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The diversity gap in the Portuguese and Spanish parliaments: Descriptive representation through an intersectional lens¹

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Abstract

This chapter constitutes the first attempt at examining the extent to which the diversity represented in Iberian legislatures reflects the existing diversity in the population, a crucial dimension on which to evaluate the quality of democracy. Drawing on original biographical data of MPs, our survey of diversity looks at gender, age, ethnicity, sexuality and ableness, and it pays attention to the intersection of gender with these markers of identity. The results show that, whereas women's presence has significantly increased in the last decade, the other minority groups remain remarkably underrepresented. Cross-party differences are rather small, with the exception of the tendency for left-wing parties to include more LGBT MPs and younger MPs. Our exploratory analysis also indicates that gender interacts with the above mentioned markers of identity in specific ways. Men MPs outnumber women MPs in all social groups (migrant origin and ethnic minority, LGBT, and disability) but youth.

Introduction

The degree of diversity found in legislatures is a crucial dimension on which to evaluate the quality of representative democracy. Studies on political representation consistently show that white older heterosexual fully-abled middle-class men still dominate parliaments. They are not only more numerous but they are also the 'ideal' or 'prototypical' seat-holder; that is, the one that a majority of electors and party selectors have in mind when thinking about political representatives (for a review, see Kenny and Verge 2016, Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach 2008). The "diversity gap", that is the skewed social composition of legislatures, not only structures the ways in which political institutions operate but it may also contribute to shaping hegemonic cultural perspectives of race, class, gender, ethnicity, age, ableness, and sexuality (Norris and Lovenduski 1995). Therefore, this chapter asks: how well does the diversity represented in Iberian legislatures reflect the existing diversity in the population?

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Descriptive representation – understood as ‘who the representatives are’ – matters for multiple reasons. On the one hand, the “diversity gap” in political office leads to a serious democratic deficit with relevant implications for democratic politics (Phillips 1998). While legislators are expected to represent the interests of the society as a whole, what a legislator ‘stands for’ in terms of descriptive representation is connected to what (s)he will ‘act for’ in terms of substantive representation (Mansbridge 1999). Research on the political representation of gender and ethnicity has shown that the number of women and ethnic minorities in legislatures impacts on the passing of equality and non-discrimination laws (see, among others, Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler 2005, Wüst 2014). Likewise, openly LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) MPs not only lobby for enhanced rights for this group but their presence also transforms the views and voting behaviour of non-LGBT MPs (cf. Reynolds 2013, Haider-Markel 2010). Conversely, absence from parliaments has made it difficult for disabled people to shift “the guiding principle of ‘welfare’ toward the principles of ‘citizenship’ and ‘rights’” (Drake 2001, p. 423). The chronic underrepresentation of young people also raises the issue of their substantive representation (IPU 2016).

On the other hand, the composition of parliaments evokes particular meanings to citizens (Pitkin 1967). MPs from minority and historically discriminated social groups may bring a symbolic value in that their bodily presence increases the legitimacy of, closeness to, and satisfaction with political institutions. It may also boost the levels of political efficacy of the citizens belonging to such groups, providing them with role models and signalling that politics is an arena open to their participation (see, for a review, Espírito-Santo and Verge 2017).

Hitherto, research on the compositional similarity between the representatives and the represented in Iberian parliaments has mostly focused on gender (Baum and Espírito-Santo 2012, Meirinho Martins and Pequito Teixeira 2005, Monteiro 2011, Valiente *et al.* 2004, Verge and Espírito-Santo 2016, Verge *et al.* 2017), with a few studies looking at the representation of immigrants (Pérez-Nievas *et al.* 2014, Vintila and Morales 2018, Vintila *et al.* forthcoming). This chapter constitutes the first attempt at examining the descriptive representation of social groups that have been traditionally excluded from politics and whose underrepresentation strongly correlates with patterns of socioeconomic injustice and/or lack of recognition. More specifically, it pays attention to the various forms of discrimination that structure privilege and power dynamics in political institutions like gender, age, ethnicity, sexuality, and ableness. In doing so, we

also adopt an intersectional approach, one that pays attention to how gender interacts with these other markers of identity.

Drawing on original biographical data of MPs, our empirical analysis concentrates on two legislative terms, namely the terms 2000-2004 and 2016-2016 for Spain, and the terms 2002-2005 and 2015-2018 for Portugal. The two terms per parliament allow us to investigate the evolution of the descriptive representation of the above mentioned social groups prior and after the adoption of statutory gender quotas (2006 in Portugal and 2007 in Spain). It also enables us to assess how political parties, the main gatekeepers to elected office, have sought or not to descriptively represent each social group.

