

# THE POLITICAL CAREER OF MEMBERS OF YOUTH WINGS

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## VERY FIRST DRAFT- DO NOT QUOTE

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### ABSTRACT

The study of political career became the first pillar of elite studies in political science. Despite the considerable number of studies the movement patterns in political career, scholars emphasize the role of political parties as a main variable, in some case namely “the secret garden of politics”. This “black box” is still an unresolved question. This paper seeks to better understand the role of youth branches of political parties in the political career of Spanish Members of Parliament (MPs). The main goal is determining how important is to be member of youth wings in career success and in career start. I evaluate with a complete data set of Spanish MPs after the dictatorship to the last legislature (1977-2011) the importance of passage inside youth wings and measure the impact of youth sections of political parties on the political career of Spaniards politicians.

### KEY WORDS

Political Career - Political Parties - Youth Wings - Members of Parliament - Spain

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## INTRODUCTION

In the first days of 2013, however, it may be easily extrapolated to any other time, a women leaders of People's party, Esperanza Aguirre (current President of People's Party in Madrid region), and Ana Botella, at that time current Mayor of Madrid City (and also wife of Jose Maria Aznar, former Prime Minister) have declared their opinions about young wings<sup>3</sup> establishment. Ana Botella in a news conference declared that she "will suppress the youth wings of all political parties" because "young people with 16, 17 and 18 years old, where it should be are working, studying or training, but not in politics" (Publico, 16.01.2013). Mrs. Aguirre in an interviewing in Cope Radio<sup>4</sup> criticized young members of Spanish political parties. The main idea of her argument is that the main channel to enter in political arena is youth wings: "young people held a public office, normally like a City Councillor and their salary is around 2.000 euros per month, more than regular people have with a university degree or working in a private company", then she criticized that "they realize that instead to working for people is more profitable to rally and be compliant with party leaders". Aguirre pointed out that politics is not a profession, "It's a temporary public service" and therefore, should be brought "only the best, those with a true vocation, it is an honour to represent the citizens". In the conception of politics, Aguirre goes on about that any requirement should be required to enter in politics, like tax revenue, have started a business or have created Jobs. "Anything that shows that people are worthy", and finally she concluded: "we are already too many politicians".

On the morrow, Beatriz Jurado current president of national executive committee of NNGG (youth branch of People's Party) stressed that none of them (youth wing members) receives any remuneration for their work and pointed out that Spanish Constitution recognizes the right of all citizens to participate in politics since 18 years old. Ms. Jurado has been stated that: "a society that ignore their young has no future, as a political party that is committed to its youth is doomed to failure"<sup>5</sup>. Together, these examples embody the central points that we strive to make in this paper.

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<sup>3</sup> We used youth section, youth wing, youth branch youth organization as synonymous.

<sup>4</sup> Cope is one of the most popular Spanish radio station, their audience is over 1.700.000 listeners daily. Statement was made 21-01-2013.

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.publico.es/449104/ana-botella-yo-suprimiria-las-nuevas-generaciones-de-los-partidos> (21-07-2013)

This research considers the role of youth section in their political parties. Young people have been organised inside political parties in established democracies into youth branches in the early years of the last century. In their seminal paper Abrams and Little (1965: 315) pointed out that youth political actions in Britain is inside the three parliamentary parties (not political actions outside this framework). Conservative, Socialist and Liberal parties maintain youth sections that serve mainly to draw young people into routine of political life inside a constituency (316). In their structures almost all contemporary political parties throughout the world consider youth wings inside their formal structure.<sup>6</sup>

As a second point, the aim of this research is to determine the role and the effect of passage for youth wings upon the political career path of MPs. Despite the large number of studies about political members and political career, studies about the beginning in politics are not popular field. It is not a common research topic the analysis of political career paths youth wings' members. It is a rather neglected field in the study of political elites within Spanish political science and across European countries only some papers and two PhDs have shed little light on this subject, as will be outlined below. In this paper we evaluate the effect of being member of youth section (current or former membership) in politicians, which they have been members of Spanish *Congreso de los Diputados* throughout life.

Scholars emphasised that becoming a young party member is the obvious path for young people who want to become politicians (Abrams and Little, 1965; Recchi, 1997; Young and Cross, 2002; Hooghe et al. 2004; Bargel, 2008; Bruter and Harrison 2009; Espinoza et al., 2010). Being a member of political party and to start a career in politics in an early age make this young people special. In view of this situation, apart from previous justification, some reasons justify more to study this minority of young people. These young party leader are representative of active sector of the youth wings, and they have an organized presence in the society or community, and foreseeably they will have the future of political parties (from a point of view qualitative, not quantitative) and normally most of the will be in party office. In sum this young people are the core representative of the militant of the youth section (Duverger, 1981:139-145).

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<sup>6</sup> Subsidiary affiliation structure can be seen inside Spaniards political parties, first at all for nationwide parties (Partido Socialista Obrero Español, Partido Popular, Centro Democrático y Social, Partido Comunista de España, etc.), and in equal conditions for regional parties (Partido Nacionalista Vasco, Convergència Democràtica de Catalunya, Unió, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, Partido Andalucista, Unión del Pueblo Navarro, etc.). Also minority parties at provincial o local level have their own young branches.

This fact concerns an important democratic issue of access to elected positions, related to equalitarian access to seats of political representation. The core question is if access occurs on an equal conditions, or there are some advantage or restriction to access at political power to some groups like former or current members of young sections. In spite of all change in last century in advanced democratic societies the presence of certain groups in relevant political positions have been marginalized, like a young people, that is not the case of woman that have advanced in their presence in first political roles (Delgado and Jerez, 2008).

