

Migration Policy Group

# Becoming a Party of Choice: a Tool for Mainstreaming Diversity

Mapping of Political Party Diversity Initiatives in France, Germany and the  
United Kingdom

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May 2011

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## Preface

The Migration Policy Group has undertaken a pilot project aiming to encourage a more holistic approach to the mainstreaming of diversity into political party processes across the political spectrum.

This paper maps the diversity initiatives of three key political parties/groupings in each of the target countries (France, Germany and the UK). In the first section, a brief overview is given of each of the political parties, while the second section examines the diversity of each party's membership, candidates, elected and appointed representatives, leadership and staff members. Section 3 uses, where possible, political parties' constitutions, manifestos, web materials and news releases to provide an overview of the extent to which the issue of diversity, in particular within parties themselves, has made its way into party discourse, while section 4 gives details of the parties' diversity initiatives. Section 5 provides details of some of the many valuable political representation-related diversity initiatives undertaken by governmental bodies, NGOs and parties not featured in the earlier sections of the paper within the project's three target countries. The conclusion can be found in section 6.

As in any study focusing on non-EU immigrants and their descendents, it is vital to establish the meaning of the terms used, as this can differ – not only by country but also by data source. For the purpose of this paper, the term 'with migration backgrounds' (commonly used in Germany) is employed interchangeably with 'ethnic minorities', 'Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME)' (both commonly used in the UK), 'visible minorities' (commonly used in France) and 'diverse communities' to mean non-European immigrants and their descendents that are identifiable as such by their appearance and/or name: the 'migrant voices' mentioned in the project's title. 'Migrants' is only used to refer to first generation non-European immigrants. When data is used from sources which employ the same or similar terms differently (as in Germany, where 'migration background' may refer to ethnic German immigrants or *Aussiedler*, who receive different treatment and experience different problems, or to non-German EU nationals), this will be specified.

When it was not possible to access comparative external data relating to the representation of people with migration backgrounds within political parties, and as a result of time constraints preventing more in-depth research on the basis of place of birth (individuals', parents' and grandparents'), the author used information from brief surveys of party representatives on the basis of name and appearance. While this approach is clearly imperfect, it is useful to the extent that it is both relatively quick and responds to the grounds upon which discrimination is most likely to occur, and is therefore employed in similar circumstances by organisations including the *Conseil représentatif des associations noires* (CRAN) in France.

The main source of information for this paper was political party websites (in particular party constitutions, manifestos and policy papers where available), in addition to valuable suggestions by members of the project's Advisory Council including key publications such as the Report of the House of Commons' Speaker's Conference on Parliamentary Representation, published in 2010, and the 2009 paper '*Ouvrir la politique à la diversité*' by Eric Keslassy for the Institut Moutaigne. The reports of the EU-funded EMILIE and POLITIS projects, in addition to Bird, Saalfeld and Wüst's 2011 publication *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, parties and parliaments in liberal democracies*, the European Network Against Racism (ENAR)'s September 2010 publication 'Political participation & representation of ethnic minorities: from wishful thinking to reality?' and information sourced from the European Web Site on Integration,<sup>1</sup> were also very useful.

The research for this document was concluded at the end of May 2011 and therefore its contents reflect the situation as of that date.

## Introduction

As the Council of Europe's 2010 Resolution on the representativity of parliaments underlines, the full and equal participation of all members of society in the political decision-making process is crucial to the legitimacy of democratic political systems.<sup>2</sup> In the context of the increasing diversity of European societies, the importance of the full participation of diverse groups, particularly migrants and those with migration backgrounds, in political decision-making processes has become a high-profile issue in recent years.

An issue that has been subject to particular scrutiny within the political participation debate has been that of parliamentary representativity. The United Kingdom, has seen a significant increase in parliamentary diversity following the General Election in May 2010, the publication of the final report of the Speaker's Conference on Parliamentary Representation, set up in November 2008 by the House of Commons to *"consider, and make recommendations for rectifying, the disparity between the representation of women, ethnic minorities and disabled people in the House of Commons and their representation in the UK population at large,"*<sup>3</sup> and the introduction of the 2010 Equality Act, which contains a special provision for political parties relating to the selection of candidates and information on candidate diversity.<sup>4</sup> In Germany, there has been a notable increase in ethnic minority representation in high-profile posts, including the first politician of Turkish origin winning a mandate in the state parliament of Baden-Württemberg in March 2011, and the election of a woman of Turkish origin as the new Minister for Social Affairs of the Federal State of Lower Saxony in April 2010. France also saw an increase in ethnic minority representation in the regional elections of 2010, prompting Patrick Lozès of the *Conseil représentatif des associations noires* (CRAN) to state that *"diversity is progressing with each election. The political world knows that the eyes of the French population are upon it. For the first time at a regional level, we have ethnic minority candidates heading lists."*<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, all three countries have seen significant media coverage devoted to the issue.

At European level, Hannes Swoboda, Vice-president of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists & Democrats in the European Parliament, urged both the institution and its political groups to recruit more non-white people and said that political parties should not be allowed to receive EU funding unless they apply quota systems in their selection of candidates for both national and European elections.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, the Socialist group organised a two-day transatlantic conference in March 2011 on minority political leadership, at which MEPs and members of the US Congress agreed that minority populations in Europe and North America need a stronger voice in the seats of power. The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe also agreed upon Resolution 1705 (2010) on Thresholds and other features of electoral systems which have an impact on representativity of parliaments in Council of Europe member states. This proposes a series of measures including fair and transparent candidate selection and nomination rules, the encouragement of nominations from minorities and immigrants and the establishment of long-term strategies aimed at increasing the assertiveness, knowledge and experience of under-represented groups. It also suggests that political parties examine the experience of other parties that have introduced selection and nomination quotas and consider introducing such measures.<sup>7</sup>

The particular importance of migrants' participation in political processes for successful integration is strongly emphasised within European integration policy discourse. Acknowledged in four of the 11 Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the European Union, the active political participation of immigrants is the explicit subject of the ninth (*"The participation of immigrants in the democratic process, especially at the local level, supports their integration"*), while 'the active

participation of immigrants in all aspects of collective life' has been identified as one of the three key focuses of the EU's new instrument in this field: the European Modules for Migrant Integration. Furthermore, the notion that migrants' political participation contributes to preventing disaffection and social conflict by increasing trust and confidence in the political process is emphasised by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe's 2001 Recommendation on the participation of immigrants and foreign residents in political life<sup>8</sup> and its 2010 Resolution on the representativity of parliaments.<sup>9</sup>

In spite of the positive developments listed above, research on the formal participation of migrants and those with migration backgrounds in political processes in European countries highlights a clear disparity between the size of these communities and the extent to which their voices are effectively heard in the political sphere. According to the findings of the EMILIE research project on minorities and political life in the project's three target countries, ethnic minority voting levels and political representation are very low compared to the percentage of those with migration backgrounds in society as a whole. For example, as will be shown in section 2 of this paper, the percentage of national-level elected representatives with migration backgrounds in France, Germany and the UK compares unfavourably to the ethnic minority proportion of the total population: 0.7 per cent against 19 per cent (France), 1.9 per cent against 19 per cent (Germany) and 4.2 per cent against 11 per cent (UK).

Increasingly the subject of inquiry, barriers to the political participation of migrants or those with migration backgrounds are numerous. These include a range of institutional factors which directly affect opportunities for political participation among third country nationals. Of these, of particular concern is foreign citizens' ability to vote and participate in elections. This is a controversial issue; while both the Council of Europe<sup>a</sup> and the European Union<sup>b</sup> have underlined the importance of (ordinarily municipal) voting and electoral participation rights for foreign nationals, many EU countries continue to grant the right to vote and run in elections to nationals and other EU citizens only.<sup>c</sup> In the project's target countries, neither France nor Germany grants the right to vote to non-EU citizens: a majority of the French lower house rejected a 2010 proposal on this matter by the Socialist Party, citing *"the link between voting and nationality espoused in the 1789 revolution, and the relative ease of France's naturalisation procedure,"*<sup>10</sup> while in Germany the debate revolves around allowing dual nationality to encourage naturalisation (and thus providing access to voting and participation rights). Draft laws have been proposed by the Green Party and the SPD, but neither met with success. The United Kingdom, by contrast, is one of only two EU Member States that allows non-EU citizens to vote at all administrative levels. While this is restricted to UK-resident citizens of

<sup>a</sup> The Council of Europe has been an active proponent of migrant voting rights, with measures including Convention no. 144 on the Participation of Foreigners in Public Life at Local Level. This treaty, which opened for signature in 1992, entered into force in May 1997 and is currently signed by 13 Member States including Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Sweden and the UK. It commits signatories to a range of measures including undertaking to *"grant every foreign resident the right to vote and to stand for election in local authority elections, provided that he fulfils the same legal requirements as apply to nationals and furthermore has been a lawful and habitual resident in the State concerned for the 5 years preceding the elections."* <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/144.htm>, accessed 26/04/11. Other actions in this area include Recommendation 1500 (2001) on the Participation of immigrants and foreign residents in political life in the Council of Europe member states, and the Code of good practice in the field of political parties adopted by the CoE's advisory body on constitutional law, the Venice Commission, in December 2008.

<sup>b</sup> Common Basic Principle 9 states that *"Wherever possible, immigrants could even be involved in elections, the right to vote and joining political parties."* [http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms\\_data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/82745.pdf](http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/82745.pdf), p. 23, accessed 26/04/11.

<sup>c</sup> Exceptions include the Netherlands and Sweden: [http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/MediaArchive/publications/ENARgy\\_08\\_2010\\_EN\\_LR.pdf](http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/MediaArchive/publications/ENARgy_08_2010_EN_LR.pdf), p. 2, accessed 19/05/11.

Commonwealth countries, Crown Dependencies and British Overseas Territories only, this includes citizens of 53 independent states<sup>11</sup> including India and Pakistan, two of the top three non-UK countries of birth of UK residents.<sup>12</sup>

The responsibility for low levels of political participation among diverse communities clearly cannot be placed solely at the door of legal restrictions related to electoral rights. As identified in Bird, Saalfeld and Wüst's ethnic minority political participation model, citizenship (and thus voting) rights form part of the 'macro-context' for ethnic minority political opportunities, which also includes cultural, social and economic rights – segmentation in the labour force and housing market, education and discrimination. Factors related to the group/community to which an individual belongs are the 'micro-context': the group's size and spatial concentration, communication and leadership, length of settlement and institutions and social networks. Related to this is the role of ethnic associations. Views differ on the extent to which such associations are more of a help or a hindrance to the broader political participation of their members. There is also the question of individual agency: the various strategies used by ethnic minority political actors, which are informed by all of the contextual factors.<sup>d</sup> Of particular importance within the scope of this project, however, is what is known as the 'meso-context': the nature and degree of openness of the political system,<sup>e</sup> and specifically the important role that political parties can and do play in helping and/or hindering participation by, among others, candidate recruitment policies, selection rules, electoral strategies (targeting of specific constituencies) and initiatives to limit the cost of campaigns and/or provide support with these when necessary.<sup>13</sup> Political parties are therefore uniquely placed to play a crucial role in raising the political participation of those with migration backgrounds, as recognised in the EMILIE project's 2009 UK report: *"It has long been argued that the political participation of ethnic minorities in Britain is affected by the policies and initiatives taken by the political parties to promote this very participation."*<sup>14</sup>

Parties' appreciation of the need to better engage with an increasingly diverse electorate is growing, and many are already active in this area. However, what is crucial is that these actions are the result of coherent strategies aimed at ensuring that the voices of migrants and those with migrant backgrounds are heard, acknowledged and effectively mainstreamed at *all levels* of possible interaction. This includes ensuring the representativity of the party's leadership and decision-making bodies, an aspect of the political participation debate which, as noted by Fatima Zibouh of the University of Liège, is under-represented in the literature on the subject.<sup>15</sup> Of equal importance within the context of this project but often unrecognised is the role that parties can and should play in the promotion of diversity in the workplace and the marketplace: as employers and the consumers of goods and services, issues which feature strongly in diversity debates, including at a European level.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Bird, K., Saalfeld, T. and Wüst, A.M. (eds) *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, parties and parliaments in liberal democracies*, London and New York: Routledge, 2011, p. 15: *"One of the most interesting characteristics of successful visible minority candidates is the way in which they manage the multiple and sometimes contradictory demands of their political party, their own ethnic community and majority voters."*

<sup>e</sup> *"Countries with a more open and participatory democratic culture may be more likely to draw upon the leadership resources of ethnic communities"*: Bird, Saalfeld and Wüst, 2011, p. 15. Other factors include strong party competition, a high degree of legislative turnover, public funding for political campaigns and electoral rules.

<sup>f</sup> At a European level, the need for a strong commitment by the host society, in this case relating to the 'opening up' of institutions and organisations, features strongly in the Common Basic Principles and is also a focus of the integration modules. Taking these themes beyond a strict focus on legally resident third-country nationals to those with migrant backgrounds, and in addition to European anti-discrimination law, the EU has also been active in the field of diversity in employment and procurement, including launching and maintaining a platform for EU-level exchange between diversity charters in Europe, developing and implementing a European diversity award at the workplace and developing a diversity benchmarking system with and for businesses.

The benefits for political parties of such a ‘diversity mainstreaming’ approach are manifold. Parties develop a better ability to respond to the needs/wants of the electorate; increase their membership base; gain increased credibility through connections with local communities<sup>16</sup> and by applying within their own structures the diversity-related policies for which they advocate; and secure a more talented, productive, creative workforce (through recruitment from a larger candidate pool, employees with diverse skills sets and increased job satisfaction).<sup>17</sup> The increased involvement of political parties with migrants also has knock-on benefits for the greater integration agenda – as recognised in the EU’s *Handbook on Integration*, “*the more connected political organisations and bodies are with immigrants, the more active they will be in pushing for mainstreaming*”<sup>18</sup> – and in general for the creation of more inclusive, open societies.

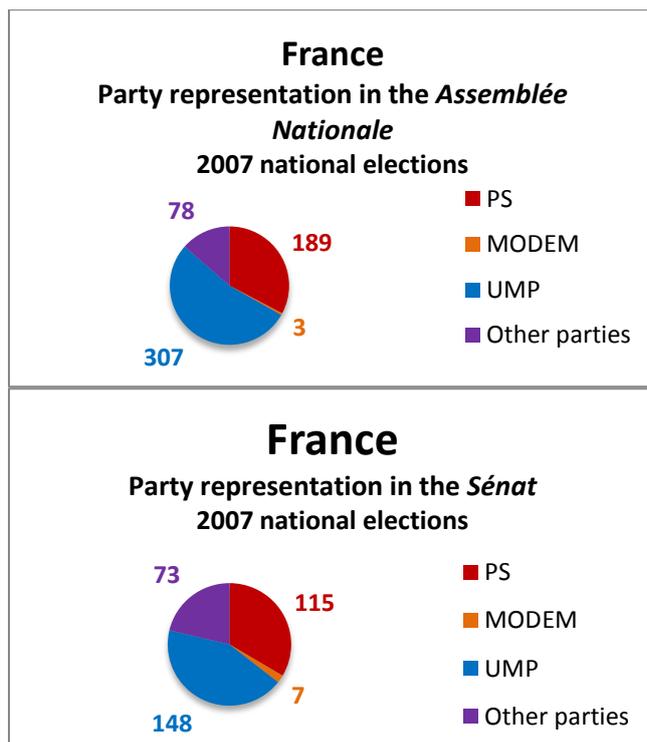
In undertaking what appears to be the first detailed mapping of good practice related to diversity among the main British, French, German political parties at all operational levels, and by contributing to the formulation of a ‘toolkit’ for mainstreaming diversity in political parties, the present paper hopes to make a useful contribution to addressing this issue – both by giving the parties that are already active in this field the recognition they deserve for their initiatives, and by providing inspiration for the introduction of new, comprehensive strategies and diversity actions.

## 1. Scope Of The Study: Political Parties

The ten political parties chosen for the purpose of this study represent the main ruling party/ies or groups in France, Germany and the United Kingdom, in addition to a number of opposition parties, in order to give a broad cross-section of the political spectrum in these countries. Details of the number of national-level seats (lower and upper houses) held by each of these parties are given below, in addition to the number of European parliamentarians and the (approximate) number of members.

### 1.1. France

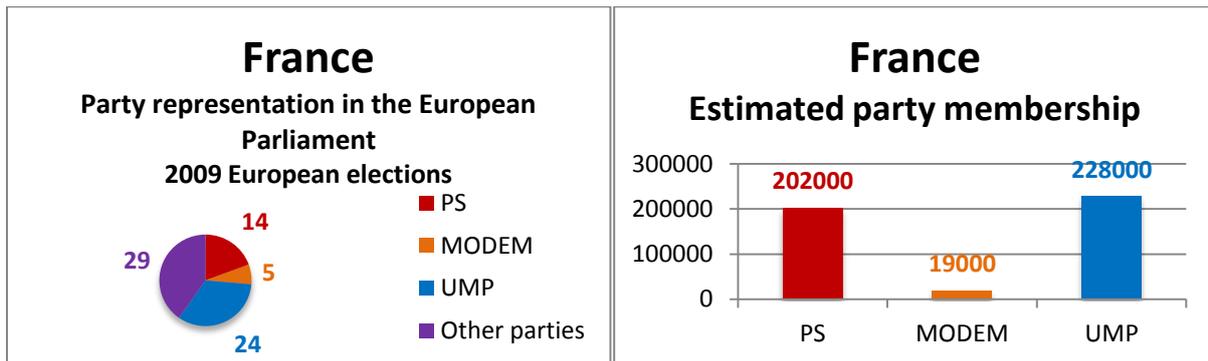
The centre-right *Union pour un mouvement populaire* (UMP), led by Jean-François Copé, enjoys an absolute majority in the lower house (*Assemblée nationale*), with 307 members<sup>g</sup> out of a total of 577.<sup>19</sup> The centre-left *Parti socialiste* (PS), led by Martine Aubry, holds 189 seats,<sup>20</sup> while François Bayrou’s centrist *Mouvement Démocrate* (MoDem) holds three seats.<sup>21</sup> In the upper house (*Sénat*),<sup>h</sup> with 343 seats in total,<sup>22</sup> 148 *sénateurs* belong to the UMP,<sup>23</sup> 115 belong to the PS<sup>24</sup> and seven belong to MoDem.<sup>25</sup> France is represented in the European Parliament by 72 MEPs, including 24 UMP representatives, 14 PS representatives and five MoDem representatives.<sup>26</sup> The UMP has around 228,000 members,<sup>27</sup> the PS 202,000<sup>28</sup> and MoDem 19,000.<sup>29</sup>



Source: *Assemblée Nationale*; *Sénat*

<sup>g</sup> [http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/qui/xml/organe.asp?id\\_organe=/13/tribun/xml/xml/organes/389395.xml](http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/qui/xml/organe.asp?id_organe=/13/tribun/xml/xml/organes/389395.xml), accessed 19/04/11. The total does not include 8 *membres apparentés*.