The chapter is structured as follows. Before describing the data and methods used, we review the body of scholarship within which we place our study. We then move to examining the diversity gap in political representation of the Portuguese and Spanish parliaments. Lastly, we evaluate the degree of inclusiveness of the Iberian legislatures and present our conclusions.

An intersectional approach to the study of the diversity gap in parliaments

Extant research on the diversity of parliaments has mainly focused on the descriptive representation of women (see, among many others, Dahlerup and Leyenaar 2013, Paxton and Hughes 2014), and to a lesser extent of ethnic minorities and immigrants (e.g. Bird, Saalfeld and Wüst 2011, Ruedin 2009, Wüst 2014). This scholarship shows an increasing presence of women and a steady poor representation of ethnic minorities and immigrants. Conversely, very little is known about other underprivileged social groups (cf. Lamprinakou *et al.* 2017). There is a dearth of scholarly work on the political representation of the LGBT community (but see Rayside 1998, Everitt and Camp 2014, Haider-Markel 2010). Between 1976 and 2011 only 151 LGBT MPs had been elected to the national assemblies of 27 countries (Reynolds 2013, p. 260). Information is especially scarce in the case of disabled people and it mostly comes from statutory non-departmental public bodies (FRA 2014), or news stories reporting a very marginal presence – for example, in the UK parliament, less than one per cent of MPs are disabled (Ryan 2017).

More recently, a burgeoning strand of research has adopted an intersectional approach by examining the descriptive representation of women from ethnic and racial minorities (Hughes 2013, Ruedin 2010). This implies looking at the intersection of two markers of identity, which is not a mere addition of various sources of inequality (Crenshaw 1989). Rather, a compounded and reinforced type of inequality may emerge

(Collins 2000). An intersectional approach changes the question from “To what degree are women politically empowered” to “Which women are politically empowered?”, that is, “To what degree are women of color, immigrant women, indigenous women, working-class women, and lesbian and bisexual women politically empowered?” (Hugues and Dubrow 2018, p. 81).

Age has been found to intersect with gender in specific ways. The majority of women MPs are in their 40s and 50s, whereas younger and older women are less well represented (IPU 2016, p. 12). The sexual division of labour that assigns women the lion’s share of care work explains the higher absence of mothers as compared to fathers from the ranks of parliament, as has been found in the British and Spanish cases (Campbell and Childs 2014, Verge *et al.* 2017). Other studies point out that power dynamics underpin the intersection of age and gender. As noted by Burness (2000, p. 97) in her study of the Swedish parliament, the promotion of young women signals “something new and vital” but older men held onto political power. While diversity is formally assured, the ‘prototypical’ men remain in their positions.

With regards to ethnicity and migrant origin, studies have shown that in some countries ethnic minority women MPs outnumber ethnic minority men MPs (e.g. Celis *et al.* 2014, Hugues and Dubrow 2018), but this is not a pattern found across all established democracies (see Erzeel *et al.* forthcoming). Thus, a ‘competitive advantage’ may develop in certain contexts whereby ethnic minority women are perceived as less threatening to the majority population than ethnic minority men (Celis, Erzeel and Mügge 2015, p. 769).

Concerning LGBT MPs, while their presence has increased over time, cross-national studies show that very few of them have been from a minority ethnic group and openly gay men tend to outnumber lesbian women – about three to one (Reynolds 2013, p. 261). As Juvonen (2016, p. 67-68) notes in the German case, openly lesbian politicians receive less media attention and lower approval rates from both the public and their parties than gay politicians, and the former also present higher turnover rates.

As for ableness, despite the lack of official statistics on the political representation of women and men with disabilities, gender disparities in education, higher unemployment rates amongst women with disabilities, and the fact that they face disproportionately higher rates of gender-based violence and sexual abuse may explain women’s lower political engagement (Schur 2003). Although we know little about how gender and disability interact (Guldvik *et al.* 2013), female representatives with

disabilities may be affected by stereotypes based on both their sex and ability (Connors 2015).

Given this body of scholarship and empirical findings in Western countries, we expect the Portuguese and Spanish parliaments to have limitedly increased their diversity over time. The ways in which the different markers of identity analysed here intersect with gender, as well as cross-party variance in terms of group representation, is an open empirical question that our original database of MPs allows to explore for the first time in the Iberian legislatures.