In classical works of political science the main debate concerns the unequal distribution of political power inside a society. Mosca in 1896 wrote “*La Classe Politica*”, in this seminal book, he pointed out that: “*In some countries we find hereditary castes. In such cases the governing class is explicitly restricted to a given number of families, and birth is the one criterion that determines entry into the class or exclusion from it*” (1939). He argued that societies have been divided among a small ruling class and a large people governed by this ruling class. The most important quality of this ruling class varies depending on the historical period; in feudal State military value or bravery had been the main characteristics, with the improvement of social organization, military value became wealth. In addition Mosca underline that others ways to influence are notoriety, culture, expertise and high profile in religious, bureaucratic and military organization. And these characteristics are easier to obtain for wealthy people than for a poor person. Mosca suggest the salient of family, by their role and network, in the selection of the “good way”, and help to prevent hesitations and mistakes in unknown environments. Family traditions, social status, social norms and habits of own class have a great impact in development of these superior values. In sum, Mosca pointed out that access to power is mediated in each society by possession of some requirements and conditions or some key elements and the history of civilised society can be resumed in the struggle among the tendency of people who have this or these elements to permit the monopolization of political power and transmit power to their offspring, and the tendency to over and change, and the apparition of news forms. Whether people need specific resources to participate in politics or if eligible people are from a closed group and these situations are recognizable can develop a sense of alienation among citizens due to not democratic situation. Opposite situation towards equalitarian opportunities are advocated in all modern Constitutions.

Michels fifteen years later shape her famous “iron law of oligarchic”, in their cited book *Political Parties*, in which Michels showed the oligarchic tendencies within political parties in modern democracies. Political recruitment appears under conciliatory methods, mainly between the people in power and those who aspire to political power. In each organization, also in democratic one, leadership or managerial positions once time elected undermining the democratic principle of access. Leaders, in these subject politicians, would to stay itself in power, i.e. imply that power is self-perpetuating (2001[1911]). More recently, scholars asked in their research whether certain social or professional sectors dominate legislatures (Best and Cotta, 2000) or if the political elite is a reflection of the society who elected one (Gaxie, 1980; Coller, 2008). Debate concerned a finally question whether there are some citizens or groups that have more capacity, able or talented than others people (like a families, sections,..) or political power in certain democracies is self perpetuating between member of these groups by some dark transitions.

This paper will describe how youth wings membership boost political career. We answer some questions: “Have politicians, which have been member of youth section in their youth an advantage in their political career?” “Or to be a previous political passage by youth wings help MPs in their star in public office or in their arriving to representative legislatures? Or, Is it only in terms and duration? “Is something about organization capital’s issue?”, or own last question is then: “Is Youth Wings a Key Explanation in the Political Career Success of Spanish MPs?”

This paper is also related to research on legislative careers and the composition of the Spanish elected political class and is structured as follows. In the next sections we found an overview of the sociological and political science literature about the importance and effect of youth section membership on political career. Then we introduce the main objectives and hypothesis of this paper, and we explain the dataset and tools that could help us to understand the role of youth wings in political career. Later we proceed to present our findings for Spanish House of Parliament with an analysis of careers of *diputados* between 1977 and 2011. Last section summarizes the main conclusion.

## POLITICAL PARTIES, YOUTH WINGS AND POLITICS

Empirical studies about former and current member of young wings into political parties hardly exist. Despite the larger number of papers about members of political parties, we know sufficient about the typical member, a middle-aged man<sup>7</sup> with different profiles according their ideology or their incentives to participate in politics but not much about the young members and youth branches of political parties. In rapport to general population, Scarrow and Gezgor concluded that party members are older and wealthier and more likely to be male, to be union members and more religiously (2010:838), and we found more members in other groups (Whiteley, 2007).

*A priori*, inside youth wings is more likely to emerge the next ruling class. In Western Europe and concretely in Spain, academic silence in a pursuit of political trajectories is partly due to disciplinary reasons. Scholars who work with youth from the Political Science and Sociology and the academic which are currently working on political attitudes and behaviour, leave aside too often young people involvement in political parties. Normally, it is a problem of statistical efficiency by the small percentage of individuals who are members or participate in political parties in Western countries<sup>8</sup>. To overcome this situation, scholars focus on young politicians, however there are only a scarce literature about that. This leads Hooghe to say that his research, about city councillors in Belgium, is the first systematic research on youth wings of political parties, and shows that this kind of work requires more attention (Hooghe et al. 2004: 206).

Being a member of a youth organization is obviously only one of the ways of starting out on a political career, and therefore there are other channels of recruitment that have been clearly identified. Scholars emphasized the role of political parties as a main variable in the movement patterns in political career of MPs. It depends on the country but in a general context, political parties have an important role in the selection

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<sup>7</sup> Members are 52 years in Ireland (Gallagher and Marsh, 2004); 62 years Conservative British Party (Whiteley, 1992, 1994); Cross and Young (2004:347) with data from the 2000 Study of Canadian Political Party Members (SCPPM) found a remarkable dearth of young Canadians involved in federal political parties. The data indicate that the average age of a member of the five major Canadian federal parties was 59. While 11 per cent of Canadians were between the ages of 18 and 25 in that year, only 3 per cent of party members were 25 or younger (...), and only 5 per cent of members are under the age of 30.

<sup>8</sup> If we checking international surveys with a large sample, as a European Social Survey, World Values survey and the International Social Survey Programme, none of them have take as starting point the place of young party members. Only some references about young people can be found on some papers (i.e. Whiteley 2010; Scarrow and Gezgor, 2010)

and recruitment of young candidates to become young elected member. (Gallagher y Marsh, 1988; Norris, 1997; Borchert y Zeiss, 2003, Besley, 2005; Real y Jerez, 2008; Meserve et al., 2009; Jerez, Linz and Real, 2013).

On the other side, we found that passage by the youth section seems something “magical” due to impact that it has on the future political career (Recchi, 1997; Bargel, 2008, Espinoza and Madrid, 2010). It can be expected that youth organizations function as socializing agents for partisanship and organizations learning processes: introduce young members to the ideology of the party, and also operate as a learning school. Literature on this subject insists on this point (Abrams and Little, 1965; Hooghe et al., 2004; Bargel, 2008).

One of the first empirical works about young politicians is the PhD dissertation of Ettore Recchi (published in 1997). This thesis was an exception in this overview, providing statistical data, which support the idea that youth wings of political parties are the gateway in politics. As an inductive strategy to fill this gap, based in previous research showed that in Italy in the early 90s the Italian parliamentary elite had begun their career as member of youth wings, to be a young party member and to have a executive role inside the youth wings appears to be the most common first step in a political career (Recchi, 1997:77; 1999:107)<sup>9</sup>. Research shows that former activists of youth section of Italian political parties almost one third are member elected of Italian parliament in 1992 and 1994, and more than half of the “political super-elite” began their political activities in the highest level or direction of youth political organization<sup>10</sup>, this one is the first portal of selection and recruitment of members in Italian national Parliament, followed immediately by local office occupation (29,1%) and the party apparatus (19,1%). Conversely, three quarters of national leaders (74,4%), of *Democrazia Cristiana*, *Partito Comunista Italiano* and *Partito Socialista Italiano* between 1990 and 1993, have had positions front in political and administrative political offices (Rechhi, 1997: 92).

