divpol

Diversity in Political Parties' Programmes, Organisation and Representation

CJD Hamburg + Eutin

EUROPEAN UNION
European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals

DIVPOL

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DIVPOL is an EU-project designed to initiate, assess, support and evaluate diversity development processes with regard to ethnic diversity in political parties in eight EU member states. It ran from 2012 to 2014. The project aimed to raise awareness and develop practical recommendations and tools to promote diversity development in parties and improve the chances of participation for third-country nationals. Research institutes, universities, NGOs and ministerial bodies, migrant organisations and political parties in eight EU-member states were involved.[1] In the 20-month project run-time over 500 politicians of immigrant and autochthone backgrounds, representatives of migrant organisations and experts were interviewed, attended workshops or participated in dissemination events. The project was co-financed by the European Commission in the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals.

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1 The DIVPOL partners are:
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CJD Hamburg + Eutin – Christian Association of Youth Villages (Germany, coordinator)
Department of Political Science, University of Stockholm (Sweden)
GRITIM – Interdisciplinary Research Group on Immigration, University Pompeu Fabra (Spain)
IPRS – Psychoanalytic Institute for Social Research (Italy)
Łazarski University (Poland)
MPG – Migration Policy Group (Belgium) as transnational non-research partner
The Integration Centre (Ireland)
Each partner involved political parties and migrant organisations in their member state as associate partners.

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction

While the discourse on the crises of democracies is as old as their existence, it is true that in the 21st century democratic societies face serious challenges especially concerning participation and representation. Worldwide migration supports the diversification of the constantly changing European societies and democracies are challenged to win the hearts and minds of increasingly diverse populations. Political parties play a key role in this process. Their task is to integrate the population's will vis-à-vis the state and influence developments in all areas of society. As organisations and holders of legislative and governing powers, parties carry responsibility to incorporate diversity and encourage an increasingly diverse population to participate. Improving participation for immigrants in party politics is essential to support them as agents in the democratic system and in the long-term to sustain social cohesion.

The main obstacle for immigrants and people of immigrant background to political involvement is electoral representation. Political parties are still failing to represent the diversity of European societies within their ranks. In all DIVPOL partner countries politicians of immigrant background are under-represented in both local and national parliaments. Due to a lack of equality data it is not possible in any of the parties involved in DIVPOL to say whether the proportion of non-EU citizens among the membership reflects their numbers in the population. Hence, an overall quantitative assessment is not feasible. Few parties record data on the nationality or ethnic background of their members, although some published figures suggest a significant under-representation for this group.[2] Chapter two in this report provides an insight into the under-representation of "people of immigrant background" in political parties in the DIVPOL countries.

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2 For example, according to the German Social Democrats (SPD) the proportion of foreign members was about 1% in 2004, while the proportion of foreigners in the German population was 8.9% (Eurostat data, 2004).

3 The definition of "immigrant background" is derived from the Microcensus definition of "Migrationshintergrund" of the German Federal Statistical Office, which refers to a person that has either immigrated to Germany after 1949, was born in Germany as a foreigner or has at least one immigrated parent or a parent born as foreigner (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2011). In DIVPOL, the focus is on people who have immigrated into an EU-member state from a "third country".

4 People marked as migrant are those who, on account of their appearance (skin colour, hair and eye colour), their name or their accent are regarded as migrants by others.

In this report the term "people of immigrant background" (IB) will be used to denote people of non-European background, who are often referred to as third-country nationals (TCN) or people of third-country background.[3] While using this definition for this study, it should be pointed out that it is often people "marked as migrants"[4] who experience exclusion. Multiple discrimination is determined by a variety of identity markers. It is intersectional and influences various exclusionary practices in a number of different contexts.

In the beginning of the DIVPOL project each research partner prepared an overview of the current academic and public debates and the findings of more recent empirical studies. Research was conducted on party-political developments regarding the intercultural opening of political parties and efforts within the parties to investigate or react to increasing ethnic diversity within the electorate.

In the distribution of the interviewees DIVPOL aimed to create a balanced representation of the parties, the political levels, the political actors of immigrant background, as well as the migrant organisation representatives. In order to involve political parties equally at the national level, formal letters of invitation were sent to the headquarters of each political party represented in the National Parliament and in some cases additionally to the parties' regional levels. Furthermore, interviewees were acquired via the 'snowball system' that expanded via direct contacts to active political or organisational representatives.

The official feedback of many parties in the partner countries who were approached was an expression of interest in the topic. On the practical level, however, the involvement and commitment of the parties varied greatly. In some cases, regional offices of parties and individual politicians were more open to participation than the parties' headquarters. With some exceptions, e.g. in Ireland, Sweden and Poland, it can be observed that some popular political parties of the spectrum of the centre-right are under-represented in DIVPOL. In the light of this, the findings – independent of the qualitative approach of the empirical study – cannot be understood to be representative of the party spectrum in relationship to the overall majority situation.

In total, 276 politicians, staff and leading personnel (gate-keepers) of parties and representatives of migrant organisations were interviewed in 2013 in seven European countries (DE, ES, IE, IT, PL, PT, SE).

22 of the interviewees are TCN and 102 are naturalised TCN (see table 6 in Annexe I). All interviewees are politically active employees or volunteers in various local, regional and/or national contexts in their respective party or organisation. As individual party members, the politicians interviewed represent all major parties of their respective countries. The migrant organisations (MOs) that participated are active regionally or nationally as umbrella organisations. Altogether, 38 political parties and 53 migrant organisations were involved in DIVPOL (see table 8 and table 9 in Annexe I). Out of all politicians interviewed, 45 were members of national parliaments (MPs) in 2013, a total of 40%.

Table 1

Participants of interviews and focus groups of DIVPOL

Country	Politicians (IB)	Politicians (without IB)	Party staff & gate-keepers (of them: with IB)	Representatives of migrant organisations	Other (academic experts, state representative)	Total
Germany	13	10	9 (3)	11	—	**43**
Ireland	12	11	6	9	1	**39**
Italy	8	6	15 (10)	16	—	**45**
Poland	4	17	—	9	3	**33**
Portugal	4	12	9 (6)	18	3	**46**
Spain	3	1	18 (10)	8	—	**30**
Sweden	5	5	15	15	—	**40**
Total	**49**	**62**	**72 (29)**	**86**	**7**	**276**

Source: DIVPOL 2013

The aim of the interviews was to identify the role of the interviewee's (non-)immigrant background for their political career, obstacles and supporting factors experienced and how they related or did not relate to their (non-)immigrant background. The interview started with questions on their political career path, motivation for involvement in the party and how the interviewee was received when joining the party. Politicians were asked about the principal issues and topics they dealt with in their party and their experience of party structures, the role of networks, the nomination processes and (typical) career paths of political actors. In the second half of the interview politicians were questioned about the process of intercultural opening, diversity development and representation of immigrants within their parties. All interviewees were finally asked about the functions of political actors with an immigrant background as office holders and on their opinion on how (and by whom) TCN were politically represented (see full interview guideline in Annexe III).

The subsequent analysis of the interviews was carried out in accordance with qualitative-heuristic factors. The detailed results of the national and empirical exploration can be found in the individual country reports on www.cjd-eutin.eu/149.0.html. The summaries can be found in Annexe IV of this report.

A questionnaire was developed for the purpose of self-assessment by political parties. It is based on benchmarking indicators to measure the level of intercultural openness a party has achieved and indicates steps to take for a strategic approach. The indicator-based questionnaire is divided into different parts and includes questions on monitoring diversity and availability of data, access opportunities and strategic papers. It focuses on the parties as organisations and addresses different levels of envisioning strategic diversity development: party leadership, membership, the electorate of the party and its tenderers and employees. The full

questionnaire can be found in Annexe II of this report and on www.migpolgroup.com/publications_detail.php?id=338.

The key findings of the empirical study and the questionnaire were presented and discussed in the national workshops in each country and at the final conference in Brussels (see table 7 in Annexe I). The events involved 255 politicians, political stakeholders, representatives of migrant organisations and experts from all participating countries. Experiences on candidacy, membership and diversity implementation were brought together and the participants stressed the on-going challenge to support diversity and opening processes practically and tangibly at all levels in political parties.

In the following report, a brief overview of the transformation of the electorate in Europe will be followed by a discussion of the theoretical normative dimension on the rationale for parties to open themselves to (ethnic) diversity. Finally, the Executive Summary presents the empirical findings of DIVPOL in a transnational perspective. The final recommendations for political parties cover the central aspects of the abstracted European analysis. Specific policy recommendations concerning political parties in the national perspectives are contained in the partners' national reports, summaries of which can be found in Annexe IV.

2. Making a Quantitative Case for Including Immigrants in Political Life

An Overview of the Migration Situation in the DIVPOL Countries, Europe's Potential Electorate and its Political Representation

There are good qualitative and quantitative arguments for engaging persons with immigrant background in political life and including them in the operations of political parties. In this short chapter we shall present some statistical information to illustrate the democratic deficit prevailing in Europe. This may help to make the case for the elimination of barriers that hinder political participation. We shall provide figures covering the DIVPOL countries (DE, ES, IE, IT, PL, PT, SE) to put this issue in a European and comparative perspective.

Migration and globalisation intensively marked the composition of the European population after the Second World War. These demographic changes have also resulted in diversification of the electorate. The nationals of the seven countries covered by this project normally have full civic and political rights. They can vote and stand for election in local, regional, national and European elections. EU nationals residing in another EU Member State can participate in local and European elections. Third-country nationals (TCN) can neither vote nor stand as candidates in elections in most countries covered in this project (see chapter 4, and table 10 in Annexe I). The following table shows the size of the population broken down in terms of nationality.

Table 2

Population by citizenship (2013)

Country	Total population	Foreign population	Share of foreign population	TCN population	Share of TCN population
Germany	80,523,746	7,696,413	9.6%	4,674,021	5.8%
Ireland	4,591,087	543,636	11.8%	164,435	3.6%
Italy	59,685,227	4,387,721	7.4%	3,100,517	5.2%
Poland	38,533,299	58,859	0.2%	40,229	0.1%
Portugal	10,487,289	417,042	4.0%	316,112	3.0%
Spain	46,727,890	5,072,680	10.9%	3,012,027	6.4%
Sweden	9,555,893	659,374	6.9%	377,399	3.9%

Source: Eurostat 2013

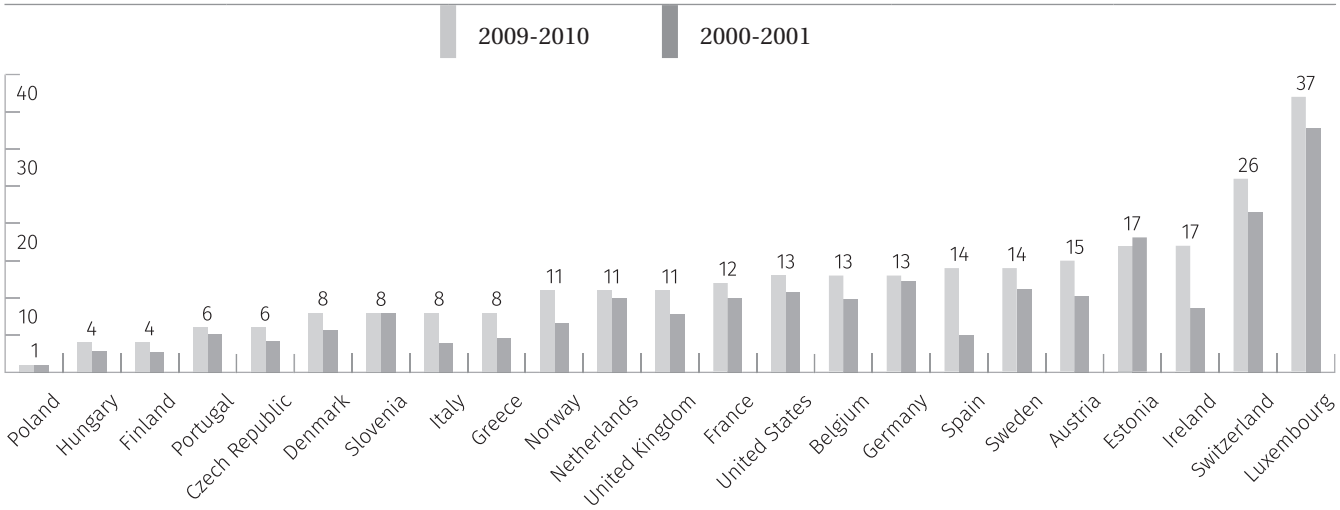
While Spain, Portugal, Italy and Ireland are relatively new immigration countries, where net migration became significantly positive at the turn of the millennium, the history of immigration in Germany and Sweden started with the institutionalised recruitment of foreign "guest workers" in the mid-1950s (DE) and 1960s (SE). The immigration process was halted in the early 1970s but resumed later with family reunion and refugee migration. Hence, Sweden has a mainly first and second-generation migrant population, while in Germany the third generation has already reached adulthood. In both countries the population with immigrant background represents roughly a fifth of the total population. Poland clearly is an exception among the DIVPOL countries as post-war immigration has not yet reached a significant level.

The main TCN groups in the DIVPOL countries are Eastern Europeans (IE, IT, PL), North and West Africans (IT, ES, IE) and Asians (IE, IT, PL). Due to colonial history, the main immigrant communities with TCN background in Spain are Latin Americans and in Portugal PALOP nationals[5] and Brazilians. Germany's TCN population are predominately people of Turkish origin as a result of guest-worker migration. According to the 2012 Microcensus, 18.3% of the population with immigrant background has a Turkish background (roughly 3 million). In Sweden, the chief TCN groups are composed mainly of refugees from the Middle East (especially from Iraq), Former Yugoslavia and Somalia.[6]

The next table shows the size of the potential electorate and how the immigrant population has grown over the last ten years. We may expect this to continue in the coming years.

Table 3

Total foreign-born population (0+), 2000-1 and 2009-10 as percentage of the overall population



Source: OECD Database on International Migration and EU Labour Force Survey

5 Citizens of Portuguese-speaking African countries.

6 Sweden is among the countries in Europe that receives the largest number of refugees in relation to population size.

This growth represents a change in the electorate, which practically only comes into effect when immigrants acquire citizenship or are granted voting rights. According to Eurostat data, the citizenship acquisition rates were relatively high in Portugal (5.6%, i.e. 5.6 citizenships granted per 100 resident foreigners), Poland (5.0%) and Sweden (4.9%) and very low in Ireland (1.0%), Germany (1.3%), Italy (1.4%) and Spain (1.4%).[7] It is significant that the biggest TCN groups in each country are most likely to acquire the citizenship of the country of their residence. The following table provides an overview of the largest groups of foreign residents who became naturalised and their percentage of all foreigners who acquired citizenship in that country in 2010:

Table 4

Largest groups acquiring citizenship as percentage of all naturalisations in the country (2010)

	Largest Group		2nd largest group		3rd largest group		4th largest group	
Country	**Previous citizens of**	**%**	**Previous citizens of**	**%**	**Previous citizens of**	**%**	**Previous citizens of**	**%**
Germany	Turkey	25.1	Iraq	5.0	Russia	4.0	Poland	3.7
Ireland	Nigeria	15.8	Philippines	9.9	India	6.9	South Africa	5.4
Italy	Morocco	17.2	Albania	13.8	Romania	7.1	Peru	3.4
Poland	Ukraine	33.9	Belarus	14.3	Russia	7.3	Armenia	3.5
Portugal	Brazil	18.4	Cape Verde	18.3	Moldova	12.3	Angola	9.0
Spain	Ecuador	34.8	Colombia	19.4	Morocco	8.7	Peru	6.7
Sweden	Iraq	13.5	Finland	9.2	Poland	4.6	Thailand	4.4

Source: Eurostat 2010

Legal barriers for political participation can be removed by inclusive naturalisation policies. Citizenship gives immigrants and persons with an immigrant background full civic and political rights. It also protects them against expulsion and provides better legal protection against discrimination, which may take away fears of becoming politically engaged. In a limited number of countries non-nationals have voting rights at local level and in an even lower number of countries these persons have such rights at national level (see chapter 4, and table 10 in Annexe I).

In order to quantify the under-representation of people with TCN background in parliaments at national level, we investigated the lists of Members of Parliaments and scanned their names and publicly available biographies. The following table shows the under-represention of TCN in the national parliaments. In the light of the fact that only naturalised citizens ("people of immigrant background" holding national citizenship) can be elected to parliament, it should be noted that the percentages below are not directly comparable. This means, the proportion of the

7 http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_STAT-12-162_en.pdf

population of people of TCN background – including TCN and naturalised TCN – is in fact higher and thus the under-representation larger for most countries than the table below can show.

