to poor integration in the country of residence and shows that ties to home country politics and engagement in host communities boost electoral participation.

Boldrini (2024) provides insights into home parties' interactions with overseas communities, examining how Italian political parties select candidates for reserved parliamentary seats. This analysis reveals distinct career trajectories and capacities among different types of politicians elected abroad. Umpierrez de Reguero and Navia (2024) adopt a similar approach by examining the descriptive representation of citizens residing abroad in elections for extraterritorial districts. Their case study on Ecuador reveals advantages for non-resident candidates, contributing to understanding factors influencing the election of emigrants in extraterritorial seats.

2.3. Challenges of Migrants' Representation

The article authored by Vintila et al. (2024) scrutinizes migrants' descriptive representation in Spain with a focus on the party characteristics' influence on minority representation. Their analysis underscores the underrepresentation of migrant groups in Spanish local politics and the pivotal role of party features. In a complementary effort, Lazarova et al. (2024) explore the role of political parties in the democratic representation and political integration of individuals with immigrant backgrounds. Their results indicate positive effects of exposure to a democratic regime and internal efficacy on immigrants' party membership.

Zogu and Schönthaler (2024) provide a distinct understanding of the topic and investigate how political parties serve as gatekeepers to immigrant political participation in Bolzano, Northern Italy. Despite the limited impact on party recruitment, a nuanced pattern emerges with a tendency toward selectively including certain immigrant groups. Pacześniak and Wincławska (2024) contribute substantively to the debate by examining opportunities and constraints surrounding migrant political participation and representation in Polish society. Their findings show how the Polish political parties instrumentalize the migrant issue during election campaigns. The article by Kelbel et al. (2024) analyzes the voting rights of EU citizens in European and local elections within the member state of residence. Their study emphasizes the pivotal role of contextual factors as predictors in understanding participation dynamics.



3. Conclusions

This thematic issue provides rich insight into the landscape of transnational political dynamics. It focuses on the interaction between the communities of migrants and countries of origin, with particular attention paid to the opportunities and challenges of participation and representation.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

References

Almond, G. A., & Verba, S. (1963). The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations. SAGE.

- Art, D. (2011). Inside the radical right: The development of anti-immigrant parties in Western Europe. Cambridge University Press.
- Boldrini, M. (2024). Political professionalization beyond national borders: An analysis of Italian MPs in overseas constituencies. *Politics and Governance*, 12, Article 7470.
- Burgess, K. (2018). States or parties? Emigrant outreach and transnational engagement. *International Political Science Review*, *39*(3), 369–383.
- Dalton, R. J. (2019). Citizen politics. Public opinion and political parties in advanced industrial democracies (7th ed.). CQ Press.
- Dancygier, R. (2014). Electoral rules or electoral leverage? Explaining Muslim representation in England. *World Politics*, 66(2), 229–263.
- Dancygier, R., Lindgren, K.-O., Nyman, P., & Vernby, K. (2021). Candidate supply is not a barrier to immigrant representation: A case-control study. *American Journal of Political Science*, *65*(3), 683–698.
- Finn, V. (2020). Migrant voting: Here, there, in both countries, or nowhere. Citizenship Studies, 24(6), 730-750.
- Finn, V., & Ramaciotti, J. P. (2024). Reject, reject, reject....Passed! Explaining a latecomer of emigrant enfranchisement. *Politics and Governance*, *12*, Article 7331.
- Gherghina, S. (2016). Making voices count: The political participation of Romanian immigrants in Western Europe. *East European Politics*, *32*(2), 258–276.
- Gherghina, S., & Basarabă, A. (2024). Migrants' voter turnout in the home country elections: Non-integration or political anchor? *Politics and Governance*, 12, Article 7396.
- Gherghina, S., Tap, P., & Soare, S. (2022). More than voters: Parliamentary debates about emigrants in a new democracy. *Ethnicities*, 22(3), 487–506.
- Gherghina, S., & Tseng, H.-K. (2016). Voting home or abroad? Comparing migrants' electoral participation in countries of origin and of residence. *Nationalities Papers*, 44(3), 456–472.
- Grande, E., Schwarzbözl, T., & Fatke, M. (2019). Politicizing immigration in Western Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *26*(10), 1444–1463.
- Green, E. G. T., Sarrasin, O., & Maggi, J. (2014). Understanding transnational political involvement among Senegalese migrants: The role of acculturation preferences and perceived discrimination. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 41, 91–101. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2014.05.001
- Grzymala-Kazlowska, A., & Ryan, L. (2022). Bringing anchoring and embedding together: Theorising migrants' lives over-time. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 10, 1–19.
- Hatton, T. J. (2016). Immigration, public opinion and the recession in Europe. Economic Policy, 31(86), 205–246.
- Kelbel, C., Gouard, D., von Nostitz, F., & Lombard, M. (2024). Electoral participation of non-national EU citizens in France: The case of the Nord. *Politics and Governance*, *12*, Article 7507.