In Paris was defended at Sorbonne University the second PhD dissertation by Lucie Bargel in 2008. In order to determine the impact of youth section, she adopted a similar vision in the opposite way. 383 young have been a national leader in their youth branches between 1975-1993, and only 6% of this militants have been found in the

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<sup>9</sup> Sample: 115 activist from four most popular parties in 1992: Christian Democratic Party, Communist Party, Socialist Party and Northern League; and random sample of 322 individuals with the same age cohort.

<sup>10</sup> 30,6% of the member of Italian parliament (1992-94)

Who's Who in France, and only the 30% in "*Profesion Politique*"<sup>11</sup> with an elected and non-elected position in politics. Differences amongst France and Italy are due to form of identification, forward by Bargel and backward by Recchi<sup>12</sup>, the range of time controlled in the path, some differences in definition of office or resulting of the structure of opportunities of both countries.

In Spain, only two works identified have referred on youth membership of the political elite. The first one is the chapter of Matuschek (2003) about the Spanish Political Class. Matuschek pointed out that political careers in Spain take a large scope of steps in the beginning of a professional career (2003:344). He found that only 32 in 350 MPs at 7<sup>th</sup> Legislature 2000-2004 have been member previously of one youth section. The consideration of youth branches as a subsidiary first political experience as an office in local or regional level, limits the ability explicative of percentage. Belonging to youth section should not incompatible with the development of a position in office in whatever level of government. A second work about the Spanish political class focuses in Ministers from Dictatorship to first Zapatero's Cabinet, which shows that only 9 in 134 former Ministers have been passed by youth section of political parties. Members of Student Unions are only 14 of 134 Ministers, in the first Cabinet after the first Democratic post-Dictatorship government to its final cabinet in 1993. Rodríguez Teruel said that in almost all the cases membership were in student union at university time for the first cabinets, in the 90s youth section became dominant and some Ministers have been started in youth wings in the early days of the Transition (2005:380).

Apart from collected background data of MPs, other scholars change the approach to surveys of political class, and focus in other kind of political elite. Hooghe et al. (2004: 201) for the Flanders case, indicates the importance of these organizations, when they showed that more than 40 per cent of all city councillors started their political career in a youth organization (and warrants their inclusion in political science research). The passage is a fundamental variable in the political career of Flanders councillors, between members and non-members. Those who have been a member of a youth organization start earlier their careers: on average they had 31 years old in their first local election list, while for people don't have be member of youth section the age

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<sup>11</sup> Both are the main resources to find path of former leaders (executive position in national structure of youth wing).

<sup>12</sup> Bargel from a census of youth leaders seeks their belonging to political elite, and Recchi from knowing who is part of the political elite look for if they were members of the youth organizations.



of entry was 39 years old. They received their first mandate at the age of 34, while the others had to wait until the age of 42. Now, almost all Belgian political parties have an age limit of 65 for an elected mandate, and this implies that the former members on average have 34 years to go to build their political career while for the non-members this period is limited to 26 years. To start eight years earlier than one's competitors and/or colleagues can therefore make an enormous difference with regard to the likelihood of eventually arriving in a senior position (Hooghe et al. 2004: 202).

Outside previous researches some papers analysed the young party members in order to find differences among party members and non-party members, and inside the group of young politically engaged. Cross and Young (2008) suggests that young activists tend to be more interested in politics, more likely to have an activist parent, and more trusting of parties' efficacy than members of advocacy groups. There is also an extensive literature devoted to identifying competing models of incentives. In this research they tested some determinants of party membership. Attentiveness (news consumption and internet) and evaluation of party and groups (general evaluation of parties, efficacy of parties, and efficacy within parties) have been tested with socio-demographics and socialization. Gender, media usage affects the likelihood of joining a party. Many were exposed to partisan activity as children through their parents' activisms, and most enjoyed other forms of political information (2008:365).

Espinoza and Madrid (2010)<sup>13</sup> started their study of young engage militant of political parties in Chile with the justification that prospective political elite will come among current young members. Career path of Chilean's politicians (political leaders, representatives and politicians with responsibility in the government) have been militant since his or her young age (2110:10). This book does not provide any figures or percentage to endorse this statement.

Perspective of Chileans scholars is too similar to Bruter and Harrison (2009). In both cases the main concern of these studies is to increase knowledge on youth involved in political parties considering their motivations, history, views and relationships with peers. These researches allow some important trends in styles and topics in the future of democracy, and identify some areas of development of youth party participation and

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<sup>13</sup> Design: 107 young members (between 15 and 29 years old) of political parties with representation in Chile's Parliament. The research project contains: 12 focus-groups and surveys a young member and in-depth interviews (with young leaders – 8 - and national leaders - 6).

encourage civic participation of some young people. A minority that seeks not only political power but they have a great chance to get it (Espinoza y Madrid, 2010:10).

Recchi's analysis leaves one important key issue unsolved: the empirical conclusions about this reality in the specific trajectories of former or current members of youth organizations and the other "young uncommitted", whether or not demonstrated. In all studies cited, it is not possible to measure what is the weight of specific passage through the group, or to properties and initial arrangements with the passage through a youth political movement would be one of the effects, as well as political practices, family and professional future, or even to other social experience.

Recchi poses precisely this question of the relevance of the passage through these groups in the path career of political actors. Indeed, while establishing the political office by the former leaders of political parties' youth organizations, it also shows that they share social properties conducive to obtaining a proof: this people are socially advantaged and benefiting from a significant personal political network.

For answering this question Bargel (2008) analyzed members of socialist and popular youth sections (*Jeune Populaires and Mouvement de Jeunes Socialistes*)<sup>14</sup>. Bargel found three steps in young members career: the enjoyment of the first activities ("*formation du gout*") is the first stage; the second is the gathering a one sub-group, and third socialization process between members are central. All members of youth section have passed all three stages. Political parties have a special role in this process because they have a mediator effect, whereby young people must be able to value their skills acquired in the youth organization in order to wait one access in the professional political field (2008:670). Bargel's perspective is focused in the "manufacture" of professional politicians, leaving aside the question of entry of young people into politics.

