



## 7 Immigrants' political careers: Opportunities and constraints

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### **ABSTRACT**

What affects the opportunities immigrants have to pursue political careers? Theory on opportunity structures provides evidence on the impact macro structures have on immigrants' underrepresentation in leadership roles of political organizations and in representative bodies. Thus, the national context is a recognized factor affecting immigrants' opportunities to pursue a political career. Beyond the macro factors, the literature recognized the essential role political parties have in recruiting political leaders and providing opportunities for political careers. This book chapter looks at the impact that both national contexts and political parties as organizations have on immigrants' political careers. It explores how national contexts affect the chances of candidates of immigrant origin to get nominated by political parties and elected by voters. Additionally, the study provides a descriptive overview of the organizational practices parties in the EU implement to support immigrants' incorporation. By doing that this book chapter describes the macro and meso level opportunities and barriers to political careers immigrants in the EU are facing. The analysis is based on quantitative methodology using secondary data.

### **INTRODUCTION**

The embeddedness of citizens of immigrant origin in the labour market, welfare state, educational system and more generally, their position in the country of residence may be influenced by their political integration in the country where they or their ancestors have moved to. Successful political integration enables immigrants to have their interests and values represented in public policies and laws and allows them to be part of the political decisions as elected representatives (Hochschild & Mollenkopf, 2009; Hochschild et al., 2013). Although some students of immigration have challenged the direct link between descriptive and substantive representation (Celis et al., 2008; Hero & Tolbert, 1995), political theorists have argued that the presence of minorities in parliaments is essential for the representation of minority interests (Mansbridge, 1999; Phillips, 1995; Wängnerud, 2009). Empirical studies have shown that descriptive representation may enhance substantive representation conditional on strategic incentives arising from electoral systems and parliamentary institutions (Aydemir & Vliegthart, 2016; Geese, 2020a; Geese, 2020b; Geese & Schwemmer, 2019; Mügge et al., 2019; Saalfeld & Bischof, 2013). Hence, descriptive representation of immigrants as elected representatives in parliaments is a strong indicator for

the successful integration of immigrants ensuring the legitimacy of the democratic process in liberal democracies.

In most European countries immigrants are underrepresented in parliaments, meaning that parliaments do not mirror the ethnic diversity of the population (Bloemraad & Schönwälder, 2013; Norris & Lovenduski, 1995). Descriptive underrepresentation of a particular group may indicate systematic obstacles that members of that group face when pursuing a political career. Research on the “immigrant participation gap” identifies that individual characteristics of immigrants can act as barriers to their political participation (DeSipio, 2011; Ramakrishnan & Espenshade, 2001). For example, a lack of resources such as education, money, time, civic skills, language competencies, and knowledge of the political system in the country of residence reduces the chances of immigrants to engage in politics (Brady et al., 1995; Verba et al., 1993). In modern politics, the process of professionalization increased the importance of such resources for MPs and candidates standing for public office (Borchert & Zeiss, 2003). Given such trends in political recruitment and careers (Best & Cotta, 2000), immigrants as a group of citizens tend to be in a disadvantaged position.

Cross-national studies in immigrant descriptive representation indicate that the descriptive representation of immigrants can be influenced by macro-level factors such as laws on membership and integration, constitutional frameworks and political institutions (Bird et al., 2011; Bloemraad, 2013; Bloemraad & Schönwälder, 2013). Moreover, political parties – as meso-level organizations and key collective actors in liberal democracies influencing the process of political representation with their internal practices – may have a significant impact on the opportunities immigrants have to attain elected office (Dancygier, 2014; Scarrow et al., 2004; Zapata-Barrero, 2017). Recognizing the multilevel complexity of factors that explain immigrant descriptive representation, this chapter will provide a descriptive overview of how macro-level factors and political parties as meso-level organizations may affect the micro-level disadvantages associated with being a citizen of immigrant origin and influence the opportunities for immigrants to become elected representatives.