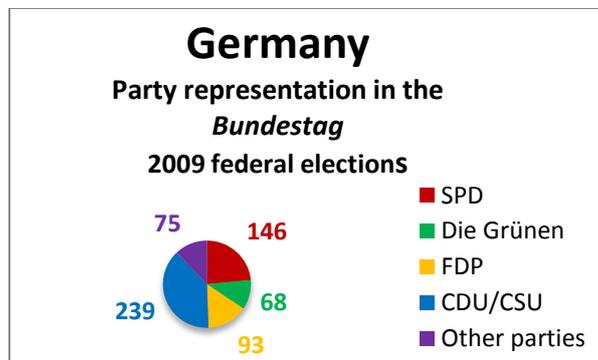
<sup>h</sup> *Sénateurs* are elected indirectly on party political lines by a group of around 150,000 officials, including local and regional councillors, mayors and members of the *Assemblée nationale*.



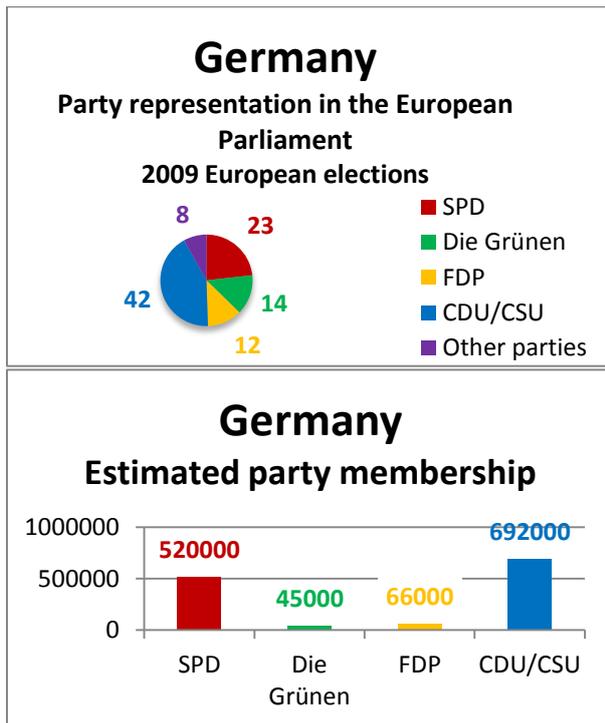
Source: European Parliament; Le Figaro, Agence France-Presse

## 1.2. Germany

Chancellor Angela Merkel's centre-right *Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands* (CDU) and its Bavarian sister party the *Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern* (CSU), led by Horst Seehofer, hold 239 seats<sup>30</sup> in the lower house (*Bundestag*) out of a total of 621.<sup>31</sup> The CDU/CSU group is in government with the centre-right *Freie Demokratische Partei* (FDP) as junior coalition partner. The centre-left *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (SPD) holds 146 seats,<sup>32</sup> while the centre-left Green Party *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen* (the Green Party) holds 68 seats.<sup>33</sup> In the upper house (*Bundesrat*),<sup>i</sup> there are 69 members in total,<sup>34</sup> including 28 CDU/CSU, 24 SPD and 2 from the Greens.<sup>35</sup> Germany has 99 MEPs in total,<sup>36</sup> including 42 from the CDU/CSU, 23 from the SPD and 14 from the Greens.<sup>37</sup> The CDU has around 529,000 members,<sup>38</sup> the CSU 163,000,<sup>39</sup> the SPD 520,000<sup>40</sup> and the Greens 45,000.<sup>41</sup>



<sup>i</sup> The situation in the upper house (*Bundesrat*) is somewhat different to those of France and the UK, as this body represents the sixteen states (*Länder*), with state governments allocated a certain number of votes which delegates are required to cast as a single bloc. The *Länder* can be governed by single parties or by coalitions.



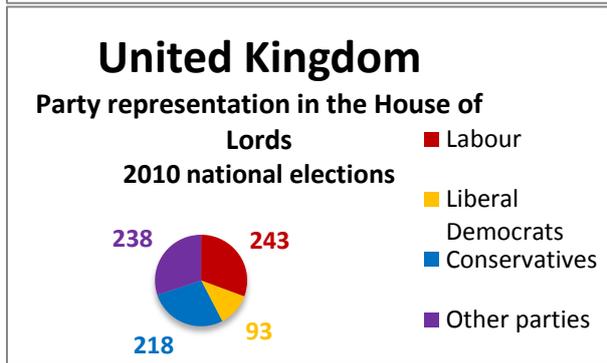
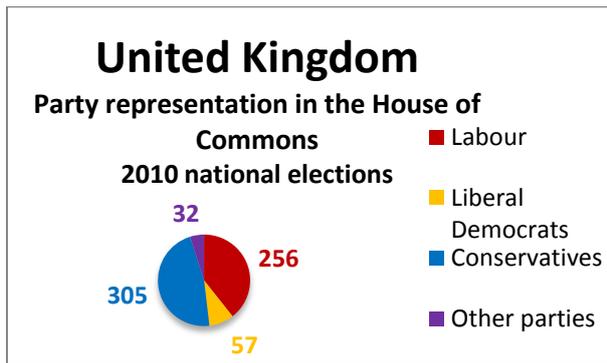
Sources: European Parliament ; Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung

### 1.3. United Kingdom

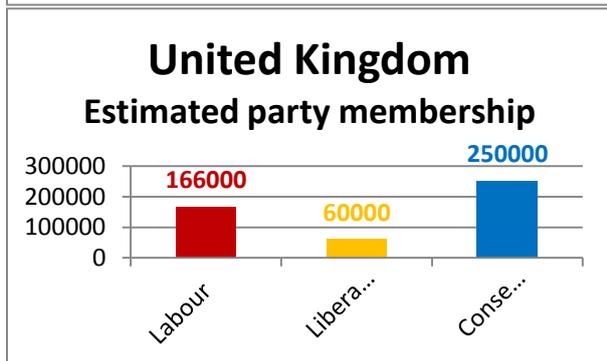
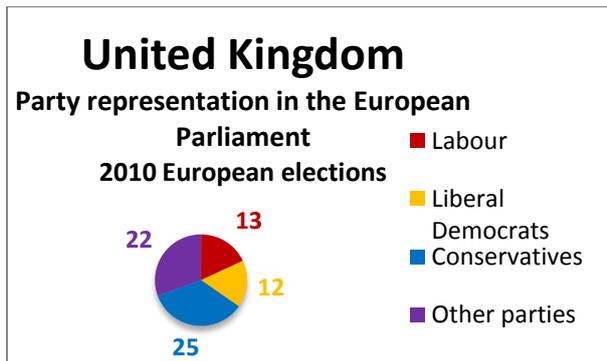
The centre-right Conservative Party, led by Prime Minister David Cameron, holds 305 seats in the lower house (House of Commons) of a total of 650, and rules in coalition with the centre-left Liberal Democrats as junior partner (57 seats), led by Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg. The centre-left Labour Party, of which Ed Miliband is the leader, is the major opposition party, with 256 MPs.<sup>42</sup> In the upper house (House of Lords), which is formed of 792 appointed life or hereditary peers,<sup>j</sup> there are 218 Conservatives, 243 Labour and 93 Liberal Democrats.<sup>43</sup> The United Kingdom has 72 MEPs,<sup>44</sup> including 25 Conservatives<sup>45</sup>, 12 Liberal Democrats<sup>46</sup> and 13 Labour<sup>47</sup> representatives.

According to figures for 2008, the Conservative, Labour and Liberal Democrat parties had memberships of approximately 250,000, 166,000 and 60,000 respectively.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>j</sup> Membership of the House of Lords is achieved by inheritance, appointment (including by political parties) or by virtue of an ecclesiastical role. The total mentioned includes life peers, excepted hereditary peers\* and bishops, but does not include 21 Members who are on leave of absence, two who are suspended, 15 disqualified as senior members of the judiciary and one disqualified as an MEP. \*According to the House of Lords Act 1999, only ninety-two hereditary peers are entitled to sit in the House of Lords.



Source: UK Parliament



Sources: European Parliament, Conservatives, Liberal Democrats, Labour Party; UK Parliament

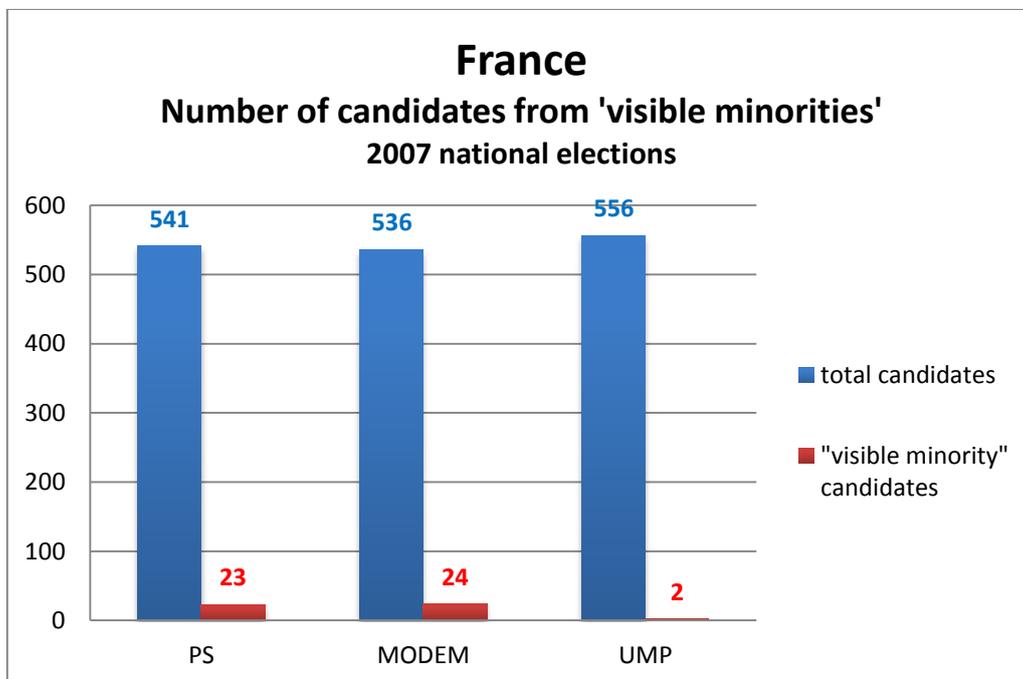
## 2. Ethnic Diversity Within Parties

### 2.1. Membership Diversity

According to the EMILIE project report for Germany, there is no statistical data on the percentage of members with migration backgrounds in German political parties, and the author cites political party spokespeople who confirm that, at the time of writing, there were no plans to collect this type of data. However, they generally estimated the percentage to be rather low, with the Green Party estimating a somewhat higher proportion.<sup>49</sup> It has not been possible to find further information on diversity among political party members in France and the UK: the Liberal Democrats, for instance, have stated that they themselves do not have any reliable data on their BAME membership, nor on the number of disabled members.<sup>50</sup>

### 2.2. Diversity Of Candidates (National Elections)

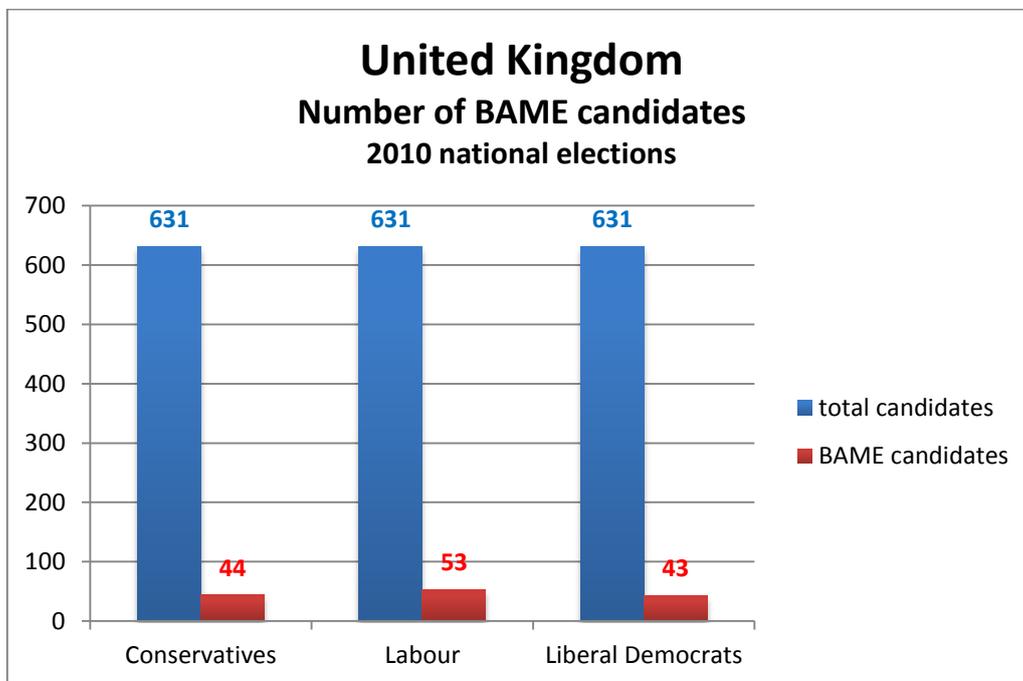
A study by the *Conseil représentatif des associations noires* (CRAN) on the 2007 national elections in France shows that, of 3,777 UMP, PS, Green, UDF/MoDem and PRG candidates for seats in metropolitan France, there were 19 with a migration background (0.5 per cent). A CRAN spokesperson explained that it had been difficult to collect the data for the study, as many parties were unwilling to provide this and a number had refused to co-operate. In the absence of 'ethnic statistics', CRAN based their figures on candidates' appearance, using the rationale that 'visible minorities' could be discriminated against on this basis. In terms of the figures by party, CRAN identified two 'visible minority' UMP candidates (0.36 per cent), 23 PS candidates (4.52 per cent) and 24 UDF candidates (4.48 per cent).<sup>51</sup>



Source: Conseil représentatif des associations noire

According to IMMCANDS<sup>k</sup> data, 4 per cent of the candidates running for the 2005 elections in Germany were of immigrant descent. This number includes ‘ethnic Germans’ born outside of Germany, who made up 54 per cent of the total number of candidates with a migration background. Ethnic minority candidate nominations as a percentage of the party’s total nominations in 2005 were as follows: 0.75 per cent of CDU/CSU candidates, one per cent of SPD candidates and three per cent of Green candidates.<sup>52</sup>

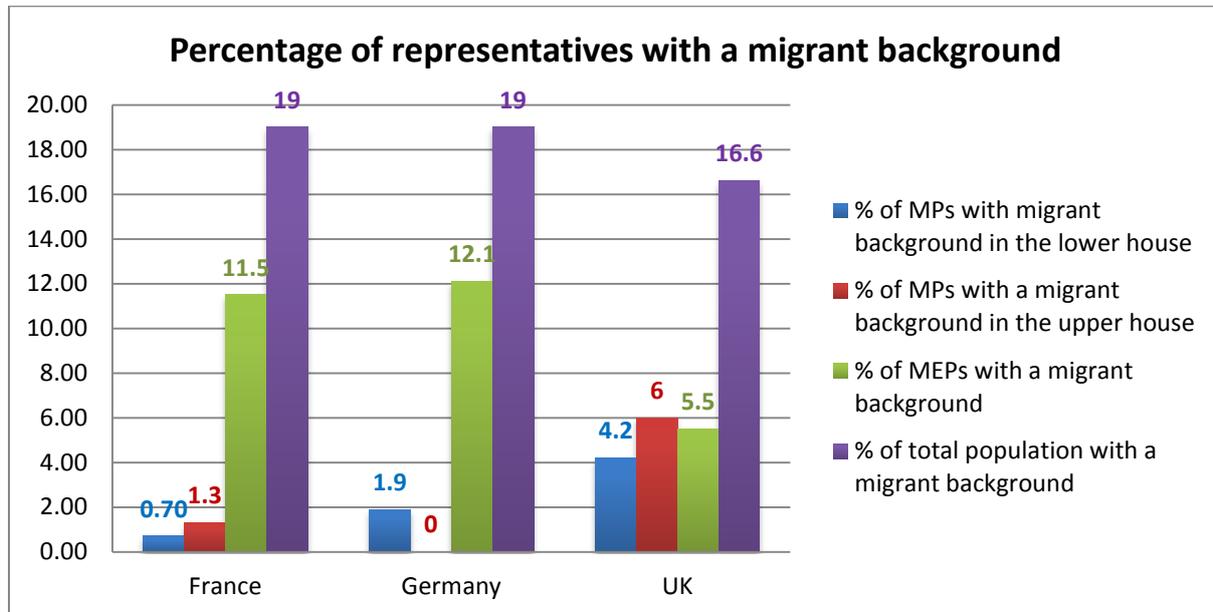
While the three UK parties featured in this study all collect data on the ethnic diversity of their candidates, the information is not publicly available for every party (see section 4 for further details on monitoring). Information released by the Labour Party regarding the 2010 election states that, of the 631 candidates fielded, there were 53 BAME candidates<sup>53</sup> (8.4 per cent). Unofficial candidate data for the Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties is available in the form of figures published by the *Guardian* newspaper in the run up to the 2010 General Election. Of 631 candidates put forward by each party,<sup>54</sup> the Conservative Party fielded 44 candidates with migration backgrounds (6.9 per cent), and the Liberal Democrats 43 (6.8 per cent).<sup>55</sup>



Sources: Labour Party, Wilts and Gloucestershire Standard, The Guardian

<sup>k</sup> A dataset containing information on all 10,986 candidates nominated by political parties with parliamentary representation in the five national elections since German reunification (raw data provided by the Federal Elections Office (*Bundeswahlleiter*)), accessed by Sara Claro da Fonseca for the chapter ‘Candidate selection in German elections’ in Bird, Saalfeld & Wüst.