Table 5

Representation of third-country nationals (TCN) in the national parliaments

Country	TCN population in % [8] (Population with immigrant background)	MPs with TCN-background / total number of MPs (all holding national citizenship) [9]	MPs with TCN-background in national parliaments in %
Germany	5.8 (19.2%) [10]	21 / 631 (36/631)*	3.3 (5.7)*
Ireland	3.6	2 / 226	0.9
Italy	5.2	2 / 630	0.3
Poland	0.1	2 / 460	0.4
Portugal	3.0	3 / 230 [11]	1.3
Spain	6.4	1 / 616	0.2
Sweden	3.9 (20.1%) [12]	14 / 349 (33/349)*	4.0 (9.5)*

* (incl. MPs with EU-background and Norwegian background)

Source: DIVPOL, June 2014

8 Source: Eurostat 2013

9 Source: National Reports of project partners.

10 Source: German Census 2011. www.zensus2011.de/SharedDocs/Aktuelles/Ergebnisse/PM_Destatis_20140603.html?nn=3065474

11 The place of birth of the MPs is not formally recorded by the Portuguese Parliament, so the number could be higher than the publicly available sources show.

12 Source: Statistics Sweden 2012.

3. Why Should Political Parties Include Immigrants?
The Normative Dimension

In the framework of the DIVPOL project, the purpose of the "why" question is *to provide political parties with reasons that convince them about the positive aspects of including immigrants*. In order to map the main normative arguments within the political parties/diversity-incorporation nexus, we first need to take into account two key premises.

Premise 1: The *specific features of political parties* may influence normative thinking. This debate can be placed in an overall discussion of the incorporation of immigrants in public organisations (administrations, sectors such as education, police, health services, etc.). However, political parties in the democratic system have their own distinctive features:

- As organisations holding legislative and governing powers and being central agents of societal developments, parties have the responsibility to incorporate diversity.
- They also influence this development in all areas of society, and are a reference framework for legitimating social action.
- Diversity is seen as a target of political discourse (politisation of diversity), and the incorporation of diversity is embedded in these politics of discourse.

Premise 2: *Motivation differs between the two main actors: political parties and immigrants*. From a game theory perspective we can say that the reasons for political parties to incorporate immigrants differ from the reasons for immigrants to claim incorporation. From a motivational point of view, both actors' reasons are different, as both have a different logic of action. Immigrants can have an individual objective (such as individual promotion and recognition) or a communitarian one (such as the representation of the diversity of immigrants in general). As we know, political parties can have political reasons to incorporate immigrants, both in respect of their own voters, and society in general. Normative thinking must take into account both perspectives. This normative thinking also involves some key questions such as:

- Can the challenge of the under-representation of immigrants in political parties be understood in a similar way to the under-representation of women?[13] And if so, why? What criteria should be considered? (who, how many). Nationalities? Age? Religion? Language? This is a key issue, since the way diversity is managed involves the way it is understood as a policy category.
- Why do other groups (such as disabled people, homosexuals, social class categories, sector-oriented profiles) not receive special attention and efforts to make them engage in the life of a party?

- Why would incorporation benefit third-country nationals? Why is this argument legitimate and can it be a request or even a claim for social movement?

Given these two key premises, we argue there are basically two frameworks that can help generate different normative arguments: *a utilitarian-based approach and a (Human) Rights-based approach.*

The *first approach* can have different interpretations according to the motivational actor's perspective. For political parties, it is related to electoral strategies and symbolic political discursive logic with respect to their own voters in particular, and society in general. From the immigrant point of view, it can be related to individual promotion and career progression, but also to more general citizenship-related claims (political participation and representation in political parties).

The *second approach* is grounded on a democratic deficit argument. It is related to equality of principles, opportunity of structures, and general democratic representation and participatory arguments.

Utilitarian-Based Approach – Symbolic Logic: Specific Distinction

This approach belongs to the *politisation* of diversity (incorporation of diversity within political discourse), and it is consubstantial with political parties' strategic logic of thought and action.[14] The main logic of action is to deal with diversity without losing potential voters and even to try to reach more voters through a discourse of action on diversity. Political parties following this approach are aware that the politics of diversity visibility within their own organisation, and the politics

13 Recent studies on this include:
Celis, K.: Representativity in Times of Diversity: The Political Representation of Women. Women's Studies International Forum 41(3): 179–186, 2013.
Celis, K., Erzeel, S., Mügge, L. and Damstra, A.: Quotas and Intersectionality: Ethnicity and Gender in Candidate Selection. International Political Science Review 35(1): 41–54, 2014.
Krook, M. L. and O'Brien, D. Z.: The Politics of Group Representation: Quotas for Women and Minorities Worldwide. Comparative Politics 42(3): 253–72, 2010.

14 See the following studies on immigrants' political participation and representation:
Bird, K., Saalfeld, T., & Wüst, A. M. (2010): The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, Parties and Parliaments in Liberal Democracies. Taylor & Francis.
González-Ferrer, A. (2010): The Electoral participation of Naturalised Immigrants in Ten European Cities. In: L. Morales y M. Giugni (eds.) Social Capital, Political Participation and Migration in Europe. Making Multicultural Democracy Work? Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
Mollenkopf, J. and Hochschild, J. (2010): Immigrant Political Incorporation: Comparing Success in the United States and Western Europe. Ethnic and Racial Studies 33(1): 19–38.
Rocha, R. R., Tolbert, C. J., Bowen, D. C., and Clark, C. J. (2010): Race and Turnout: Does Descriptive Representation in State Legislatures Increase Minority Voting? Political Research Quarterly 63(4): 890–907.
Soininen, M. (1999): The 'Swedish Model' as an Institutional Framework for Immigrant Membership Rights'. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 25(4): 685-702.
Zapata-Barrero, R. and Gropas, R. (2012): Active Immigrants in Multicultural Contexts: Democratic Challenges in Europe. In: A. Triandafyllidou, T. Modood, and N. Meer (eds.): European Multiculturalism(s): Cultural, religious and ethnic challenges. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 167-191.

of making differences visible can have a direct effect on voting preferences, with them either losing or gaining votes.

This approach assumes also that political parties are more concerned about discourse and narrative, rather than in giving immigrants enough room for internal promotion and mobility to reach decision-making power. Again effects on voting preference prevail over any argument based on global justice or democratic equality. When this approach goes one step further and incorporates diversity, we still find that the symbolic logic also drives political parties' strategies. The main normative cleavage, with empirical orientation, is to detect the presence and the degree of symbolism. At this point, we can identify two main factors explaining political parties' symbolic behaviour. First of all, what we may call the "paradox of the participation gap", since most immigrants incorporated in political parties who do not (yet) hold national citizenship cannot vote for candidates within their own political party. The only way to understand this paradox is through a symbolic logic. A second factor is related to political party diversity narrative. This is the fact that during election campaigns some political parties decide to communicate with immigrants in the latter's own language through circumstantial speeches or even by summarizing manifestoes and brochures.

(Human) Rights-Based Approach

This approach is also related to the equality question. It is at the very heart of the "why" question, focusing attention on how the incorporation of immigrants in political parties is essential from a democratic point of view.

The bulk of normative arguments include processes that address issues of equality and opportunities, conflicts related to diversity relations, diversity and political/social exclusion, and segregation. It implies a reduction in power inequalities and a challenge to traditional, Eurocentric or ethnocentric power relations and dualisms in society between us/them or the diversity-related majority/minority.

The (Human) Rights-based approach aims to strengthen the ability of political parties to fulfil their obligations as duty-bearers and increase the opportunities for constructive dialogues with all members of society, without any sort of discrimination, following a citizenship-based logic of action, and considering immigrants' rights before their own voters' preferences.

We already know about the normative basic problem or dilemma of nation states that claim to be democracies but separate human rights and civil rights:[15] Are states that commit themselves to the absolute priority of human rights and that want to be democracies, allowed to define political participation as a specific civil right

15 See on human rights and Immigration nexus, see recent works:
Anderson, B. (2013): Us and Them? The Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Rubio-Marín, R. (ed.) (2014): Human Rights and Immigration. Oxford University Press.
Zapata-Barrero, R. and Pecoud, A. (eds.) (2012): New Perspectives on the Ethics of International Migration. Special Issue of American Behavioral Scientist 56 (9).

rather than a universal human right and to define the "demos" a priori as exclusive? In accordance with this, democracy and its institutions seem to be based on an antagonistic logic with the claim to universality and exclusive access to political participation.[16] This dilemma of distinguishing between human and civil rights is reflected in political parties and not really challenged by them.

Within this approach some key dimensions ought to be incorporated into this foundational debate. We can highlight three of them.

1. **Mirror Approach:** coherence-based perspective. Political parties need to mirror what society is.

2. **Ideology Approach:** political parties follow their ideology and interests: this can explain differentiated diversity-incorporation according to different political parties.

3. **Power / Structural Approach:** diverse political parties can contribute to reducing xenophobia and racism, prejudices and negative public opinions.

To end this brief summary on the Fundamental questions of the DIVPOL project, let us underline some seminal **Fundamental Questions** that need to be answered:

- How does diversity incorporation influence programmes and policy change? The fact that political parties incorporate diversity does not mean that they will incorporate better and more inclusive policies in their integration and citizenship programmes, not even on 'hot' issues related to border management and migration policies.
- The fact that immigrants are included on the electoral lists and within the structures of power is not enough, since diversity incorporation does not always result in internal promotion for immigrants. An analysis of the internal promotion and career paths of politicians with immigrant background is needed.

Including politicians of immigrant background as visible representatives or "spokespersons" of diversity does not necessarily mean that their experience as immigrants – which might differ from the mainstream of the party's members – is also included at an equal level. An inclusion beyond symbols means challenges to the dominant discourses and established power relations within the parties and the inclusion of different voices and experiences into parties' discourses (e.g. experiences of being a refugee or of discrimination).

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16 See on antagonistic logic of democracy:
Birsl, U. (forthcoming): Demokratie in der Migrationsgesellschaft. In: P. Massing and M. Niehoff (eds.): Politische Bildung in der Migrationsgesellschaft. Schwalbach/Ts.: Wochenschau Verlag.
Fijalkowski, J. (2000): Erfordernisse und Grenzen der Entwicklung eines transnationalen Bürgerstatus in Europa. Demokratietheoretische Reflexionen zur Zuwanderungs- und Integrationspolitik in der Europäischen Union und den Mitgliedstaaten. In: H.-D. Klingemann and F. Neidhardt (eds.): Zur Zukunft der Demokratie. Herausforderungen im Zeitalter der Globalisierung. WZB-Jahrbuch. Berlin: Ed. Sigma, 363-390.

4. Executive Summary

Mapping Factors which Hinder or Support Participation of Immigrants and Diversity-Development in Political Parties in Seven European Countries

In the empirical study of the DIVPOL project 269 representatives of political parties and migrant organisations and seven experts were interviewed in 2013 in seven European countries (DE, ES, IE, IT, PL, PT, SE). Altogether, 38 political parties and 53 migrant organisations were involved.

4.1 Legislative Restrictions for Third-Country Nationals in Political Parties

In almost all European countries involved in DIVPOL only citizens hold national voting rights. The exceptions to this are Brazilians in Portugal and Britons in Ireland, who can vote and be elected at national level.

At local election level, the situation for TCN is more diverse: The most restrictive legislation of the DIVPOL countries exist in Italy, Germany and Poland, where TCN are excluded from local voting rights. In Poland it is against the Constitution for non-citizens to join a political party. In Portugal and Spain the principle of reciprocity means that some TCN can participate in the decision-making process at local level while others cannot. The most favourable rights exist in Ireland where everyone resident in the state can vote and run in local elections after 6 months' of residency (passive voting rights for TCN since 1963, active since 1974) and in Sweden where any legally residing TCN can, after a minimum residency period of 3 years, participate both as voter and candidate in local elections (since 1975).

Legislation on voting rights and approaches to naturalisation and dual citizenship are very progressive in some countries (IE, PT, SE) and more restrictive in others (DE, IT, ES). This results in opportunities for political participation for TCN in Europe not only being fairly limited, but also very unevenly distributed.

This limited and unfair access to political rights is seen as a problem by some politicians and most migrant organisations. These organisations stress the importance of political parties to lobby for immigrants' voting rights. Some see local voting rights as only an intermediate step and note the importance of easier access to citizenship, including the right to dual citizenship. Interestingly, in our study we found very little correlation between progressive legislation on voting rights and citizenship and the actual participation of migrants in (local) politics: Both in Ireland and Sweden migrants are consistently under-represented in local

politics. It seems that even the removal of formal barriers is not enough as many more informal barriers are at play.

Joining a political party: In almost all DIVPOL countries (except for Poland) no legal obstacles exist for TCN to join political parties. In Germany, Spain, Sweden and Ireland TCN can join any political party, although some of the parties have minimum residency requirements. In Italy the left-wing parties allow membership, whereas the right-wing parties do not. In Portugal, TCN can join most parties; restrictions apply in one party for TCN not falling under the reciprocity agreement. This means in many parties throughout Europe there is a participation gap: TCN can join a party, but the law does not allow them to vote or run as candidates. Internally, however, many parties allow TCN to hold inner-party positions. Naturalised interviewees formerly of non-European nationality view this very positively and say that being able to participate in internal party elections as TCN makes them feel "welcome" in the party structure.

Local groups of the Green Party in Germany conduct dual elections to allow TCN at least a symbolic form of co-determination. Some parties have established special forums, groups and campaigns aimed specifically at people of immigrant background in order to encourage their participation and involvement. Unfortunately, some of these groups are currently inactive, their activities are not structurally anchored, and their networks are volatile and/or dependent on individual people.

4.2 Access/ Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

Outreach: Many political parties in Europe face a shrinking membership base because of a general disenchantment with politics. Despite the incentive to try actively to reach new groups, political parties are particularly ineffective when it comes to attracting people of immigrant background. Even though parties are currently running a number of schemes to reach out to immigrants and immigrants' communities (e.g. in DE, IE, ES), the number of large-scale and structurally anchored campaigns explicitly inviting immigrants to affiliate themselves to a party is negligible. One example of good practice is the targeted scheme 'Opening Power to Diversity'. This started in Ireland in 2011 and involved placing TCN as interns to work with national politicians for six months.

Party Culture: Generally, competition and effective networks are two main aspects of internal party work. Traditional power structures coupled with resistance to or suspicion of new members by long-serving party members is common.

> *You can't say, come over, if there aren't enough places to sit in the living room or the seating is so arranged that the new arrival can't sit down.* [DE]

According to many interviewees (e.g. in DE, PL, PT) political parties often seem unattractive and appear as closed, homogenous or "elitist" organisations.

> *Nowadays, there is a strong connection between citizens and politics, but also a great disappointment with political agents' performance.* [PT]

Political party means factionalism. On the linguistic level the term "party" is equal to corruption, power, and terror. [PL]

Welcoming Culture: In one country it was pointed out that the welcoming structure strongly depends on *"whether the local chairman is a nice, open person or an 'alpha male'"* [DE]. Whether or not the chairperson supports an atmosphere where group dynamics are open and egalitarian, and new members are appreciated, can be the difference between having a welcoming culture and not having one. Respondents in Sweden, Spain and Germany often referred to the barrier of too *"many meetings"* [SE] and the time and place they are held at (e.g. in pubs). Attending many meetings a week – just for the internal party work – is difficult if you are establishing yourself in a new country, are in the middle of a career and/or have children. Parties do not adapt their organisation to the diversity of its members, for example by changing meeting hours and venues. The fact that the meetings are sometimes heavily influenced by local informal structures and exclusionary practices further increases the problem.

Entrance: Many of the interviewed politicians (with and without immigrant background) had entered their party via personal contacts. Most of the politicians of immigrant background from Germany, Italy and Spain had been approached and encouraged to join by party officials. It was noted that many of the Italian and Spanish politicians of immigrant background had been active for years in associations and trade unions. In Germany, politicians of immigrant background in visible and important positions act as role models, and as such have a signal effect in a position to motivate people to party-political participation.