Data and methods

The Portuguese and Spanish parliaments do not publish official reports on the diversity of MPs, unlike in other countries such as the UK. The only official report on descriptive representation issued in Spain focuses exclusively on gender. The Law for the Effective Equality between Women and Men (Act 3/2007) established that the government must produce a report after each election that surveys the implementation of the legislated electoral gender quota passed in 2007. This law mandates that party lists must include a minimum of 40 per cent and a maximum of 60 per cent of either sex, a proportion to be met as well in each stretch of five candidates. Non-compliant lists shall be withdrawn by the electoral authorities (Verge 2012). In Portugal, the Parity Law (2006) established that party lists must include at least a third of candidates of either sex and neither sex shall occupy more than two consecutive positions, with financial penalties being applied to non-compliant parties (Baum and Espírito-Santo 2012). No official reports are published in Portugal as regards the effective implementation of quotas.

To assess how diverse Iberian parliaments are, we use an original biographical dataset of all MPs having held a seat at some point during two selected legislatures. Data for Spain is an extension of the Pathways project, whereas for Portugal the authors collected their own data. We concentrate on the 2000–2004 and the short 2016–2016² legislative terms for Spain, and the 2002–2005 and the 2015–2018 legislative term for Portugal. This sampling strategy covers one period before the implementation of the statutory gender quotas and one period thereafter. Our sample includes 630 biographical records for Portugal and 767 for Spain, some of which correspond to MPs that served in both terms.

²The December 2015 elections yielded no successful investiture vote and new elections were called in June 2016.

For most of the variables, we disaggregate the data by political party. For Portugal, we include the Social Democratic Party/*Partido Social Democrata* (PSD), the Portuguese Socialist Party/*Partido Socialista* (PS), the Portuguese Communist Party/*Partido Comunista Português* (PCP), the Democratic Social Centre/*Centro Democrático Social* (CDS-PP), the Left Block/*Bloco de Esquerda* (BE) and the People, Animals and Nature Party/*Pessoas Animais e Natureza* (PAN). For Spain, we focus on statewide parties: the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party/*Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE), the Popular Party/*Partido Popular* (PP), Citizens/*Ciudadanos* (Cs), United Left/*Izquierda Unida* (IU), and We Can/*Podemos* (Ps).

Our analysis comes with methodological caveats. Firstly, given that legal constraints prevent foreign-nationals from being eligible candidates for national elections (Oliveira and Carvalhais 2017, p. 12), we look at MPs with immigrant background, namely those individuals born abroad with a foreign nationality or whose parents (either of them) were born abroad with a foreign nationality, thereby following the definition used by the Pathways project (Morales *et al.* 2017). For Portugal, given that MPs' official biographies are not standardised, and information on the nationality of the MPs and their parents at birth (or even currently) is extremely hard to find³, we were for the most part only able to collect systematic information about the country of birth, but not the MPs' original nationality or that of their parents (with the exception of Table 1, where we present the first MPs with immigrant backgrounds)⁴. Concerning ethnicity, we use two different indicators. The first one measures whether citizens may perceive MPs as belonging to an ethnic minority. Trained coders were asked to classify any MP as a 'visible' minority member when they could be perceived as such either by their physical appearance in pictures or by their names.⁵ The second indicator reveals whether an MP self-identifies as a member of an ethnic minority. For these purposes, an ethnic group is defined as a group of people whose members identify with each other through a common

³ A short questionnaire with key questions about nationality was sent to MPs of the two selected legislative terms who were not born in Portugal and/or whose surname indicated that one of the parents may be from a foreign country, but most MPs did not reply to our request.

⁴ Both for Portugal and for Spain no special treatment was implied in the case of MPs born in ex-colonies. They were treated as MPs who were born abroad and, as in the case of the other MPs, the relevant information for determining their immigrant background was the MP's nationality at birth and the nationality of her/his parents at birth.

⁵ In Portugal, as citizens have multiple names and can choose which ones to use predominantly, MPs were considered to be perceived as potential members of a visible minority only when their foreign-sounding name or surname is one of the names they chose to use. In Spain, both surnames and all first names were considered.

heritage, often consisting of a common language, common culture (which can include a religion) and/or a belief in a common ancestry (Morales *et al.* 2017).⁶ Secondly, we only classified MPs as LGBT if they publicly self-identified as such at the time of their election. Thirdly, in the case of ableness, only visible or publically self-declared disabilities are considered. In order to identify both LGBT or disabled MPs, trained coders checked for statements relating to sexual orientation and gender identity and watched videos to ascertain any apparent disability for the sampled MPs.