To sum, these young people acquire this kind of resources in terminology of political behavior. Resources that permit to people star a political career, accessing a wide variety of political positions. The literature suggests that capital, in sociological theory of Bourdieu, have an impact on political career of politicians. Youth section may play a key role in a selection of candidates to political office. This kind of political capital could in fact be defined as "*young militant*".

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<sup>14</sup> Between 2005 et 2006, Bargel interviewed 367 members of Jeunes populaires and 284 members of Jeunes Socialistes

The lack of consideration of temporality (very difficult by the method of questionnaire survey or to checking the background of MPs only one or two terms) leads them to treat only the effects of the youth party member involvement. These studies neglected the processes that enable these effects, which are deducted *a posteriori*, given the consequences of their early involvement in youth section of political parties. To know only the quantity of current or former youth party members in one or two terms does not allow us to measure the success of youth section members. In the majority of the cases, these researches have a great limitation due their own type of analyses taken. The salient of these papers is given by find a significant part of current or former youth section members in each institution analysed, either the Congress, the Senate or the City Hall. This is a problem in the Spanish cases and can be assimilated almost all European political parties, the small number of members of youth section in rapport to the political party, and their scarce power inside the organization. Kimberlee (2002) contends that not only are the concerns of young people largely ignored by politicians and political parties but also the power of youth wings have weakened. She point out that youth representation in parties decreased.

## **HYPOTESIS**

Expectations: being a former or current member of youth section of political parties influences the political career of politicians positively.

H1- MPs with former or current membership in youth wings start their political career before. The age of entry in a paid position in public office for youth party members is much lower than for non-party members of youth section.

H2 - MPs with former or current membership in youth wings have more previous office in the career before to arrive at House of Parliament.

H3 - MPs with former or current membership in youth wings arrive before or younger at House of Parliament than non-youth section members.

H4 - MPs with former or current membership in youth wings have come onto the Parliament as elected members, without youth party membership arrive more as a replaced member.

H5 - MPs with former or current membership in youth wings have strong ties with their electoral district, in reason of their birth and home address.

H6 - MPs with former or current membership in youth wings have a salient role inside the House of Parliament.

H7 - MPs with former membership in youth wings have more extensive or a longer political career (in time duration) and have more terms. Their political career is longer than one politician that never have be member of youth section

## **DATA**

To test previous hypothesis, we used a complete database of all members of Lower house, “*Congreso de los Diputados*” (CD) in modern Spanish democracy, from 1 July 1977 (first term namely *Legislatura Constituyente*) to 31 December 2011 has been created. Dependent variable, namely “youth section membership”, as we have showed before was defined in this paper as those MPs formed during their youth inside the youth wings of political parties. Other information about dependent variables of political careers has been gathered. Data also control leadership position inside the youth section in national, regional or sub-regional level (provincial or local level). Other positions in the structure of youth section that normally replicate political party structure do not contemplate. Our operational definition of career, carry on with the description of Real-Dato et al. (2011:5) as the “succession of public offices, usually paid, accessed by election or direct political discretionary appointment –by general public, representative assemblies or incumbents of higher executive offices at local, occupied by an individual along time.”

Several positions controlled in database are in supra-national arena: member of European parliaments, EU commissioner and executive position in International Organization (FMI, FAO, BEI, UNESCO, etc.). In national level several positions are controlled, in both chambers, *Congreso* (member of the Lower house of the National Parliament) and *Senado* (member of Upper house), in higher political office in administration like a general director and Junior Minister (secretary of State). And finally at the sub-national level: member of a Regional Parliament, executive Regional Minister, regional Prime Minister, higher political office in regional administration and in local arena, Mayor and local councillor. For each one of these position occupied dates of entry and exit have been incorporated to main database with other information as date of birth and region, sex, educational background, married, numbers of offspring, professions before entry, party positions in main political party and youth wings, etc.

At this point is important to remark that politicians are controlled in all position prior to entry and after exiting with all characteristic by 31 December 2010. Both variables, positions with dates and individual variables, have been look up from several documentation sources as profile file in web site of *www.congreso.es*, and other chambers (Senate, Regional parliament, etc.), “Who’s who”, several biographic publications about politicians. Also information came from journal, newspaper, and society’ section<sup>15</sup> for personal variables and Internet personal web site. This kind of information is difficult and hard to find, and means finding private information that some politicians do not want to release, this can be a limitation of “youth section” variable in this database.

Previous works with this database have been presented in several Congress and published some of them with two different perspective of analysis. One kind of works in these previous researches used a sequence analysis technique in order to determine a complete treatment of political career under a longitudinal vision (see for the instance Real-Dato et al., 2011). This perspective has been adopted with similar database to study Ministers, Senators (Upper house) Junior Ministers and MEPs. Under a more traditional vision, the approach has related to previous background political and professional before entry and after office in Lower house, traditional variables as a gender, age, place of birth, education, electoral constituency and previous positions and experiences (for the socio-demographic characteristics see also Jerez et al., 2013).

## **METHOD**

Contemporary democracy has only 40 years, only eleven national elections have been held after the death of Franco (1975) and the transition processes that started in 1977 with the election of *Legislatura Constituyente* to the last national election in 2014. In this paper, we take account only 10 national elections, since 1977 to election that have been held in 2008, i.e. we excluded in this analysis composition of *Congreso de los Diputados* after national election of 2011. To be member of House of Parliament constitute the criteria of belonging of political class without doubt. Matuschek regards Congreso de los Diputados as the epicentre of the Spanish political class (2003:344).

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<sup>15</sup> Almost all information came from political parties web site, and personal web site of some politicians. This data has been conclude with information from newspaper like a *ABC*, *El Mundo* and *El Pais*, printed and Internet version.

Youth section membership was measured by a dummy variable (membership or not) and a second variable that identified if young member has ever had a first level of leadership position in youth wings structure in a multilevel system. Three levels have been identified: National, regional and provincial and local. It must be take account that when a politician has several executive positions, for example regional President and vice President, we only consider regional President. Table 1 shows distribution of these two variables along the ten composition of Spanish Parliament. All occupied positions were 3956, i.e. 3956 mandates were established to only 1985 politicians.