Networks and Introduction: In contrast, for interviewees without immigrant background political socialisation through the parties' youth organisations represents an important form of access to the political arena in Sweden and Germany. In these early times of party-political commitment personal connections are established that become important for any political career. This may make it more difficult for new members of a political party if they are facing already established, informal and historical networks when entering. The absence of early party-political socialisation can be even more intimidating for people who on grounds of their migration history do not have the necessary language skills, knowledge of the structures, or habitus that are important in political life. Furthermore, there are few systematic orientation measures like mentoring, welcoming or training programmes to help new members understand the party structure, party issues or policies.

4.3 Career Paths and Roles of Politicians of immigrant background

The identity marker "migrant" should not limit the party role of a politician; however, *de facto* it is relevant in political practice.[17]

In the nomination process, the most important factor supporting a person's successful nomination as candidate, is networks. These networks – both inside and

17 People marked as migrant are those who, on account of their appearance (skin colour, hair and eye colour), their name or their accent are regarded as migrants by others.

outside the party – are often of an informal nature and have been established over a long period of time, e.g. in the party's youth organisation or at the local level (e.g. DE, SE, IE). For immigrants who enter the party at a later stage in life this can be an obstacle. Other individual criteria which influence a person's chances of being nominated as a candidate include competence in a topic of relevance to the party, political experience and identity criteria (e.g. gender, age, ethnicity). In areas where voters of immigrant background are to be reached a general trend can be observed that parties put more candidates of immigrant background on the lists.

In many parties party officers and leaders hold power over the list-making process. In Italy, co-optation was the main principle of promoting people of immigrant background in the party:

> *Subjective co-optation can have its advantages as it may reveal personalities that, if they were to go through the election process, might not have had the chance to emerge. And, in a system that is still not entirely democratic, this may be a necessary path to take.* [IT]

Several interviewees of immigrant background in Germany, Italy and Spain were placed on the list directly by party leaders. While this shows the importance of leadership to increase the representation of immigrants, there is often a lack of transparency in the list-making process, the multiplicity of interests playing a role and the – often competitive – nomination criteria. This lack of transparency can represent an obstacle to the acceptance of new politicians from diverse backgrounds within the party base. Placing people as migrant representatives, especially from outside the party, on lists in a top-down process can lead to them being viewed as "quota migrants" and not being recognised for their competences.

Interviewees in several countries remarked that party members of immigrant background are more likely to be placed on the far end of lists with no chance of entering a party position. A politician in Portugal gave an example for what he called *"fallacies of inclusion":* Parties are inviting Black citizens for non-eligible positions on local lists of candidates, while using their pictures in campaign flyers in ways that may mislead electors, making them believe those candidates will actually get elected and have a say. In Spain, Germany and Ireland a high turnover is observed among office holders of immigrant background and many remain in office for only one legislative period. It has been suggested that their lack of strong network support within the party base makes them more vulnerable to internal politicking from competitors.

Transparent representational quotas for people of immigrant background on party lists, similar to the quotas for women existing in several parties, are increasingly being seen by migrant organisations and some political representatives as a solution to political under-representation. However, quotas are a contested topic. While some interviewees felt strongly they should gain their seat on their own abilities and thought quotas were *"about quantity, not quality"* [IT], others pointed out that with dozens of people competing for candidatures, *"including immigrants on lists … can't be a priority"* [PT]. The Social Democrats in Sweden have introduced quotas for candidates of immigrant background in some parts of the country at the local

level, targeting specifically migrants not from other Nordic countries. In Stockholm, a quota has been set in proportion to the population of immigrant background in the district (25 %). The implementation of the quota also requires the representation to be on the part of the list where it is highly likely that the candidates be elected. Quotas could be understood as an instrument to assure the parties' sustainable commitment to increasing the number of politicians of immigrant background and as a structural response to acknowledged structural discrimination. In Stockholm, the quota system has become *"widely accepted"* [SE] as a means to rectify political under-representation. One politician stated:

> *It was not because of kindness. We had to change the power structures within the party. […] I have to say, as a politician, that I still haven't met a politician that freely gives away power.* [SE]

Topics of political careers: Most politicians of immigrant background reported that they had had to deal with the topic of migration and integration in their political career. While many of them brought an interest in this topic with them, others were encouraged by party colleagues to engage with it. In Italy and Spain, where the vast majority of politicians of immigrant background entered politics via involvement in "ethnic" associations, their party-political work is almost exclusively limited to the topic of immigration. A couple of representatives expressed frustration and wished not to be *"stereotyped"* and *"nailed"* to this topic [DE].

Ireland and Poland are exceptions to this. In Poland the very few naturalised MPs entered politics *"not as immigrants representing other immigrants"* [PL], but as experts in their field and representatives of their local communities. In Ireland, local party organisations ("branches") play a strong role and candidates need to be seen as local community representatives in order to be elected. Practically all migrant candidates in 2009 and 2014 focused their campaigns on improving their local environment. This strong local focus also offers the opportunity to draw attention to candidates' local identity and lessen focus on their ethnicity.

In most DIVPOL countries, migration and integration are on the one hand niche topics in which aspiring politicians can develop their political careers more easily than in a more popular and competitive political field. At the same time these niche positions limit migrants' ability to grow in influence and/or appeal to a wider electorate if running for election.

A bridging role to migrant communities is adopted by a large number of the interviewed politicians of immigrant background. This mediator position is considered as very important by many interviewees – politicians and migrant organisation representatives alike – in Spain, Italy, Portugal and Germany. Many were happy to have taken on this position. Politicians of immigrant background are described as *"best positioned within parties and within their own communities"* because they *"understand better the communities' needs and demands"* [PT]. Some interviewees, however, regarded this position as problematic, being caught between the expectations of migrant communities and their own parties. Some rejected the "matter-of-course-attitude" with which it was suggested to them and rebelled against the supposed "natural" mediator role which was ascribed to them.

An ethnicization as immigrant representatives takes place when a person is seen as representative of a (supposedly homogenous) ethnic group on the grounds of their real or assumed origin. An ethnicization is reported by fellow party members, (potential) voters with and without immigrant background and TCN. This can lead to self-ethnicization.

The ambivalence of the bridging function and ethnicization of political representatives is seen as ambiguous by some party members and migrant community representatives. On the one hand, mobilisation of migrant voters is regarded as a success for the party, but on the other, it can become a point of attack for the competition within the party, when a political representative of immigrant background is being accused by fellow party members of winning their seat *"only by the votes of immigrants"* [DE].

From the migrant and "minority" communities' perspective, politicians of migrant origin play an important role in bringing topics of relevance to immigrant communities into the parties. On the other hand, immigrant communities themselves are suspicious that political parties use the migrant politicians merely to attract the "migrant vote". Migrant representatives accuse parties of *"tokenism"* [DE] and of placing individual politicians of immigrant background as ethnic representatives, without including their diverse experiences in the parties' agendas. Dominant discourses and established power relations within the parties often remain unchallenged.

4.4 Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

Parties' attitudes towards diversity: In the light of demographic change, parties are perceiving people of immigrant background increasingly as a group too big to ignore. An exception within the DIVPOL countries is Poland where, due to very low numbers of immigrants, the topic of political participation of migrants is yet to feature in public debate and within political parties. In Italy, the issue of diversity is being addressed, at least in rhetoric, by all political parties. Immigration has become an electoral issue in Italy. Polarised views are evident and seen by those taking up both pro and anti immigrant positions as a way of attracting votes. In contrast, very positive views on the presence of immigrants dominate in Portugal and several interviewed politicians from across the political spectrum stated that immigration is not a divisive issue. Yet despite the political consensus around immigration issues and integration policy, political parties are unclear about the electoral relevance of immigrants in Portugal.

In Sweden and Germany all parties agree that diversity is important when it comes to representation and participation. Their logic contains a mixture of strategic and democratic argumentation. In the case of the people's parties in Germany and some parties in Spain, representation of the migrant population is part of the self-proclaimed assertion to be the "Mirror of Society". Hence, parties should reflect the diversity existing in society in quantitative terms and in all spheres of power. This is based on the assumption that a "critical mass" of party members and staff will help equalise the participation and representation of persons of immigrant background.

Interviewees in Sweden and Germany made it clear that diversity is the official norm for parties and is unanimously seen as an advantage. Paradoxically, this can lead to reluctance to acknowledge instances of racism and structural barriers within the parties.

In Germany, for example, the positively connoted diversity discourse is repeatedly broken by a deficit-ridden viewpoint, which is reflected in powerful statements with symbolic meaning such as influential ascriptions made within the context of the integration discourse:

> *[She said] multiculti has failed – that is a symbol. Whoosh, full stop. That sticks in your mind. Alright, they say multiculti has failed. We have failed, we don't belong here.* [DE]

In Portugal, ethnic and racial belonging, and "Otherness" were often mentioned by Black respondents. One interviewee pointed to the fact that the country is still affected by a colonialist legacy that troubles its vision about Black people having power. Several migrant organisations' representatives (in Germany for example) felt that for parties, the concept of diversity serves as a lip service instrument for election campaigns without being sufficiently imbedded in the political culture and party structures.

Dealing with racism and discrimination: On the one hand, exclusive, discriminative or racist statements uttered in public can deter people from the party completely, especially those of immigrant background, if – as has happened in Germany – the party leadership does not distance itself sufficiently or implement disciplinary measures. Overall, too little emphasis is placed on racism and experiences of discrimination are often played down and made light of by the parties concerned. On the other hand, party committees at the district and local levels have been challenged to make transformation processes *"understandable"* [DE] for the "native" or autochthonous base. *"Waves"* [ibid] of new members of immigrant background can trigger fears of foreign infiltration among the base:

> *If someone comes along now and brings along ten new people with them and they all look different somehow – something's wrong, they've got something up their sleeves.* [DE]

In Ireland, the previous positive mood in relation to diversity has disappeared since the recession and the discussion has shifted to economic issues. Parties have been taking a cautious approach as *"they did not want to be dragged into a debate that might become divisive and ugly"* [IE]. It can be observed in some other countries that parties are reluctant to address contentious immigration issues, because they fear this might play into the hands of extreme-right parties.

Diversity networks in parties: In Sweden there is a certain reluctance to organise parties to take into account people with an immigrant background. In Spain and Germany there are on-going debates about whether or not it is better to integrate members of immigrant background into the existing participation structures or to create specific structures of participation and recognition. On the one hand, so called

"safe spaces" can offer a welcoming environment and accelerate the promotion of members to party officers or candidates. Furthermore, these networks can be a way to recognise the internal diversity, to highlight visibility inside the party, and to have a platform to advocate for the diversification of the organisation. On the other hand, some members perceive these structures as "spaces without power", which can lead to segregation from the main structures of the party. In addition, they fear being perceived only as members / politicians of immigrant background and not being recognised for their talents or personal interests.

However, having networks that encourage, support and profile candidates of immigrant background similar to those for women, can perhaps address the challenge of simultaneously advancing diversity as a norm and acknowledging instances of racism. One example is the immigrant committee of the Social Democrats in Stockholm. Its organisational strength and cooperation with other structures like the youth organisation ensures its influence on policy and the number of representatives of immigrant background, the latter by pushing for representative quotas.

In Germany, the parties have created party-affiliated organisations, working groups or political committees dealing with immigration that can act as "docking points" for the intercultural opening of the parties. In different contexts they function as lobbying organisations and as welcoming forums.

In Spain, one party has created a foundation connected to the party, in which people participate according to their geographical area of origin. It also accommodates several immigrant organisations in its headquarters and there is no need to be affiliated to the party to participate in the foundation's activities. Another party has created different structures of participation reflecting the diversity inside the party, including LGBTI people, disabled persons and other minority groups, mostly at national level.

In Ireland, two parties have an equality officer whose task is to support engagement with migrant communities and support them within the party. The officer also leads outreach efforts in collaboration with a special sub-committee in the party. The sub-committee primarily offers a space for formulating relevant policy proposals and communication.

4.5 Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their Associations

Role of migrant organisations: Migrant organisations (MOs) in many countries see themselves as lobbying organisations for immigrants. Many feel that political parties do not provide for adequate representation or inclusion of immigrants and that *"representation of rights and interests are left basically to associations"* [PT: MO representative]. As lobbying organisations, MOs *"exist not for fun but out of necessity"* [ibid]. MOs also make strategic use of party members who sit on their committees to set up lines of communication to parties. Often the nationwide MOs keep in regular dialogue with parties (e.g. DE, ES). In Sweden, Germany, Portugal and Spain it is

stressed that MOs want to take an active role when it comes to politics. In Italy, there are on-going struggles over defining the role of associations, some regarding them as important integration players, while others fear their excessive fragmentation. In Poland, MOs are still very fresh and do not yet act as political lobbies.

Relations between political parties and migrant organisations exist in Sweden, Spain, Italy, Germany and Ireland, although of greatly varying intensity and stability. In Spain, close relations between left and socialist parties and MOs have traditionally been very important in order to reach immigrants. However, the close link to political families and the resulting clientelism can prove very problematic to MOs when the power relations in government change, as this can lead to serious deterioration of their support – both in terms of budget cuts and exclusion from consultative bodies.

Parties have an instrumental relation with MOs and often leader figures of MOs are courted by party functionaries, bringing both expertise and access to potential voters into the party:

> *[This person] wanted diversity in society to be reflected in politics, and that was when he called me, because I was only a base member … But he looked at the most significant and representative associations and he called me to ask me to go on his list, because he wanted a link between the party and immigration, in order to feed the party with immigrants' ideas.* [ES]

In Italy and Germany, MO representatives stated that political parties utilise their networks primarily during election times. In several countries, MOs play an important role in political education, as mediators and providers of diverse educational measures, but feel that political parties do not yet fully regard them as partners on an equal footing or make use of their full potential. In Sweden for example, some MOs feel that despite their organisations doing a lot of work for the political education of their members, parties are slow to accept invitations and remain largely uninterested in sustaining co-operation. A local MP reports on the important practice of visiting small MOs in his area:

> *Although [our] local MPs know that you won't get anywhere with these organisations ... They can't vote. But politics also live from setting examples ... If we want to live in a society that … wants to stick together, it's important to go there, to point out that these organisations exist, that this work is being done.* [DE]

5. Recommendations for Political Parties

Legislative Restrictions for Third-Country Nationals (TCN) in Political Parties

- Political Parties should allow TCN to become members without restrictions and open inner-party positions to non-nationals.
- Parties should evaluate existing successful outreach activities and initiatives, especially those reaching new groups, to attract people of immigrant background who are not the classic clientele of political parties. Regional groups and strategies – examples of good practice – should be structurally anchored and applied nationally as suitable. Participation opportunities for TCN and low-threshold access organisations should be established. Where they already exist, information about them should be distributed in- and outside the party.
- The effects of the practice of dual inner-party elections as symbolic co-determination on the inclusion of TCN should be examined to determine whether they should be applied on a wider scale and/or anchored in the structure.

Access / Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

- An orientation and welcoming structure is essential for a sustainable opening up of the party. A climate should be created in which everyone, regardless of their age, gender, socio-economic, educational, occupational, religious and/or ethnic background is welcome and recognised for their own specific competences and experience (culture of recognition). Parties could provide support to local initiatives and structures, e.g. local integration forums in Ireland, which creates interest in them among migrants.
- Structurally anchored mentoring programmes and membership packs would ensure that new members quickly find their place within the party. Welcoming or social events attached to a party meeting may help to make party meetings more attractive. Furthermore, in every local organisation one officer (e.g. equality officer) could be responsible for reaching out and welcoming new migrant members (as is the case in some parties in Ireland and Germany).
- Intercultural competence and awareness of diversity must be promoted at all levels within the parties. Low-threshold access organisations (youth organisations, local groups) and outreach activities (information stands etc.) must be included in this process. The established operations of parties such as meeting times should be reviewed and adapted to the diversity of its members. These measures should guarantee that interested people of diverse backgrounds are valued and welcomed into the party.