Diversity representation outcomes in the Portuguese and Spanish parliaments

The election of the first MP from each social group is often a significant event, one that encroaches upon the symbolic domain of politics. That is particularly the case when the marker of identity is clearly visible, when it is intentionally made public and when it captures media attention. For instance, the election of Jorge Falcato in 2015, the first disabled MP in Portugal, had a major impact on the news,⁷ and in Spain the election of Rita Bosaho Gori in 2016, the first black MP, did not go unnoticed either. Table 1 shows a relatively similar picture for both countries, with Spain having elected the first MPs of the various diversity groups slightly earlier.

Women entered into both parliaments in the 1930s. Both the Portuguese and Spanish lower houses have included ethnic minority MPs since the late 1970s. With regards to immigrant background, in Spain the first elected MPs had one of the parents (typically, the mother) of foreign – predominantly Western – origin. In Portugal, the first MPs with immigrant background were born abroad in countries under Portuguese colonial rule (in Goa and Guinea), but of parents with foreign nationality. The inclusion of citizens with a fully migrant origin did not occur until the mid-1990s in Spain and it has yet to occur in Portugal. Spain also preceded Portugal as regards the election of the first outed gay and lesbian MPs, and only Spain has seen the election of a bisexual MP. No openly transsexual or intersex MP has ever served in the Portuguese or Spanish lower houses, but one trans woman (Carla Antonelli, PSOE) was elected in the Madrid regional parliament in 2011 and one trans man (Guillem Montoro, Compromís) became a local councillor in Paiporta (Valencia) in 2018. In turn, the BE included (in a non-winnable

⁶ We do not include here national minorities in Spain (e.g. Basque, Catalan, Galician, etc.) for reasons of relevance to the case, though they are considered as ethnic minorities in the Pathways project.

⁷ The Portuguese parliament had been remodelled to accommodate a wheelchair, and Jorge Falcato fell from his chair the first time he used the lift to reach the pulpit.

position) the first trans candidate in Portugal (a trans woman, Júlia Mendes Pereira) for the 2015 legislative elections. Lastly, Spain elected the first visibly disabled MP in the early 2000s, whereas Portugal took an extra decade to do so.

[INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

We turn next to the analysis of the “diversity gap” found in the two legislative periods under examination. Concerning the representation of women, focusing on the percentages found immediately after the elections, both countries present a significant growth: from 19.6 per cent (2002) to 33 per cent (2015) in Portugal, and from 28 per cent (2000) to 39 per cent (2016) in Spain. How have the various political parties performed in terms of gender outcomes? Whereas in the Portuguese case statutory quotas have substantially boosted women’s representation, in Spain the legislated quota has only had a strong impact on those parties not using already voluntary party quotas (Verge and Espírito-Santo 2016). As shown in Table 2, women’s presence increased across almost all political parties between the two periods, but whereas in Portugal the difference between the two largest parties (PS and PSD) vanished after the introduction of the quota law, in Spain the PSOE keeps surpassing the PP. In the most recent legislature under examination, Ps and the PCP (in Spain and Portugal, respectively) outperform all other parties.

[INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

As in most countries, in Iberian legislatures there is an overwhelming tendency for parliamentarians to be middle-aged. In Portugal MPs’ average age was 46.1 years at the time of their election in the 2002-2005 term and 47.6 at the start of the 2015-2018 term, as can be seen in Table 3. Around 60 per cent of MPs are between 41 and 60 years old. The situation in Spain is fairly similar, with an average age of 46.7 years at the time of election for the 2000-2004 term, and of 48.5 at the beginning of the 2016-2016 term. In order to examine the intersection of gender and age, Table 3 also includes the percentage of women and men MPs by age cohort. Whereas the Portuguese case reveals the absence of any clear pattern, in Spain we can see that women are more likely to be younger than male MPs (especially from the 18-30 group) and less likely to be from the cohorts above 51 years.

The entry of new parties has not rejuvenated the Spanish Parliament, although MPs from Cs and, particularly, from Ps are relatively younger than MPs from the PSOE and the PP, as Table 4 shows. In Portugal, whereas in the 2002–2005 term two radical left-wing parties, namely the BE and the PEV, had significantly younger parliamentarians (average below 40 years), in the most recent legislature age differences across parties have vanished.