## 2.3. Diversity of representatives



**Multiple sources (see text)**  
**NB: definitions of 'migration background' differ**

### 2.3.1. Diversity Of National Representatives: Lower House

According to information featured in the ENAR briefing 'Political participation and representation of ethnic minorities', there are four 'visible minority' *députés* representing constituencies in metropolitan France in the French lower house (0.7 per cent of the total of 555).<sup>56</sup> three belong to the Parti socialiste, and one to the UMP.<sup>57</sup> According to Eurostat figures for 2009, the foreign-born (non-EU) population of France is 4,992,000, 7.8 per cent of the total population.<sup>58</sup> When second-generation immigrants are taken into account, this figure rises significantly. According to data published by INSEE (National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies, there are around 11.5 million immigrants or children of immigrants living in France – approximately 19 per cent of the French population.<sup>59</sup>

Andreas Wüst notes that the number of parliamentarians with migratory backgrounds in Germany has continuously risen over the past 18 years. He cites figures which state that, as of February 2008, there were a total of 12 MPs with a migratory background<sup>1</sup> in the *Bundestag*, including two from the CDU/CSU (0.9 per cent), three from the SPD (1.4 per cent) and four from the Greens (7.8 per cent) – 1.9 per cent of the total of 621 seats. As this figure also includes EU nationals and their descendants, as well as ethnic German immigrants, this number should be somewhat reduced. Wüst states that 43 of the 65 MPs of migratory background in the *Bundestag*, state parliaments and European Parliament combined in 2008 belonged to 'visible minorities' (66 per cent).<sup>60</sup> This gives 1.25 per cent when

<sup>1</sup> 'Migratory background', in this case, is used to signify birth outside Germany and exclusive acquisition of a citizenship other than German at birth for first generations, and then for subsequent generations. 82 per cent of the parliamentary groups provided the requested data; not all third generation were identified, however.

applied to the above. According to Eurostat figures for 2009, the foreign-born (non-EU) population of Germany is 6,127,000, 7.5 per cent of the total population.<sup>61</sup> According to the latest 'micro-census' figures released by the Federal Statistical Office, however, there are around 15.3 million people with a migration background in Germany (around 19 per cent of the total population).<sup>62</sup>

In the United Kingdom, the number of MPs with migration backgrounds doubled after the 2010 General Election<sup>63</sup> to be at its highest number ever at 27 out of 650 seats: 11 Conservative MPs (nine more than in 2005) and 16 Labour MPs (three more than in 2005), according to official House of Commons statistics. Seventeen were elected to Parliament for the first time.<sup>64</sup> None of the 58 Liberal Democrat MPs have a migration background. Nevertheless, ethnic minorities still remain under-represented at this level. While 4.2 per cent of MPs have migration backgrounds, according to figures from December 2008 from the Office for National Statistics, the foreign-born (non-EU) population of the UK (4,968,000) is 8.2 per cent of the total population.<sup>65</sup> Based on projections from the 2001 Census, however, the number of people with migration backgrounds in the UK can be understood to be somewhat higher: around 11-12 per cent.<sup>66</sup> According to figures for England and Wales only (dating from 2009), 9.1 million people are non-white of 54.8 million in total (16.6 per cent of the population).<sup>67</sup>

### 2.3.2. Diversity Of National Representatives: Upper House

According to figures cited in Keslassy's 2009 study, there are four 'visible minority' representatives in France's upper house (1.3 per cent of the total of 305 metropolitan seats), two of whom belong to the parties featured in this study (the Parti socialiste).<sup>68</sup> While the author has been unable to locate any data on the diversity of the members of Germany's upper house, a brief survey of the 69 members by name and appearance suggests that none of the *Bundesrat* members have a migration background; one of the substitute members (*stellvertretende Mitglieder*) (CDU) has a Turkish background.<sup>69</sup> While there is also no definitive list of the ethnic origins of the 792 peers appointed to the UK's upper house<sup>70</sup>, data from Operation Black Vote, in addition to the list of new appointments announced in November 2010,<sup>71</sup> lists 49 peers with a migration background, including eight Conservative peers, nineteen Labour peers and six Liberal Democrat peers (6 per cent).<sup>72</sup>

### 2.3.3. Diversity Of European Representatives

According to data collected by CRAN,<sup>73</sup> eight French MEPs with migration backgrounds were among the 69 elected on 7 June 2009 (the number has since increased to 72): 11.5 per cent of the total. These included three belonging to both the UMP (11 per cent of the party's MEPs) and the PS (23 per cent). Of five MoDem MEPs, none have a migration background. According to Wüst's figures for the European Parliament, as of February 2008 there were 12 German MEPs with a migratory background (12.1 per cent of the total number), including two from the CDU/CSU (4.1 per cent), two from the SPD (8.7 per cent) and three from the Green Party (23.1 per cent).<sup>74</sup> Figures put together by Operation Black Vote for the UK show that there are four British MEPs with migration backgrounds (5.5 per cent of the total number); two Labour Party members and two Conservative Party members.<sup>75</sup>

## 2.4. Diversity Within Party Decision-Making Structures And Ministerial Posts<sup>m</sup>

### 2.4.1. National Decision-Making Structures

In France, the UMP's management team (*équipe dirigeante*) has 21 members, one of whom has a migration background (4.8 per cent).<sup>76</sup> Of the Party's 193 national secretaries (*secrétaires nationaux*), five have a migration background (2.6 per cent). The PS has three key positions: the First Secretary (*première secrétaire*), the National Secretary for Co-ordination (*secrétaire national à la coordination*) and the spokesperson (*porte-parole*). Of these, one is occupied by an individual with a migration background (33 per cent). Of the Party's 76 *secrétaires nationaux* which, according to the website "make up a rejuvenated team, in the colours of France," eight have a migration background (10.5 per cent). The MoDem Executive (*bureau exécutif*) is made up of 26 people, one of whom has a migration background (3.9 per cent).

In Germany, there are no representatives with a migration background in the CDU's 23-member Presidium (*Präsidium*),<sup>77</sup> the CSU's 51-member Executive (*Parteivorstand*)<sup>78</sup> or the SPD's 45-member *Parteivorstand*.<sup>n</sup> The CDU's Federal Executive (*Bundesvorstand*) has 64 members, one of whom has a migration background (1.6 per cent),<sup>79</sup> while of the 90 members of the SPD's Party Council (*Parteirat*), one has a migration background (1.1 per cent).<sup>80</sup> The Green Party's six-member *Bundesvorstand* includes one member with a migration background (16.7 per cent),<sup>81</sup> one of whom is co-chair of the Party, while 12.5 per cent of the 16 members of its *Parteirat* have a migration background.<sup>82</sup>

In the UK, the 19-member Conservative Party Board includes two members with a migration background (10.5 per cent), one of whom is co-chair of the Party.<sup>83</sup> The Labour Party's 31-member National Executive Committee includes one member with a migration background (3.2 per cent).<sup>84</sup> It is also worthy of note that, of the five candidates in 2010's Labour leadership contest, one was a woman with a migration background.<sup>85</sup> The Liberal Democrats' 33-member Federal Executive has two members with a migration background (6.1 per cent).<sup>86</sup>

### 2.4.2. Ministerial Posts And Shadow Cabinets<sup>o</sup>

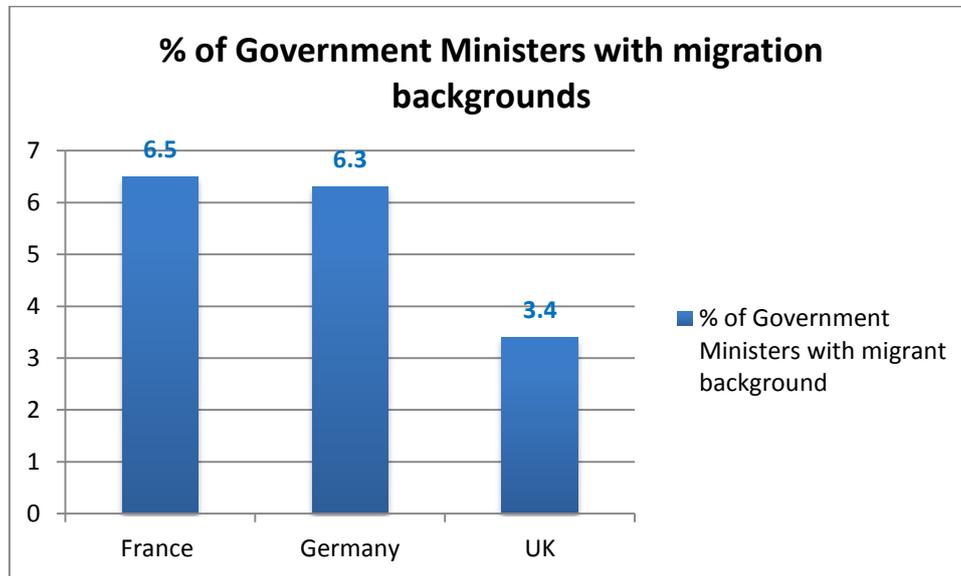
With regard to diversity within ministerial posts in France, two of 31 posts (all occupied by UMP representatives) are occupied by individuals with a migration background (6.5 per cent).<sup>87</sup> The cabinet of the German Federal Government (*Bundesregierung*) is made up of 16 people (50 per cent CDU, 31 per cent FDP and 19 per cent CSU), one of whom has a migration background (6.3 per cent).<sup>88</sup> In the UK, of the 29 Cabinet meeting attendees (83 per cent Conservative, 17 per cent Liberal

<sup>m</sup> Information collected from a brief survey of party decision-making structures by name and appearance in absence of other data.

<sup>n</sup> <http://www.spd.de/Partei/Organisation/>, accessed 25/04/11. This will soon change with the addition of co-opted member Kenan Kolat, chair of the SPD Working Group on Migration and Integration, who will be appointed to both the *Präsidium* and the Party Executive (*Vorstand*) at the next opportunity as part of the SPD's drive to increase the representativity of its decision-making bodies announced in May 2011.

<sup>o</sup> Also of interest in the area of thematic responsibility, although beyond the scope of the present study, is the extent to which politicians with diverse backgrounds are 'matched' with integration-related positions. For instance, of the three parties' integration spokespeople in the German *Bundestag*, two have migration backgrounds (SPD and the Greens) and, according to Wüst (p. 262), among politicians with a migration background "there is a tendency to focus on migration and migration-related issues." While this may closely relate to these politicians' specific thematic interests, there is also evidence of the pigeon-holing of politicians with migration backgrounds (<http://www.quilliamfoundation.org/images/stories/pdfs/skin-deep-democracy.pdf>, p. 35).

Democrat), one (a Conservative Party representative) has a migration background (3.4 per cent).<sup>89</sup> Of the two parties that list shadow cabinets on their websites, MoDem’s features one representative with a migration background out of 20 positions (5 per cent), while two of the Labour Party’s 27-member shadow cabinet have a migration background (7 per cent).<sup>90</sup>



## 2.5.Diversity Of Senior Management And General Staff Members

It has not been possible to access data on the diversity of political party employees.

### 3. Party Stance On Diversity

The introductory section of this paper shows that diversity and representativity issues are very much at the forefront of current debates on political systems and integration. This section will use, where possible, political parties' constitutions, manifestos, web materials and news releases (focusing particularly on statements by senior party figures) to provide an overview of the extent to which the issue of 'diversity', and in particular diversity within parties themselves, has made its way into party discourse. Details of parties' specific diversity policies and initiatives will be discussed in section 4.

#### 3.1. France

##### 3.1.1. UMP

Diversity became a particular priority for the UMP and Nicolas Sarkozy in 2007. At the express wish of the President, politicians with a migration background were awarded senior positions, including Rama Yade, Rachida Dati and Fadela Amara, who were given ministerial posts; this was recognised as an important turning point by many, including representatives of other political parties.<sup>91</sup> In addition to the statement by Nicolas Sarkozy supporting the 'opening up' of the country's elite to people with diverse backgrounds which accompanied the proposal of a broad range of diversity-related measures in December 2008,<sup>p</sup> high-level Party representatives speaking in favour of diversity in politics included former Minister of Immigration and Integration and also deputy secretary general (*secrétaire général adjoint*) of the UMP Eric Besson. At the launch of the *Réseau des élus de la diversité* (RED – Network of Diverse Elected Representatives) in October 2009 (of which he was named honorary president), Besson stated that “*France’s elected representatives must resemble French citizens in all their diversity.*”<sup>q</sup> Furthermore, among the first signatories of the 2008 *Manifeste pour l’égalité réelle* (Manifesto for Real Equality) (see section 5) were UMP politicians Jean-François Copé (then president of the UMP group in the *Assemblée nationale*) and Patrick Devedjian (then General Secretary of the UMP).<sup>92</sup> Some have claimed, however, that the will to push forward the diversity agenda within the Party subsequently diminished, particularly in the light of the 2009 statement by UMP *député* Patrick Ollier that candidates with diverse backgrounds were not elected because they were not sufficiently able.<sup>93</sup> There was also some controversy in 2010 surrounding the Party’s use of a photograph of black youths to illustrate an item on juvenile delinquency on its website.<sup>94</sup>

According to the Party’s statutes, the UMP aims to promote social justice, social dialogue and equality of opportunity. While the statutes include a specific clause related to the principle of equality between men and women inside the Party and in relation to access to elected positions,<sup>95</sup> and the Party rules (*règlement intérieur*) set out specific procedural regulations related to gender equality,<sup>96</sup> there is no similar reference for people from diverse backgrounds. The UMP’s website

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<sup>p</sup> These included introducing rules to withhold political parties’ public subventions in the event that they failed to ‘open up’ to individuals with a migration background and preparatory classes for civil service exams for young people with diverse backgrounds. An earlier proposal, to incorporate mention of ‘diversity’ into the preamble of the French constitution, was refused by a committee designated to investigate this matter headed by Simone Veil on the same day: [http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/sarkozy-devoile-ses-nouvelles-mesures-pour-la-diversite\\_726957.html](http://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/politique/sarkozy-devoile-ses-nouvelles-mesures-pour-la-diversite_726957.html), accessed 12/05/11.

<sup>q</sup> [http://www.saphirnews.com/Eric-Besson-plaide-la-diversite-au-sein-de-l-UMP\\_a10590.html](http://www.saphirnews.com/Eric-Besson-plaide-la-diversite-au-sein-de-l-UMP_a10590.html), accessed 12/05/11. In addition to RED, a number of diversity-related organisations have recently been created within and linked to the UMP on the initiative of or with the support of the Party leadership, details of which can be found in section 4.

shows some evidence of an active approach to diversity, with the (now former) Party spokesperson Dominique Paillé listed as attending a number of meetings and debates on the theme of diversity.<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, a January 2010 news item welcomes efforts made within the Party to include at least one candidate with a migration background in the first third of the lists for the regional elections, “*in accordance with the wishes of the President of the Republic and the Secretary General of the UMP.*”<sup>98</sup> According to an AFP interview with Paillé in late December 2009, this forms part of a broader plan to strengthen the presence of individuals with a migration background throughout the Party, both in its decision-making structures and among candidates.<sup>99</sup> It is also interesting that, on the page related to the Party’s achievements in immigration and integration since 2007 (*‘Pour une immigration choisie’*),<sup>100</sup> two video interviews on the Party’s diversity-related achievements feature very prominently: the first with Olivier Stirn, National secretary responsible for diversity (*Secrétaire national en charge de la diversité*), and the second with Coumba Dioukhane, National secretary responsible for research (*Secrétaire national en charge de la recherché*).<sup>101</sup> This focus is not shared by the Party’s publication on the same matter. Other than this series of pages (*‘4 ans d’action’*), there are no specific policy pages or documents on the website.

### 3.1.2. Parti Socialiste

The PS has also made diversity issues a priority since 2007, spearheaded by Party heads François Hollande and Martine Aubry, as well as 2007 presidential candidate Ségolène Royal, and in 2008 a number of PS representatives were among the first to sign the *‘Manifeste pour l’égalité réelle’* (see section 5): Bariza Khiari (*sénatrice PS*), George Pau-Langevin, Christiane Taubira, Jérôme Cahuzac, Christophe Caresche, Arnaud Montebourg and Christian Paul (*députés socialistes or apparentés*).<sup>102</sup> In the context of the Party leadership’s proposals to bring greater diversity to the PS, a number of high-level representatives spoke strongly in favour of increasing the representativity of the Party at the *Conseil national* of 8 June 2010, including Party head Martine Aubry,<sup>r</sup> *Secrétaire national à la coordination* Harlem Désir<sup>s</sup> and *Secrétaire national à la rénovation* Arnaud Montebourg.<sup>t</sup> The text adopted by members of the *Conseil national* on 8 June 2010 emphasises that “*a strong party is a party which resembles the society that it represents*”, and commits the Party to organising within itself “*real equality with regard to access to responsible positions and to elected positions,*” including to activists with migration backgrounds.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, the issue of positive discrimination, ethnic statistics and quotas was discussed at a PS event in August 2010,<sup>104</sup> and in October 2010, the party’s think tank *Le Laboratoire des idées* released a policy paper entitled *‘Égalité – Diversité Vers un nouveau cycle de politiques publiques’* (Equality – Diversity: Towards a new cycle of public policy) which made a number of diversity-related (external) policy recommendations including social clauses in public procurement, the introduction of a ‘diversity agenda’ to mainstream diversity and anti-discrimination policies into local administrations and public bodies, and the granting of the right to vote in local elections to non-EU citizens.<sup>105</sup> 2010 also saw the launch of an anti-discrimination charter for elected representatives of the PS, which commits them to taking action in ten specific areas, including the signature of local-level equality charters with businesses and diversity education in schools.<sup>106</sup> Finally, the PS policy plan for 2012, released in April 2011 and entitled *‘Le Changement’* (The Change), states that “*it will be necessary to respond to the aspirations of French citizens who*

<sup>r</sup> « *C’est ce que nous essayons de faire en mettant un parti exemplaire ouvert, ouvert sur la société, avec nos primaires, profondément renouvelé grâce au non-cumul, à l’image de la société avec la parité intégrale et l’ouverture avec la diversité.* » <http://www.parti-socialiste.fr/static/4120/la-renovation-primaires-renouvellement-parite-diversite-l039hebdo-n-575-est-en-ligne-22776.pdf?issuu=ignore>, p. 5, accessed 13/05/11.

<sup>s</sup> « *Car les primaires, la limitation du cumul des mandats, le renouvellement, la parité, la diversité, le renforcement de notre démocratie interne, doivent être à la base d’un nouveau pacte de confiance avec les Français-es.* » Ibid. p 14.