Career Paths and Roles of Politicians of Immigrant Background

- In terms of recognition it is important that politicians of immigrant background or as persons "marked" as migrants occupy public positions and are known by the population. Well-known politicians of immigrant background make it possible for others to identify with and open the space of political participation for other persons of immigrant background.
- Party leaders should be aware of their role and responsibility in the nomination processes. Nomination decisions must be clear and eligible to the party base. While symbols and role models are very important, the inclusion of candidates of immigrant background must go beyond symbolic actions and allow new perspectives to enter the dominant discourses. Tokenism and ethnicization should be avoided.
- Instead of individual-centred actions, long-term programmes and "safety measures" for minimum representation are preferable. Safety measures may include the use of quotas for different under-represented groups in order to increase diversity on nomination lists. They can be guided by successful examples in the partner countries and the experience with internal party quotas for women, which have in Sweden gained widespread acceptance over the past 15 years.
- Where inner-party diversity groups – spaces organising the participation of people of immigrant background – give recommendations to the election committee, as for example in Spain, these recommendations should have a binding character to the election committee leadership. The party leadership should agree to fixed and auspicious positions for recommended candidates on the candidate list and should also increase transparency.
- Information workshops and mentoring should be offered by the party for new candidates including migrants. Parties could find ways to help with fundraising for migrant candidates (a measure specific to Ireland). Parties should explore ways of talent spotting by engaging with local integration forums and community groups. Inner-party talent and leadership-developing schemes are good examples of this.

Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

- As parties are organised according to the principle of "loosely connected anarchy" a dual strategy for diversity development is needed (top-down and bottom-up). This requires clear concepts of leadership that can be taught in leadership courses (as happens in one party in Germany) and changes in the balance of power by the base itself.
- To counteract racial discrimination there needs to be internal party complaint mechanisms, clear leadership concepts and strong leadership personalities who promote open and honest dialogue and a general change in attitude (climate of recognition, removal of taboos concerning day-to-day racism). A more conclusive disciplinary system and positive statements at leadership level would send out a strong message.
- It is important that networks, working groups and equality officers operating as diversity agents and creating more internal awareness of diversity be widely

anchored in the structure and that they receive the support of the party leadership boards.
- In order to assess diversity development in a systematic way, it is recommended to collect and analyse monitoring data about members and office holders.

Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their Associations

- Parties should establish and maintain structural engagements with migrant organisations. Parties' interest in MOs and their clientele should not be limited to election times. Organising events in partnership, mutual invitations, and regular exchange are measures to maintain sustainable partnerships. Cooperation must take place on an equal footing and MOs must be able to provide expertise for political agenda making and to formulate policies. The inclusion of MOs as actors can facilitate different perspectives on discrimination or racism and adjust deficit-based perspectives on immigrants.
- Migrant organisations can strengthen their role in promoting and supporting political involvement and voting among their communities. Parties should support this process.

Annexe I

Tables

Table 6

Third-country nationals (TCN) among the interviewees

Country	Among the interviewees	
	naturalised TCN	TCN
Germany	10	1
Ireland	14	5
Italy	20	9
Poland	5	7
Portugal	21	—
Spain	20	—
Sweden	12	—
Total	**102**	**22**

Table 7

Participants of interviews, focus groups & workshops of DIVPOL

Country	Individual interviews	Focus group participants	Participants of workshops
Germany	33	10	25
Ireland	34	5	87
Italy	29	16	25
Poland	24	9	14
Portugal	29	17	23
Spain	25	5	37
Sweden	25	15	13
Total	**199**	**77**	**224**

Table 8

Political parties involved in DIVPOL

Country	Political parties	
Germany	Social Democratic Party (SPD), Green Party (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen), Left Party (DIE LINKE), Free Democratic Party (FDP), Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Christian Social Union in Bavaria (CSU)	6
Ireland	Fine Gael, The Labour Party, Green Party, Fianna Fail, Sinn Fein	5
Italy	Popolo della Libertà (PDL), Partito Democratico (PD), Sinistra Ecologia Libertà (SEL), Partito della Rifondazione Comunista (PRC), Italia dei Valori (IDV)	5
Poland	Polska jest Najważniejsza/Poland Comes First (PJN), Prawo i Sprawiedliwość/Law and Justice (PiS), Platform Obywatelska/ Civic Platform (PO), Polskie Stronictwo Ludowe/Polish People's Party (PSL), Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej/Democratic Left Aliance (SLD), Polska Partia Pracy/ Polish Labour Party (PPP), Ruch Palikota (Polikot's Movement)	7
Portugal	Left Bloc (BE), Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), Green Party (PEV), Socialist Party (PS, centre-left), Social Democrat Party (PSD, centre-right), Popular Party (CDS-PP, Christian-democratic)	6

Table 8

Political parties involved in DIVPOL

Country	Political parties	
Spain	People's Party (PP), The Spanish Socialist Workers' party (Partido Socialista Obrero Español – PSOE), Catalan socialists' party (Partit dels socialistes catalans – PSC), Convergence and Union (Convergencia I Unió – CiU), United Left (Izquierda Unida – IU), Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds (ICV)	6
Sweden	Socialdemokraterna (Social democrats), Miljöpartiet (Green), Moderaterna (Conservative/liberal)	3
Total no. of parties		**38**

Table 9

Migrant organisations involved in DIVPOL

Country	Migrant Organisations	
Germany	Association of Binational Families and Partnerships (iaf – Verband binationaler Familien und Partnerschaften e.V.); Each One Teach One (EOTO e.V.); Every Vote (Jede Stimme e.V.); Initiative of Black People in Germany (ISD – Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland e. V.); Intercultural Migrant Integration Centre – (IMIC Interkulturelles Migranten Integrations-center e.V.; Network of Member of Parliaments with a Descent from Turkey (Netzwerk türkeistämmiger MandatsträgerInnen; New German Media Maker (Neue Deutsche Medienmacher e.V.); Turkish Community (TGH / TGD – Türkische Gemeinde in Hamburg / in Deutschland e.V.)	8
Ireland	Africa Centre, Crosscare Migrant Project, Doras Luimni, Immigrant Council of Ireland, Islamic Cultural Centre, Migrant Rights Centre, Nasc, New Communities Partnership, Forum Polonia, The Integration Centre	10
Italy	Associazione culturale islamica in Italia (Italian Islamic Cultural Association); Associazione Spirit Romanesc (Spirit Romanesc Association); Associazione Eurolatina (Eurolatin Association); Villaggio Esquilino; Associazione Albanese (Albanian Associa-tion); Comunità palestinese del Lazio (Palestinian Community Lazio); Associazione QuestaèRoma (This is Rome Association); Associazione Donne Capoverdiane in Italia (Cape Verdean Women Association); Cambiare Davvero (Association for Real Change); Associazione No.Di. (No.Di. Association); Associazione Stranieri lavoratori in Italia (Foreign Workers in Italy association); Phrala Europa (Phrala Europe); Associazione Beza (Beza Association); Associazione Griot (Griot Association)	14
Poland	Stowarzyszenie dla Somalii (Foundation for Somalia), Stowarzyszenie Nasz Wybór (Foundation Our Choise), Fundacja SMOUŻ (SMOUZ Foundation)	3
Portugal	AGUINENSO, Associação Cabo-Verdiana, Associação do Talude, Casa do Brasil, Federação das organizações cabo-verdianas, Moinho da Juventude, Morabeza, Olho Vivo, Solidariedade Imigrante	9
Spain	Trade Union Workers' Commissions – Centres for the integration of foreign workers (Comisiones obreras – Centro para la integración de trabajadores extranjeros, CCOO-CITE); America-Spain Solidarity and Cooperation (America – España Solida-ridad y Cooperación, AESCO), Federation of Latin-American associations (Federación de las asociaciones Latino-Americanas, Fedelatina), Catalan Federation of Pakistanese entities (Federación Catalana de entidades Pakistanies – FEDE-PAK Catala), Association of Senegalese Residents of Catalonia (Asociación de residentes senegaleses de Cataluña -ARSC), Association of Peruvian citizens in Spain (Association de ciudadanos Peruanos en España, Ari-Peru), Socio-Cultural associa-tion Ibn Batuta (Asociación socio-cultural Ibn Batuta, Ascib), Association Colombian Centre (Asociación Casal Colombiano, ASOCASCOL)	8
Sweden	SIOS (umbrella organization gathering fifteen ethnic associations, e.g. immigrants from China, Kurdistan, Turkey, Finland, Chile, Greece)	1
Total		**53**

Table 10

Legal prerequisites and regulations for third-country nationals' political participation

Country	Active and passive right to vote at local level	Active and passive right to vote at national level
Germany	EU 28	German citizens only
Ireland	every resident that is registered (possible after 6 months; introduced for non-Irish nationals in 1963 (active) / 1974 (passive); Garda (Irish Police Force) needs to stamp registration forms in respect of the Supplementary Register)	Irish and UK citizens only
Italy	EU 28	Italian citizens only
Poland	EU 28	Polish citizens only
Portugal	EU 28 + some TCNs Reciprocity agreements with Brazil and Cape Verde (after 2 years = right to vote; after 3 years = right to be elected) Reciprocity agreements with Norway, Iceland, Argentina, Peru, Uruguay, Vene-zuela and Chile (after 2 years = right to vote but not be elected)	Portuguese citizens, Brazilians who request status of equal political rights (after 3-years-residency; except: Prime-minister (has to be Portuguese citizen) and President of the Republic („Portuguese by origin")
Spain	EU 28 + some TCNs Reciprocity agreement with Norway, Ecuador, New Zealand, Colombia, Chile, Peru, Paraguay, Iceland, Bolivia, Cape Verde, Korea, Trinidad and Tobago (after 5 years of continuous legal residence + inscription to CERE – Electoral census of Foreign Residents)	Spanish citizens only
Sweden	EU 28 + TCN (after 3-years-residency, introduced in 1975)	Swedish citizens only

* Residency period before naturalisation refers to the usual process for immigrants; reduced residency periods often apply for matrimony and/or in cases of special civic engagement

	Citizenship / Naturalisation*	Right to dual citizenship	Prerequisites to become a party member
	jus sanguinis and jus soli (since 2000); naturalization possible after 8-years-residency	No, but many exceptions (e.g. for children born in Germany, reform of the option obligation in 2014)	left up to internal regulation: CDU min. 3-years-residency, FDP min. 2-years-residency, no restriction in Green & SPD
	Naturalisation possible after 5-years-residency	Yes	no limitations through political parties
	jus sanguinis; naturalisation possible after 10-year-residency	Yes	left to internal regulation: left wing parties (some require long-term-residency / residence permit) vs. right wing parties (Italian citizenship / only „certain" nationals)
	new law (since 2012): naturalisation possible after 3-/5-years-residency	Yes	Polish citizens only
	jus sanguine and jus soli (since 2006); naturalisation possible after 6-years-residency	Yes	left up to internal regulation: In major parties only these TCNs that hold voting rights have the right to join political parties (other TCNs are ex-cluded from membership). The left wing parties declare that everybody may become a member who accepts their programmes and statutes.
	jus sanguinis (mainly); nat.poss. after 10-year-residency; 5-years with refugee status; 2-years for Spanish + Portuguese-speaking American countries + Andorra, Filipinos, Equatorial Guinea, Portugal, Sephardic origin; 1-year for born in Spain or to Spanish parents.	Yes for Spanish + Portuguese-speaking American countries, Filipinos, Guinea Equatorial, Sephardic origin; other specific exceptions	no specific legal requisite, no limitations through political parties (exc.: People's party migrants need to prove their authorization) Foreigners are not allowed to create political parties.
	jus sanguinis; naturalisation possible after ca. 5-years-residency	Yes	no specific legal requisite; no limitations through political parties

Source: DIVPOL, June 2014

Annexe II

The Diversity Assessment Tool

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The diversity assessment tool is designed to assess to what extent political parties adopt measures to integrate people with an immigrant background into the life of the party. Parties are organisations that are to a greater or lesser extent professional organisations operating at local, regional, national and European levels. In order to achieve their overall goals, parties aim to:

- seek the support of voters
- recruit members
- select candidates for representative office
- select leaders
- employ staff
- purchase goods and services.

As part of a broader strategy to achieve these goals, parties can adopt and implement equal opportunity, anti-discrimination and diversity principles. This would make parties more representative and effective to mobilise the population. The tool is primarily meant for the national level where general rules are set for the party as a whole. However, the tool can also be used for party operations at sub-national level and by party affiliated organisations such as training institutes.

For the design of the tool we made use of a compendium of benchmarks and indicators on diversity in political parties.[18] We shaped the tool as a user-friendly questionnaire. A first draft was introduced and discussed with political parties, civil society organisations and academics at workshops organised in seven European countries during the last months of 2013 and the first months of 2014.[19] Clearly, the situation in these countries varies considerably in the way parties are structured and organise their work. These differences notwithstanding, the similarities are significant enough to draw up this international and comparative tool.

In this paper we first briefly deal with issues of terminology before turning to explaining who can use the tool and how. This is followed by the six sections of the questionnaire.

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18 www.migpolgroup.com/publications_detail.php?id=338

19 These workshops were organised in the context of a European Integration Fund supported project that was carried out by CJD Hamburg + Eutin (Germany), Stockholm University, ACIDI (Portugal), Psychoanalytical Institute for Social Research Institute (Italy), Gritim (Spain), Lazarski University (Poland), the Integration Centre (Ireland) and the Migration Policy Group (Belgium). www.migpolgroup.com/diversity-integration/divpol-diversity-in-political-parties-programmes-organisation-and-representation

Terminology

For the purpose of this questionnaire, diversity is defined as the differences among members of the population in terms of their immigrant background.

People with an immigrant background include:

- Non-EU nationals who can be born within the EU or outside the EU (they are often referred to as third-country nationals)
- Persons with at least one non EU parent
- Former non-EU nationals who have acquired your country's citizenship

EU nationals from other Member States are not considered as persons with an immigrant background but as EU citizens exercising their free movement rights. They have the right to vote and stand for election at local and European level. In some countries immigrants have a privileged position when it comes to political participation, for example, when reciprocity agreements are signed between countries of origin and destination.

Dual citizenship For the purpose of this questionnaire dual citizenship means citizenship of more than one country, including a non-EU country.

Equality refers to the equal treatment of persons irrespective of their (perceived or actual) race, ethnicity, religion, belief, nationality or national origin – in accordance with European and national legislation.

For the purpose of this questionnaire, **publically available dat**a refers to objective data such as the **nationality** and **place of birth** of a person and his or her parents. Such data is collected by national statistical offices through census and by municipal registers. Such data is also collected from European sources, such as the European statistical office (Eurostat) and through specialised surveys such as the Labour Force Survey, the Survey on Income and Living Conditions, the European Values Survey, etc.

Single-winner systems use electoral districts or constituencies that return one office-holder to a body with multiple members such as a local, regional or national legislature, e.g. 'first past the post' and run-off systems. In **list-based multiple-winner systems,** parties draw up lists of candidates for election and seats are allocated to each party in proportion to the number of votes the party receives (proportional representation). There are variations to both systems.

Reflection of the diverse population

There are different ways to establish whether the population's diversity is reflected in a party's voters, members, candidates, leaders, employees and suppliers. The best way is using publically available data or data otherwise gathered. The use of personal data is governed by European and national legislation on data protection.

Who can use the tool

Political parties as well as persons or organisations outside political parties can use the tool.

In the former case the questionnaire serves the purpose of a self-assessment. The questionnaire is filled out by persons in management positions (for example, a party secretary, or a board member responsible for membership affairs, or diversity, etc.). Decentralised parties may wish to use it in a few regions or big cities and ask party leaders at those levels to answer the questionnaire. Taking them together may provide an interesting picture of the national situation. The party can use the results to set goals and targets and set up a monitoring mechanism to measure progress. The party may invite an independent expert to verify the answers in which case one can speak of a reviewed self-assessment. This will give the assessment more credibility in particular when it is then published.

In the latter case the questionnaire serves the purpose of an external assessment. The questionnaire is filled out by organisations or persons who are concerned about the quality of our democracy and the legitimacy of political parties (for example, immigrant associations, anti-discrimination, equality and diversity organisations, or scholars). They may do so after they have tried and failed to convince parties to undertake a self-assessment. They have to rely on publically available information about political parties and may focus on national parties or local branches. They may also ask for an interview with a party official. The results may be discussed with the parties before publishing them. This may put pressure on parties to become more open to immigrants.

The questionnaire has been kept rather short and simple with most questions in the six sections to be answered by yes, or by no. In addition, the respondents are asked to provide links to relevant documents that the party has made public. These could be party manifestos, statutes, etc. Where these documents are not public, the respondents are asked to state the status of the source and briefly summarise its essence. In this way the questionnaire not only gives a picture of what parties publically state, but also what parties' good practices are.

Section I: your details

Name of political party:

Country:

Name of the person who responded to the questionnaire:

Function of the person who responded to the questionnaire:

Contact email address:

Section II: the party's aspiration to reflect the diversity of the population

Do key party documents (such as manifestos etc.) recognise the importance of voters with an immigrant background?

Yes No

If yes, please give an example and provide a link to the most recent party document:

Is party membership open to all residents, without nationality requirements?