[INSERT TABLE 3 AND TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE]

With regards to immigrant background, in the two Portuguese legislative terms under examination over 20 MPs were not born in the country, representing 6 per cent in 2002-2005 and 8 per cent in 2015-2018, as reported in Table 5. Portuguese ex-colonies dominate the countries where those MPs were born: half of them were born in Angola and 23 per cent in Mozambique. However, most of these MPs cannot be considered of ‘immigrant’ background, since they were probably born with Portuguese nationality, possibly with at least one of the parents born abroad with a foreign nationality. In Spain, four MPs of immigrant origin have been identified in both legislative terms, which represent approximately 1 per cent of the total pool of MPs. Most of them (3 out of 4 of them for the 2000-2004 term and 2 out of 4 for the 2016-2016 term) were born in Spain from one parent of foreign origin, and only 2 MPs in total, for the two legislative terms considered, were first generation migrants. Such low numbers have remained steady over time (Vintila *et al.* forthcoming) despite the rapid growth of the immigrant population – which reaches around 20 per cent when the children of first-generation immigrants are included (cf. Vintila and Morales 2018). The figures increase for MPs born abroad (10 in the 2000-2004 term and 8 in the 2016-2016 term), mostly the children of Spanish emigrants or individuals who just happened to be born abroad from Spanish parents.

[INSERT TABLE 5 ABOUT HERE]

Concerning ethnicity, in Portugal, of the 604 MPs of our sample, 10 are likely to be perceived by citizens as belonging to an ethnic minority either by their physical appearance or by their names (*Identifiable minority*; 6 in the first legislative term analysed and 4 in the second one); whereas only 6 self-identify as belonging to an ethnic minority (*Ethnic ID* - see Appendix 1 for more details). The two groups do not entirely overlap.

Only 3 of those 10 who are perceived as belonging to an ethnic minority self-identify as such, whereas 3 MPs do not have visible traits revealing their belonging to an ethnic minority and yet they consider themselves to belong to one. The differences between the two legislative periods analysed for both indicators of ethnicity are not significant, as reported in Table 5. In Spain, only two MPs (less than 1 per cent) of the 2016-2016 term are likely to be perceived by voters as belonging to an ethnic minority, but they do not self-identify as such in their public statements. With regards to intersectionality, while both men and women with immigrant or ethnic minority backgrounds are heavily under-represented, we observe a higher presence of men (in absolute numbers) from these groups in both legislatures and in the two terms under examination.

Both in Portugal and in Spain, there is no significant difference between left-wing and right-wing parties in their inclination to include candidates of immigrant (or foreign birth) origin, as reported in Table 6.1, for Portugal, and Table 6.2, for Spain. The performance is equally poor across the board and no party stands out as an ‘immigrant-candidates friendly’ one (Vintila and Morales 2018), despite relevant differences in their positions on the issues of migration flow controls and immigrant integration (cf. Carvalho 2009, Ros and Morales 2015, Pardos *et al.* 2016). The same can be said for ethnicity. In both countries party size emerges as the strongest predictor for including MPs from immigrant background or ethnic minorities.

[INSERT TABLE 6.1 AND TABLE 6.2 ABOUT HERE]

As for the inclusion of LGBT people, country differences are remarkable, despite it being a recent phenomenon in both parliaments, as already mentioned. Whereas in Spain for the 2016-2016 term six openly LGBT MPs (three men and three women) were elected (three from the PSOE and three from the radical-left coalition integrated by IU and Ps), constituting nearly 2 per cent of MPs, in Portugal just one openly gay MP (from the PS) competed and got elected at the 2015 election. Furthermore, while no differences were found between the two legislative periods in the categories of age, immigration background and (partially) ethnic minority, in the case of sexual orientation both countries went from zero representatives in the first legislative period to some occurrences in the second one.

The small-N problem does not enable us to draw strong conclusions about political parties and about the intersection of gender with sexuality. However, it should be noted

that all openly LGBT MPs were elected with left-wing parties (the PS in Portugal, and the PSOE and the IU-PS electoral coalition in Spain). Similarly, the fact that in both countries men were the first ones to come out – combined with the higher number of gay politicians found in other institutions as compared to lesbian politicians – suggests that it might be easier for men than for women to advance their political careers as openly homosexuals.