- Lafleur, J.-M., & Sánchez-Domínguez, M. (2015). The political choices of emigrants voting in home country elections: A socio-political analysis of the electoral behaviour of Bolivian external voters. *Migration Studies*, 3(2), 155–181.
- Lazarova, M. B., Saalfeld, T., & Seifert, O. (2024). What does it take for immigrants to join political parties? *Politics and Governance*, 12, Article 7440.
- Marian, C. (2018). The Social Democrat Party and the use of political marketing in the 2016 elections in Romania. *Sfera Politicii*, *26*(3-4), 70-82.
- McAuliffe, M., & Triandafyllidou, A. (2022). *World migration report 2022*. International Organization for Migration. https://publications.iom.int/books/world-migration-report-2022
- Mișcoiu, S., Mitru, B., & Gherghina, S. (2024). Migrants away from the polls: Explaining the absenteeism of people with sub-Saharan African origins in the 2022 French presidential elections. *Identities*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/1070289X.2023.2298576
- Mügge, L., Kranendonk, M., Vermeulen, F., & Aydemir, N. (2021). Migrant votes "here" and "there": Transnational electoral behavior of Turks in the Netherlands. *Migration Studies*, *9*(3), 400–422.
- Norris, P. (2011). Democratic deficit: Critical citizens revisited. Cambridge University Press.
- Østergaard-Nielsen, E. (2003). Transnational politics: Turks and Kurds in Germany. Routledge.
- Østergaard-Nielsen, E., & Ciornei, I. (2019). Political parties and the transnational mobilisation of the emigrant vote. West European Politics, 42(2019), 618–644.
- Pacześniak, A., & Wincławska, M. (2024). Migrants' political participation and representation in Poland: What do political parties have to offer? *Politics and Governance*, 12, Article 7498.
- Peltoniemi, J. (2018). Transnational political engagement and emigrant voting. *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, *26*(4), 392–410.
- Pilati, K. (2016). Migrants' political participation in exclusionary contexts: From subcultures to radicalization. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Pirro, A. (2015). The populist radical right in Central and Eastern Europe. Routledge.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community. Simon & Schuster.
- Römer, F. (2023). How immigration affects the welfare state in the short and long run: Differences between social spending and policy generosity. *European Policy Analysis*, 9(1), 69–90.
- Sartori, G. (2006). Democrazia: Cosa è. BUR Saggi.
- Shehaj, A., Shin, A. J., & Inglehart, R. (2021). Immigration and right-wing populism: An origin story. *Party Politics*, 27(2), 282–293.
- Soare, S. (2024). Investigating party abroad: Party origins and degrees of formalization. *Politics and Governance*, 12, Article 7527.
- Taggart, P., & Szczerbiak, A. (2018). Putting Brexit into perspective: The effect of the eurozone and migration crises and Brexit on Euroscepticism in European states. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 25(8), 1194–1214.
- Tsuda, T. (2012). Whatever happened to simultaneity? Transnational migration theory and dual engagement in sending and receiving countries. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(4), 631–649.
- Umpierrez de Reguero, S., & Finn, V. (2023). Migrants' intention to vote in two countries, one country, or neither. *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/ 10.1080/17457289.2023.2189727
- Umpierrez de Reguero, S., & Navia, P. (2024). Why do non-resident citizens get elected? Candidates' electoral success in Ecuadorian extraterritorial districts. *Politics and Governance*, *12*, Article 7495.
- Vintila, D., & Martiniello, M. (2021). Migrants political participation beyond electoral arenas. In M. Giugni & M. Grasso (Eds.), *Handbook of Citizenship and Migration* (pp. 303–316). Edward Eldgar Publishing.



- Vintila, D., Pérez-Nievas, S., Paradés, M., & Pamies, C. (2024). Diversity in Spanish politics? Dynamics of descriptive representation of immigrant-origin minorities in local elections. *Politics and Governance*, *12*, Article 7422.
- Yener-Roderburg, I. Ö., & Yetiş, E. Ö. (2024). Building party support abroad: Turkish diaspora organisations in Germany and the UK. *Politics and Governance*, *12*, Article 7546.
- Yeung, E. S. (2021). Does immigration boost public Euroscepticism in European Union member states? *European Union Politics*, 22(4), 631–654.
- Zogu, G., & Schönthaler, S. (2024). Selective inclusion? Insights into political parties' recruitment of immigrant background candidates in Bolzano. *Politics and Governance*, *12*, Article 7453.

About the Authors

Sorina Soare is a lecturer in comparative politics at the University of Florence. Her main research interests include political parties, populism, and democratization. She is the Director of the Center for Comparative Politics Studies–Giovanni Sartori.

Sergiu Gherghina is an associate professor in comparative politics at the Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Glasgow. His research interests lie in party politics, legislative and voting behavior, democratization, and democratic innovations.