<sup>t</sup> « *Nous sommes ouverts à l’égard de la population oubliée tant par le système économique que par le système politique : la jeunesse, les femmes, les nouvelles couches populaires issues de la diversité.* » Ibid. p 15.

want a democracy that is more representative, more responsible, more transparent, more participatory” and proposes a number of measures to achieve this.<sup>107</sup> In spite of strong leadership-level support for diversity initiatives, however, a number of commentators cite difficulties in the translation of this support to decisions taken by local-level party branches and activists.<sup>108</sup>

Article 2 of the Declaration of Principles (*déclaration de principes*) of the *Parti socialiste* states that “equality is central to our ideal.” The *déclaration* underlines the importance of political and social democracy that is both representative and participatory, emphasises the party’s strong support for equality between men and women, pledges its support for the fight against discrimination in all of its forms and underlines that, as a party, it respects each of its members. There are, however, no explicit mentions of diversity or of individuals with a migration background. As with the UMP, the statutes of the PS include measures for the equal representation of men and women; furthermore, they speak of the importance of ensuring the representativity of decision-making bodies in relation to geographical and sociological diversity. There are, however, no specific references to individuals with migration backgrounds. The Party website features a general policy page on ‘*Société*’, which covers issues related to integration, migration, diversity, equality and discrimination.<sup>109</sup>

### 3.1.3. MoDem

According to CRAN’s Patrick Lozès, MoDem head François Bayrou has a history of working on equality, diversity and the integration of migrants and those with a migration background, and there has been a particular focus on this issue within the Party since 2007.<sup>110</sup> In relation to diversity issues in general, for example, Bayrou was quoted as emphasising that “*the wealth of a team is its diversity*” in the context of the controversy surrounding quotas in football.<sup>111</sup> Member of the party’s *bureau exécutif* and spokesperson on integration, equal opportunities and the fight against discrimination, Fadila Mehal, has spoken out in favour of diversity in politics, criticising the government for its lack of parity and diversity<sup>112</sup> and strongly supporting greater representativity among elected representatives:

*“In terms of diversity, it is zero full stop. Thankfully the representatives of our overseas territories are there to add some colour to the desperately monochrome benches of our Assemblée nationale. However, these French people who have ‘come from elsewhere’ are the face of France today. Their parents built our towns, defended our borders and our flag, sometimes risking their lives to do so. It is high time to act. Act 1: an annual ‘Yes we can’ prize for the political party that has done the most in terms of parity and diversity, and a booby prize for the dunce of the political world!”<sup>113</sup>*

The author has been unable to locate statements from party representatives regarding the place of people with a migration background in the party itself, however, and a 2009 report states that MoDem had not taken action on the matter at the time of writing.<sup>114</sup>

The MoDem Charter of Values (*Charte des valeurs*) underlines the party’s commitment to the fight against discrimination and its responsibility to represent those who are unable to speak for themselves, including the most marginalised, while the Ethical Charter (*Charte éthique*) states that the party, in its internal functioning, “*keeps to the democratic principles that it promotes to the outside world, notably information, participation, freedom of speech, transparency in decision-making.*” While the Party statutes make no mention of equality measures, the *règlement intérieur* states that *conseil départemental* candidate lists should feature men and women alternately. No mention is made, however, of the representation of individuals with a migration background. According to the MoDem ‘*Projet humaniste*’, adopted in December 2009, the Party wants to “*encourage the renewal of personnel policy, require parity in decision-making positions and allow a*

*better representation of the diversity of French society.*"<sup>115</sup> The Party website features a general policy page on integration, equal opportunities and the fight against discrimination, but this lists related news items only.<sup>116</sup>

## 3.2. Germany

### 3.2.1. CDU/CSU

#### a) CDU

Elected representatives belonging to the CDU regularly speak of the need for the 'opening up' (*interkulturelle Öffnung*) of sectors including public services in general,<sup>117</sup> local government,<sup>118</sup> the police,<sup>119</sup> teaching<sup>120</sup>, companies (particularly top positions)<sup>121</sup> and the media.<sup>122</sup> With regard to specific references to diversity within the Party itself, speaking at the Party's first annual Conference for Elected Officials with a Migration Background (*Konferenz für CDU-Mandatsträger mit Migrationshintergrund*) in November 2009, then General Secretary Ronald Pofalla spoke of the CDU's desire to take into account the experiences of migrants in order to build successful integration policies. He also said that the Party is made up of a much broader range of people than is obvious from the outside, and that the biographies of elected representatives with foreign roots should be presented as an encouragement and incentive to others. Federal Minister Maria Böhmer suggested that Party members with a migration background found a 'Migrant Network' within the Party as a means of making their voices heard.<sup>123</sup> Speaking at the second Conference in 2010, General Secretary Hermann Gröhe stated that all members were the face of the CDU, and that the Party wanted to show this face in all of its diversity more often. He said that those present were role models, pioneers and opinion formers, as well as being examples of integration success stories. Speaking at the same event, Integration Minister of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Armin Laschet, demanded that the German parliaments become more representative: *"If 25 per cent of people are not able to recognise themselves in it, this is no longer a representative democracy."* With regard to the need for increased diversity within the Party itself, Minister-President of the state of Niedersachsen, David McAllister, has also spoken in favour of this, speaking specifically of the need for the CDU to be more open towards people with migration backgrounds,<sup>124</sup> while Hermann Gröhe has admitted that the Party had 'some catching up to do' in relation to the parliamentary representation of migrants.<sup>125</sup>

The 'mission' of the CDU as featured in the Party's statutes makes general mention of the importance of Christian responsibility, Christian moral law, democracy and personal freedom, but does not specifically address issues relating to equality and representativity. The statutes of the CDU contain a section on equality between men and women, but nowhere make reference to individuals with a migration background. The CDU's foundational policy programme (*Grundsatzprogramm*) mentions people with a migration background in the context of its policy on integration, for which the slogan *"Fordern und Fördern"* (insist upon and support [integration]) is used. People with a migration background are also mentioned in the Party's position on the media, which it states has a special responsibility for their integration and representation.<sup>126</sup> The CDU website features policy pages relating to a number of groups (women, same-sex couples, young people, people with disabilities and older people), but not ethnic minorities. Instead, this group is included under the policy page on integration and immigration.<sup>127</sup>

#### b) CSU

The author has not been able to locate any statements by CSU representatives relating to diversity within the Party or more broadly. The CSU's 'mission' makes reference to democratic freedoms, social responsibility and the Christian view of the world and humanity, with specific mention of the equal participation of men and women. The statutes of the CSU contain a section on equality between men and women, but nowhere make reference to individuals with a migration background. The *Grundsatzprogramm* of the CSU, entitled 'Opportunities for all!' (*Chancen für alle!*), mentions people with a migrant background in the context of integration, acknowledging that many migrants have successfully integrated and have made important contributions to the economy and in field such as science, culture and sport, but emphasises above all the responsibility/obligation of the individual migrant to integrate.<sup>128</sup> While the CSU website features details of the Party's high-profile campaign to improve the percentage of women in the Party, it gives no information on equality in other areas.<sup>129</sup> Furthermore, the section on the Party's policies give no direct links to the CSU's policies related to specific groups as found on other party sites. The CSU's page on integration and immigration can be found under 'Internal affairs.'<sup>130</sup>

### 3.2.2. SPD

SPD representatives have made a number of high-profile statements on the importance of increasing the diversity and representativity of organisations – both in general (local government,<sup>131</sup> public services<sup>132</sup> and hospitals,<sup>133</sup> for instance) and also within the Party, with a resolution on integration approved by the *Bundesparteitag* in September 2010 calling for the 'opening up' of the Party.<sup>134</sup> The most far-reaching commitment, however, was that made on 9 May 2011 with the decision of the Party executive on 'For equality and a culture of recognition' (*Für Gleichberechtigung und eine Kultur der Anerkennung*), in which the Party leadership underlined the importance of equal opportunities and cultural diversity as key SPD values and emphasised the need to make stronger efforts as a party to make diversity and a 'welcome culture' a reality, and to make the SPD more diverse. The decision sets out a number of initiatives to increase diversity within the Party as part of a sustainable and Party-wide process of 'intercultural opening' to offer people with migration backgrounds more opportunities to access and advance within the Party, using new tools, innovative organisational solutions and adopting a mainstreaming approach to analyse all policies in terms of the extent to which they contribute to the participation and better recognition of people with migration backgrounds. Specific recommendations are included in section 4.<sup>135</sup> This statement came in the wake of the SPD's 21 April 2011 decision not to bar member Thilo Sarrazin, author of a controversial book on immigration, which was strongly criticised by many Party members. An additional diversity-related initiative undertaken by the Party was the awarding of the 2010 SPD 'Innovation Award' to four migrant-owned/run businesses and initiatives which work towards integration with "social engagement and entrepreneurial courage."<sup>136</sup>

The preamble to the SPD's constitution makes reference to peace, freedom, justice, solidarity and the equality of men and women. The constitution itself contains various clauses on equality between men and women (as does the *Grundsatzprogramm*), but nowhere makes reference to individuals with a migration background. The Party's *Grundsatzprogramm* primarily speaks of people with a migration background in its section on integration and immigration, which establishes that immigration has economically and socially enriched Germany, and that successful integration is a mutual effort. It underlines the importance of the full political participation of migrants, and proposes both dual nationality and local voting rights for non-nationals in order to support this.<sup>137</sup> The SPD website features a specific policy page on integration, but this features the latest related news items as opposed to general policy statements.<sup>138</sup> These can instead be found on the web pages of the *Zukunftswerkstatt Integration (ZI)*, part of the *Zukunftswerkstatt Faires Deutschland*,<sup>139</sup> a series of thematic working groups set up by the Party to bring together experts to discuss important

policy issues. One of the key themes of the ZI's work and of the Party's integration working group (*Bundesarbeitskreis Integration und Migration*) is the political participation of those with migration backgrounds in the SPD. The ZI's policy page on integration emphasises that *"our Party...is not colourful, not diverse enough. Social reality is not mirrored in our Party, and particularly not at the executive level. Proposals will be developed and put in place that will also make integration a reality in the work of the SPD."* However, no further details of the initiatives undertaken are available on the site.

### 3.2.3. Green Party

While Green Party representatives are active in demanding increased diversity and representativity in local administrations,<sup>140</sup> the police<sup>141</sup> and public services,<sup>142</sup> as well as in politics in general,<sup>143</sup> the author has not been able to locate any statements made by Party representatives on the 'opening up' of the Party itself. Similar to the other parties, the Greens' constitution has a strong focus on the place of women within the Party and includes a *Frauenstatut*.<sup>144</sup> While the constitution makes no mention of the 'intercultural opening' of the Party to people with a migration background, it does include strong statements on social justice, the renunciation of discrimination, the protection of minorities, civil and political rights for all including immigrants and refugees, and the importance of the full participation of foreign citizens in political life.<sup>145</sup> Migrants are mentioned in a number of different sections of the Party's *Grundsatzprogramm*, which again underlines the importance of their equal political, social and cultural participation – saying that this is one of the unfulfilled promises of German democracy and that changing this is a core concern of Green policies – and speaks of the country's need for the skills, commitment and experience of migrants if it wishes to develop further, both economically and socially.<sup>146</sup> The granting of local voting rights to foreign citizens, easier naturalisation and access to dual nationality are three of the key Green policies in this area, as emphasised by the Green Party website's 'integration' policy page.<sup>147</sup> The website also features a diversity policy page, which sets out the Party's commitment to diversity, openness and tolerance and the fight against discrimination.<sup>148</sup>

## 3.3. United Kingdom

### 3.3.1. Conservative Party

The Conservative Party's submission to the Speaker's Conference on Parliamentary Representation underlines the Party's commitment to increasing diversity among its elected representatives, stating that: *"David Cameron has said that the Conservative Party must look more like the country it wishes to govern by increasing the numbers of MPs who are women, or from ethnic minorities, or with disabilities. The Party has made this its objective and has tackled the task with enthusiasm and commitment."*<sup>149</sup> The response also underlines that the Party is involved in the promotion of diversity awareness by senior party members. The Party's website features a policy page on 'Women and Equality',<sup>150</sup> which includes the commitment to *"promote improved community relations and opportunities for Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) communities, including by providing internships for underrepresented minorities in every Whitehall department and funding a targeted national enterprise mentoring scheme for BAME people who want to start a business."* Further details of these and other schemes appear in the Party's 2010 equalities manifesto, 'A Contract for Equalities'.<sup>151</sup> The Conservative Women's Policy Group's paper 'Women in the World Today' makes specific mention of ethnic minority women, but only in the context of forced marriage, polygamy, enforced segregation, FGM and honour killings/violence.<sup>152</sup> It was not possible to analyse the Party's

constitution as this is not available on its website, nor was Party headquarters prepared to make this available for the purpose of this study at the request of the author.

### 3.3.2. Labour Party

According to the 'Aims and Values' of the Labour Party as set out in the Party's 2011 Rule Book,<sup>153</sup> the Party works for a just society which "*promotes equality of opportunity, and delivers people from the tyranny of poverty, prejudice and the abuse of power*", and an open democracy "*in which government is held to account by the people [and] decisions are taken as far as practicable by the communities they affect.*" The Rule Book also sets out a number of measures relating to the representation of individuals with migration backgrounds in Party decision-making bodies and candidate shortlists. The Party's response to the Speaker's Conference recommendations further states that "*if the body politic is to be representative and relevant, then it follows that political parties must be too. The Labour Party recognised this some decades ago, and has sought to improve its structures and processes from the grassroots up, to build a party that is inclusive, accountable, and looks like those it seeks to represent.*" However, it does acknowledge that "*more needs to be done to ensure equal representation at all levels of government to represent our diverse communities.*"<sup>154</sup> In 2009 the Party's National Policy Forum passed a resolution proposed by the chair of BAME Labour committing the Party to using the planned Equality Bill to "*allow for positive action measures to redress under-representation and to seek to ensure increased BAME representation in all areas of politics and public life, and specifically in the Westminster and European Parliaments, other assemblies and public bodies.*"<sup>155</sup> Furthermore, 2010 leadership candidate Ed Balls, now Labour's Shadow Chancellor, took this on board when proposing the creation of the Labour party diversity fund to enable candidates from under-represented groups to stand for elected office if he were to be elected as Party leader: "*We must do better for all of those who are under-represented, including black, Asian and minority ethnic groups, the disabled and people from poorer and disadvantaged backgrounds. Even just a few pence in every pound could make a real difference to those that need help to stand, and would give a voice to those who struggle to be heard.*"<sup>156</sup> While the Labour Party website features information on the Party's policies for women, and on getting young people involved in the Party, there are no links to information related to equality in general or ethnic minority communities, nor is a manifesto or policy plan available on the site. Interestingly, the 'Faith Groups' page<sup>157</sup> appears to relate primarily to Christians, with the Group's newsletter entitled *Churches Update*.<sup>158</sup>

### 3.3.3. Liberal Democrats

According to the Liberal Democrats' 'General Values' as set out in the Party's constitution, the Party aims to "*disperse power, to foster diversity and to nurture creativity. We believe that the role of the state is to enable all citizens to attain these ideals, to contribute fully to their communities and to take part in the decisions which affect their lives.*"<sup>159</sup> The Party rejects "*all prejudice and discrimination based upon race, colour, religion, age, disability, sex or sexual orientation and oppose all forms of entrenched privilege and inequality.*" Furthermore, the model constitution for Local Parties set out in the Party's constitution includes the phrase: "*The objects of the Local Party shall be: to promote diversity of cultures within the Party and to represent the interests of under-represented groups in the locality.*"<sup>160</sup> The constitution also sets out a number of measures relating to the representation of individuals with migration backgrounds in candidate shortlists and selection committees. Party leader Nick Clegg<sup>161</sup> and chairman Tim Farron have both spoken in favour of increased diversity within the Party, with the latter admitting: "*Our lack of women MPs and MPs from black and minority ethnic backgrounds is completely unacceptable. We should be honest with ourselves. Our work in achieving diversity and gender balance has been ineffective and that needs to*

*change. I pledge to make diversity my priority – despite being a white male, I can use my campaigning and fundraising experience to target support to candidates from under-represented communities, specially women and BME candidates.*<sup>162</sup> According to their response of March 2010 to the Speaker’s Conference recommendations on parliamentary representation, the Liberal Democrats “are committed to ensuring that the Party represents the whole of Britain. We cannot claim to represent modern Britain until modern Britain is represented in us, and we need to work closely together throughout the Party to ensure that we achieve this.” Furthermore, the Spring 2011 Party Conference voted in favour of a motion on ‘Improving the Diversity of our MPs’. This acknowledges that the Party does not have any black or minority ethnic (BAME) MPs at present, and sets out a number of measures aimed at improving the situation (further details can be found in the section on the diversity of party candidates and representatives).<sup>163</sup> The Party’s website features specific policy pages on equality<sup>164</sup> and ethnic minorities.<sup>165</sup> There is also a ‘Diversity’ page, which features details of the Party’s internal diversity structures, including the National Diversity Unit, the Diversity Engagement Group and party groups including Ethnic Minorities Liberal Democrats.<sup>166</sup>

## 4. Diversity Initiatives Within Parties

As shown in the previous section, there is strong support for ‘diversity’, including the opening up of a range of organisations and institutions, among the vast majority of the political parties featured in this paper. A number of these have emphasised the need for increased representativity in politics generally and more specifically within their own structures. This section will briefly identify the ways in which this philosophy has informed party strategy and practice in relation to the following groups: voters, party members, candidates and elected representatives, employees, suppliers and party leadership and decision-making structures. As the organisational means by which parties approach the implementation of diversity initiatives differ, this section will begin by briefly outlining the aims, activities and statuses of the main committees and groups involved on a party-by-party basis.

### 4.1. Diversity Structures<sup>u</sup>

#### 4.1.1. France

##### a) UMP

The party has a number of associated organisations and parties related to activists with migration backgrounds and/or interested in diversity issues. The *Cercle de la Diversité Républicaine* (CDR – Circle of Republican Diversity), which features on the party’s website, was founded in late 2006 as a think tank to support the 2007 presidential campaign of Nicolas Sarkozy and became a political organisation in 2008. The CDR has three primary objectives: to ensure equality within all aspects of French society (in particular the « *oubliés de l’égalité* » - visible minorities, women, middle and lower classes, disadvantaged urban and rural areas, handicapped people and young people); to identify, promote and support the upward mobility of talented people from diverse backgrounds; and to create the conditions necessary for the renewal of elite groups by promoting a new generation of leaders (women, young people, minorities).<sup>167</sup> Its work, which is led by 80 *conseillers nationaux* et *délégués locaux* who run 30 working groups on different themes, is informed by 12 *propositions d’Actions Positives pour l’Intégration (API)*, announced in late 2008, which include a number of proposals to improve diversity in politics.<sup>168</sup> The group has also proposed a ‘Pact for the Promotion of Diversity in Politics’ which, among other proposals, recommends the collection of data related to ‘diversity’ in each political grouping, the nomination of representatives responsible for diversity issues, the introduction of a policy to identify, recruit and support talented individuals with migration backgrounds, the ‘renewal’ of leadership positions and elected representatives with members of under-represented groups, diversity training for elected representatives and party decision-makers, the creation of a training centre for diverse candidates and the introduction of rules related to the representativity of candidate lists.<sup>169</sup>

Other linked organisations include the *Union pour la diversité républicaine* (UDR), *Diversité Développement Coopération* (DDC), and the *Réseau des élus de la diversité* (RED). RED, the Network of Diverse Elected Representatives, is a network launched in 2009 primarily made up of UMP members which, according to its founding manifesto, would like to see “*more concrete and efficient diversity policies in order to bring about the better representation of French society in politics, as in*

<sup>u</sup> All of the parties featured in this paper have a representative responsible for the (external) policy aspect of diversity/equality/anti-discrimination/integration. However, the extent to which these individuals are responsible for internal diversity issues is unknown, as, in general, little information is available on parties’ diversity structures.