Lastly, in the case of ableness, Spain emerges again as a slightly more inclusive case than Portugal. In Spain, in the two legislative terms under examination there were no visibly disabled MPs, but there have been at least three visibly disabled MPs in previous legislative terms since 2004 (all of them men and from the PP). In Portugal, the only disabled MP, also a man (from the BE), serves in the current legislature. Although the PS included a blind female candidate in a winnable position in the 2015 elections, she remained one position away from entering the parliament. Overall, an intersection between gender and ableness seems to emerge, although the low number of cases calls for caution in drawing any strong conclusion.

Conclusions

Drawing on original data, this chapter has examined the diversity gap in the Iberian legislatures. The evaluation of the diversity outcomes achieved by the Portuguese and Spanish parliaments yields a mixed picture. Women's descriptive representation has significantly increased in the last decade. In September 2018 Spain ranked fifth among European parliaments and Portugal ranked twelfth (IPU 2018) in terms of the percentage of women representatives. The other minority groups remain remarkably underrepresented, as is also the case in European parliaments, with Spain having been slightly faster at including the first MPs of traditionally excluded groups. Whereas Portugal outperforms Spain as regards the inclusion of MPs from ethnic minorities, Spain outperforms Portugal in the representation of LGBT and disabled MPs. Overall, none of the examined groups reaches a representational level that mirrors their numerical presence in society. The social group for which descriptive representation has grown the most between the early 2000s and the late 2010s is LGBT people.

While some cross-party differences have been observed, all political parties contribute to the maintenance of a remarkable diversity gap in Iberian legislatures. The tendency for left-wing parties to elect more women representatives than right-wing parties in both countries has not thus far led to significant gains for other underrepresented

groups, with the exception of LGBT MPs and the inclusion of younger MPs – in the latter case only by the newest radical left parties.

Concerning the ways in which gender may intersect with other markers of identity, although the small-N problem underpinning our analysis prevents us from drawing firm conclusions, our results indicate that gender produces specific effects on the representation of the various social groups. While in the case of youth we see that women MPs tend to be younger (only in Spain) than men MPs, in the case of the other social groups men are more present in the Portuguese and Spanish parliaments than women. Ethnic minority and immigrant background male MPs outnumber female MPs with similar characteristics. Likewise, gay men are more likely to obtain representation than lesbian women. For their part, disabled women have not yet been present in the Iberian legislatures.

This first examination of the diversity gap in the Iberian legislatures opens several avenues for further research. On the one hand, since political parties are the gatekeepers to elected office in both countries, scholars should explore the diversity strategies they develop to increase the presence of underrepresented groups, looking at both participatory structures (sub-party sections, working groups, loose networks or collateral organizations) and equality guarantees (quotas or representation goals). On the other hand, the measures adopted by the Portuguese and Spanish parliaments to become gender-sensitive institutions, to promote the access of minority-group MPs, and to guarantee non-discrimination during their tenure should be examined.

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List of tables

Table 1. First MPs from each of the underrepresented social groups ¹

	Portugal	Spain
Women	1934 / 1975	1931 / 1977
Immigrant background	1976 (Narana Coissoró, CDS, Portuguese from Indian parents); 1992 (Fernando Ká, PS, Portuguese from Guinean parents) No fully-migrant origin MP	From mixed marriages, 1977 (several, e.g. Joaquín Garrigues Walker, UCD, US mother; Enrique Múgica Herzog, PSOE, French mother; Fernando Jorge Portillo Scharfhausen, UCD, Swedish mother) Fully-migrant origin, 1993 (Teófilo de Luis Rodríguez, PP, Cuba, from Spanish grandparents); 2018 (Mohammed Chaib Akhdim, PSC-PSOE) for the first non-Latin American fully-migrant origin MP
Ethnic minority	1976 (Narana Coissoró ² , CDS); 1992 (Fernando Ká, PS and Manuel Correia, PCP)	1977 (first Roma MP – Juan de Dios Ramírez Heredia, UCD and later PSOE); 2016 (first black MP, from Equatorial Guinea, Rita Bosaho Gori, Ps)
Gay	2009 (Miguel Vale de Almeida, PS)	1999 (Miquel Iceta, PSC-PSOE) ³
Lesbian	2018 (Sandra Cunha, BE)	2011 (Ángeles Álvarez Álvarez, PSOE) ⁴
Bisexual	---	2016 (Ángela Rodríguez Martínez, Ps-En Marea)
Transsexual	---	---
Disability	2015 (Jorge Falcato, BE)	2004 (Francisco Vañó Ferre & José Oreiro Rodríguez, PP)

Notes:

¹ Age is not relevant here since each legislative term has its youngest MP.