**Table 1. Executive role and year of entry**

	1977	1979	1982	1986	1989	1993	1996	2000	2004	2008	Mean
National President	2,5	2,6	1,3	1,8	2,8	3,2	2,7	2,6	4	<b>4,5</b>	2,8
Regional President	0,3	0,5	0,5	0,8	0,5	1,2	2	2,9	2,5	2,3	1,4
Provincial-local Pres.	0,8	0,8	0,5	0,3	0,5	0,7	1,7	2,2	3,5	<b>4,3</b>	1,5
Others	9,1	7,9	5,9	6,1	6,7	6,4	5,9	5,8	6,5	7,8	6,8
Youth Section	<b>12,7</b>	<b>11,7</b>	<b>8,2</b>	<b>8,9</b>	<b>10,5</b>	<b>11,5</b>	<b>12,2</b>	<b>13,5</b>	<b>16,5</b>	<b>18,8</b>	<b>12,5</b>
Don't Know	87,3	88,3	91,8	91,1	89,5	88,5	87,8	86,5	83,5	81,2	87,5
N	361	392	390	394	389	407	409	416	399	399	3956

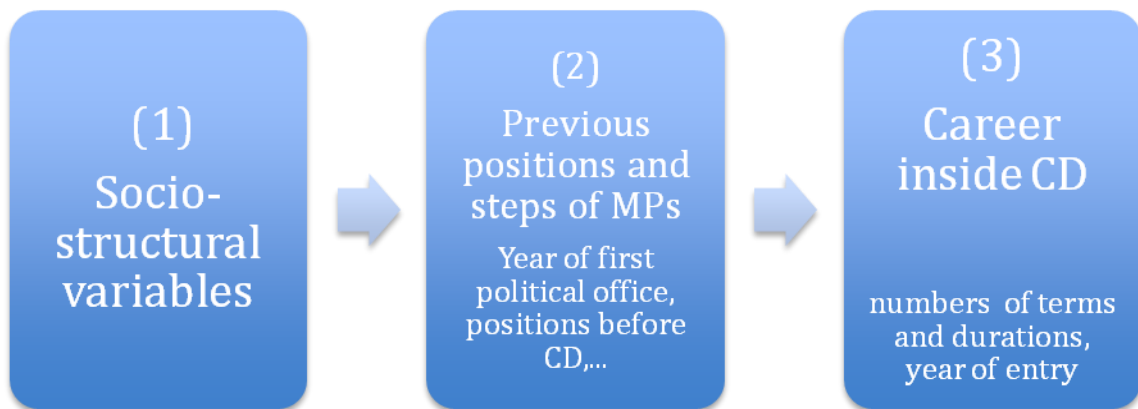
Source: own elaboration from CARRERAS.

It is important to say that only 188 of 1985 MPs have been members of youth section of political parties, this is only the 9,5 % of elected MPs (8,4% are women and 9,8 are men)<sup>16</sup>. Inside this 9,5%, we found several positions at youth section office, at national level 37 President or Secretary-General of youth wings (1,9% of 1985), only 28 politicians (1,4%) at regional level have been leader of youth and in a lower level, provincial or local leadership, only 27 MPs, it represents 1,4 of total MPs. Outside this three leadership positions 96 politicians have been member of youth sections with any other kind of executive position or have passed as a regular members (4,8 of 1985 MPs). In general, it is not a high rate of youth section membership this may be related to several factors, among which underground political party during the dictatorship, and its subsequent organizational evolution to modern political parties, which include youth section (Rodriguez Teruel, 2005:380).

<sup>16</sup> Similar percentages are among men and women in others executive positions and leadership at regional level. In contract, current and former youth wings members with executive leadership positions are men ( with 2,2% ) *vis a vis* women (with a 0,5). Reverse situation are in provincial-local position, 2,6 are women against 1% men.

In this paper we take an integrated approach with an overview of three traits that we have been selected as a major indicators in career steps of politicians. First step in our analysis of youth party members is composed by structural composition of elected Chamber in this large studied period. We show the composition of House of Parliament by year of entry of MPs and by main political parties (For socio-demographic variables and other salient information about Spanish MPs see: Jerez et al. 2013)<sup>17</sup>. In a second step, we take as the starting point in the politicians' political career several traits of their start and career success. The year of their first political office and the numbers of offices before entry in *Congreso de los Diputados* were two of the main register of this phase. In a third moment, we look up the character of their tenure of position, their duration and the year of entry in this position among others main characteristics.

**Figure 1: Sequence of analysis of career steps**



## ANALYSIS

### 1. Socio-structural variables

Table 2 and 3 show the percentage of MPs with former affiliation to youth section, across the ten compositions of *Congreso de los Diputados* contemplated in this paper. A longitudinal approach permits a better measurement, more solid, of the impact of passage by youth wings. Table 2 shows the elected MPs and the politicians that obtain a position by the exit of MPs that leaves the House of Parliament, maybe for another

<sup>17</sup> For an overview of all socio-demographic characteristics of Spanish House of Parliament, you can see: Jerez, Miguel, Juan J. Linz and José Real-Dato (2013): "Los diputados en la nueva democracia española, 1977-2011: pautas de continuidad y cambio", en *Juan J. Linz, Obras Escogidas*, vol. 6. Madrid: Centro de estudios Políticos y Constitucionales.

positions or to get away from politics. Table shows an increase in the rate of former youth wings members in ten years, more than 5% between 1977 and 2008. If compare elected and replaced MPs, we find that the percentage of former youth wings member among replaced MPs is lower, but not enough, MPs with background in youth section have more likely to enter in Congress as elected than to enter like a replaced, in all contemplate in this study with the exception of the first one and the last one.