Yes No

Please provide the relevant reference to the party statutes (even if your response is no):

Are candidate applications open to holders of dual citizenship?

Yes No

Please provide the relevant reference to the party statutes (even if your response is no):

Are leadership positions and membership of the party's executive structure open to holders of dual citizenship?

Yes No

Pease provide the relevant reference to the party statutes (even if your response is no):

Does the party have an internal mechanism in place for handling discrimination complaints?

Yes No

If yes, please provide a link to or excerpts of the relevant document and describe how the mechanism works:

Does the party have an internal rule for dealing with members who express racist views?

Yes No

If yes, please provide a link to or excerpts of the relevant document and describe the rule:

Section III: using demographic data

Are publically available population data used by the party to map the composition of the potential electorate?

Yes No

If yes, please give a recent example of such use:

Are publically available population data used to assess the party's attractiveness for particular groups in the population (including people with an immigrant background)?

Yes No

If yes, please give a recent example of such use:

Does the party register the following characteristics of its members?

Age Gender Education Level

Profession Income Nationality

Place of birth Ethnicity Other, please specify

If yes, please provide the relevant reference to the party's registration form or website:

Are the internal data collected under the previous question used to inform the party's strategy for and/or to set targets for:

Recruiting members Selecting candidates for election

Selecting leaders and members of the party's executive structure

If yes, please give an example of how such data helped to inform party strategy and/ or give an example of targets based on such data:

Does the party register the following characteristics of its employees?

Age Gender Education Level

Profession Income Nationality

Place of birth Ethnicity Other, please specify

If yes, please provide a link to or the excerpt of relevant documents describing your HR monitoring system:

Are the internal data collected under the previous question used to inform the party's recruitment strategy and/or to set targets for recruiting staff?

Yes No

If yes, please give a recent example of such use:

Does the party monitor the following characteristics of tenderers?

Immigrant background of the company owner

Employment practices (equal opportunities policy, competences-based recruitment process, etc)

If yes, please provide a link to or the excerpt of relevant documents describing your procurement monitoring system:

Are the internal data collected under the previous question used to inform the party's procurement strategy and/or to set targets for procurement?

Yes No

If yes, please give a recent example of such use:

Section IV: targeting voters and recruiting members

Does the party maintain a structured and systemic dialogue with immigrant associations?

Yes No

If yes, please give examples of such associations and describe the dialogue maintained with them:

Are meetings regularly organised with immigrant communities in areas with large populations of people with an immigrant background; and are such meetings regularly attended by these people?

Yes No

If yes, please give examples of such meetings and describe their frequency and average attendance:

Does the party proactively and explicitly target voters with an immigrant background through voter registration campaigns (in countries with voter registration), and/or to actually vote?

Yes No

If yes, please give examples of such campaigns and specify how they are carried out (e.g. in partnership with immigrant associations, using community media, etc.):

Do party voters with an immigrant background feel that their needs and aspirations are considered by the party on an equal footing with other voters' needs and aspirations?

Yes No

If yes, please provide evidence such as results of post-electoral surveys; consultations with immigrant associations and voters with an immigrant background; etc.:

Are members with an immigrant background welcomed and supported upon joining the party?

Yes No

If yes, please provide evidence such as the existence of a specific support network; a specific working group or other structure where they can meet within the party; a person responsible for welcoming and supporting new members with an immigrant background etc.:

Does the party have an explicit and proactive membership recruitment policy (or action plans) towards persons with an immigrant background?

Yes No

If yes, please provide a link to the relevant document and specify how such membership recruitment efforts are carried out (e.g. in partnership with immigrant associations or community centres, through specialised media outlets, etc.):

Are party members, whatever their background, invited to attend a training course on diversity and equality issues?

Yes No

If yes, please give examples of such training courses and specify what the programme and/or training material consist of:

Does the composition of the party's membership reflect the diversity of the country's population?

Yes No

If yes, please provide evidence such as the percentage of party members with an immigrant background compared to the percentage of people with an immigrant background in the overall population and what methods you use to establish this?

Section V: selecting candidates and party leaders

Are diversity and equality principles integrated into candidate selection procedures?

Yes No

If yes, please provide evidence, such as diversity and equality training for members of selection committees; competence-based assessment processes; etc.:

Does the party offer training and support opportunities to talented candidates with an immigrant background? When these opportunities apply to all, are measures taken helping immigrants to overcome barriers to seize the opportunities?

Yes No

If yes, please provide evidence, such as talent-spotting mechanisms for identifying promising candidates; mentoring or shadowing schemes; training courses for leadership, use of media, public-speaking and team-building skills; etc.:

Does the composition of the party's national list of candidates reflect the diversity of the country's population?[19]

Yes No

If yes, please provide evidence (for example the percentage of candidates with an immigrant background compared to the percentage of people with an immigrant background in the overall population):

Are candidates with an immigrant background allocated as many winnable constituencies as other candidates?[20] The answer is (also) yes if constituencies with large immigrant populations have party candidates with an immigrant background.

Yes No

If yes, please provide evidence such as the percentage of candidates with an immigrant background allocated winnable constituencies (i.e. considered 'safe' by the party):

Does the party have a proactive policy of selecting members with an immigrant background in its executive structure?

Yes No

If yes, please provide evidence such as relevant excerpts from internal party statements:

Are leaders and (other) members of the executive structure with an immigrant background given responsibilities in line with their interests and expertise, not only with their backgrounds?

Yes No

19 Relevant for single-winner systems. For list-based multiple-winner systems, the question should read as follows: "The proportion of candidates with a migrant background on the party's national list is commensurate with the proportion of people with a migrant background living in the country."

20 Relevant for single-winner systems. For list-based multiple-winner systems, the question should read as follows: "The proportion of candidates with a migrant background occupying eligible positions on the party's area list is commensurate with the proportion of people with a migrant background living in the area."

If yes, please provide evidence such as the proportion of members with an immigrant background that are responsible for diversity and equality issues compared to other areas:

Does the composition of the party's leadership and executive structure reflect the diversity of the country's population?

Yes No

If yes, please provide evidence such as the percentage of leaders and members of the executive structure with an immigrant background compared to the percentage of people with an immigrant background in the overall population:

Section VI: the party as employer and buyer of goods and services

Are diversity and equality principles integrated into the party's recruitment, promotion and appraisal systems and procedures?

Yes No

If yes, please provide a link to or excerpts of relevant documents (e.g. describing competency-based recruitment procedures), including an example of a recruitment advertisement:

Does the party's employment policy contain an equal opportunity or diversity statement welcoming applications from people with an immigrant background?

Yes No

If yes, please provide a link to the relevant document. If it is an internal document, please only explain the status of the document and include the relevant excerpt:

Does the composition of the party's workforce, across all staffing levels, reflect the diversity of the country's/area's population?

Yes No

If yes, please provide evidence such as the percentage of staff with an immigrant background, at each staffing level, compared to the percentage of people with an immigrant background in the overall population:

Does the party's procurement policy contain a statement welcoming tenderers who have a diversity and equality policy?

Yes No

If yes, please provide a link to the relevant document. If it is an internal document, please only explain the status of the document and include the relevant excerpt:

Are diversity and equality principles integrated into the party's procurement procedures?

Yes No

If yes, please provide a link to or excerpts of relevant documents such as tender specifications; selection and award criteria; contract performance clauses; training material for procurement officers; etc.:

Is the party's pool of suppliers composed of a majority of businesses which apply diversity and equality principles in their employment practices?

Yes No

If yes, please provide evidence that a majority of suppliers train staff in intercultural awareness and understanding; use competency-based recruitment procedures; have set up an internal mechanism for handling discrimination complaints; etc.:

Annexe III

DIVPOL Methodology

Exemplary Interview Guideline for Politicians with and without Immigrant Background/Third-Country Nationality & Party Members of Third-Country Nationality

- How did you become a party member? *Probe for access & entry, invitation / personal contacts./..*
- What attracted you to your party? *Probe for motivation*
- What did the party do for you? To welcome you?
- What were the topics and interest areas you dealt with when you started? How did this change?
- What are and were your jobs and responsibilities in the party, your role?
- What specific expectations does the party have of you? What are your interest areas – what would you like to work on?
- What are your networks inside and outside the party?
- What are your resources (for your political work) – inside and outside the party? What and who has helped you?
- What are and have been obstacles to you in your political work and career?
- What role do immigrants and their interest play for your party? Who represents their interests? *Probe for third-country nationals (tcn) without active/passive voting rights*
- Are you/politicians of migrant background seen as representing immigrants' interest? In which contexts? Is there a bridging function to hard-to-reach communities? *Probe for tcn without active/passive voting rights*
- *[As applicable:]* Has your migrant background ever been relevant as party member, candidate or representative and if so, how?
- Why do you think are there so immigrants involved in political parties? Why so few politicians of immigrant background? *Probe for formal and informal obstacles. Probe for immigrants/tcn with and without national citizenship/voting rights.*
- What could/should be done to increase the number of immigrants in political parties? *Probe for things the party/parties could do, both formal and informal (campaigns, networks, mentoring, trainings, legislation, quotas etc.). Probe for the perspectives of the party the interviewee is involved with. Probe for tcn without active/passive voting rights*

Plus for elected candidates:

- Can you describe the first time you were nominated and stood for election. How did you get nominated? What helped/obstructed you? What helped/obstructed the communication with the electorate?

Annexe IV

Theses Papers

Factors which Hinder or Support Party-Political Participation of Immigrants

GERMANY

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1. Access/Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

In the empirical study of the DIVPOL project we interviewed 43 representatives of political parties and migrant organisations in Germany. Many of the politicians (with and without a migration background)[21] gained access to a party via personal contacts. A disproportionate number of interviewees with a migration background had been approached and encouraged directly by party functionaries. In addition, politicians with a migration background in visible and important positions were role models. They had a signal effect and were in a position to motivate people to party-political participation. For interviewees without a migration background political socialisation through the parties' youth organisations represented an important form of access to the political arena.

People are put off when parties appear to them as closed, homogenous and "elitist" organisations in which the positions of power are taken by just a few occupational groups. Competition and effective networks are two main aspects of internal party work. This can be even more intimidating for people who, for example, on grounds of their migration history do not have the necessary language skills, knowledge of the structures or habitus (a sense of "belonging to the same stable") that are important in political life in Germany. Personal and regional differences lead to the fact that the welcoming structure strongly depends on *"whether the local chairman is a nice, open person or an 'alpha male'"* [E19].

Migrant organisations' representatives argued that in connection with intersectional and multiple discrimination and in the light of the fact that competition was a crucial element, ‚safe spaces' within political parties were needed. They doubted

21 In this study the focus is on people of non-European background ("Third-Country Nationals", TCN). The term "people with migration background" follows the definition of the Microcensus of the German Federal Statistical Office. Accordingly every person is considered as "with migration background" that immigrated to Germany after 1949, was born in Germany as a foreigner or has at least one immigrated parent or parent who was born as foreigner (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2011). While using this definition, it should be pointed out that it is often people "marked as migrants" and "marked as the 'Other'" who experience exclusion.

that people in position of power were willing to *„split the cake [of power] into smaller pieces* [FG2] in order to open up their party. One politician described (non)existence of a welcoming culture for newcomers:

> *You can't say, come over, if there aren't enough places to sit in the living room or the seating is so arranged that the new arrival can't sit down.* [E10]

2. Dealing with Legislative Restrictions for Third-Country Nationals in Political Parties

The general exclusion of dual nationality and the lack of active and passive voting rights for non-EU citizens mean that immigrants from third-countries can only enjoy restricted participation in party-political systems, as neither may they vote for mandates, nor run as candidates. A factors which strongly supports political participation is that third-country nationals (TCN) can become members of all the parties we investigated (in some only after 2 or 3 years in the country) and can assume positions within the party such as secretary, treasurer or party chair. *"Being able to participate in internal party elections as a party member without voting rights"* [E3] is viewed very positively by (former) third-country nationals in the parties. Some parties have established special forums or groups, or made other arrangements aimed specifically at people with a migration background – irrespective of their nationality – and encourage them to participate (for example "Inländerstammtisch"; "SPD ve biz"; "Yesiliz – We are Green"). Some regional groups in fact conduct dual elections for candidates to allow TCN a symbolic form of co-determination.

It is not possible in any of the parties we investigated to say whether the proportion of non-EU citizens among the membership reflects approximately their numbers in the population, as the parties do not measure this systematically. However, some published figures do point to a significant under-representation (SPD membership: 1% foreign members, 2004, compared to 8.9% in the population, Eurostat, 2004).

3. Career Paths and Roles of Politicians with "migration background"

The identity marker "migrant"[22] should not represent a determining characteristic for the internal party role of a politician. However, *de facto* it is relevant in political practice. Almost all of the interviewees with a migration background had had to deal with the topic of integration at least temporarily in their political career. Many brought an interest in this topic with them, others were advised by party colleagues to deal with it because they could be "plausible representatives" of the topic. Others did not wish to let themselves be *"stereotyped"* and be *"nailed"* to this topic [E7].

Politicians with a migration background experienced ethnicization in various contexts and by various actors (party members, potential autochthone voters and

22 People marked as migrant are those who, on account of their appearance (skin colour, hair and eye colour), their name or their accent are regarded as migrants by others.

of immigrant background). Ethnicization means that on the grounds of their real or assumed origin they are seen as representatives of a (supposedly homogenous) ethnic group. In practice, this often entailed them being ascribed the function of mediator with migrant communities as a matter of course, which some interviewees strongly rejected. Many politicians have a bridging function to migrant communities, and therefore ensure the inclusion of their topics in the party and encourage others to participate in politics. On the one hand, mobilisation of migrant voters is regarded as a success for the party, but on the other, can become a point of attack for the competition within the party.

The attribute "migration background" is becoming increasingly relevant in the nomination process. This may lead to politicians with a migration background being viewed as quota "migrants" and them receiving less recognition for their competences.

> *I too have the feeling that you've always got to assert yourself [and] prove that you've got abilities, and possibly more than those without a migration background, and to find your place and fight for it – that takes a lot of energy.* [E4]

Migrant organisations' representatives pointed to the danger of politicians of migrant background being used as "tokens" for diversity. This was apprehended when individual politicians of migrant background were seen as "spokespersons" of an ethnic, religious or national group, while their specific experiences would stay outside of the dominant discourses of the party. Some interviewed politicians and migrant representatives indicated a high fluctuation of politicians with a migrant background, who often stayed in office only for one legislative period. A lack of sustainability of diversity development in the party and a lack of established networks were given as possible reasons for this trend.

The ambivalence of dealing with and implementing diversity shows that the diversity discourse within the parties and outside – contrary to all rhetorical appreciation of diversity – is full of tension.

4. Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

In the light of demographic change, parties perceive people with a migration background increasingly as a group within society which is to be taken seriously in all fields. Their logic contains a mixture of strategic and democratic argumentation. In the case of the people's parties, representation of the migrant population is part of the self-proclaimed assertion to be the *"Mirror of Society"* [E18]. Potential is now in the foreground of the diversity discourse. However, this is repeatedly broken by a deficit-ridden viewpoint, which is reflected in powerful statements with symbolic meaning such as influential ascriptions made within the context of the integration discourse:

[She said] multiculti has failed – that is a symbol. Whoosh, full stop. That sticks in your mind. All right, they say multiculti has failed. We have failed, we don't belong here. [FG2]

Exclusive, discriminative or racist statements uttered in public can deter people from the party for a long time, especially those with a migration background, if the party leadership does not distance itself sufficiently and draw consequences. Some interviewees felt that overall not enough emphasis was laid on the topic of (day-to-day) racism and experiences of discrimination were often played down or made light of by the committees concerned. Party policy that is more restrictive with regard to the interests of migrants can also deters these from party-political engagement.

Party committees at the district and local levels have been challenged to make transformation processes *"understandable"* [E24] for the (autochthonous) base. *„Waves"* [E25] of new members with a migration background can trigger fears of foreign infiltration among the base:

If someone comes along now and brings along ten new people with them and they all look different somehow – something's wrong, they've got something up their sleeves. [E17]

Inner-party working groups and networks concerned with (ethnic) diversity are a factor that further supports the involvement of immigrants in political parties. All of the parties have created party-affiliated organisations and working groups that can act as "docking points" for the intercultural opening of the parties. The tasks of these networks still appear unclear in some cases: Are they pure political committees that deal with immigration issues or are they also welcoming forums for interested people (with a migration background)? Do they work for internal party diversity development? The networks can indeed be described as examples of good practice, especially where they act as lobbies to bring "diversity" as a mainstream topic into the party. Another important network for several interviewees was a cross-party network for office-holders organised around Turkish background.

5. Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their Associations

Networks between the parties and migrant organisations (MOs) exist, even if they do receive more attention from the parties during election campaigns. It is chiefly the nationally active MOs who keep in regular dialogue with the parties. Leaders of MOs considered to be important are often courted by party functionaries to join or take a position in the party. Many MOs increasingly emerge as self-confident political lobbies. They also make strategic use of party members who sit on their committees to set up lines of communication to the parties to exert influence on political debates and decision-making processes. Many MOs organise events for the promotion of political participation, often with local politicians. One politician pointed out that visits to smaller organisations gives important signals of recognition and esteem:

Although [our] local MPs know that you won't get anywhere with these organisations... They can't vote. But politics also live from setting examples... If we want to live in a society that… would like to stick together, it's important to go there, to point out that these organisations exist, that this work is being done. [E3]

6. Recommendations to Political Parties

- Political parties should allow third-country nationals to become members without restrictions. Inner-party positions should remain open to them and they should furthermore be encouraged to take these positions.
- Regional examples of good practice for the inclusion of TCN (initiatives and groups targeting TCN, double inner-party elections) should be structurally anchored and expanded, where possible to national level.
- The establishment of a welcoming structure is essential for a sustainable opening up of the party. A climate should be supported in which everyone, regardless of their age, gender, educational, occupational or ethnic background recognised for their own specific competences. A culture of recognition should be supported which guarantees that people who differ from the majority of the party base on the grounds of the above are welcomed into the party. Structurally anchored mentoring programmes can help new members to quickly find their place within the party.
- Parties' decentralised organisational structure of national, regional and local subsystems has been described as *"loosely connected anarchy"* [E16]. We recommend a bilateral strategy for diversity development: top-down and bottom-up. On the one hand, clear leadership concepts and their communication are essential. On the other, motivation and drive for change must be implemented in and the base itself.
- Intercultural competence and a welcoming culture as described above should be promoted at all levels within the parties. Special attention should be paid to low-threshold access organisations, like youth organisations and local groups, and to the party's outreach activities, like information stands.
- Inner-party or party-affiliated working groups, who are agents for the intercultural opening of parties should be structurally anchored, supported by the board level and act as 'save spaces'.
- Politicians with migration background in visible position of power send out crucial signals of inclusion. Their positions have great symbolic value and are important for the strategic intercultural opening of parties.
- Political parties should implement measures to increase the proportion of candidates of immigrant background on nomination lists, with the aim of reflecting the (local) population the election addresses. This should be applied to the whole list, including promising positions with good chances to get elected. Migrant organisation representatives consider the introduction of structurally anchored quotas as necessary instrument to ensure a sustainable diversity development.
- Data on composition of the membership base, candidate lists and office holders can help to measure change and the success of programs/actions to increase diversity.

- Parties should maintain networks to migrant organisations continuously and on equal level. These networks should enable the perspectives people of immigrant background to enter the political discourses and the formulation of legislative proposals.
- To increase the political participation of immigrants, representatives of migrant organisations considered very important the introduction of local voting rights for resident TCN, a reformation of the citizenship law to make naturalisation more accessible and the abolition of the obligation.
- Parties should be aware of the ambivalence of the diversity discourse within their own ranks and German society as a whole. They should discuss internal inconsistencies openly and transparently, promote an honest dialogue and removal of taboos, for example concerning day-to-day racism. Internal complaints mechanisms are helpful for individuals and can support this process.

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IRELAND

1. Access/ Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

In Ireland anyone can join a political party and vote in elections. It has been found that political parties are in general open to new members including those of migrant backgrounds. It is difficult to quantify the number of migrant members due to lack of data but all parties have migrant members. Migrants are likely to be under-represented in parties although some parties seem to have more migrant members.

Important aspects of the political system are the strong role played by local party organisations, so-called branches, as well as the frequent canvassing, visiting people in their homes, and operating information service, known as clinics, for local residents. Accordingly, there are a number of access points for newcomers who wish to engage with Irish political parties. Before making a stronger commitment, Involvement in campaigns and canvassing also offers a "trial period" for anyone in a political party. In 2009 large parties did make a concerted effort to target particularly the Polish but also some other migrant communities; however the perception was that the return was poor in light of resources deployed (full-time integration officer, information material).

While local branches were described by most as friendly and welcoming informally, there was no systematic **orientation measure** to help new members understand the party structure, party issues or policies. It was argued that only by being involved in party activities that new members gain skills and knowledge necessary for progressing: "*Each step on the political ladder teaches you something that is essential for the next rung*". Nevertheless there are proactive steps that parties have taken and can take.

In terms of positions within parties, it appears that several migrant members have gained positions within parties, primarily at local level, but it is unlikely that they have advanced further than that. The argument is that migrants are too few and too new within parties to affect representation among party officials and post-holders.

2. Dealing with Legislative Restrictions for Third-Country Nationals in Political Parties

In Ireland anyone who has been resident in Ireland for six months can vote and run in local elections – including non-EU citizens – and can join any political parties. That affords migrants and particularly non-EU nationals with an excellent opportunity to engage with political activities and join parties. However, there are some factors that may slow down involvement of non-EU nationals.

Local authorities have limited power in Ireland; for instance, they have no role in education or health services and, of course, they do not have influence over immigration matters. Many non-EU nationals do not have a secure status and this can also discourage them from active political involvement. It was suggested that a considerable number of non-EU nationals may postpone political involvement until such a time that they receive citizenship that provides them with a secure status and the right to vote in national elections. In this context however it is important to acknowledge that more than 80,000 non-EU nationals received citizenship between 2005 and 2013.

3. Career Paths and Roles of Politicians with "immigrant background"

Most migrants were active in the community before deciding upon joining a party and contesting election. Non-EU nationals were members of both ethnic-led and community organisations and showed a progression from working with their own community to engaging with the wider local community. Practically all migrant candidates in 2009 and 2014 have focused in their **campaigns on improving the local environment** where they live, understanding that in the Irish political context it is essential that candidates are seen as local community representatives. But the strong local focus also offers an opportunity to draw attention to their local identity and lessen focus on their ethnicity.

Both Irish and migrant candidates have agreed that party involvement – attending meetings, campaigns, canvassing for someone else in previous elections – were very useful experiences that benefited them. However, some challenges do remain. In terms of **nomination,** incumbents within the same parties may see newcomers (regardless of their background) as competitors particularly in urban areas. In this context it is important to highlight that nominations are decided by local branches and constituency organisations, over which the headquarters have little influence, therefore newcomers need to convince local members about their electoral potential. While this creates difficulties for every new candidate, the perception was that is harder for migrants to mount a serious nomination bid. In a recession party members may also feel that there is a greater risk of running a migrant candidate.

Parties also cite the less than desirable results for migrant candidates in 2009, when most parties did try to seek out and run migrant candidates. In 2014 the main parties are running only a few (or no) migrant candidates. Importantly, the number of local authority seats has also been reduced by 500. The closing down of town councils, where migrants were elected in 2009, has removed more winnable seats.

> *The party supported me as well, to a certain extent, but it was harder to build this support, maybe because they didn't see from the beginning my real potential as a candidate to succeed.*

The **electoral campaign** in Ireland does not lend itself to intervention by parties. Candidates need to finance their campaign and develop their strategies. The party's assistance revolves around the production of information material (design and subsidised printing) and some general advice. Migrants tend to have less developed networks and this creates difficulties in securing volunteers and donors for their campaign. Candidates learn about how to run an electoral campaign through informal networks and being involved in campaigns.

4. Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

In terms of discourse, since the recession the previous celebratory mood in relation to diversity has disappeared and discussion has also shifted to economic issues. An important exception is the citizenship process which the current government prioritised by speeding up the application process and introducing citizenship ceremonies that received great publicity. In general, however, parties took a cautious approach as "they did not want to be dragged into a debate that might become divisive and ugly", whereas a small but significant number of local residents began to raise concerns about migrants' accessing social services. Racist incidents in the form of verbal threats and damage to property were reported in some disadvantaged urban areas. To their credit, several politicians made an attempt to constructively engage with those views and they too have organised collective action to address incidents. Nevertheless some local politicians also made anti-immigrant statements.

Two parties have an **equality officer** in place whose task it is to support engagement with migrant communities, among other groups; although much of the work is focused on women. The officer also leads outreach efforts in collaboration with a special sub-committee in the party. The sub-committee primarily offers a space for formulating relevant policy proposals and communication.

Since 2011 the **targeted scheme** Opening Power to Diversity, has placed migrants (non-EU nationals) to work as interns with national politicians for six months. Both parties and migrant interns praised the initiative. This kind of targeted internship increases confidence in and familiarity with Irish politics among migrants, while politicians have also developed relationships with members of migrant communities. On the other hand, the scheme has not led to any new initiatives within parties and collaboration with migrant interns did not continue beyond the placements.

5. Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their Associations

Initial engagement between political representatives and migrant communities is significant. Assistance by politicians through so-called information clinics created interest among some migrant clients in **getting involved** in political parties. In terms of groups, a number of politicians visited places associated with migrant communities and helped migrant groups with their initiatives. Most parties could make a more structural attempt to engage with migrant organisations notwithstanding great efforts of "integration champions" within parties. Migrant organisations, that often play a neutral lobbying role, should also put more emphasis on encouraging engagement between parties and migrant groups and promoting voting.

> *If new communities all decided to vote, the parties would give them a whole lot more attention.*

Several parties were unsure if there is enough interest among migrants to lead a **registration and voting campaign** although some did produce resources. It can be pointed out however that targeted drives (with migrant party members' taking the lead) can bring reasonable success. The State also needs to promote voter registration using such public events as the citizenship ceremony and introduce an online registration system that is more accessible and helps to monitor voter registration levels of groups.

6. Recommendations for Political Parties

- Political parties could employ more long-term strategy in their outreach: using statistical data and other sources of information to map out the migrant population, target selected areas and ensure that local branches are aware of the need for reaching out to migrant communities. They should engage on a regular basis with local groups and integration forums, invite migrant organisations and groups to attend meetings and in turn visit their venues. They should target non-EU groups that are most likely to receive citizenship.
- Organising welcoming events or social events, with consideration of inclusivity (e.g. food choice), attached to a party meeting could help orientation and thus retention of new members including migrants. Added to that, membership packs should be made available more widely. Parties could also hold thematic meetings that could bring together new and older members.
- One officer (e.g. equality officer) should be responsible in every branch or constituency for reaching out to and welcoming new migrant members.
- Drawing on the positive experience of the Opening Power to Diversity Scheme, parties should explore recruitment of migrant volunteers in selected local areas. Furthermore, the interns of the OPD programme run by parties should be approached with a view to helping organising outreach sessions.
- Parties should consider monitoring measures such as introducing a question on birthplace within their membership database system. Alternatively, anonymous

diversity surveys asking questions about birthplace as well as other demographic information could be conducted within political parties.
- Parties should explore talent-spotting measures to identify migrant candidates. They should organise workshops for migrant and other new candidates and offer mentoring in a more structured format. Given their less extensive networks, parties could also try to find ways to help fundraising of migrant and other new candidates that encounter difficulties in funding their campaigns.
- A more conclusive disciplinary system and positive statements at leadership level would send out a strong message to condemn anti-immigrant statements by party members. Willingness and preparation for challenging anti-immigrant statements made by constituency members would be beneficial.
- Parties' efforts should be led by an official (not necessarily his/her only responsibility) and helped by a working group or committee. It is essential that the party's executive is aware of and support such a group's activities.

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IPRS

ITALY

1. Dealing with Legislative Restrictions for Third-Country Nationals in Political Parties

Italy denies third country nationals the right to vote whether in local, general or European elections. The country has ratified sections A and B of the **Convention on the Participation of Foreigners in Local Public Life (Strasburg)** while excluding section C, which grants them the right to vote, claiming that it was in conflict with Art. 48 of the Italian Constitution. **At present naturalization is the only way for foreign citizens to acquire the right to vote.**

This means, *de facto,* that the choice will depend on the individual, whether to acquire Italian citizenship in order to participate actively in politics, by fully enjoying active and passive electoral rights, or to limit oneself to less effective forms of representation.

In fact, whilst bodies such as councils and deputy councillors guarantee foreigners a certain level of representation, they allow forms of political participation that are rather weak, as they are excluded from decision-making processes and lack a structural role at the institutional level.

In this general context, the research conducted under the DIVPOL project brought out a contradiction which is peculiar to Italy: while third country citizens do not see their rights to political participation recognized at a constitutional and legislative level, their active participation finds space and visibility at least among left-wing parties.

2. Access/ Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

By analysing the access to political parties by third country citizens, two completely different situations are observed in Italy: on the one hand, left-wing parties have widely allowed access and participation to non-Italian citizens who, as such, have not the right to vote in Italy; on the other hand, right-wing parties restrict membership only to Italian citizens and, more generally, show a lack of interest in involving foreign nationals, believing that the party is not their natural place as they can neither vote nor be voted for.

Therefore, the analysis of the measures taken by parties to promote the inclusion of third country nationals in Italy considers almost exclusively left-wing parties. Their openness is demonstrated not only by their statutory provisions, by virtue of which foreign citizens are granted the possibility of entering and participating in the party's political life, by the creation of immigration sections and departments, by the possibility to vote for the choice of party candidates for the main institutional positions in the primary elections, but also by the presence of elected politicians with a migrant background.

The majority of foreign nationals involved in political parties come from the world of associations, trade unions and the third sector in general. However, they are mainly first generations of migrants, with whom foreign associations were born, while this observation seems to be less relevant to second generations, who look instead for direct access to parties. Especially for the youth, it also counts a lot if the family environment is favourable to activism and political commitment.

According to the interviews conducted under the project, co-optation is the main method of selection and assignment of roles to citizens of foreign origin: this mechanism acts transversely within the different organizations, both parties and trade unions, in order to promote the entry of those foreign citizens who currently hold positions within a party.

3. Career Paths and Roles of Politicians with "Immigrant Background"

Generally the career of politicians with immigrant background is limited on the issue of immigration: this thematic relegation, characterized by the assignment of roles almost exclusively regarding immigration policies, arises from the political path typical for citizens with immigrant background, who, starting from their involvement in an association , deal with the issue of immigration; and it also arises from the politicization of this issue on which the right- and the left-wing fronts (and the latter even within itself) clash.

Although the interviewees complained about restrictions on access to decision-making positions, and despite the absence of regulations guaranteeing the presence of quotas dedicated to foreigners, *de facto,* in the political parties opened to foreign membership, there is no legal constraint that prevents them from holding even high-ranking positions, as the statutes allow access to leadership roles to party members.

The perception that the assumption of responsibilities within parties passes through selective mechanisms fluctuates between moments in which the feeling prevails that these mechanisms work in a discriminatory way against foreign citizens and moments in which the acknowledgement prevails that these mechanisms work also for Italians. Actually, the migrants themselves have the feeling that stressing the discriminatory mechanism would be inappropriate and counterproductive. The second generations, who have more direct access to the life of the party, are less likely to follow this type of reasoning.

Furthermore some relevant cases should be pointed out that seem to contradict the tendency towards thematic relegation and the existence of restrictions on access to important political offices: for example, Jean-Léonard Touadi, of Congolese origins, former member of the Italian parliament and also safety councillor at the Municipality of Rome, and Cécile Kyenge, of Congolese origins as well, the first Italian Minister of Integration.

4. Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

The issue of diversity is being addressed, at least in rhetoric, by all political parties, especially in consideration of the fact that it plays a prominent role during electoral campaigns, when a strong polarization emerges around the issue of immigration, one of the main topics able to attract and move votes between left- and right-wing coalitions and within the coalitions themselves.

On the one hand, right-wing parties tend to minimize the issue of diversity (with the extreme case of the Northern League, which is against it): for these parties, in fact, the issue of diversity does not arise *a priori,* as one can vote only if one is an Italian citizen. On the other hand, left-wing parties have played a lot on the issue of diversity, even within them, allowing the establishment of favourable practices in this sense. The commitment of left-wing parties in favour of diversity materialized also in their support of some campaigns against racism and for the respect of diversity, such as: Racism is an ugly story (2008); I am not afraid (2009); Clandestine (2009); 24hrs Without Us (2010) and I am Italy (2012). Admittedly, however, rhetoric does not always correspond to the practical life within parties, where sometimes forms of discrimination persist.

5. Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their Associations

The role of migrant associations and their relation with political parties is an open issue that confronts essentially two positions: on the one hand, there are those who consider migrant associations as important integration players and consider their strengthening as the fulfillment of a process:

> *We need to enhance the associations linked to their communities as they are the first contact bridge with the entire migrant world.*

On the other hand, there are those who fear an excessive fragmentation, which does not promote integration and does not put the associations in a position to achieve political results:

> *Within the same community there are many associations and this is often an element that creates great division and conflicts in the community itself.*

Beyond this attitude, which is not uniform, the weakness of migrant associations in Italy is admittedly due to a general lack of support and the consequent risk of remaining subordinate at a political level (with the notable exception of the Islamic associations, which have become very strong). Some associations are struggling more than others in establishing an instrumental relation with political parties, and on the other hand they feel that they are being exploited by parties, thereby creating among migrants an attitude of resentment against parties.

Although there has probably been a change with the second generations, in Italy the majority of foreign citizens that have become members of political parties come from associations, which as mouthpiece of the instances coming from the specific social category of migrants, are part of the groups of interest with which political parties must relate.

6. Recommendations for Political Parties

- Political parties should allow third-country nationals to become members without any restrictions and to hold inner-party positions.
- Political parties should not relegate politicians with a migrant background to roles exclusively regarding immigration issues.
- Political parties should promote the training of their members, including migrants, through the organization of seminars and workshops, as well as through party schools.
- Political parties should give strong public evidence of the respect and promotion of diversity expressed by members who are bearers of ethnic and cultural diversity.
- Political parties should establish an internal body, possibly made up of persons who are bearers of ethnic and cultural diversity, responsible for the control of non-discriminatory practices and the design of positive discrimination strategies.
- Political parties are called to recognize the migrant associations as relevant actors in the integration paths: they should actively support them, as well as establish and maintain an ongoing dialogue with them.

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POLAND

1. Dealing with Legislative Restrictions for Third-Country Nationals in Political Parties

For us party membership is like a marriage. It is treated as a sacramental union, of which we are reminded in different situations. If someone has been a member of three different parties, it is treated as a huge disadvantage. Party membership and promotion within a party structure have very negative connotations. This is a heritage of communism (…) where "political party" means factionalism. On the linguistic level, the term "party" is equal to corruption, power, and terror.

According to Article 11 of the Polish Constitution (1997) freedom of association in political parties is reserved for Polish citizens only. Therefore, from the formal and legal point of view TCNs are excluded from participation in elections and political party membership. Taking into consideration the low number of naturalised citizens in Poland and the fact that naturalised politicians are still rare, it seems that it is too early to speak about diversity in political parties. Currently in Poland non-Polish citizens are excluded from the membership of any political party.

2. Access/ Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

Politics might raise quite a few eyebrows in the neighbourhood. Strong political affiliation can be a disadvantage in contacts e.g. between councillors and community residents.

In Poland there are no large-scale parties except for the biggest one – PSL (Polskie Stronictwo Ludowe/Polish Peasant Party) – that has approximately 140,000 members. Such a situation is a heritage of the 45 year post-war, communist period. None of our interviewees could point out any particular program or procedure that introduces new party members into political party activities. They were convinced that structures existing in the parties and interpersonal relations allow new members to acquaint themselves with party activities. Interviewees classified as politicians with a migrant background stressed that political party membership is not a precondition for success at communal/municipal elections. Their view of the Polish contemporary self-governance system is not positive: in short – too much politics and too little care regarding constituency needs. However, others joined a political party when they realised that in order to implement their social visions it is better to be a part of a bigger structure.

3. Career Paths and Roles of Politicians with "immigrant background"

I have seen the effects of lack of medical care or its low quality. Therefore, this area of activity is the most important for me.

The motivation of so-called elected politicians with a migration background to become politically active in a party is often a consequence of their being recognised by local communities due to their professional position and social activities. Recalled MPs do not raise claims on behalf of the immigrants and do not refer to immigrants as potential supporters because immigrants' votes cannot provide political victory to naturalized candidates. To be elected they have to appeal to the Polish electorate for their support. Our partner organization, the Foundation "Our Choice" also underlined that these politicians

did not take part in the election as immigrants representing other immigrants, but as representatives of their local community who happen to be immigrants.

Nomination processes in parties are regulated by political party statute. Even in the case of new party members who are highly-skilled professionals some obstacles may appear. These obstacles are related to the resistance of longer-serving party members to newer ones. With regard to motivation: firstly, our interviewees pointed to a desire to make a real impact on social life at different levels, from the communal right up to the national level. Secondly, they came to the pragmatic conclusion that outside the party system it is much more difficult to have this impact. Thirdly, interviewees mentioned that during their previous activities they had experienced close cooperation with a certain party, so the decision on their formal access seemed to be a formalization of an ongoing situation and a kind of manifestation of their loyalty. Fourthly, activities undertaken in the party can be an area where the creative potential of interviewees is employed.

4. Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

For example, when there are conflicts, someone suggests you: Remember that you were not born here, so you should just sit quietly.

The topic of the political participation of migrants is still waiting to find its place in public debate generally and in/among political parties specifically. There are various reasons for this. Firstly, the immigrant population in Poland is very small. Secondly, according to the Constitution Polish nationality is a precondition to active participation in political life in Poland. Therefore if the media show examples of naturalized politicians it is more to point to the extraordinary situation than to promote diversity in political parties or, more generally, in political life. Our partner organization also indicates that

in public debate, immigrants are regarded as 'visitors' whose stay in our country is probably temporary, so dealing with their problems is not a priority.

The political participation of immigrants as a particular category of residents in Poland receives no coverage in the media at all.

5. Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their Associations

Discussion on networks between parties and migrant organizations where Poland is concerned is rather impossible. None of our interviewees could point out any examples of this. It is better to talk about co-operation of individual politicians with migrants. One should be aware that migrants' organisations are still very "fresh" in Poland and they are not strong enough to be recognised as partners by political parties. The year 2007 was a turning point for migrants' organisations, when financial support from the EIF was introduced to Poland. The EIF is still the main source of support for migrants' organisations in Poland. As a result, they work on a project basis and their activities chiefly depend on winning or failing to win funding in the European Integration Fund. It is a significant obstacle for their professionalization.

6. Recommendations

- The introduction of a broader scope of political rights for non-citizens in Poland should be preceded by a social campaign.
- Our partner organization, the Foundation "Our Choice" indicates that migrants in the immediate future could claim political rights, and especially voting rights in local elections.

The Foundation "Our Choice" states that

> *the number of TCN immigrants who live in large urban agglomerations who have a work permit and are EU residents or have a long- or short-term stay permit is continually growing. For them, the influence on the situation in the town where they live is becoming a very important issue and they are starting to claim voting rights at least at a local level. Local politicians can become promoters of immigrants' participation in the future if they believe that these immigrants can constitute their electorate. This is possible in cities such as Warsaw or Gdansk.*

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ACIDI

1. Access/ Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

In Portugal the political actors that were interviewed were consensual in presenting their parties with no constraint about nationality in regard to the admission rules of new members, and some considered that the lists of candidates are guided by criteria of competence and merit only. However it also became fairly obvious during the interviews that: **(a)** most of them do not actually master the statuses of their own parties and/or do not know the legal limitations that might exist to access/entry; **(b)** respondents tend to make a kind of *mea culpa* in recognising that there are not many immigrant politicians (IP) or politicians with an immigrant background (PIB) in the party's structures and/or do not have information on that issue. Respondents attributed their lack of information to the fact that parties do not make any sort of differentiation between members on the basis of nationality or ethnic background, there are therefore no statistics available on their numbers; **(c)** some respondents denounced the existence of too complex balances of power that do not enable the access, not only to immigrants but also to other groups in society.

The under-representation of immigrants in the internal structures of parties, in political leading roles, as well as in lists of candidates, especially in eligible places, was explained by respondents as reflecting: **(1)** the existence of **strongly rooted power relations** and prevailing status quo inside the parties that cannot be easily challenged – *"established internal codes not always easy to understand";* **(2)** the **lack of lobbying of immigrants** – some participants argued on the need of communities to join, identify the best political actors among them and lobby collectively on their behalf to the various political parties; finally, **(3)** the **lack of parties' awareness about the electoral relevance of immigrants.** Some participants argued that once parties begin to realise that immigrant communities are demographically expressive and have their own specificities, they will be more careful about calling out candidates who may be closer to these communities' reality.

On the other hand, when trying to explore possible explanations for the lack of immigrants' political engagement, participants in Portugal underlined a set of common reasons, among which: **(1) political culture:** Portuguese society, in general, distrusts politicians at present, so immigrants are just part of a wider sentiment of frustration about politics. Respondents were also unanimous in portraying the Portuguese political class as quite conservative and closed as far as the functioning of their internal structures are concerned; **(2) language** was also signalled as a problem not only when immigrants do not have a good command of it, but also when they do. Speaking Portuguese was in some respondents' views one reason

underlying the lack of political concern about a better social and political integration of lusophone immigrants; **(3) lack of political interest** of immigrant communities; **(4) economic reasons:** most respondents from the left to the right, with and without migrant background, were rather consensual in linking immigrants lack of political engagement to their economic vulnerability or labour motivations to be in Portugal; **(5) legal reasons:** most interviewees consider the persistence of the reciprocity principle as a paramount obstacle to immigrants' political participation; **(6) immigrants' political representation:** regardless of how much immigrants participate politically, another different matter is to reflect on who is responsible for representing them.

2. Dealing with Legislative Restrictions for Third-Country Nationals in Political Parties

The granting of political rights to foreigners in Portugal is dependent on the **principle of reciprocity** (RP) – only immigrants that come from countries where the Portuguese can vote, can vote in Portugal. Several respondents stated that the reciprocity principle is an obstacle to immigrants' political participation in Portugal. Still this is a controversial theme: some considered that it should be abolished, while others stressed that it should be abolished at the local level but kept at the national one, and others held the more conservative position, considering that the RP has a legal frame provided by international law that cannot be simply overstepped. In general terms, most respondents (within the entire political spectrum) agreed that the RP is relevant in the diplomatic relations between states, but that for the practical purpose of fostering the integration of immigrant communities at local level, it has become too constraining.

Furthermore, although closely linked, in Portugal electoral participation and the freedom to join and act within a political party do not exactly coincide. The Political Parties legal Act considers that *"political parties are constituted by citizens who hold political rights";* in other words that includes all TCNs that have political rights recognised by Portuguese law and international bilateral agreements. This Law also establishes that *"no person shall be denied membership in any particular political party or expulsion on grounds of…place of origin".* Therefore, in general terms, TCNs who hold political rights and are legally resident in Portugal have the right to join a political party if they want to do so. However, over the past decade, depending on particular parties statutes it is possible to identify some variety in the criteria regarding the admittance of TCNs and/or their roles in the political party, i.e. some parties are more open than others.

3. Career Paths and Roles of Politicians with "immigrant background"

So far, all members of parliament (MPs) in the National Parliament have been Portuguese citizens, even if holding dual citizenship. The respondents provided few examples of MPs that they perceived as having immigrant background. Two of those examples arrived at the Parliament in the 1990s in a special programme promoted by one MP to bring immigrant leaders to support the discussion of

immigration policies and extraordinary regularization processes that were being defined and discussed at that time in the Parliament. These examples were reported as being positive to the approval of important Legal Acts for the life of immigrants in Portugal, such as the law for the financial support of immigrants associations, the reform of the citizenship law and the creation of the public institution devoted to the integration of immigrants (the High Commission for Immigration).

It is still interesting to underline that those same politicians with immigrant background when asked if they represented the immigrants interests, stated that as soon as elected they represented all of the electorate (and not only the immigrants electorate) and the parties interests.

At the local level non-national politicians (IP) and national politicians with immigrant background (PIB) are easier to identify. However, the numbers have not been impressive over the years. The interviewees and focus group participants stated, however, that in the last local elections (2013) there was an increase of citizens with immigrant background in the lists of candidates, especially in metropolitan areas with a higher concentration of immigrant residents to capture new voters and/or immigrants voters.

4. Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

During the last ten years in Portugal, there has been a significant convergence of the political positions of the major political parties on immigration and integration policies. Political arguments made by the extreme right, propagating racist attitudes and xenophobia, have not led, at this point, to electoral gains. Consequently all respondents conveyed both personally and institutionally, very positive views on the presence of immigrants in Portugal and on the need to continue fostering the social and political integration of immigrants. Several politicians from different areas of the political spectrum defended the notion that "*immigration is not a fracturing issue in Portugal",* contrary to what seems to be the case in other European countries, according to our respondents' views. Although there is a political consensus around immigration issues and integration policy, there are also divergences among political parties related to the concession of political rights to immigrants. Still, parties do not have specific concessions for foreigners or immigrants. Programmes or party manifestos on this are also absent. Although most respondents mentioned a certain preoccupation with including immigration on the parties' agendas, this seems to follow very random strategies.

5. Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their Associations

There was wide consent among the respondents on the relevance that PIB and IP have or may have in the parties' relationships with communities. As for why they are relevant, the main reasons given were: **(1) Know-how:** IP and PIB may bring great added value to parties' approach to immigration, integration, and social cohesion, because they have a powerful know-how that parties should recognize. By

the same token, their presence is very important for communities, which see them as privileged interlocutors, as individuals more capable of implementing projects according to immigrant communities' interests; **(2) Communication facilitators:** several respondents state the idea that *"immigrant politicians are definitely in the best position to hold dialogue with parties and with their own communities",* because *"they facilitate communication, they understand better the communities' needs and demands".* More trust is also achieved in parties' proposals and promises if immigrants see party members that are closer to the communities.

Several immigrant associations' leaders argued that associations may turn into fundamental spaces of immigrants' political empowerment. However, they must want to become that. Indeed, while recognized and cherished by most participants for their roles and potentials, associations were also perceived as spaces of limited efficacy. Lack of multiple resources (money, boards, expertise, time), lack of dialogue and cooperative strategies among associative leaders, and lack of empowering agendas, were among the internal explanations for such limited efficacy.

6. Recommendations

The following list summarises participants' contributions to recommendations to enhance immigrants' participation in political parties in Portugal:

- Parties need to track their members. This is important not only in regards to a better knowledge of the immigrants' presence inside the party, but also of other sectors and groups in society and if the party have a representation of such diversity inside its structures.
- Parties must study deeper, along with entities such as COCAI, ACIDI and academics, the immigrant reality, its various communities, their demands, their specificities. In practical terms this means parties must invest in working groups dedicated to immigration issues.
- It is very important to preserve the positive legislative legacy that so far exists, which includes integration policies, the nationality law, legal instruments to foster integration of migrants (in the health and education systems, in the labour market), the constitutional prohibition of any fascist or xenophobic acts and organizations. Still more is needed in respect to political rights: revising the Reciprocity Principle, in order to widen access to electoral rights to include immigrants.
- Automatic registration in the electoral registers of legal residents entitled to political rights (as happens with Portuguese nationals from age 18) could increase political participation.
- Immigrant associations and other relevant NGOs should invest more in disseminating citizenship rights, with special emphasis among immigrant communities already entitled to electoral rights. Associations should perform regular and consistent activities in the communities, including training sessions to inform individuals about their rights, to explain how people may register to vote.
- Immigrant associations should work more as lobbying platforms in addition to the political parties and decision-making structures.

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1. Access / Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

There are similarities in the majority of entry processes of the politicians and party members who were interviewed for the DIVPOL project. The most common aspect is the existence of a long experience of activism in associations or social organisations before entering the party, either as active members or as leaders of the organisation. Activism in political parties represents a second step of political activism taken by these persons, and a logical outcome of their previous social and political activism. This is mainly the case for social-democrat and left-wing parties in general. In addition, affiliation is often driven by mentorship and personal contacts inside the party. Persons of foreign origin are chosen for their social or community activism to take part in party activities on immigration, or are offered directly a position as candidate on a list. For party officers in charge of outreach activities, networking and talent spotting are ways to attract new skilled members who will be promoted in the party.

> *During [a] meeting, I met directly people of the party [...]. At that time, they were just building their Immigration sector and they told me: "We have immigrants here and we want to know what they think". […] Before, I had not seen [the party] from that close. We talked for a year and I started to work.* [Interview 5, party officer with foreign background]

Where political parties are concerned, most have developed outreach campaigns and structures dedicated to the affiliation and political activity of members with an immigrant background.