*the totality of political and social life*<sup>170</sup> and planned to provide the UMP leadership and other right-wing parties with a list of RED members who would be able to stand in the next elections.<sup>171</sup> There is also an *Association nationale des élus locaux de la diversité* (ANELD) (National Association of Diverse Local Elected Representatives), created in late 2008 shortly after the Obama victory. Its founding aims were to launch a national debate on positive action in politics and to become an essential stakeholder in the diversity debate, encouraging future Obamas at municipal, departmental, regional, national and European level.<sup>172</sup> While ANELD is a cross-party initiative, the three leaders are UMP members and, at the time of the 2010 regional elections, president Kamel Hamza expressed a certain concern that the UMP had not contacted the organisation with regard to candidate lists: “*We have the impression that the work we have done has not been recognised.*”<sup>173</sup>

The UMP has also been involved in the founding of an associated political party; the *Alliance pour la diversité républicaine* (ADR). Created in May 2010 on the initiative of then *secrétaire national chargé de la diversité* Dominique Paillé, the ADR has as its goal to bring together the CDR, UDR, DDC and RED into one movement, associated with the UMP, in order to better promote diversity.<sup>174</sup> In July 2011 the ADR signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the UMP.<sup>175</sup> An organisation called *L’Union des Français Musulmans* was also created in March 2011 by ‘French muslims in favour of the UMP’ in response to the controversy surrounding April’s *débat sur la laïcité*. The objectives of the UFM are to contribute to an effective integration policy, respect Islam within the context of the mutual recognition of all religions and promote measures for young people and women.<sup>176</sup>

## b) PS

While details of the *Parti socialiste’s* diversity structures are not given on its website or in its constitution, according to the findings of the EMILIE report, an official commission for diversity was created in 2006 but has not proved to be very active. Instead, it is the newsgroup *Prairial 21*, which brings together Party activists from migration backgrounds from all over the country, which has “*regular exchanges on issues of discrimination inside the party and meets regularly. Prairial 21 appeared as the most active structure in advocating a more open representation of minorities in the Socialist Party.*”<sup>177</sup> While there are organisations for young people and LGBT people listed under the ‘*Réseau PS*’, no further details of *Prairial 21* or any other diversity-related/ethnic minority organisation can be found. There is, however, a working group on *Égalité/Diversité/Solidarité* within the party’s think tank, the *Laboratoire des idées*.<sup>178</sup>

## c) MoDem

While there is a Party youth organisation listed on the MoDem website, there is no mention of a diversity-related/ethnic minority organisation. There is a commission/intergroup on *Intégration – Immigration*, but details of its work are not featured on the website.<sup>179</sup>

### 4.1.2. Germany

#### a) CDU/CSU

The CDU’s *Deutsch-Türkisches Forum* (German-Turkish Forum), is a *Sonderorganisation* (specialised agency) officially recognised on the Party’s website,<sup>180</sup> with branches in a number of different *Länder*. Its prime focus is to contribute to the integration of people with a Turkish background in Germany and also within the CDU, in addition to raising awareness of the perspectives and concerns of Turkish-born citizens within the Party and in the country more generally.<sup>181</sup> The CDU website also features details of its Federal Advisory Committee on Interior Policy and Integration

(*Bundesfachausschuss 'Innenpolitik und Integration'*),<sup>182</sup> and links to an independent party website specially targeting German citizens with Turkish backgrounds – <http://www.hosgeldiniz.cdu.de/>. Stating as its aim an increase in the number of Party members with Turkish backgrounds, the website features content in both German and Turkish including statements from high-profile Party members Emine Demirbüken-Wegner, Hasan-Onur Kavak and Bülent Arslan and information on the Party's stance on integration. Furthermore, the CDU holds an annual Conference for Elected Officials with a Migration Background (*Konferenz für CDU-Mandatsträger mit Migrationshintergrund*), which has as its primary goal the contribution of proposals for the development of the CDU's integration policy.<sup>183</sup> In addition, Federal Minister Maria Böhmer suggested that Party members with a migration background found a 'Migrant Network' within the Party as a means making their voices heard.<sup>184</sup>

The author has been unable to find details of any similar initiatives within the CSU. While the Party's website gives details of its working groups (including the *Junge Union*, the *Frauen-Union*, the *Senioren-Union* and the *Union der Vertriebenen und Aussiedler* (for ethnic German immigrants))<sup>185</sup> there are, however, no groups listed for gays/lesbians, people with disabilities or ethnic minorities. There also appears to be no specific working group on integration.

## b) SPD

While the SPD appears not to have an affiliated organisation for members with a migration background and/or those interested in diversity issues, the party is linked to the *Föderation der Volksvereine Türkischer Sozialdemokraten (HDF – Federation of Turkish Social Democrat People's Associations)*. Founded in 1977 in Berlin, this umbrella organisation brings together 45 associations from Germany, Switzerland, the UK, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark and Austria. Its goals include equal rights and opportunities in all areas of society, increased opportunities for political participation, the recognition of cultural diversity and the equality of all cultures and languages and the prohibition of discrimination.<sup>186</sup> However, the Party does run a series of thematic working groups (the *Zukunftswerkstatt Faires Deutschland*),<sup>187</sup> bringing together experts to discuss important policy issues. These include the *Zukunftswerkstatt Integration (ZI)*. One of the key themes of the ZI's work and of the Party's integration working group (*Bundesarbeitskreis Integration und Migration*) is the political participation of those with a migration background in the SPD. The regional expansion of the working group structures on integration and migration to involve members with a migration background (and ultimately to ensure their involvement in discussions on all political topics) is the subject of the SPD Executive's May 2011 decision on 'equal rights and a culture of recognition' in the Party.<sup>188</sup> According to the list of *Arbeitsgemeinschaften, Arbeitskreise und Foren* featured on the website, while there are groups for older people, women, young people, Christians, Jewish social democrats and gays and lesbians there are none related to (other) ethnic minorities or religions.<sup>189</sup>

## c) Green Party

The author has not been able to find details of a country-wide group for Green Party members with a migration background and/or those interested in diversity issues; however, there are a number of regional initiatives in this area. *ImmiGrün – Bündnis der neuen InländerInnen* is a Berlin-based organisation which, according to its statutes, is politically and organisationally independent, but shares the political goals of the Green Party and has very close links with it. The organisation's goal is to support the political and social involvement of migrants and new citizens.<sup>190</sup> Other groups more closely tied to party branches include the *AK Grüne MuslimInnen NRW*, which is an *Arbeitskreis* (working group) of the Green Party in Nordrhein-Westfalen. According to the organisation's website, it is the first network of Muslim political party members in Germany and was founded in 2006. Its

objectives include acting as a bridge between the party and Muslim communities, developing ideas to improve the integration and participation of Muslims in their surroundings based on democratic principles, and helping the party to mobilise Muslims and immigrants in general to participate in elections at local, federal and European level.<sup>191</sup> Also worthy of note is the initiative ‘*Diversity – Vielfalt nutzen*’ (Use diversity) led by the Niedersachsen Green Party, which aims to motivate more people with a migration background to become politically engaged.<sup>192</sup>

According to the ‘structure at a glance’ featured on the website, the Party has groups for older people, women and young people;<sup>193</sup> it is particularly active for women, with a *Frauenrat*<sup>194</sup> and a mentoring programme.<sup>195</sup> The Party organigramme shows that there are also organisations for secondary school students and entrepreneurs; however, there appear to be none related to ethnic minorities. The Party has a federal working group (*Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft*) for immigrants and refugees, but details of its work are not provided on the website.<sup>196</sup>

### 4.1.3. United Kingdom

#### a) Conservative Party

According to the Conservative Party response to the Speaker’s Conference recommendations, the Party has “*inaugurated an Ethnic Diversity Council (EDC) which seeks to actively engage with members of the ethnic community and get them involved in the affairs of the party.*” Furthermore, In 2000, the Conservative Party set up the Cultural Unit to increase the number of black and Asian candidates put forward by the Party.<sup>197</sup> The author has been unable to locate any further information about either of these organisations. The Party also has a number of associated groups related to ethnic minority members, although details of these are not available on the Party’s website. These groups include the British Asian Conservative Link, the objectives of which are to “*support the Conservative Party in its drive to engage with Asian voters, to support individual candidates to win votes from Asian constituents, to offer advice and support to Asian members who are embarking on the Party’s council or parliamentary selection process, and to encourage greater participation amongst the Asian community in their local Conservative Party, and as local activists, local association officers and school governors.*”<sup>198</sup> There is also a Conservative Muslim Forum, the objectives of which, among others, are to “*engage with Muslims of all persuasions and encourage them to participate in political life at all levels, from grassroots to Parliament*” and to campaign on behalf of the Conservative Party (including among Muslim communities).<sup>199</sup>

#### b) Labour Party

The Labour Party has set up BAME<sup>200</sup> Labour, which “*seeks to empower ethnic minority members within the Labour Party and campaigns for greater representation of ethnic minority communities in public life.*”<sup>201</sup> The aims and objectives of the group, which has an official status according to the Party’s Rule Book, include “*working to ensure that issues and concerns of BAME members are raised at the highest levels of the Party*”, and that “*Black, Asian and Ethnic minority members are represented throughout the Party bodies and are selected for the Welsh Assembly, Scottish, Westminster and European Parliaments and for public office in local and central government.*”<sup>202</sup> It also works to end racism and discrimination, and to raise support for the Labour Party. Initiatives featured on the group’s website include a free training course for aspiring BAME candidates who, after completion, “*will be included in BAME Labour’s parliamentary panel list and will be provided relevant information and support.*”<sup>203</sup> In addition, according to its response to the Speaker’s Conference recommendations, the Party aims to work with BAME Labour to “*to develop guides [outlining their role and providing practical advice for both recruiting and involving members for the*

*officers responsible for BAME issues] to ensure that ... BAME members ... play as full and active a role as possible.*" BAME Labour has also set up the 54 Group, the name of which reflects the number of ethnic minority MPs that would be needed to reflect the ethnic minority percentage of the population as a whole, established to work to increase the number of ethnic minority MPs in Parliament.<sup>204</sup> While the Labour Party website provides details of BAME Labour via its 'Affiliated socialist societies' page,<sup>205</sup> the web address listed redirects to the Labour Party homepage. BAME Labour has a youth wing – BAME Labour Youth – although this is not mentioned on its website.<sup>206</sup> There is also the group Chinese for Labour, which aims to *"increase the recruitment of Chinese people to the Labour Party, increase the involvement and representation of Chinese people within the Labour Party and increase Chinese support for the Labour Party at elections."* According to its website, the group is *"closely associated to the Labour Party"*, but it has no official status according to the Party's website or constitution.<sup>207</sup> Other structures within the Party include Bernie's List, which *"will help to build a representative Britain by electing additional Black and Asian individuals to office. Bernie's List is committed to a three-pronged strategy: recruiting and funding visible candidates, helping candidates build and run effective campaigns, mobilising Black and Asian voters to help elect progressive candidates across the nation."*<sup>208</sup> There is also mention of the organisation EQ, set up in 2000 to increase the number of black and Asian candidates put forward by the Labour Party, although there is no evidence that this is still active.<sup>209</sup>

In addition to these groups, the Labour Party's website explains that the Party's National Executive Committee (NEC) has a race and equality sub-committee, the main objectives of which include the promotion of ethnic minority participation in the party, ensuring equality of opportunity for ethnic minority prospective Parliamentary candidates, and achieving and maintaining ethnic minority support for the party.<sup>210</sup> The Party Rule Book explains further that the NEC is responsible for the Party's equal opportunities procedure and the monitoring and development of equalities policy.<sup>211</sup> Furthermore, in its response to the Speaker's Conference recommendations, the Labour Party states that *"the executives of local Labour Parties must contain officers representing women, BAME members and young members."*<sup>212</sup> Officers work to support ethnic minority activists who are keen to get more involved in the Party by running training events and bringing together networks, raise awareness of ethnic minority issues within the Party and raise the profile of potential candidates. According to Raj Jethwa, Ethnic Minorities Officer for the London region of the Labour Party, while he feels that his work on the first two has been successful, *"what I don't think we've been successful in doing is going much further forward in promoting potential candidates for public office."*<sup>213</sup>

### **c) Liberal Democrats**

The Liberal Democrats have set up the Ethnic Minority Liberal Democrats (EMLD). Its objectives include the recruitment of new Party members, encouraging existing members to renew their membership, and working to *"develop the education, participation and representation of ethnic minorities and others within the party"* (including promoting positive action as a means to bring about equal opportunities for ethnic minority members of the Liberal Democrats). The EMLD also ensures that party policy is formulated taking into consideration the needs and views of ethnic minorities, promotes Liberal Democrat policies and beliefs amongst ethnic minority groups, and works towards an equitable representation of members of ethnic minority communities on public bodies and in elected public office.<sup>214</sup> The EMLD is featured on the Party website<sup>215</sup> and is mentioned in the Party Constitution as a Specified Associated Organisation. Other initiatives aiming to increase diversity within the Party include the 'New Generation' initiative, which provides development opportunities for ambitious Party members from black, Asian and ethnic minority backgrounds, and the planned Leadership Programme for outstanding candidates from under-represented groups.

The Chinese Liberal Democrats has also been established to “to explore ways of reaching out to the Chinese community in the UK and to establish closer links with China”.<sup>216</sup> Its aims are to identify the needs and aspirations of the Chinese living in the United Kingdom; help the Liberal Democrat Party formulate policies and strategies which address those needs and aspirations; campaign and organise literature on behalf of the Party that more effectively reaches this minority group; encourage more members from this minority group to become politically engaged and/or to stand for public office. The Chinese Liberal Democrats have worked with the Electoral Commission over the past four years to produce bilingual literature to increase the voter registration and turn out of the Chinese community in the UK.<sup>217</sup>

The Liberal Democrats’ website includes a ‘Diversity’ page<sup>218</sup> which features details of the Party’s internal diversity structures, including the National Diversity Unit, the Diversity Engagement Group and party groups including Ethnic Minorities Liberal Democrats. According to the Liberal Democrats’ response to the Speakers Conference recommendations, the Diversity Engagement Group (DEG) is responsible for ensuring that the party meets its diversity and equality objectives, and is supported by the National Diversity Unit (NDU), which provides support and guidance and is responsible for promoting diversity initiatives within the party. Furthermore, the Liberal Democrat leadership has written to all Regional Party Chairs requesting the appointment of Diversity Champions to regional executives, many of which were already in place as of March 2010. The role of the Diversity Champions, who are trained and supported by the Party’s National Diversity Unit, is to help individuals from under-represented groups find an appropriate role within the Party. In addition, they disseminate information to local parties and have key responsibilities in the execution of regional action plans, including formalised strategies for talent-spotting, mentoring schemes and targeted training events.<sup>219</sup> Diversity Champions were also mentioned in the motion on ‘Improving the Diversity of our MPs’ (point 1), in which it was agreed that they should be “mainstreamed throughout the Party.”<sup>220</sup>

## 4.2. Electorate

### 4.2.1. Voter registration/voting campaigns

During the UK 2010 general election and the 2011 local election campaigns, the Labour Party ran the “Love Your Voice” campaign, a voter registration drive. While it was not specifically targeted at BAME voters, the Labour Party affiliate groups, for example BAME Labour, Labour Friends of the Caribbean and Chinese for Labour, and internal organisation used the materials to campaign in BAME communities. The author has found no other specific examples of voter registration campaigns conducted by political parties, although a number of party-affiliated or associated groups for members with a migration background and/or those interested in diversity issues aim to increase political participation, which may include a registration or voting element. Nevertheless, it remains that the majority of campaigns are conducted by non-party organisations, details of which can be found in section 5.

### 4.2.2. Electoral targeting of diverse communities

A number of the parties featured in this paper aim to engage with ethnic minority voters, either via national, regional or local party structures or via specific diversity-related groups internal to or associated with the party. Examples include events held by the SPD specifically for ethnic minority voters,<sup>221</sup> the targeting of the ethnic media by the Conservative Party,<sup>222</sup> the hosting of *iftar* meals

during Ramadan by German political parties including the CDU and the SPD,<sup>223</sup> and the organisation of BAME hustings<sup>224</sup> and production of a BAME manifesto<sup>225</sup> by Labour. Examples of groups which explicitly aim to target voters, further details of which were given in the previous section, include the British Asian Conservative Link, the Conservative Muslim Forum, BAME Labour, Chinese for Labour, the Chinese Liberal Democrats and Ethnic Minority Liberal Democrats, Labour's Bernie's List and NEC race and equality sub-committee, and the *AK Grüne MuslimInnen*. The targeting of ethnic minority voters by political parties, specifically in areas with large ethnic minority populations, is most often accomplished by means of candidate choice. This will be discussed later in this section.

#### 4.2.3. Consultative Committees

With regard to the formation of public consultative committees by political parties relating to diversity issues, the author is only aware of one example; a committee on integration which was launched by the Munich branch of the CSU in early 2010.<sup>226</sup> The SPD, however, plans to build “*a sustained, systematic dialogue with migrant organisations through its working group on integration and migration, the Bundesarbeitskreis Integration und Migration.*”<sup>227</sup>

### 4.3. Members

#### 4.3.1. Membership Rules

Among the French parties, the *statuts* and/or *règlement intérieur* of the UMP and the PS set out no citizenship or residency requirements related to membership. The MoDem *règlement intérieur* states that membership is open to French and European citizens and to those of other nationalities residing in France.<sup>228</sup> According to the Party's *statuts*, the membership applications of nationals of other countries must be approved by the Party's *Conseil national*.<sup>229</sup>

Among the German parties, the statutes (*Satzung*) of the CDU states that non-EU citizens can become ‘guests’ of the Party, and can become Party members when they have proven continuous legal residence in Germany for at least three years. Guest members (the applications of whom must be approved by the competent district executive) can participate in member meetings and enjoy speaking privileges and the right to make proposals and recommendations, but not participate in elections or enjoy voting rights. Guest membership ends automatically after one year.<sup>230</sup> The CSU also permits membership by non-EU nationals after three years of proven legal residence in Germany, and offers guest membership with similar terms to those offered by the CDU, although for non-EU citizens this ends at the latest at the moment that full membership would be possible.<sup>231</sup> Neither the SPD nor the Green Party make any mention of citizenship or residency requirements in their statutes;<sup>232</sup> the former gives a very clear positive response to the question of membership by foreign nationals on its website.<sup>v</sup>

Among the British parties, according to the Labour Party constitution, anyone wishing to be an individual member should either be a British or Irish citizen or be resident in the UK for more than one year.<sup>233</sup> While the Labour Party also restricts members' rights to the branch operating in the constituency in which they are registered to vote, it allows exceptions for those who are not eligible for registration.<sup>234</sup> The first article of the Liberal Democrat constitution relating to membership states that this is “*open to all persons who agree with its fundamental values and objectives without discrimination as to age, ethnic origin, religion, disability, gender or sexual orientation.*”<sup>235</sup> There are

<sup>v</sup> Q: “*Muss ich die deutsche Staatsbürgerschaft besitzen, um Mitglied werden zu können?*” A: “*Nein!*”, [http://www.spd.de/Partei/Mitglied\\_werden/](http://www.spd.de/Partei/Mitglied_werden/), accessed 23/04/11.

no mention of citizenship or residency requirements. The author was not able to access a copy of the Conservative Party constitution.