**Table 2. Year of entry in *Congreso de los Diputados* and youth section membership**

	1977	1979	1982	1986	1989	1993	1996	2000	2004	2008	Mean
<b>MPs replaced</b>											
Don't Know	63,6	90,5	95	95,5	92,3	91,2	88,5	90,9	85,7	75,5	88,6
Youth section	36,4	9,5	5	4,5	7,7	8,8	11,5	9,1	14,3	24,5	11,4
N	11	42	40	44	39	57	61	66	49	49	458
<b>MPs elected</b>											
Don't Know	88	88	91,4	90,6	89,1	88	87,6	85,7	83,1	82	87,4
Youth section	12	12	8,6	9,4	10,9	12	12,4	14,3	16,9	18	12,6
N	350	350	350	350	350	350	348	350	350	350	3498
<b>Total MPs</b>											
Don't Know	87,3	88,3	91,8	91,1	89,5	88,5	87,8	86,5	83,5	81,2	87,5
Youth section	12,7	11,7	8,2	8,9	10,5	11,5	12,2	13,5	16,5	18,8	12,5
N	361	392	390	394	389	407	409	416	399	399	3956

Source: own elaboration from CARRERAS

Table number 3 shows an overview of former youth wings MPs by main political parties across legislative elected body. As a whole, not great differences have been found across parties. Rate increase more accentuated in conservative party (AP/PP) than in Socialist party (PSOE) maybe due to weigh of youth section structure of People's Party (under 30 years old members should compulsory be in youth section; when they become 30, affiliation automatically moves to People's Party). The high levels shown in the first days of Spanish transition to democracy in Socialist Party is due to several conditions as long tradition of *Juventudes socialistas* founded in 1906 and their structure abroad during the dictatorship, during the exile. CiU shows high rate in their MPs, 4 of 10 elected members in the last two national elections analysed. In both political parties, *Convergencia Democrática de Catalunya* and Uniò, this trend is manifest primarily in the politicians of this federation, and in 2011 that trend is still consolidating and developing to this day.

Both tables present a limitation. If one politician with former or current membership in youth wings has been elected in 1977 and in other nine national



elections, for example in 1982 and 1986, appears in the table with their percentage. To save this limitation in second and third steps of analysis, we only take account politicians as unit of analysis.

**Table 3. Youth section and main parties by year of entry at CD**

		1977	1979	1982	1986	1989	1993	1996	2000	2004	2008	Mean
PSOE	Don't Know	76,7	80	89,1	89,3	87,8	87,3	88,2	88,3	87,2	84,1	86,3
	Youth section	23,3	20	10,9	10,7	12,2	12,7	11,8	11,7	12,8	15,9	13,7
	N	120	140	229	205	188	181	161	137	187	201	1749
PP/AP	Don't Know	100	100	97,3	93	89,9	87,9	86,7	84,4	80,6	78,8	86,7
	Youth section	0	0	2,7	7	10,1	12,1	13,3	15,6	19,4	21,2	13,3
	N	16	10	113	115	119	165	188	231	170	170	1297
UCD/ CDS	Don't Know	97,1	94,4	93,3	95,2	88,2	-	-	-	-	-	95,3
	Youth section	2,9	5,6	6,7	4,8	11,8	-	-	-	-	-	4,7
	N	171	177	15	21	17	0	0	0	0	0	401
PCE/ IU	Don't Know	63,6	73,1	50	87,5	94,4	100	91,3	100	83,3	66,7	83,8
	Youth section	36,4	26,9	50	12,5	5,6	0	8,7	0	16,7	33,3	16,2
	N	22	26	4	8	18	22	23	10	6	3	142
CiU	Don't Know	90,9	100	92,9	90,9	90	86,4	85	88,2	60	60	86,2
	Youth section	9,1	0	7,1	9,1	10	13,6	15	11,8	40	40	13,8
	N	11	13	14	22	20	22	20	17	10	10	159
PNV	Don't Know	77,8	100	100	87,5	87,5	80	85,7	87,5	85,7	66,7	87
	Youth section	22,2	0	0	12,5	12,5	20	14,3	12,5	14,3	33,3	13
	N	9	9	10	8	8	5	7	8	7	6	77
Others	Don't Know	83,3	94,1	100	100	100	100	100	92,3	84,2	100	94,7
	Youth section	16,7	5,9	0	0	0	0	0	7,7	15,8	0	5,3
	N	12	17	5	15	19	12	10	13	19	9	131
Total	Don't Know	87,3	88,3	91,8	91,1	89,5	88,5	87,8	86,5	83,5	81,2	87,5
	Youth section	12,7	11,7	8,2	8,9	10,5	11,5	12,2	13,5	16,5	18,8	12,5
	N	361	392	390	394	389	407	409	416	399	399	3956

Source: own elaboration from CARRERAS.

\*Others parties are regional and minorities political parties, like Unión Progreso y Democracia, ERC, BNG, CC, CHA, PAR, UPN, etc. (about 20).

## 2. Previous positions before *Congreso de los Diputados*

In this section we analyse the background of politicians before its entry into the Lower house. Now, we take into account only politicians in order to get past limitations of previous tables. Up to 1985 politicians have been at least one day as a member of House of Parliament (elected or replaced). As we have already pointed out, only 188 MPs have been members of youth wings, that is to say 9,5% of total population contemplated.

Politicians that have not been any former or current youth membership are 1797, i.e. 90,5% of all population.

Table 4 shows the average age of politicians in their first political office. It is important to say, that first political office offers salary remuneration. Some differences can be observed between the average age of entry in politicians with a background in youth section and MPs who do not have former or current membership in youth section. Differences are even greater between executive leadership positions within youth wings members. MPs with a Regional Presidency start their political career with a political office at the age of 27, more than 10 years earlier than politicians without previous youth wings membership. This fact suggests that in terms of career patterns MPs have great heterogeneity.

**Table 4. Age at the time of the first political office**

	DK	Youth Section	Pres. Nat.	Pres. Reg.	Pres. Prov. Local	Other	
Mean	<b>39,19</b>	<b>33,1</b>	<b>31,67</b>	<b>27,25</b>	<b>31,67</b>	<b>35,77</b>	
Confidence interval for the mean	Lower Limit	38,79	31,45	28,16	25,31	27,69	33,19
	Upper Limit	39,6	34,74	35,18	29,19	35,64	38,35
Trimmed mean at 5%	38,88	31,84	30,46	26,75	30,55	34,61	
Median	38	29	28	26	29	32	
Variance	74,554	129,385	107,657	25,009	101	160,669	
Standard deviation	8,634	11,375	10,376	5,001	10,05	12,676	
Minimum	21	20	21	21	20	21	
Maximum	75	74	65	45	63	74	
Range	54	54	44	24	43	53	
Interquartile range	11	10	8	5	6	11	
Asymmetry	0,567	1,889	1,981	1,815	2,231	1,589	
Kurtosis	0,342	3,169	3,846	4,936	4,986	1,785	

Source: own elaboration from CARRERAS

It should be noted that the date of entry into the professional political activity is close temporarily to the age-limit of membership in youth section (normally in almost all youth branches in 30 years). Young people who have held a leadership position at the regional level get their first elective office before quitting their youth party membership.