² As a descendant of Brahmin Goans, which comprises an elite group (also seen as such by Portuguese citizens), it is questionable whether he was perceived as integrating an ethnic minority (see Almeida, 2014).

³ He outed when he was about to leave his seat to run for the Catalan parliament elections. Jerónimo Saavedra (PP) also outed in 2000 when he was a senator, after having been an MP for about two decades.

⁴ She publicly came out in 2013; however, she married in 2005 to her partner in a semi-public event at the Madrid city council that was well attended by the PSOE leadership, so her sexual orientation was public knowledge at the very least within PSOE by the time she was nominated in 2011

Table 2: Female MPs by political party, number and percentage

	Portugal		Spain		
	2002-2005	2015-2018		2000-2004	2016-2016
BE (n=6/20)	3 50%	7 35%	Cs (n=-/40)	---	8 20%
CDS (n=27/24)	3 11%	9 38%	IU (n=8/5)	2 25%	2 40%
PAN (n=-/1)	---	0 0%	Ps (n=-/47)	---	24 51%
PCP (n=13/16)	4 31%	7 44%	PP (n=226/120)	67 30%	44 37%
PEV (n=4/2)	2 50%	1 50%	PSOE (+PSC) (n=137/89)	51 37%	41 46%
PS (n=129/122)	28 22%	45 37%			
PSD (n=160/106)	24 15%	39 38%			

Table 3: MPs by age cohort and gender, numbers and percentage

			18-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	+61
Portugal	2002-2005	Total (n=336)	29 9%	75 22%	112 33%	95 29%	25 7%
		Women (n=63)	8 13%	9 14%	21 33%	21 33%	4 6%
		Men (n=273)	21 8%	66 24%	91 33%	74 27%	21 8%
	2015-2018	Total (n=291)	17 6%	63 22%	92 32%	79 27%	40 14%
		Women (n=108)	7 6%	24 22%	38 35%	27 25%	12 11%
		Men (n=183)	10 5%	39 21%	54 30%	52 28%	28 15%
Spain	2000-2004	Total (n=416)	20 5%	88 21%	148 36%	140 34%	20 5%
		Women (n=131)	13 10%	37 28%	44 34%	37 28%	0 0%
		Men (n=285)	7 2%	51 18%	104 36%	103 36%	20 7%
	2016-2016	Total (n=351)	11 3%	68 19%	116 33%	121 34%	35 10%
		Women (n=138)	8 6%	26 19%	59 43%	32 23%	13 9%
		Men (n=213)	3 1%	42 20%	57 27%	89 42%	22 10%

Table 4: Average age of MPs by political party (Portugal and Spain)

	Portugal		Spain		
	2002-2005	2015-2018		2000-2004	2016-2016
BE (n=6/20)	37.8	47.0	Cs (n=-/40)	---	45.9
CDS (n=27/24)	46.8	45.4	IU (n=8/5)	50.0	44.0
PAN (n=-/1)	---	39.0	Ps (n=-/47)	---	40.3
PCP (n=13/16)	45.5	44.1	PP (n=226/120)	45.9	52.6
PEV (n=4/2)	37.0	49.5	PSOE (+PSC) (n=137/89)	47.9	49.0
PS (n=129/122)	48.9	49.8			
PSD (n=157/106)	44.3	46.4			

Table 5: MPs with immigrant background and from ethnic minorities by gender, number and percentage

			Not born in PT/SP	Immigrant origin	Identifiable minority	Ethnic ID
Portugal	2002-2005	Total (n=339)	22 6%	---	6 2%	3 1%
		Women (n=64)	6 9%	---	1 2%	2 3%
		Men (n=275)	16 6%	---	5 2%	1 0%
	2015-2018	Total (n=291)	24 8%	---	4 1%	4 1%
		Women (n=108)	9 8%	---	2 2%	1 1%
		Men (n=183)	15 8%	---	2 1%	3 2%
Spain	2000-2004	Total (n=416)	10 2%	4 1%	0 0%	6 1%
		Women (n=131)	4 3%	1 1%	0 0%	3 2%
		Men (n=285)	6 2%	3 1%	0 0%	3 1%
	2016-2016	Total (n=351)	8 2%	4 1%	2 1%	16 5%
		Women (n=138)	3 2%	3 2%	2 1%	7 5%
		Men (n=213)	5 2%	1 0.5%	0 0%	9 4%

Table 6.1: MPs with immigrant background and from ethnic minorities by political party, number and percentage, Portugal