#### 4.3.2. Member Groups

As listed in section 4.1, the majority of the political parties featured in this paper have groups for members with migration backgrounds and/or interested in diversity issues. Those with the explicit aim of raising the issues and concerns of their members to party decision-makers include BAME Labour, the Ethnic Minority Liberal Democrats and the CDU's *Deutsch-Türkisches Forum*.

#### 4.3.3. Member Recruitment

A number of the organisations listed in section 4.1 work to recruit members from diverse communities, including BAME Labour, the Ethnic Minority Liberal Democrats, the Chinese Liberal Democrats, Chinese for Labour and the British Asian Conservative Link. In addition, according to a decision by the Executive of the SPD, the Party will launch a campaign at both federal and *Land* level to increase membership among diverse groups.<sup>236</sup> The Liberal Democrats “*have organised several regional events with BME communities to meet Nick Clegg, promote the party and to improve the diversity of our membership*”,<sup>237</sup> and also plan to achieve a more diverse membership base by working with key stakeholders in each region to set objectives and develop plans of action. The Party will provide central support and guidance for this work, but regional parties will take ownership of these initiatives at a localised level.<sup>238</sup> Also particularly worthy of note in this context is the CDU’s initiative to recruit members with Turkish backgrounds, including the launching of a dedicated website featuring content in both Turkish and German.<sup>239</sup> The Labour Party, for its part, includes in its guidelines for dealing with large numbers of applications at reduced rates from ethnic minority applicants that the team responsible for carrying out the recommended checks include “*members who understand the languages and culture of the communities involved*.”<sup>240</sup> BAME Labour has set a target to recruit 2000 new BAME members per year from 2011 – 2013 and the Labour Party has pledged its support.

#### 4.3.4. Accessibility Of Activities

According to their responses to the Speaker’s Conference recommendations, both the Conservatives and Labour are working to ensure that their activities are accessible to diverse communities – for instance by avoiding holding meetings in culturally insensitive or inappropriate buildings.<sup>241</sup> The Conservative Party “*offer[s] advice to local associations on ensuring that activities can be accessed by disabled people and people from BME communities*”, while the Labour Party is “*committed to making the Labour Party accessible to its members at every level, from local party meetings to national conferences*” and plans to provide local branches with a handbook to ensure that BAME members “*play as full and active a role as possible*.” Information on accessibility initiatives undertaken by other parties has not been found.

#### 4.3.5. Diversity Training For Party Members

According to the SPD Executive decision of May 2011, diversity training programmes for Party employees and members leading to a qualification will be made available, in addition to training for local Party branches.<sup>242</sup> The *Circle pour la Diversité Républicaine* has also made proposals to provide diversity training for elected representatives and party decision-makers.<sup>243</sup> The Diversity Unit and the Membership Development Team within the Liberal Democrat Party provides training for local parties and officers at both national and regional Conferences on widening participation and

increasing the diversity of membership.<sup>244</sup> Aside from that provided to members who will be involved in selection processes (see next section), the author has found no other evidence of diversity training schemes.

## 4.4.Candidates And Elected Representatives<sup>w</sup>

### 4.4.1. Outreach To And Support Of Candidates And Potential Candidates

#### A) Information For Potential Candidates

Information for prospective candidates on becoming an elected representative that is publicly available via party websites includes ‘A Guide to Becoming a Conservative Councillor’,<sup>245</sup> together with diverse examples of councillors.<sup>246</sup> There are also independent websites on the same subject run by the Labour Party<sup>247</sup> and the Liberal Democrats.<sup>248</sup> The Liberal Democrats’ website features a page on ‘How To Be A Parliamentary Candidate’ which gives contact details of the Party’s Candidates’ Office and of the Parliamentary Candidates’ Association.<sup>249</sup> All three UK parties have drawn up a job description/person specification/list of competencies required to be an MP, with Labour emphasising the relevance of non-political experience such as juggling work and caring responsibilities, and the Liberal Democrats providing a full chart of behavioural indicators to show how they will be assessed, although this information is not publicly available on their websites.<sup>250</sup> The Liberal Democrats also run ‘Inspiration Days’ for women who are interested in learning more about getting involved with the Party, and intend to expand this scheme to include BAME and disabled people, as well as sessions on ‘planning your political career’ to advise and inspire people with non-political backgrounds.<sup>251</sup>

#### B) Encouraging Applications From Potential Candidates, Including Talent-Spotting

The Liberal Democrats’ early 2011 motion on ‘Improving the Diversity of our MPs’ states that *“regions and local parties will actively encourage members and supporters from under-represented groups to become more active in the party, including standing for election.”* Furthermore, according to the Liberal Democrat response to the Speakers’ Conference recommendations, talent-spotting is encouraged and supported in the Party: formalised strategies in this area are the responsibility of the Party’s Diversity Champions. Within the Labour Party, it is the groups that operate both at national and regional levels to represent and support people from the diverse range of backgrounds who are active within the Party (such as BAME Labour and Bernie’s List) that play a particularly important role in talent-spotting.<sup>252</sup> According to the Conservative Party submission to the Speaker’s Conference, the Party has *“taken active steps to encourage more women and people from ethnic minorities or with disabilities to come forward as potential candidates.”* In its ‘Pact for the Promotion of Diversity in Politics’, the *Cercle de la Diversité Républicaine* recommends the introduction of a policy to identify, recruit and support talented individuals with migration backgrounds, but it is not known whether this was introduced within the UMP.<sup>253</sup>

#### C) Development Schemes, Mentoring And Training

According to the Liberal Democrat response to the Speakers’ Conference recommendations, the Party’s ‘New Generation’ initiative provides development opportunities for ambitious Party members from black, Asian and ethnic minority backgrounds. At the time of the submission of the response, 60

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<sup>w</sup> The majority of the diversity-related organisations listed in section 4.1 have as their goal increased ethnic minority participation in their respective parties, with a number of them aiming specifically for greater diversity among party candidates. Details of specific initiatives are given in section 4.4 where available.

potential future representatives were being supported under this scheme, although details of exactly what the scheme entails were not provided. Furthermore, in its spring 2011 motion on ‘Improving the Diversity of our MPs’, the Party pledged to create a comprehensive Leadership Programme for outstanding candidates from under-represented groups, of which 20 per cent of the total available places (a minimum of 30 by the end of 2011) will be reserved for individuals from BAME backgrounds. According to the text of the motion, the Programme will “(i) Provide advanced training and support, particularly in media, leadership and team building skills, and fundraising; (ii) Provide mentoring and coaching from the moment they are approved as a candidate until after the election day; (iii) Offer them opportunities to shadow a Parliamentarian; (iv) Raise funds to provide practical support to PPCs from under-represented groups.”

While the Liberal Democrats appear to be the only party with a comprehensive development and training programme for candidates from under-represented groups, a number of other parties are involved in separate mentoring and training initiatives. The Labour Party, for example, has pledged its strong support for mentoring schemes, saying that they “strongly believe that mentoring schemes offer first-time candidates (and even those just considering putting themselves forward for selection) a hugely valuable insight and support mechanism.” The Labour Women’s Network (LWN), established in 1988, “is dedicated to supporting Labour women to play a full part in the Party, to securing the election of more Labour women to public office at every level, and to ensuring Labour women’s voices are heard.” They work to achieve this goal mainly through training and mentoring of women who are interested in running for public office, either as Members of Parliament or local councillors.<sup>254</sup> In addition, the Fabian Women’s Network is piloting a mentoring scheme to “enhance political skills, understanding, and confidence of Fabian women of all ages who wish to progress through roles in politics and public life.”<sup>255</sup> BAME Labour and Bernie’s List are involved in mentoring and/or providing support to individuals with migration backgrounds.<sup>256</sup> The SPD also plans to introduce a similar mentoring programme at a regional level.<sup>257</sup> A number of other parties also operate mentoring schemes for women, including the Green Party,<sup>258</sup> the CDU<sup>259</sup> and the CSU<sup>260</sup>, but no further details have been found of schemes for people with migration backgrounds. According to its response to the Speaker’s Conference recommendations, the Conservative Party operates a mentoring scheme for candidates, although there are no details of any particular schemes for under-represented groups.<sup>261</sup> Advice and support to Asian members embarking on the Party’s council or parliamentary selection process is available from the Party’s British Asian Conservative Link.<sup>262</sup>

With regard to training opportunities specifically targeting applicants and candidates with migration backgrounds, the UMP has provided training to candidates specifically on dealing with the issue of ‘diversity’ during their campaigns<sup>263</sup> and the Labour Party runs special selections and candidate training and support for ethnic minority candidates and women.<sup>264</sup> The SPD notes in the May 2011 decision of its Executive that many Party members with migration backgrounds are already enrolled in the Party’s Local and Leadership Academies, although there is no evidence that this is the result of a specific policy.<sup>265</sup> The *Cercle de la Diversité Républicaine* recommended the creation of a training centre for diverse candidates, although it is not known whether this was put in place.<sup>266</sup>

#### 4.4.2. Candidate Approval And Selection

##### A) Approval And Selection Criteria

Both the Conservatives<sup>267</sup> and the Liberal Democrats<sup>268</sup> have reviewed their assessment procedures for Party candidates. All three UK parties have introduced a competency-based assessment process, with potential applicants receiving details of the competencies required to be selected as candidates. In its response to the Speaker’s Conference recommendations, the Conservative Party emphasised

that *“we do not value potential candidates on their experience but on their competencies. We have examples of candidates who have many years political experience and candidates who have had no political experience.”*<sup>269</sup>

Furthermore, the Liberal Democrats reviewed their candidate approval process in 2008 to ensure that individuals without a long history of political involvement are not disadvantaged when applying to stand as Party candidates, involving changes to both the minimum membership period and the referencing system. The Party is now looking into introducing additional reforms at the approval stage.<sup>270</sup> In its submission to the Speaker’s Conference, the Conservative Party also states that it has *“altered its candidate approval process, with expert advice, to make it more professional and objective”*, although further details are not provided. Similar initiatives undertaken by other parties have not been identified.

According to their responses to the Speaker’s Conference recommendations, both the Liberal Democrats and the Conservative Party are also keen to review the candidate selection process. This is more challenging than a review of assessment procedures as it takes place at local level according to the criteria set by the constituency branch, while assessment is ordinarily done on a regional or national basis. The Conservatives have already developed and piloted a new competency-based process which includes the agreement of the qualities sought with the local association, while the Liberal Democrats *“plan to ensure that all local Parties link all their selection criteria to the competency framework used in the new approvals system.”*

## **B) Assessment And Selection Committees**

According to the Liberal Democrat submission to Speaker’s Conference, *“admission to the approved list is by means of an assessment centre, usually run regionally, where applicants are assessed in a range of exercises against an agreed competency framework. The assessment centre has recently been entirely revised and diversity has been mainstreamed throughout, with all assessors receiving diversity training.”* Furthermore, the Party’s motion on ‘Improving the Diversity of our MPs’ also proposes that regions set targets for improving the diversity of assessment centre staff.

With regard to the makeup of selection committees, the Liberal Democrat constitution states that, *“where possible, [selection committees] include members of different ages, ethnicities, genders, faiths, sexual orientations, and social backgrounds.”*<sup>271</sup> According to the constitution of the Party’s Welsh section, selection committees *“should provide for an equal number of men and women and a fair geographical, urban/rural, political, age and ethnic balance within Wales.”*<sup>272</sup> Furthermore, the Party’s response to the Speaker’s Conference recommendations states that *“particular note must be taken of the presence of ethnic minority communities within the membership and, if there is a significant proportion of said communities within the electorate but not the membership, then positive steps are taken to reflect this on the Selection Committee.”*<sup>273</sup> The Party’s motion on ‘Improving the Diversity of our MPs’ also proposes that regions set targets for improving the diversity of Returning Officers.

In their Speaker’s Conference responses, both Labour and the Liberal Democrats state that party rules prohibit discrimination against candidates by selection committees. The Liberal Democrats state further that the Returning Officer is responsible for ensuring that questions asked at shortlisting interviews must not discriminate against any group of applicants such as women, applicants from a particular geographical area, ethnic background or disabled applicants. The Conservative Party states that it *“already ensure[s] that selection meetings are aware of the need not to discriminate against candidates on the issues referred to but will give further consideration to whether this can be*

*improved after the election.” In addition, while the Labour Party Rule Book states that “parties and affiliates [should] place particular emphasis on the need to positively encourage consideration of women, BAME members, those with disabilities and those from clerical and manual backgrounds” when selecting parliamentary candidates,<sup>274</sup> the Liberal Democrat constitution goes further by stipulating that “all shortlisting committees must actively seek applications from as diverse a range of candidates as possible, with the help and guidance of the appropriate diversity bodies within the Party.”<sup>275</sup> Furthermore, “if the shortlist diverges significantly from the diversity of the original applicants, shortlisting committees must demonstrate to the Returning Officer how the unsuccessful applicants did not meet the minimum selection criteria.”<sup>276</sup>*

In order to assist them in their work, the Labour Party provides briefings in equal opportunities requirements to delegates and others involved in administering the selection process.<sup>277</sup> BAME Labour also provides training and guidance to local parties.<sup>278</sup> The Liberal Democrats provide diversity awareness training to selection committee members and returning officers; a key aspect of this training focuses on assessing the applicant on the basis of the requested competencies as opposed to their background or previous experience.<sup>279</sup> The Conservative Party briefs constituency associations about the selection process, including showing a DVD about the importance of selecting more women and candidates from ethnic minorities.<sup>280</sup>

### C) The Use Of Quotas/Targets

The use of quotas or targets in candidate shortlisting in order to address the shortage of female candidates has been embraced to some degree by all of the political parties featured in this paper. The Labour Party has acted particularly strongly in this area by adopting an equality guarantee through the use of all-women shortlists,<sup>281</sup> thanks to the introduction of legislation permitting such measures.<sup>x</sup>

With regard to the adoption of similar targets or quotas to address the shortage of candidates with a migration background, this appears to be permitted in all three countries to the extent that shortlists should be reflective of the diversity of the wider community. The Labour Party is committed to “tak[ing] positive action to ensure that considerably more [...] ethnic minority candidates are selected.”<sup>282</sup> The Party uses quotas when drawing up shortlists for selections “to ensure those shortlists are reflective of the wider community. This ensures that there is always at least one BAME candidate on every shortlist (where an All-Women Shortlist is being used, there must be at least one BAME woman candidate).”<sup>283</sup> This approach, by which as a minimum each constituency ward has to nominate at least one woman and one ethnic minority candidate, is known as ‘zipping’.<sup>284</sup> Furthermore, according to the Party’s Rule Book, the Labour National Executive Committee “has the power to impose candidates where it deems this is required by the circumstances.”<sup>285</sup> With regard to nominations for civic offices, council leadership and other council appointments and the allocation of members to committees, these “shall be made in accordance with the group standing orders, and in a manner that ensures equality of opportunity and encourages under-represented groups to come forward [...] The Labour Party expects Labour cabinets to reflect the diversity of the area represented by the local authority as far as possible, and to discuss any failure to do so with the regional director.”<sup>286</sup> With respect to all-BAME shortlists, however, the Party does note that “there is no

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<sup>x</sup> In the UK, legislation permitting all-women shortlists was introduced and used by parties at the 1997 elections. All-women shortlists were then declared illegal and therefore not used during the 2001 election. The law was changed once again (Sex Discrimination (Election Candidates) Act 2002), and is still in force today. There is a proposal in the 2010 Equality Act to extend this until 2030. <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/spconf/449/449.pdf>, p. 18, accessed 20/04/11.

consensus amongst our BAME activists, nor the wider BAME community, that all-BAME shortlists are the best way to address this underrepresentation.”<sup>287</sup> That said, the BAME Labour submission to the Speaker’s Conference states that “our deliberation with various candidates and activists from all over the country leads us to believe that Parliament should legislate to allow for all black shortlists.”

The Liberal Democrat constitution states that, when shortlisting, selection committees should take into account “the need to ensure that the list [...] includes representatives of different social and economic groups and of ethnic minorities.”<sup>288</sup> While divided over the issue of shortlists with a compulsory percentage of BAME candidates, the Party agreed in its spring 2011 motion on ‘Improving the Diversity of our MPs’ that regions would set targets for improving the diversity of approved candidates and PPCs (Prospective Parliamentary Candidates), and stated that “where candidates from the Leadership Programme apply to a priority seat, at least two candidates from the Leadership Programme should be shortlisted on their short list. Groups of Development Seats should get together to advertise and recruit PPCs in clusters, using the Region’s targets for shortlisting (e.g. a relevant local ethnic minority percentage).”<sup>289</sup> Furthermore, Nick Clegg “has stated that he will review the Party’s policy on equality guarantees if the situation has not substantially improved within the Liberal Democrats after the next two elections.”<sup>290</sup>

The Conservative Party’s action in this area relates to the creation of a Priority List of between 100 and 150 priority candidates, including equal numbers of men and women and around 20 per cent ethnic minority candidates. Both target and Conservative-held seats are encouraged to select from this ‘A-List’, as it is known, and some seats are advertised to List members only.<sup>291</sup> However, this scheme is limited in that it relates to approved candidates only; in addition, it does not have the full support of the Party’s leadership, with Party co-chair Baroness Warsi suggesting that “the time for ‘quotas’ for candidates from minority groups had passed. Instead she announced that the party would focus on other schemes, such as student internships, to get more young black and Asian people involved in Tory politics. ‘Rather than having a panic moment and saying, ‘We need to find three black or brown MPs to fit the quota’, we have got time now to say let’s create a space for people to come in; let’s make the party a welcoming place,’ she said.”<sup>292</sup>

Among the French and German parties, the SPD has announced plans to introduce a target of 15 per cent of people with a migration background in candidate lists for elections at all levels,<sup>293</sup> and the *Cercle de la Diversité Républicaine* has also proposed the introduction of regulations related to the representativity of candidate lists.<sup>294</sup> While the UMP took steps to ensure that at least one candidate with a migration background is included in the top third of the party’s lists for the regional elections,<sup>295</sup> details of targets or quotas for the selection of candidates have not been found, nor for the other parties covered by this paper.

## D) Monitoring Of Selection Data

On the issue of selection data monitoring in the UK, the Speaker’s Conference on Parliamentary Representation “welcome[s] the openness of all three main party leaders—Rt. Hon. Gordon Brown MP, Rt. Hon. David Cameron MP and Rt. Hon. Nick Clegg MP—to the principle of publishing monitoring data in relation to candidate selections. This is an important indication of the commitment of all three main parties to the promotion of fairer representation in Parliament.” Both the Liberal Democrats and the Labour Party collect information on candidates (including ethnicity) and would in principle be prepared for this to be made publicly available, but have expressed concerns that it could be possible for individual candidates to be identified, and emphasised that data protection regulations should not be breached (possibly by including the option for candidates to submit data for internal monitoring purposes only). The Labour Party also underlined that any

monitoring commitments should not be too onerous a burden on resources or staff time. The Conservative Party also gave its agreement on the reporting of selections on a regular basis, but expressed reservations about publicly reporting the sexual orientation of candidates.