Table 5 focuses in numbers of positions before entry in *Congreso de los Diputados*, however this table shows a disparity in average rate. MPs with youth section membership have an average of 0,67 positions prior to entry, this average increases to

0,79 for MPs that have not youth wings membership. However, as we can see in the table, MPs with a background as a Regional President in the youth wings have a mean near to 1, this finding strongly suggests that this MPs have a previous position before the *Congreso de los Diputados*.

**Table 5. Numbers of previous positions before *Congreso de los Diputados***

	DK	Youth Section	Pres. Nat.	Pres. Reg.	Pres. Prov. Local	Other	
Mean	<b>0,7952</b>	<b>0,6755</b>	<b>0,8108</b>	<b>0,8929</b>	<b>0,5185</b>	<b>0,6042</b>	
Confidence interval for the mean	Lower Limit	0,7509	0,5395	0,4883	0,5703	0,0746	0,4194
	Upper Limit	0,8395	0,8116	1,1333	1,2154	0,9624	0,7889
Trimmed mean at 5%		0,6922	0,5721	0,7342	0,8254	0,3272	0,5046
Median	1	0	0	1	0	0	
Variance	0,916	0,894	0,935	0,692	1,259	0,831	
Standard deviation	0,9569	0,9456	0,96718	0,83174	1,12217	0,9116	
Minimum	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Maximum	6	5	3	3	5	3	
Range	6	5	3	3	5	3	
Interquartile range	1	1	2	1	1	1	
Asymmetry	1,434	1,459	0,791	1,042	3,037	1,301	
Kurtosis	2,483	2,031	-0,636	1,291	10,158	0,517	

Source: own elaboration from CARRERAS

### 3. Career inside *Congreso de los Diputados*

In a third moment, we analyze the passage of MPs on *Congreso de los Diputados*, in order to obtain differences among members in quality and quantity of their passage. In table 6, we can find the age of entry in their first term in office (in Lower house). Politicians with youth section background arriving to Parliament 7 years earlier than those MPs without such past. This figure becomes significantly larger, if we close look at the leadership at Regional and Sub-Regional level where the age of entry at *Congreso de los Diputados* drops. These Politicians became MPs ten years before in the early thirties.

**Table 6. Age of entry in *Congreso de los Diputados* in their first time.**

		DK	Youth Section	Pres. Nat.	Pres. Reg.	Pres. Prov. Local	Other
Mean		<b>43,57</b>	<b>36,54</b>	<b>35,64</b>	<b>31,11</b>	<b>32,93</b>	<b>39,51</b>
Confidence interval for the mean	Lower Limit	43,15	34,9	32,06	28,38	28,9	37,05
	Upper Limit	43,99	38,17	39,21	33,83	36,95	41,96
Trimmed mean at 5%		43,34	35,51	34,59	30,71	31,74	38,66
Median		43	34	32	29	29	36
Variance		80,33	127,59	111,609	49,358	103,456	145,019
Standard deviation		8,963	11,296	10,565	7,026	n10,171	12,042
Minimum		23	22	23	22	25	23
Maximun		81	73	68	47	63	73
Range		58	51	45	25	38	50
Interquartile range		13	12	10	9	11	11
Asymmetry		0,36	1,431	1,785	1,046	1,841	1,216
Kurtosis		-0,057	1,597	2,812	0,06	3,126	0,824

Source: own elaboration from CARRERAS

Table 7 shows the kind of entry of MPs in Lower house their first time. Some politicians change their positions; normally this movement was due for any elections or by moving into executive positions in a multilevel government (local, regional, national or supranational). Turnover makes a new composition of the Parliament. First elected members are more likely to do not have a youth section background, 22,9% of youth section members entry as MPs replaced against 18,9 % for regular MPs. In contrast, MPs with a previous national youth section leadership are at the top of the ballot, most of them come as elected. Subnational leadership MPs come to *Congreso de los Diputados* in a higher level as replaced members, when the terms has begun, than other type of youth section membership. If we transfer this fact to recruitment process, youth wings members are selected in a not safe position in a ballot paper or electoral list.

**Table 7. Kind of access at Parliament**

	DK	Youth Section	Pres. Nat.	Pres. Reg.	Pres. Prov. Local	Other	Total
Replaced	18,9	22,9	10,8	35,7	33,3	20,8	19,3
Elected	81,1	77,1	89,2	64,3	66,7	79,2	80,7
N	1797	188	37	28	27	96	1985

Source: own elaboration from CARRERAS

An overview on target relationships of politicians with their regions of elections and birthplace is given in table 8. Territorial ties have a good sign in order to clarify

relations amongst MPs and regions. Dal-bo et al. (2009) pointed out that politicians members of a dynasty or with relatives in politics, are more likely to represent the same state that they were born in, that is because they inherit some kind of “political capital” from other relatives. MPs with a previous passage by youth sections are more likely to be candidate in other constituency that where they were born and lived. Territorial ties do not present in the same percentage of “regular” MPs, former or current youth party members are more likely to be elected by others electoral districts. This fact could indicate that young party have an advantage in candidate selection. Youth section members have more possibilities to be included in a ballot if they have more than one district or provincial differentiation.

**Table 8. Territorial ties of MPs**

	DK	Youth Section	Pres. Nat.	Pres. Reg.	Pres. Prov. Local	Other	Total
<b>Same region of home address and electoral district</b>							
Yes	90,7	9,3	1,6	1,5	1,4	4,7	1820
No	87,3	12,7	4,8	0	0,8	7,1	126
Unknown	92,3	7,7	2,6	0	0	5,1	39
<b>Same region of birth and electoral district</b>							
Yes	90,9	9,1	1,5	1,6	1,6	4,4	1435
No	89,2	10,8	2,9	1	0,8	6,2	519
Unknown	93,5	6,5	3,2	0	0	3,2	31
<b>Birth at Provincial municipality or big City</b>							
Yes	89,1	10,9	2,5	1,7	1,4	5,3	1033
No	92,1	7,9	1,1	1,1	1,4	4,3	921
Unknown	93,5	6,5	3,2	0	0	3,2	31
	90,5	9,5	1,9	1,4	1,4	4,8	1985

Source: own elaboration from CARRERAS

Table 9 shows the role of MPs inside the Chamber of youth party members and also the survival rate of current or former youth party members. Figure displays the percentage of youth section members in their several mandates. In their first mandate, only 30% of current or former youth section MPs have a role inside de Chamber, that normally take a spoke person at one internal Commission. When theses MPs became incumbents further increase its importance.