Outreach campaigns: Political parties are reluctant to target explicitly immigrants in their affiliation campaigns and claim that their "doors are open" to everybody on an equal footing. Nevertheless, party officers dealing with immigration and participation often attend activities and celebrations of immigrant organisations. They also organise meetings or invite association representatives to party activities. This is a way to generate immigrant affiliation. However, there does not appear to be a clear relation between a party's pro-migrant rights position and the level of immigrant affiliation to the party.

Training: Very little specific training of members with a foreign background has been organised by the parties. These members participate in ordinary training where it exists. Welcoming sessions about diversity or about party orientations have been organised in two parties.

Welcoming culture and party's incidence on the decision to affiliate: Contrasting experiences related to a welcoming culture in the party have been reported. It mainly depends on the way the person has entered the party – by themselves or co-opted.

Local branches of parties tend to be more difficult to integrate than immigration/diversity "safe" spaces. In general, people are required to adapt quickly to existing party structures and organisation, while this one is often not compatible with work or family life.

Party culture and the party's view on immigration are important to take into account to bring immigrants closer to parties. Positions on immigrants' rights as well as religion, language, economy or democratic values can be important criteria for both immigrants and the party in terms of affiliation.

2. Dealing with Legislative Restrictions for Third-Country Nationals in Political Parties

There is no legal restriction to the affiliation of foreigners in political parties in Spain, nor in party statutes. Foreigners are not allowed to create parties but can be members of existing parties, whatever their nationality, legal situation or length of stay. Only the People's party restricts membership to authorised foreigners.

Other legal restrictions do affect the participation of third-country nationals in politics.

Right to vote and passive suffrage: Foreigners have neither the right to vote nor passive suffrage at national and regional levels. At local level, only nationals of countries which have signed a reciprocity agreement with Spain (n=12) have the right to vote.

Acquisition of citizenship and dual citizenship: Historical relations with some countries, especially Ibero-America, have led to the establishment of a favourable regime for citizens of these countries who apply for Spanish citizenship (two years' residence instead of ten). However, the administrative complexity often adds years to the process. Similarly, Spain forbids dual citizenship in theory except for the citizens of these countries, but in practice many people manage to keep both citizenships.

3. Career Paths and Roles of Politicians with an "immigrant background"

Undoubtedly, the main obstacle for people with a foreign background is on the road towards **representation** and representatives with foreign origin are still rare. Only one senator and two members of the Madrid regional assembly originate from third-countries (TC). Even at local level, we estimate that councillors from TC represent 0.1 to 0.3% of the total. Several characteristics can be highlighted from the career paths of interviewed office-holders and candidates:

The importance of leadership: the "recruitment" on a list is often driven directly by the leader candidate whose views on immigrant participation seem to be determinant, especially when the presence of immigrant politicians in the assembly or position voted is unprecedented.

I was only a base member; I wasn't participating in any area of decision of the party or anything. But [the leader candidate] looked at the most significant and representative associations and he called me to ask me to go on his list, because he wanted a connection between the party and immigration (…). [Interview 6: politician with foreign background]

The role of participation structures: Participation structures of "diversity" members are sometimes entitled to propose names of candidates to the list makers to secure the presence of "diversity" candidates. However, the modalities of designation differ between parties and elections and the proposition is not binding for the list makers, nor does it guarantee the candidates to be in an eligible position.

Control of party officers and leaders over list making: Party officers still most frequently compile electoral lists, even if primaries or members' votes have sometimes been implemented. Overall, members with an immigrant origin play no part and have little power over election committees. The lack of transparency of the process and the multiplicity of interests represented are obstacles to the promotion of new politicians with diverse backgrounds.

Politicians with an immigrant background relate contrasting **experiences as office holders.** Most feel that their position was valuable and recognized. They picture their role as mediating for immigrants' interests and push this issue onto the general agenda. Some felt that they also represented "powerless" or "ordinary" citizens and tried to speak for them. Others, however, stressed that party politics was interfering with their ability to take action and felt powerless most of the time. Most politicians stayed in office only for a short time (one or two mandates).

4. Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

As regards the internal organisation of the party in relation to diversity membership, we found that two tensions cross most party- and immigration association discourses.

Normal vs. Specific: There is a tension between the will that diversity members have to enjoy a "normalised" and career participation inside the party, with no difference made with other native members on the one hand, and the necessity for the party to adapt to diversity and to create specific structures of participation and recognition. Some parties have created spaces/working groups of participation for members with foreign background, which are diverse in their forms. One party created a foundation connected to the party, in which people and organisations participate according to their geographical area of origin. Another created spaces in the sector of participation which reflect members' diversity (for example in terms of ethnic, sexual and functional diversity). They coordinate their efforts to push for diversity issues. In other parties, immigrants invest primarily the branch dedicated to immigration/citizenship policies. In general, these parties advocate for the "normalization" of immigrants' participation and refuse to make a difference between their members in function of their origin. All parties underline that members with a foreign background are encouraged to participate primarily in

their closest local party structure as any other member, but many are often only involved in diversity sectors. Members also express a dilemma in participating in "diversity" spaces/groups. While they tend to be more welcoming, may accelerate promotions to positions or candidatures and tackle topics which often interest members with a foreign background, many perceive these structures as powerless and even segregated spaces. They also fear that their other talents or personal interests may not be recognized.

Visibilisation vs. Internal recognition: The promotion of diversity membership and representation also follows different paths and two dimensions have frequently been mentioned. On the one hand that the staff, politicians and membership of the party should reflect the diversity existing in society in quantitative terms and in all spheres of power. It is assumed that a "critical mass" of members and staff will help equalise participation and give equal opportunities to diverse members to access offices. On the other hand, it was stressed that politicians with a foreign background should be in visible public positions. The assumption is that renowned diversity politicians make it possible for others to identify with them and arouse political participation. Parties address these issues differently. TCN and diversity members are clearly under-represented in areas of power as well as in the membership base. Even if participation spaces/groups are a way to recognize the internal diversity, make it visible, and advocate for the diversification of the organisation, they fail in influencing the main areas of power. In addition, there is still no prominent politician with a foreign background in Spanish politics. The 2011 local elections introduced a novelty when the two main parties made visible their candidates with an immigrant background and organised meetings to introduce them. Nevertheless, it is often underlined that the lack of a public figure with diverse background remains an obstacle to immigrants' political participation. At the same time, strategies of visibilisation are suspected of being a way to gain immigrant voters' support without really diversifying the party. While associations recognise that the lack of a public figures is a problem, they also feel that most immigrant candidates and politicians are being played by party executives.

5. Networks between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and their associations

Networking is often done through meetings, participation in celebrations or participation in pro-immigrant social movements. For associations, relations with parties lead to tricky situations. Their identification with one party can lead to a deterioration of their resources when a new party enters government (cut in budgets and subventions, exclusion from consultative bodies). They thus condemn clientele relations that political parties try to establish, but they recognise that associations often accept these arrangements because they fear being left out. Clientele relations in the politics of countries of origin make it also difficult to perceive some practices as abnormal, such as trading votes for services or subventions. Immigrant organisations mention other challenges, such as the fact that many immigrants are still more politically active towards their countries of origin.

Regarding participation in political parties

The study shows that there is an **increasing awareness of political parties** about the importance to promote the membership and participation of persons of foreign background. The creation of **"safe" spaces** is an interesting tool to encourage participation. However, misuse of this tool leads to greater discrimination towards foreigners and diversity members. We then recommend that:

- The spaces of participation **must not be segregated** from other spaces of the political party. Their members have to be represented in the executive boards of the party. They should also be encouraged to participate in other spaces not related to immigration, according to their interests and talents.
- Political parties have to **improve the way new members are welcomed in the local constituencies,** adapt the organisation of tasks and meetings to allow workers and parents to participate, ensure the equal participation of under-represented groups to the different tasks, meetings and decision-making, and grant new members appropriate training.

Regarding candidates selection processes

Candidate selection is one of the key roles of political parties in a democracy. Spanish political parties have to take a step forward to ensure that diversity members and immigrants are represented in eligible positions in the lists. **Diversifying selection committees** should be a priority. If this cannot be realised through existing processes, then a quota system should be considered to ensure equity.

It is commonly admitted that political parties face a crisis of legitimacy and representation in current democracies. To ensure better representation, including under-represented groups such as immigrants and persons with a foreign background, most stakeholders call for a **democratisation of parties** (such as open lists, primary elections, collegiality and transparency of decision processes). Even if these processes may have a positive impact on making the party closer to the citizenry – and immigrants – they do not lead to more diverse representation. Therefore, **the aim to represent ethnic diversity should not be forgotten in this process.**

In particular, counting on **strong inner networks** is the most important factor for a successful career inside the party. Immigrants and ethnically diverse members often lack those organised networks. Any initiative of political parties and civic organisations to strengthen their networks would benefit the representation of diversity.

Regarding legal obstacles to participation

Independently of political parties, it is important that Spanish institutions encourage the political participation of foreigners by, in particular, allowing the right to vote to

residents and by ensuring that persons with a foreign background are represented in political institutions.

SWEDEN

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1. Dealing with Legislative Restrictions for Third-Country Nationals in Political Parties

The legal framework strongly favours the political participation of migrants in Sweden. Differences in formal rights between citizens and non-citizens with permanent residence permits are held at a minimum. Most important for political participation is that foreign citizens with a minimum of three years residence have the right to vote, and be elected, in municipal and regional elections. Only Swedish citizens, however, are entitled to vote in the national parliament elections. Another favourable factor is that according to the Swedish Citizenship Act of 2001 it is possible to hold dual citizenship. While it is likely that these formal rights have had a positive impact on political participation among migrants, it is also important to note that migrants are still consistently under-represented in parliament as well as in regional and local councils. Hence, there are other more informal barriers to be taken into account.

2. Access/Entry to Political Parties and Political Life in Parties

Despite the lack of formal barriers to accessing political parties, there are still informal factors that make it more difficult to access a political party as a new citizen. One possible reason may be found in parties having a larger proportion of people with an immigrant background. Here, the barrier is not so much to their being nominated or elected, but recruited as members and active participants in the first place. This image is confirmed in the shrinking membership base of many political parties: many political parties have general challenges in recruiting members, and many parties acknowledge they are particularly weak when it comes to reaching people with an immigrant background. Of course, the shrinking membership base also represents a possible strong incentive for political parties actively to try to reach new groups and recruit members from different segments of society.

For some, the role of language represents a possible barrier. Not only do newly arrived immigrants have to learn a new language, the nature of party political work requires the ability for members to "weigh their words", to understand subtle differences and adapt to the cultural milieu of the party organization. When difference is seen as a strength, the party opens up to the participation of more recently arrive migrants, making it possible for them also to develop the personal connections needed

eventually to be elected as a Member of Parliament. When it is not, people are likely to stop trying and become active somewhere else.

When asked about possible barriers to becoming active in a political party, the single most common response was: "the many meetings". Attending several meetings a week – just for the internal party work – is difficult if you're establishing yourself in a new country, are in the middle of a career or have children. The fact that the meetings are sometimes heavily influenced by local informal structures and exclusionary practices further exacerbates the problem.

3. Career Paths and Roles of Politicians with "immigrant background"

Contrary to what might have been expected, the people we interviewed did not feel that their migrant background had been capitalized on in order for the party to reach new groups in an impending election. Outreach potential might be important later on, during an election campaign, but it was the internal connections detailed above that were seen as paramount to becoming a nominated candidate. The election committees themselves reasoned around the importance of having networks within more groups in society, but since they still acknowledge that their role is often about weighing internal party interests against each other, this confirms the internal focus of nomination processes. This internal focus of the nomination processes might hinder the election of candidates with their strongest support outside of the party (for example, through work in non-party political non-governmental organizations) and prevent strong support from different ethnic groups from being considered an advantage for the party.

Another factor identified is the importance of personal networks, and the informality of their nature. The networks mentioned were described as "having friends", connections established during many more or less informal meetings over a long period of time, either from long service at the local level or a long time within the youth organization. It could prove difficult for people to gain access to the political party, and may discourage some from trying if you have to have been active for years to be nominated for a position.

It is a strong recommendation of this report that some sort of "safety measures" for a minimum level of representation is introduced with regard to immigrant background, similar to those regarding gender. The use of internal party quotas for women over the last fifteen years and their subsequent widespread acceptance is an important experience to draw from. This is especially important when the influence of the election committee is limited by formal or informal practices, limiting their ability to look at the entire list.

4. Diversity inside Political Parties and Discourses on Diversity

The Members of Parliament represent the successful cases. From these, however, it is possible to discern some possible barriers. The factors representing favourable conditions for our cases may in other cases hinder the participation of people

with migrant background. One such factor is the importance placed on individual personalities and traits. Explaining their success in terms of their own personality – not being a person who gives up when faced with resistance, for example – may undermine the ability to consider structural problems or explanations. This individual focus was also observed when describing support from other people – individuals who nominated them and encouraged them to accept the nominations.

All parties agree that diversity is important when it comes to representation and participation. It relates to issues of legitimacy – for the political system and the specific party, justice, and utility. That diversity is the official norm for the party and unanimously seen as an advantage is clear. Paradoxically, this can perhaps lead to reluctance to be aware of instances of racism and structural barriers within the party. While all parties agree that diversity needs to embrace gender, age and immigrant background, immigrant background was seen as the most problematic. The obvious example is the reluctance to organize around immigrant background within the party, or to acknowledge the need for it. When talking about diversity, it was more common to speak of gender or age as an example of it.

Having networks that encourage, support and profile candidates with immigrant background similar to those for women, can perhaps address the challenge of simultaneously advancing diversity as a norm and acknowledging instances of racism. One example is the immigrant committee of the Social Democrats in Stockholm. Its organizational strength ensures that it can both influence political policy and the number of representatives with immigrant backgrounds. In preparation for the upcoming election it did so by co-operating with the Youth organization, leading to local quotas not only for women (which is a nationally set guideline), but for young people and people with immigrant background as well (25 % of people under 35 on the list, 25 % with immigrant background).

5. Networks Between Political Parties and Immigrant Communities and Their Associations

Immigrant or ethnically based associations represent an important way for political parties to reach groups they have traditionally been weak in targeting. However, our interviews suggest that political parties seldom utilize ethnic associations. This is a cause for frustration in many ethnic associations in Sweden. They have the networks the political parties need, and they already do a lot of work when it comes to educating and encouraging their members to learn more about Swedish politics. And yet they feel political parties are slow to respond to invitations, largely uninterested in co-operation and failing to sustain any co-operation over time. While this is expressed in terms of frustration, it is also in a way hopeful: it shows that ethnic associations want to take an active role when it comes to politics, a commitment that political parties can in time better acknowledge and channel.

6. Recommendations to Political Parties

These recommendations are based on the conclusion from the DIVPOL project in Sweden. It includes interviews with political parties and with ethnic associations and a workshop with the political parties.

Acknowledge the problem

All political parties interviewed in the project agree that diversity is important. Paradoxically, this can perhaps lead to reluctance to be aware of instances of racism and structural barriers within the party. The obvious example is the reluctance to organize within political parties based on immigrant background (as compared to e.g. gender or age).

Increase cooperation with ethnic associations

The ethnic associations interviewed in this project are all willing and able to work as an intermediate link between their members and the political parties; organizing meetings, translating information etc.

Ethnic associations are an enormous though underused resource for the political parties.

Establish networks

Networks within the political parties are vital for increased political representation. This is partly because networks in general are so important, for nominations, elections etc. These informal networks take time to establish, and having semi-formal networks for support, training and exchange of experiences can strengthen diversity.

Have safety measures for representation

It is a recommendation of this report to establish some sort of safety measure for representation, similar to those based on gender. This should not be interpreted as a need for formal quotas, although one party has successfully employed them. As with gender, these safety measures can be different in character and formality.

With globalisation and worldwide migration European societies are becoming increasingly diverse. This is setting new challenges to European democracies, which need to engage each new generation in their political systems. Political parties play a key role in this process. As organisations holding legislative and governing powers, parties need to reflect diversity within their ranks. The participation of immigrants in party politics is crucial for both immigrants and the long-term cohesion of these democracies.

However, parties are still struggling with this. What can they do to increase the participation of immigrants? What barriers need to be overcome? And what arguments are there to make the case for diversity?

In the DIVPOL project, over 250 politicians and representatives of migrant organisations from seven EU-countries were interviewed to explore the factors which hinder or support diversity in political parties.

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