In the UK, the collection and use of ethnic group data is permitted under the Race Relations Act of 1976, amended in 2000 and the Data Protection Act of 1998.<sup>296</sup> With regard to the publication of selection data by political parties, “*section 106 of the Equality Act 2010 makes it possible to require registered political parties to publish anonymised data relating to the diversity of their candidate selections at a particular election. The Government is considering how to take forward this provision and will make an announcement in due course.*”<sup>297</sup> In France, although organisations including CRAN have long campaigned for the collection of ethnic data (*‘statistiques de la diversité’*) to better identify and tackle discrimination,<sup>298</sup> it remains illegal to do so. Aware of the need to measure diversity in politics without using ethnic statistics, the *Haut Conseil à l’Intégration*, in its April 2011 publication *« La France : sait-elle encore intégrer les immigrés »*, recommended that the state include in the directory of elected representatives a heading on the nationality and place of birth of their parents.<sup>299</sup> In its ‘Pact for the Promotion of Diversity in Politics,’ the *Cercle de la Diversité Républicaine* also recommends the collection of data related to ‘diversity’ in each political grouping, although the method by which such data would be collected is not clear.<sup>300</sup> In Germany, statistics related to ethnic origin are not generally available. Although the collection of data by ethnic group is not prohibited *per se* (it is used, for instance, in asylum procedures), this information falls under the category of ‘special types of personal data’ and is thus subject to strict restrictions under the country’s data protection laws.<sup>301</sup> In the case of political representatives, data can instead be collected by country of birth, nationality at birth, parents’ nationality, grandparents’ nationality etc., as used in Andreas Wüst’s research and the IMMCANDS dataset (see section 2).

## E) Seat/Constituency Selection

As noted by the authors of the 2009 EMILIE UK report, while “*formal procedures in themselves may be largely free of discrimination,*” there is a suspicion that candidates with migration backgrounds are given only non-safe, non-winnable seats.<sup>302</sup> This is acknowledged by the Speaker’s Conference on Parliamentary Representation, which notes that “*the fact that, in most cases, it remains more difficult for a candidate who does not fit the ‘white, male, middle-class’ norm to be selected, particularly if the seat is considered by their party to be winnable, means that the case for equality of representation has not yet been won.*”<sup>303</sup> The exception to this has been to put forward candidates with migration backgrounds in constituencies considered to be winnable by them: those with significant ethnic minority populations.<sup>y</sup>

Both the Labour Party and the Liberal Democrats addressed the issue of safe/winnable seats in their responses to the Speaker’s Conference recommendations. The Labour Party stated that “*we have also selected Black and Asian candidates in some of our safest seats, and whilst we acknowledge that there is a lot more to do, these are problems we recognise and are intent upon addressing,*”<sup>304</sup> and the Liberal Democrats, while stating that “*commitments concerning the Parliamentary Party are far more difficult ... because we have no ‘safe’ seats,*”<sup>305</sup> emphasised that “*we are committed to improving the situation with regards to our approved and selected candidates, particularly with regards to winnable seats.*” Meanwhile, the Conservative Party has taken steps to address this issue

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<sup>y</sup> “As recently as 2005, the independent research charity the Hansard Society reported how Labour, ahead of the 2005 election, had determined that seats considered winnable by a DERR candidate were ‘where the constituency had a significant BME population’” (<http://www.quilliamfoundation.org/images/stories/pdfs/skin-deep-democracy.pdf>, p. 17).

via its Priority or 'A'-List, as detailed earlier in this section. According to a House of Commons briefing paper published in late 2008, *"both the Labour and Conservative parties are reported to have a number of minority candidates in winnable seats, while the Liberal Democrats, on the other hand, are said not to have achieved this."*<sup>306</sup>

There is evidence that the situation is similar in France. CRAN spokesperson Louis-Georges Tin has noted that *"most of the time, candidates with diverse backgrounds are placed in constituencies that are difficult to win,"*<sup>307</sup> while the organisation's president, Patrick Lozès, stated in 2008 that *"MoDem often put forward the largest number of diverse candidates in towns where they had little chance of success."*<sup>308</sup> Keslassy agrees, noting that such candidates are often assigned to constituencies which would be difficult to win; another approach is to 'parachute in' candidates to seats reserved for diverse candidates without local support or legitimacy.<sup>309</sup> *Suffrage Universel's* Pierre-Yves Lambert notes that this particular approach is practised by the UMP and the PS. He goes on to explain that, at the last national elections, *"of thirty PS and UMP candidates with non-European backgrounds or from French overseas territories, only three (PS) stood in a constituency which was already held by their party. Moreover, two of these stood in constituencies where rebels from the same party stood against them (and against the instructions of the party centrally) and won."*<sup>310</sup> Furthermore, in 2009 a group of UMP activists campaigned for candidates with migration backgrounds to be allocated winnable positions on election lists: *"we did not want to see a repeat of 2004, when all of the candidates with migration backgrounds were systematically at the bottom of the list for the regional elections,"* emphasised Lynda Asmani, UMP councillor in Paris.<sup>311</sup> The UMP took steps to address this issue during the regional elections, ensuring that at least one candidate with a migration background appeared in the first third of the regional lists,<sup>312</sup> while the *Parti socialiste*, in its 2011 policy paper '*Le Changement*', proposed that this problem be tackled by ensuring that the public funding received by political parties be conditional not only upon the nomination of candidates with migration backgrounds, but also actual election results.<sup>313</sup> In the text adopted by its *Conseil national* on 8 June 2010, the PS also proposed designating a number of constituencies '*de renouvellement/diversité*', including PS or winnable seats. Local elected representatives would then mentor the new candidates in order to help ensure local support.<sup>314</sup>

In Germany, while the author has found no evidence of national-level initiatives regarding the placement of candidates with migration backgrounds on party lists, the Schleswig-Holstein Greens have committed themselves to placing candidates with migration backgrounds on promising places on their candidate list as part of the Party's strategy for '*interkulturelle Öffnung*',<sup>315</sup> while the Stuttgart Greens have also undertaken efforts in this area, leading to an increase in the number of representatives on the city council from two to six (out of 60).<sup>316</sup>

#### 4.4.3. Funding

As identified by the UK Speaker's Conference on Parliamentary Representation, the high cost of candidacy can pose problems for under-represented groups.<sup>317</sup> The Labour Party has taken a number of measures to address this, stating that a *"lack of resources should never be a barrier to selection. Several internal groups, including Emily's List, Bernie's List, Dorothy's List and our affiliated trade unions, provide financial support to aspiring candidates."*<sup>318</sup> Of these funds, Bernie's List provides support to candidates from migration backgrounds. Bernie's List is *"committed to a three-pronged strategy to elect Black and Asian individuals: recruiting and funding viable candidates, helping candidates build and run effective campaigns, mobilizing Black and Asian voters to help elect progressive candidates across the nation."* Furthermore, the 54 Group has been established by BAME Labour to provide financial support to ethnic minority candidates.<sup>319</sup> The creation of a Labour Diversity Fund *"to develop talented individuals from under-represented groups (such as non-white,*

*female and disabled candidates), and provide grants to people unable to sustain the costs of candidacy for Westminster parliamentary elections” has also been proposed, but this is yet to be established.*<sup>320</sup>

The Liberal Democrats, meanwhile, state that while they already control campaign expenditure, “we do not have any funds to support candidates financially on a personal basis.”<sup>321</sup> The Party strongly supports “the idea of an independently regulated Democracy Diversity Fund that would allow local parties to support talented individuals from underrepresented groups that would otherwise be unable to stand.”<sup>322</sup> Furthermore, the Party’s Leadership Programme (to be created following a motion passed at the Spring 2011 Party conference on ‘Improving the Diversity of our MPs’), will raise funds to “provide practical support to PPCs from under-represented groups.”<sup>323</sup> While the Conservative Party has given its support to introducing an Access to Public Life Fund for disabled candidates, there is no mention of support for BAME and other candidates.<sup>324</sup>

#### 4.5. Recruitment And Professional Development

In relation to the accessibility of party jobs to external applicants, the PS,<sup>325</sup> the CSU,<sup>326</sup> the Greens,<sup>327</sup> the Conservatives,<sup>328</sup> the Labour Party<sup>329</sup> and the Liberal Democrats<sup>330</sup> provide details of current vacancies on their websites. Parties in the UK and Germany also appear to publicly advertise vacancies on other websites.<sup>331</sup> Both the Conservative and Labour Party recruitment web pages also feature the parties’ equal opportunities policies and diversity monitoring forms;<sup>332</sup> these are the only ones to do so. However, the Liberal Democrats’ recruitment page does indicate that the party is an ‘Investors in People’ employer, meaning that the party has achieved the IIP standard in areas including ‘people management strategy’ (fairness in recruitment and selection and promoting equality and managing diversity in the workplace).<sup>333</sup>

With regard to party policy on diversity in recruitment, diversity training for staff members and the provision of opportunities for professional development to individuals with a migration background, the Liberal Democrats “believe that it is important to attract under-represented groups into Westminster politics,” and have established a working group to ensure accessibility to both voluntary and paid roles within the Party. The group has developed a series of internal guidelines on best practice on internships and temporary vacancies (including a list of potential stakeholders to help proactively advertise vacancies to under-represented groups), staff monitoring and equality impact assessments for all departments within the Party. The Labour and Conservative<sup>334</sup> parties have also acknowledged the importance of internships for gaining political experience, with the former saying that arrangements for under-represented groups tend to be very informal and are often organised through the relevant group (BAME Labour or LGBT Labour, for instance), and committing itself to working with the Parliamentary Labour Party to ensure equal opportunities in access to internships. The question of the accessibility of Whitehall internships has also been taken up more broadly in the UK, with the Government announcing the launch of a cross-departmental internship programme for young people from under-represented groups in early April 2011 as part of its social mobility strategy.<sup>335</sup> In addition to internship opportunities organised by parties themselves, all three UK parties participate in Operation Black Vote’s MP shadowing scheme (see section 5 for more details). While a number of parties mention diversity training for party members, only the SPD has mentioned explicit plans to provide such programmes for party employees, leading to a qualification.<sup>336</sup>

## 4.6. Procurement

It has not been possible to find information on parties' procurement practices (specifically the diversity of parties' suppliers or the use of social clauses in procurement contracts).

## 4.7. Leadership, Boards And Committees<sup>z</sup>

In addition to policies relating to the makeup of selection committees as explained earlier in section 4, a number of parties have introduced regulations on the constitution of the party's leadership and decision-making bodies in relation to under-represented groups. While there are many initiatives relating to gender balance, those relating to the representation of individuals with a migration background are rarer; they include the following:

- The Labour Party employs quotas to ensure that all committees are gender balanced, and plans to consider *"new mechanisms to similarly support and encourage champions from other diverse groups."* More specifically, the Party's National Policy Forum (NPF), responsible for overseeing the policy development work in the party, includes four representatives from BAME Labour,<sup>337</sup> while, according to the Party's Rule Book, the Labour National Executive Committee *"shall comprise: one member elected by the Labour Party Black Socialist Society [now BAME Labour] at its conference as laid down in the rules of the socialist society"*<sup>338</sup>, as does the National Committee of Young Labour.<sup>339</sup> Members of the Executive Committee of BAME Labour are also ex officio members of the Party conference.<sup>340</sup> In addition, as mentioned previously, one of the five candidates for the 2010 Labour leadership election was a woman with a migration background.
- The SPD Executive's decision on 'equal rights and a culture of recognition' in the Party includes proposals to introduce targets and goals to ensure the improved representation of people with migration backgrounds in the Party leadership and decision-making bodies, including the requirement (of immediate effect) for all decision-making bodies to include at least one person with a migration background as a full or co-opted member.<sup>341</sup> It also proposes the introduction of voluntary commitments or quotas with the goal that, in all federal Party governing bodies, 15 per cent of members should have a migration background, and suggests a similar quota for all Party governing bodies.<sup>342</sup>
- The *Cercle de la Diversité Républicaine*, in its 'Pact for the Promotion of Diversity in Politics', proposed the 'renewal' of leadership positions and elected representatives with members of under-represented groups.<sup>343</sup> The UMP announced in late 2009 that it would strengthen the presence of individuals with diverse backgrounds in its decision-making structures.<sup>344</sup> Further details of the measures implemented have not been found.
- The text adopted by the *Conseil national* of the *Parti socialiste* on 8 June 2010 regarding the 'opening up' of the PS speaks of creating the conditions to ensure diversity within the party by focusing on the access of activists with migration backgrounds and from other under-represented groups to positions of responsibility within the Party.<sup>345</sup>

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<sup>z</sup> It should be noted in this context – and also in relation to Party employment – that some German political parties exclude non-nationals from internal posts.  
[http://www.mipex.eu/sites/default/files/downloads/migrant\\_integration\\_policy\\_index\\_mipexiii\\_2011.pdf](http://www.mipex.eu/sites/default/files/downloads/migrant_integration_policy_index_mipexiii_2011.pdf), p. 90, accessed 13/05/11.

#### 4.8. Recognition/Accreditation/Certification For Diversity Efforts

Evidence has been found of only two parties achieving recognition for their diversity efforts. As mentioned in section 4.5, the Liberal Democrats are 'Investors in People' employers, and the *Bundestagsfraktion* of the German Green Party became a signatory to the German diversity charter, the *Charta der Vielfalt*, in March 2008.<sup>346</sup> While Angela Merkel and Maria Böhmer are listed as key supporters on the *Charta's* website,<sup>347</sup> and then Minister of the Interior Thomas De Maizière signed the *Charta* on behalf of the Interior Ministry in September 2010,<sup>348</sup> the CDU as a party is not listed as having signed the *Charta*. While a number of charters relating to diversity in politics have been launched in France (see section 5), the extent to which these involve whole parties as opposed to individual representatives, remain active and commit signatories to any particular course of action is not known.

## 5. Other Notable Political Participation Initiatives

While the primary drivers of the participation of ethnic minorities in political parties are the parties themselves, valuable efforts to support both elected representatives and prospective candidates with migration backgrounds, to monitor and raise awareness of the issues involved, and to increase voter registration levels among diverse communities, are also made by both governments and non-governmental organisations in the project's three target countries. A brief overview of a selected number of initiatives in this area can be found in this section of the paper. Although space constraints dictate that only initiatives in the project's three target countries can be featured at length in this section, there are also a number of interesting projects taking place in other countries, including the Immigrant Council of Ireland's 'Count us in' campaign to raise awareness among political parties of the ethnic minority vote,<sup>349</sup> US NGO MIRA's project to mobilise ethnic voters,<sup>350</sup> and the School4Civics initiative to provide leadership coaching and mentoring to potential political candidates with migration backgrounds based in Toronto, Canada.<sup>351</sup>

### 5.1. France

#### 5.1.1. Monitoring/Awareness-Raising

Founded in November 2005 and bringing together 120 organisations and federations, the *Conseil représentatif des associations noires* (CRAN) is the most active French NGO in the area of diversity in politics. Its actions in this field include the monitoring of local, regional, national and European elections with regard to the diversity of both candidates and elected representatives, and the proposal of recommendations to ensure the better representativity of France's elected bodies.<sup>352</sup> CRAN representatives are regular commentators on diversity in politics in the French media. The *Comité national pour la diversité* established by the organisation has also been active in raising awareness of diversity issues in political parties.<sup>353</sup> Other organisations active in this field include the *Club XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (21<sup>st</sup> Century Club), which launched a Charter for Diversity in Politics (*Charte de la diversité politique*) in 2006<sup>354</sup> and the *Marianne de la diversité*, which, among other actions, launched a Charter for Equal Opportunities in Politics (*Charte de l'égalité des chances en politique*)<sup>355</sup> and an online petition ("*Aux Urnes d'accord, Parité et Diversité d'abord !*") in 2007. Furthermore, in late 2008, following the election of Barack Obama as US president, a Manifesto for Real Equality (*manifeste pour l'égalité réelle*) was launched by Yazid Sabeg, one of the initiators of the *Charte de la diversité dans l'entreprise*. Entitled "*Oui nous pouvons*" (Yes we can!) in reference to Obama's campaign slogan, the *manifeste* called for electoral mandates to be limited, for political parties to be obliged to subscribe to a national diversity 'pact', and for the organisation of a *Grenelle de l'égalité réelle et de la diversité*. It was signed by politicians including Jean-François Copé and Patrick Devedjian (UMP), Dominique Voynet (Verts), Christiane Taubira (PRG), and Arnaud Montebourg and Christian Paul (PS), and was publicly supported by Carla Bruni-Sarkozy.<sup>356</sup> Research published by the Institut Montaigne is also valuable in raising awareness of the importance of representativity in politics.

#### 5.1.2. Voter Registration

There have also been a number of initiatives aiming to increase voter registration among young people with primarily migration backgrounds from the *banlieues*, often with the support of urban

music stars and actors. These include *Devoirs et mémoires*,<sup>357</sup> which held an event in Clichy-sous-Bois, the origin of the riots of November 2005, to call on young people living in the *banlieues* to register to vote in the 2005 elections, *Banlieues actives*,<sup>358</sup> *Citoyenneté & démocratie* and *Votez Banlieues*.<sup>359</sup>

### 5.1.3. Mentoring/Support/Training

While there are a number of mentoring and training programmes available for young people from migration backgrounds, including *Nos quartiers ont des talents*<sup>360</sup> and *l'Association pour Favoriser l'Intégration Professionnelle*,<sup>361</sup> the author has been unable to identify any such programmes specifically related to political participation.

### 5.1.4. Other Party Initiatives

Article 42 of the statutes of *Europe Ecologie – Les Verts* states that the Party will establish an *Observatoire de la diversité*, responsible for the representation of ethnic, cultural and social minorities at all levels within the organisation and in external elections. The Observatory will prepare regular analyses and updates on this issue and will make recommendations on how to address diversity issues within the party. It will present the results of its work once a year to the Federal Council, which must respond to the report with the actions to be taken to address the problems identified within six months.<sup>362</sup>

## 5.2. Germany

### 5.2.1. Monitoring/Awareness-Raising

The *Körber-Stiftung's* Network of Elected Representatives with a Turkish Background (*Netzwerk türkeistämmiger MandatsträgerInnen*) is one of the most well-known organisations related to the political participation of those with migration backgrounds in Germany. A cross-party organisation founded by the *Körber-Stiftung* and the *Stiftung Mitarbeit* in 2004 which counts among its 38-person membership members of communal councils and state-level, federal and European parliaments, the Network plays an important role in raising the visibility of politicians with a Turkish background.<sup>363</sup> The organisation produced a position paper on political participation in April 2008, including recommendations for political parties.<sup>364</sup> Other organisations active in this field include the Federal Association of Immigrant Groups (*Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Immigrantenverbände - BAGIV*), which has as one of its six goals the support of the political participation of migrants at all levels of the decision-making process,<sup>365</sup> and the *Bundesverband der Migrantinnen in Deutschland* (Federal Association of Migrant Women in Germany).<sup>366</sup> Research published by the *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*, and by Andreas M. Wüst of the *Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES)* and Sara Claro da Fonseca of the *Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB)*, is also valuable, particularly for its contribution to monitoring the diversity of candidates and elected officials in Germany. The upcoming publication of the findings of research undertaken by the *Heinrich-Boell-Stiftung* and the *Max-Planck-Gesellschaft* on diversity in local councils will also make an important contribution to the debate<sup>367</sup>; the migration section of the *Heinrich-Boell-Stiftung's* website<sup>368</sup> and the *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*<sup>369</sup> are also important sources of expert opinion articles on the subject in general.