**Table 9. Youth Members' role played and survival rate**

Mandate	1st	2nd	3rd	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
Vice -president Congress	1,1	3,5	1,4	1,9	0	0	0	16,7	0	0	1,8
Secretary Bureau Congress	1,1	1,8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0,8
Spoke PG	3,2	6,1	5,6	7,7	12,5	5,6	0	0	0	0	5,3
Spoke joint to PG	3,7	5,3	7	3,8	0	5,6	10	0	0	0	4,5
President Commission	2,1	5,3	9,9	3,8	9,4	16,7	0	0	50	100	5,5
Vice-president 1° Commission	3,7	3,5	9,9	7,7	3,1	0	20	16,7	50	0	5,5
Vice-president 2° Commission	3,7	5,3	5,6	9,6	6,3	5,6	10	16,7	0	0	5,5
Spoke Commission	10,6	13,2	15,5	15,4	18,8	5,6	10	0	0	0	12,6
None	70,7	56,1	45,1	50	50	61,1	50	50	0	0	58,7
Total	188	114	71	52	32	18	10	6	2	1	494

Source: own elaboration from CARRERAS

PG= Parliamentary Group

Table 10 and 11 show the terms and duration of these passages in Lower house. In table 10, average rate of term in office have some differences among MPs is shown. Politicians with a previous leadership background in youth sections have one term more than MPs without it. Average rate is 2,81 (mandates) for regular MPs and this rate increase to 2,63 for MPs with leadership executive position in youth wings. Inside the youth section members, duration of terms ranged from 1,93 for politicians with leadership at regional level (same duration of politicians without previous passage by youth wings) to 2,63, as we as see before.

**Table 10. Numbers of terms**

	DK	Youth Section	Pres. Nat.	Pres. Reg.	Pres. Prov. Local	Other
Mean	<b>1,93</b>	<b>2,63</b>	<b>2,95</b>	<b>1,93</b>	<b>2,26</b>	<b>2,81</b>
Confidence interval for the mean						
Lower Limit	1,86	2,35	2,26	1,42	1,69	2,38
Upper Limit	1,99	2,91	3,63	2,43	2,83	3,24
Trimmed mean at 5%	1,75	2,42	2,77	1,81	2,14	2,6
Median	1	2	2	1	2	2
Variance	1,872	3,796	4,321	1,698	2,046	4,538
Standard deviation	1,368	1,948	2,079	1,303	1,43	2,13
Minimum	1	1	1	1	1	1
Maximun	8	10	9	5	6	10
Range	7	9	8	4	5	9
Interquartile range	1	3	3	2	2	3
Asymmetry	1,854	1,338	1,179	1,222	1,039	1,231
Kurtosis	3,411	1,347	0,818	0,356	0,298	0,855

Source: own elaboration from CARRERAS

Table 11 shows the tenure length, some authors used this indicator to measure political power of politicians. In this case, some great differences can be observed between two kinds of MPs. The average rate of MPs is different, politicians without previous passage by youth wings remain 5,44 years in Lower house, while MPs with current or former youth section membership remain 7,44 years in *Congreso de los Diputados*, two years. All youth section members have more time in Lower House than regular MPs. Time increase up to eight years and half for executive leadership at national level.

**Table 11. Duration of time passed as MPs**

		DK	Youth Section	Pres. Nat.	Pres. Reg.	Pres. Prov. Local	Other
Mean		<b>5,4464</b>	<b>7,4479</b>	<b>8,6923</b>	<b>5,6295</b>	<b>6,4909</b>	<b>7,7582</b>
Confidence interval for the mean	Lower Limit	5,2322	6,5253	6,5603	3,9286	4,5008	6,3071
	Upper Limit	5,6606	8,3705	10,8243	7,3303	8,481	9,2093
Trimmed mean at 5%		4,9635	6,8901	8,3304	5,3497	6,233	7,0654
Median		3,789	4,9521	6,5397	3,8041	4,0795	5,0548
Variance		21,429	41,12	42,073	19,24	25,309	50,744 7,1234
Standard deviation		4,62918	6,41248	6,4864	4,38635	5,03079	5
Minimum		0,06	0,06	0,42	0,35	0,58	0,06
Maximum		27,94	33,48	24,23	16,43	16,88	33,48
Range		27,88	33,42	23,81	16,08	16,3	33,42
Interquartile range		4,11	9,12	11,81	4,06	6,53	9,9
Asymmetry		1,727	1,299	0,728	1,252	0,923	1,369
Kurtosis		3,327	1,46	-0,628	0,691	-0,402	1,612

Source: own elaboration from CARRERAS

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

The lack of political studies about the presence of young people in public office has been a general trend within the discipline. In this paper we have showed figures about MPs who have been members of youth wings in order to measure this effect of this singularity in their career paths. Data shows a great difference among MPs, and some homogeneity inside former leader of youth wings this political elite can be observed.

But, who are they? Scholars as Recchi (1997:2) pointed out that a great percentage of Italian politicians have been started their political career inside the

structure of one political party. Political leader in the left and right spectrum have been star their *cursus honorum* in youth section. This kind of political capital permits an advantage of this group of politicians in four indicators: age of entry in politics and in *Congreso de los Diputados*, in duration and terms.

The age of first paid political office and the age at the entry in *Congreso de los Diputados* offer great differences between youth party members and non-youth party members. Just this particularity suggests that the current or former membership boost political career of these people. The age of entry in political arena with a paid position decrease 6 years in average, and this increase until 12 years to MPs with a youth leadership at regional level. The same pattern appears in the age of entry in *Congreso de los Diputados*, with a decrease of 7 years in average.

Terms and duration show a similar positive perspective. Current or former youth-party members have more time in the House than other politicians, and have more terms, almost one legislature more. That is important due the leading role of *Congreso de los Diputados* in the Spanish political system.

In sum we can concluded that previous passage by youth wings helps politicians in their political career, and this kind of political capital cannot be compensated by other features due their effects in career start and success.

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