	BE		CDS		PAN		PCP		PEV		PS		PSD	
	2002-2005 (n=6)	2015-2018 (n=20)	2002-2005 (n=27)	2015-2018 (n=24)	2002-2005	2015-2018 (n=1)	2002-2005 (n=13)	2015-2018 (n=16)	2002-2005 (n=4)	2015-2018 (n=2)	2002-2005 (n=129)	2015-2018 (n=122)	2002-2005 (n=160)	2015-2018 (n=106)
Not born in Portugal	1 17%	1 5%	4 15%	3 13%	---	0 0%	0 0%	2 13%	0 0%	0 0%	9 7%	9 7%	8 5%	9 8%
Immigrant origin	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Identifiable minority	0 0%	0 0%	1 4%	1 4%	---	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	2 2%	1 1%	3 2%	3 3%
Ethnic ID	0 0%	0 0%	1 4%	1 4%	---	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 1%	2 2%	1 1%	1 1%

Table 6.2: MPs with immigrant background and from ethnic minorities by political party, number and percentage, Spain

	Cs		IU		Ps		PP		PSOE+PSC	
	2000-2004 (n=0)	2016-2016 (n=40)	2000-2004 (n=8)	2016-2016 (n=5)	2000-2004 (n=0)	2016-2016 (n=47)	2000-2004 (n=226)	2016-2016 (n=120)	2000-2004 (n=137)	2016-2016 (n=89)
Not born in Spain	---	1 2%	0 0%	0 0%	---	0 0%	7 3%	1 1%	2 1%	3 3%
Immigrant origin	---	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	---	1 2%	2 1%	2 1%	2 1%	0 0%
Identifiable minority	---	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	---	2 4%	2 1%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
Ethnic ID	---	0 0%	0 0%	1 20%	---	0 0%	3 1%	2 2%	3 2%	4 4%

Appendix

PORTUGAL

MPs identifiable by citizens as minorities:

António Costa (2002, 2015, PS) – Physical features
Armando Soares (2015, PSD) – Physical features
Delmar Palas (2002, PSD) – Foreign name
Helder Amaral (2002, 2015, CDS) - Physical features
Jorge Strecht (2002, PS) – Foreign name
Narana Coissoró (2002, CDS) - Physical features and foreign name
Natália Carrascalão (2002, PSD) - Physical features
Nilza de Sena (2015, PSD) - Physical features
Pistacchini Calhau (2002, PSD) – Foreign name
Rosa Dart (2015, PSD) – Foreign name

MPs who identify themselves as minorities:

Alexandre Quintanilha (2015, PS) – African identity
Armando Soares (2015, PSD) – African origin
Celeste Correia (2002, PS) – Cape Verde identity
Helder Amaral (2002, 2015, CDS) – Identifies as black
Idália Salvador Serrão (2015, PS) – Roma origin
Natália Carrascalão (2002, PSD) – Timor identity

Openly gay/lesbian MPs:

Alexandre Quintanilha (2015, PS) - Gay
Sandra Cunha (2015, BE) - Lesbian ('came out' only in 2018)

Disabled MP:

Jorge Falcato (2015, BE)

SPAIN

MPs of migrant background:

Nayua Miriam Alba Goveli (2016, Ps) – Egyptian father
Jaime Lissavetzky Díez (2000, PSOE) – Ukrainian father
Teófilo de Luis Rodríguez (2000, 2016, PP) – Cuban birth and parents
Enrique Múgica Herzog (2000, PSOE) – French mother
Ana María Surra Spadea (2016, ERC) – Uruguayan birth and parents
Celia Villalobos Talero (2000, 2016, PP) – Argentinian father

MPs identifiable by citizens as minorities:

Nayua Miriam Alba Goveli (2016, Ps)
Rita Gertrudis Bosaho Gori (2016, Ps)

MPs who publicly identify themselves with an ethnic/national identity group:
None (once excluded Catalan, Basque, Galician and other regional identities)

Openly gay/lesbian MPs:

Antonio Hurtado Zurera (2016, PSOE) – Gay
Lucía Martín González (2016, Barcelona en Comú) – Lesbian
Joan Mena Arca (2016, IU) – Gay
Ángela Rodríguez Martínez (2016, Ps-En Marea) – Bisexual
Felipe Jesús Sicilia Alférez (2016, PSOE) – Gay
María Such Palomares (2016, PSOE) – Lesbian

Disabled MP:

None for 2000-2004 or 2016-2016 terms