### 5.2.2. Voter Registration And Political Education

The Federal Association of Immigrant Groups (BAGIV) has been involved in several projects aiming to increase the political participation of those with migration backgrounds. These include the project ‘Politics in Practice – Political Participation – The Challenge’ (ended April 2009), which ran a series of events aimed at informing young people with migration backgrounds about the German political system and motivate them to more actively participate in it,<sup>370</sup> and a project in the same series which is focused specifically on encouraging political participation among young women with migration backgrounds.<sup>371</sup>

### 5.2.3. Mentoring/Support/Training

Although a number of capacity building and mentoring schemes exist for young people with migration backgrounds in Germany, including the *Bertelsmann-Stiftung’s* capacity-building programme for young leaders from migrant organisations,<sup>372</sup> the author has not been able to find evidence of any programmes carried out by NGOs relating to increasing the political involvement of people with migration backgrounds.

### 5.2.4. Other Party Initiatives

Although the Left Party (*Die Linke*) has one of the highest percentages of elected representatives with a minority background,<sup>373</sup> the author has been unable to identify any specific initiatives undertaken by the Party that may have contributed to this. Also worthy of mention is the founding of a number of ‘migrant’ parties, including the Bremen Integration Party,<sup>374</sup> the *Bündnis für Innovation und Gerechtigkeit* in Nordrhein-Westfalen and the *Internationale Demokratische Union* in Rüsselsheim (Hessen), although the extent to which this can be seen as a positive development has been the subject of some debate.<sup>375</sup>

## 5.3. United Kingdom

### 5.3.1. Monitoring/Awareness-Raising

The organisation most active in the UK in the area of ethnic diversity in politics is Operation Black Vote (OBV). Founded in July 1996 and with strong cross-party political links, OBV’s main objectives include “to enable minority communities to claim our place in British democracy” by “[urging] our communities to register to vote” and “[encouraging] greater political involvement through representation in areas of public life.”<sup>376</sup> Further details of the organisation’s work in these areas can be found in the following sections. In terms of its monitoring and awareness-raising work, OBV Director Simon Wooley is a regular high-profile speaker on diversity and representativity in politics, and the organisation’s website features comprehensive lists of black and minority ethnic politicians and campaigners<sup>aa</sup> and publishes diversity statistics following elections.<sup>377</sup> OBV is also actively engaged in “lobbying political parties and civic institutions on the benefits of representative bodies”; its work has led to the parties “agreeing to adopt, in various forms, OBV’s programme of recruitment, retention and promotion of (Black and minority ethnic) BME talent within its membership.” Other organisations active in campaigning for the better representativity of UK elected bodies include the Fawcett Society, a feminist organisation working towards equality between women and men which led the two-year ‘Femocracy’ campaign in the run-up to the 2010 General Election to highlight the

<sup>aa</sup> <http://www.obv.org.uk/our-communities/parliamentarians-and-campaigners>, accessed 9/05/11. These have been used in research on this issue including, for instance, the House of Commons briefing ‘Ethnic Minorities in Politics, Government and Public Life’ published in November 2008 (accessible from <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons/lib/research/briefings/snsg-01156.pdf>).

severe under-representation and under-participation of ethnic minority women in politics.<sup>378</sup> Furthermore, as mentioned throughout the report, the Speaker's Conference on Parliamentary Representation has played a crucial role in raising awareness of the parliamentary 'diversity gap' within political parties, in Parliament and in society more generally.

### 5.3.2. Voter Registration And Political Education

Political participation – *“improving engagement with civic society through local and national voter registration and other civic participation campaigns”* – and political education – *“rais[ing] awareness and understanding of democratic and civic society through citizenship projects”*, are two of the four main areas of Operation Black Vote's work. In addition to voter registration campaigns and events (including the 2010 'Expect the Best' registration campaign led by the Revd Jesse Jackson),<sup>379</sup> initiatives undertaken by the organisation in this area include free 'Community Empowerment Roadshows',<sup>380</sup> which aim to increase awareness of local decision-making structures and processes among BME communities and provide details of how to become more involved, and the 'Who Runs My City?' project,<sup>381</sup> which maps out key bodies and institutions in London and Birmingham. The OBV website also features a 'guide to democracy' and information on how to vote.<sup>382</sup> The Fawcett Society has also been engaged in activities in this area: through its UK-wide events, one of the main objectives of Fawcett's 'Femocracy' campaign was to increase the number of ethnic minority women registered to vote by raising their awareness of how UK political institutions work and how politics impacts on their lives.<sup>383</sup> Fawcett has also published a guide to becoming more politically active, including information on how to register to vote, why this is important, and details of the various levels of elected body and how to contact representatives.<sup>384</sup> An example of a local initiative in this field is the Hatfield-based Kaleidoscope Culture Club (KCC), which organised a visit to the Houses of Parliament with a view to increasing civic participation and help people to understand local democracy. As a direct result of the trip, one person from a BME background is due to stand in the local elections as a local councillor in the Borough of Welwyn Hatfield. This example of good practice has already been replicated by other organisations in different parts of the county, and KCC is now planning to take 40 people on a trip to the European Parliament to “increase awareness of the European Union, legislation, functions and the roles of the MEPs in the regions, to build cross-cultural dialogue and build capacity of individuals and groups.”<sup>385</sup>

### 5.3.3. Mentoring/Support/Training

A third area of OBV's work is political representation. The organisation *“aims to increase political representation of Black and minority ethnic communities through encouraging engagement [and] undertaking ground-breaking mentoring schemes.”* Initiatives in this area include a successful MP shadowing scheme, launched in 1999, which pairs around 30 participants annually with Members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords from all of the major political parties,<sup>bb</sup> and the 'Lewisham Civic Leadership Programme', which *“involve[s] a mixture of observation and training sessions, designed to give participants the confidence, knowledge and capacity to become more active within public life and help address the deficit of minority ethnic individuals within UK's public institutions.”*<sup>386</sup> Other initiatives in this area include the Step Up Cymru Assembly Member shadowing scheme for individuals from under-represented groups,<sup>387</sup> the participation component of Fawcett's 'Femocracy' campaign, which provided details to around 1,500 ethnic minority women of how to become more involved in politics and offered the opportunity to network with politicians and political activists,<sup>388</sup> and the cross-party BAME Women Councillors' Taskforce. Set up in May 2008 by

<sup>bb</sup> <http://www.obv.org.uk/what-we-do/schemes/mp-2005/6>, accessed 10/05/11. OBV also runs similar magistrate and councillor shadowing schemes.

Harriet Harman, Minister for Women and Equality, the Taskforce's programme of action included increasing awareness of the roles of councillors, reaching out into communities and building confidence among potential BAME candidates and supporting and developing potential BAME councillors through a training and development.<sup>389</sup>

#### 5.3.4. Other Party Initiatives

The publication *Elected Representatives/Political Parties and Minority Ethnic Communities in Northern Ireland*, which summarises the findings of research carried out by a team at the University of Ulster, provides some positive examples of outreach initiatives to ethnic minority communities.<sup>390</sup> These include "the translation of election material into other languages and outreach work. Interviewees with elected representatives and with representatives and advocates for minority ethnic communities highlighted the importance of training for elected representatives. Moreover, it was argued that this training should be on-going and should focus on appropriate language and anti-racism. The creation of the position of Racial Equality Officer was acknowledged by various political parties and minority ethnic community representatives and advocates alike as a valuable resource, potentially enabling political parties to respond to the concerns and issues of these communities. Finally here, the creation of the All-Party Assembly Group on Ethnic Minority Communities is welcomed as a positive development which merits cross party support."<sup>391</sup>

## 6. Conclusion

The full participation of all members of society in political decision-making processes is crucial to the legitimacy of democratic political systems and contributes to preventing disaffection and social conflict by increasing trust and confidence in the political process. The particular importance of migrants' participation in political processes for successful integration is strongly emphasised within European integration policy discourse. However, it remains that ethnic minority voting levels and political representation are very low compared to the percentage of those with migration backgrounds in society as whole. As shown in section 2 of this paper, while the (approximate) ethnic minority populations of France, Germany and the UK are 19 per cent (both France and Germany) and 11 per cent respectively, the proportion of members of parliament with migration backgrounds is 0.7 per cent (France), 1.9 per cent (Germany) and 4.2 per cent (UK). Candidate diversity was higher: an average of 3.12 per cent (France), 1.58 per cent (Germany) and around 7 per cent (UK). Interestingly, French and British upper house representatives are significantly more diverse than those in the lower house (1.3 per cent and 6 per cent respectively), as are their European counterparts (11.5 per cent, 12.1 per cent and 5.5 per cent respectively). Details of party membership and employee diversity were not available to the author.

While the inability of third-country nationals to vote or run in elections in both France and Germany is a key contributory factor to low political participation levels amongst non-European migrants, there is a range of other factors which affect the extent to which both migrants and those with migrant backgrounds are able to fully participate in political life. Of particular importance within the scope of this project is the nature and degree of openness of the political system, and specifically the important role that political parties can and do play in helping and/or hindering participation. As shown in section 3, the majority of the ten political parties featured in this paper have adopted strong stances on diversity. Many have spoken publicly in favour of the 'opening up' of public bodies, companies, the media and public services (hospitals and the police), as well as of the need for greater representativity in elected bodies. The author was able to locate statements specifically referring to internal diversity deficits from the majority of parties, although MoDem, the CSU and the Green

Party are not represented here. While measures to increase the participation of individuals with diverse backgrounds are featured in both the Labour Party and Liberal Democrat constitutions (the Conservative constitution being unavailable), no similar measures are found in the French or German parties' official documentation. Barriers to the successful uptake of the diversity 'message' mentioned in this section included personality-driven policies at leadership level and a lack of support from grass roots members.

Section 4 shows that many parties are already engaged in or plan to introduce a range of initiatives to increase the involvement of people with migration backgrounds in various aspects of party operation. The bulk of the information for this section was sourced from UK parties' detailed submissions and responses to the Speaker's Conference on Parliamentary Representation. As a similar level of detail was unavailable for the French and German parties, and given that the Speaker's Conference focused on parliamentary representativity and thus on increasing the number of ethnic minority candidates as opposed to other diversity goals, it is not possible to draw firm conclusions on the nature of the diversity initiatives undertaken by parties, nor to give a comparative perspective.

- <sup>1</sup> <http://www.integration.eu/>
- <sup>2</sup> <http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/AdoptedText/ta10/ERES1705.htm#1>, accessed 26/04/11.
- <sup>3</sup> <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/spconf/spconf.htm>, accessed 11/05/11.
- <sup>4</sup> [http://www.equalities.gov.uk/equality\\_act\\_2010.aspx](http://www.equalities.gov.uk/equality_act_2010.aspx), accessed 11/05/11.
- <sup>5</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/news/newsdetail.cfm?ID\\_ITEMS=12116](http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/news/newsdetail.cfm?ID_ITEMS=12116), accessed 11/05/11.
- <sup>6</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/news/newsdetail.cfm?ID\\_ITEMS=14226](http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/news/newsdetail.cfm?ID_ITEMS=14226), accessed 11/05/11.
- <sup>7</sup> <http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/AdoptedText/ta10/ERES1705.htm#1>, accessed 26/04/11.
- <sup>8</sup> <http://assembly.coe.int/Main.asp?link=/Documents/AdoptedText/ta01/EREC1500.htm>, accessed 26/04/11.
- <sup>9</sup> See 1.
- <sup>10</sup> [http://www.mipex.eu/sites/default/files/downloads/migrant\\_integration\\_policy\\_index\\_mipexiii\\_2011.pdf](http://www.mipex.eu/sites/default/files/downloads/migrant_integration_policy_index_mipexiii_2011.pdf), p. 84, accessed 13/05/11.
- <sup>11</sup> [http://www.aboutmyvote.co.uk/who\\_can\\_register\\_to\\_vote.aspx](http://www.aboutmyvote.co.uk/who_can_register_to_vote.aspx), accessed 20/05/11.
- <sup>12</sup> <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/pdfdir/mig0211.pdf>, accessed 20/05/11.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid. p. 13.
- <sup>14</sup> <http://emilie.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2009/07/uk-wp-5-final.pdf>, p. 16, accessed 26/04/11.
- <sup>15</sup> [http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/MediaArchive/publications/ENARgy\\_08\\_2010\\_EN\\_LR.pdf](http://cms.horus.be/files/99935/MediaArchive/publications/ENARgy_08_2010_EN_LR.pdf), p. 6, accessed 19/05/11.
- <sup>16</sup> Whiteley, P. *Where have all the members gone? The dynamics of party membership in Britain, Parliamentary Affairs*, Oxford: OUP/The Hansard Society, 2008, cited in [www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/spconf/239/23907.htm#a13](http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/spconf/239/23907.htm#a13).
- <sup>17</sup> [http://www-05.ibm.com/ch/events/gbt\\_forum/pdf/05\\_Claudia\\_Woody\\_The\\_Cost.pdf](http://www-05.ibm.com/ch/events/gbt_forum/pdf/05_Claudia_Woody_The_Cost.pdf).
- <sup>18</sup> [http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/UDRW/images/items/doc1\\_1214\\_371021031.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/UDRW/images/items/doc1_1214_371021031.pdf).
- <sup>19</sup> <http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/qui/>, accessed 19/04/11.
- <sup>20</sup> [http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/qui/xml/organe.asp?id\\_organe=/13/tribun/xml/xml/organes/389507.xml](http://www.assemblee-nationale.fr/qui/xml/organe.asp?id_organe=/13/tribun/xml/xml/organes/389507.xml), accessed 19/04/2011.
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- <sup>22</sup> <http://www.senat.fr/elus.html>, accessed 19/04/2011.
- <sup>23</sup> <http://www.senat.fr/senateurs/ump.html>, accessed 19/04/2011.
- <sup>24</sup> <http://www.senat.fr/senateurs/soc.html>, accessed 19/04/2011.
- <sup>25</sup> <http://www.senat.fr/senateurs/uc.html> and [http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mouvement\\_d%C3%A9mocrate\\_\(France\)#S.C3.A9nateurs](http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mouvement_d%C3%A9mocrate_(France)#S.C3.A9nateurs), accessed 19/04/2011.
- <sup>26</sup> <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/members/public/geoSearch/zoneList.do?country=FR&language=EN>, accessed 19/04/11.
- <sup>27</sup> <http://www.lefigaro.fr/flash-actu/2009/10/29/01011-20091029FILWWW00382--confidentiel-ump-moins-d-adherents.php>, accessed 27/04/11.
- <sup>28</sup> <http://www.lefigaro.fr/politique/2010/01/12/01002-20100112ARTFIG00011-adherents-operation-verite-au-ps.php>, accessed 27/04/11.
- <sup>29</sup> <http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5hspizskNLhL2sz4spgQSFN3Zr1og?docId=CNG.505d86ebe1dfca0c333e5b57dc6b23e1.111>, accessed 27/04/11.
- <sup>30</sup> <http://www.bundestag.de/bundestag/abgeordnete17/listeFraktionen/cducsu/index.html>, accessed 19/04/11.
- <sup>31</sup> <http://www.bundestag.de/bundestag/plenum/index.jsp>, accessed 19/04/11.
- <sup>32</sup> <http://www.bundestag.de/bundestag/abgeordnete17/listeFraktionen/spd/index.html>, accessed 19/04/11.
- <sup>33</sup> <http://www.bundestag.de/bundestag/abgeordnete17/listeFraktionen/b90/index.html>, accessed 19/04/11.
- <sup>34</sup> [http://www.bundesrat.de/cln\\_152/nn\\_9030/DE/struktur/stimmenverteilung/stimmenverteilung-node.html?\\_nn=true](http://www.bundesrat.de/cln_152/nn_9030/DE/struktur/stimmenverteilung/stimmenverteilung-node.html?_nn=true), accessed 19/04/2011.
- <sup>35</sup> [http://www.bundesrat.de/nn\\_9052/DE/organe-mitglieder/mitglieder/laender/laender-node.html?\\_nn=true](http://www.bundesrat.de/nn_9052/DE/organe-mitglieder/mitglieder/laender/laender-node.html?_nn=true), accessed 19/04/2011.
- <sup>36</sup> <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/members/public/geoSearch/search.do?country=DE&language=EN>, accessed 19/04/11.
- <sup>37</sup> [http://www.bundesrat.de/nn\\_8330/DE/organe-mitglieder/mitglieder/a-z/uebersicht-a-c-node.html?\\_nn=true](http://www.bundesrat.de/nn_8330/DE/organe-mitglieder/mitglieder/a-z/uebersicht-a-c-node.html?_nn=true), accessed 19/04/2011.
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- <sup>39</sup> [http://www.bpb.de/themen/ZKOKOF,0,0,CSU\\_Mitgliederzusammensetzung.html](http://www.bpb.de/themen/ZKOKOF,0,0,CSU_Mitgliederzusammensetzung.html), accessed 27/04/11.
- <sup>40</sup> [http://www.bpb.de/themen/TNIOLF,0,0,SPD\\_Mitgliederzusammensetzung.html](http://www.bpb.de/themen/TNIOLF,0,0,SPD_Mitgliederzusammensetzung.html), accessed 27/04/11.

- <sup>41</sup> [http://www.bpb.de/themen/X3XVS7,0,0,B%FCndnis\\_90Die\\_Gr%FCnen\\_Mitgliederzusammensetzung.html](http://www.bpb.de/themen/X3XVS7,0,0,B%FCndnis_90Die_Gr%FCnen_Mitgliederzusammensetzung.html), accessed 27/04/11.
- <sup>42</sup> <http://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/mps/state-of-the-parties/>, accessed 19/04/11.
- <sup>43</sup> <http://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/lords/lords-by-type-and-party/>, accessed 19/04/11.
- <sup>44</sup> <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/members/public/geoSearch/zoneList.do?country=GB&language=EN>, accessed 19/04/11.
- <sup>45</sup> [http://www.conservatives.com/People/Members\\_of\\_the\\_European\\_Parliament.aspx](http://www.conservatives.com/People/Members_of_the_European_Parliament.aspx), accessed 19/04/11.
- <sup>46</sup> <http://www.libdems.org.uk/meps.aspx>, accessed 19/04/11.
- <sup>47</sup> <http://www2.labour.org.uk/meps>, accessed 19/04/11.
- <sup>48</sup> <http://www.parliament.uk/documents/commons/lib/research/briefings/snsg-05125.pdf>, p. 9, accessed 27/04/11.
- <sup>49</sup> <http://emilie.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2009/09/wp5-germany-formatted.pdf>, p. 26, accessed 26/04/11.
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