## **MACRO LEVEL INSTITUTIONS AND DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION OF IMMIGRANTS**

How may macro-level institutions reduce the disadvantages of immigrants who seek to pursue a political career? Existing research demonstrates that more open political opportunity structures can increase the chances of immigrants to become political representatives (Bird et al., 2011; Norris & Lovenduski, 1995). As Tarrow (1994, p. 85) explains, political opportunity structures can be understood as various “dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for

people to undertake collective action”. Scholars working on the descriptive representation of immigrants recognize that macro-level variables such as citizenship regimes, electoral rules, and party systems – including the configuration of parties supportive of, and opposed to, the political incorporation of immigrants – can have a significant effect on representative outcomes (Bird et al., 2011). For example, research on electoral systems suggests that systems with proportional representation increase overall turnout and reduce the representational differences between minorities and majority citizens (Karp & Banducci, 2008; Rule & Zimmerman, 1994). Moreover, the institutional framework that defines the rights and opportunities for immigrants in the country of residence can have a significant impact on the overall position immigrants have in the host society.

Comparative research demonstrates that European societies are characterized by notable differences in their immigration, integration and citizenship policies (Helbling, 2013; Helbling et al., 2017). One dimension of integration policies captures those policies that focus on the rights for political participation in the country of residence including voting rights, freedom of association including the right to join a political party, in the existence of appointed or elected consultative bodies giving immigrants a voice, and the recognition of, and financial support for, immigrant organizations. Such policies can be considered as key dimension of the opportunity structure for political participation of immigrants. One institutional mechanism that can ensure descriptive representation of minorities are representational quota, although such institutions are used more frequently in the case of ethnic minorities than for the incorporation of citizens with immigrant background (Hänni & Saalfeld, 2020; Krook & Zetterberg, 2014; Tripp & Kang, 2008). Compared to policies of immigrant integration in employment, education, health care, or laws on non-discrimination, rights of political participation are frequently more restrictive (MIPEX, 2022). For example, the right to hold office and be a representative in national parliament is exclusive to citizens of the country of residence. In the European Union, the right to vote and stand for election at the local and European level is guaranteed to all EU nationals. However, only in seven EU member states (Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden) third-country nationals are allowed to stand as candidates in local elections (MIPEX, 2022). Hence, immigrants with political ambitions who do not naturalize limit their chances for political careers in their countries of residence considerably.

Citizenship regimes may have a direct impact on the size of the pool of potential eligible political candidates with immigrant origin. The decision to naturalize is more attractive, if the costs of naturalization do not outweigh the benefits (Baubock, 2006). Although the decision for naturalization depends on numer-

ous factors, studies demonstrate that more open policies on membership do increase the chances of immigrants to naturalize (Baubock, 2006). Citizenship in general has a positive effect on political participation (Hainmueller et al., 2015) and lack of citizenship is a significant disadvantage for immigrants who pursue a political career.

In addition to the policies that regulate the opportunities for political participation and citizenship, integration and immigration policies can generally improve the political career opportunities of immigrants. Bozhinoska Lazarova, Saalfeld and Seifert (2021), for example, demonstrate that more open immigration and integration policies reduce the negative impact of political socialization in a less democratic country and internal efficacy. These effects, in turn, increase the odds of immigrants to join political parties – which is a key condition for political office and descriptive representation. Hence, policies on immigration, integration and membership can reduce some of the disadvantages associated with an immigrant background and thus improve the potential immigrants have for political career.

Country	Integration policies					
	Overall Score 2015	Overall Score 2020	Political Participation 2015	Political Participation 2020	Access to Nationality 2015	Access to Nationality 2020
Austria	50	46	38	20	26	13
Belgium	67	69	57	65	69	65
Bulgaria	42	40	13	0	21	13
Croatia	43	39	13	10	31	19
Cyprus	35	41	25	25	37	53
Czech Republic	45	50	21	10	49	36
Denmark	59	49	64	70	58	41
Estonia	46	50	21	20	18	16
Finland	69	85	79	95	63	74
France	54	56	53	45	61	70
Germany	61	58	63	60	72	42
Greece	44	46	30	20	34	40
Hungary	45	43	23	15	31	25
Ireland	52	64	73	85	59	79
Italy	59	58	58	25	50	40
Latvia	31	37	13	20	17	24
Lithuania	37	37	16	5	35	22
Luxembourg	57	64	81	85	68	79
Malta	40	48	25	35	34	63
Netherlands	60	57	52	50	66	55
Norway	69	69	82	80	52	50
Poland	41	40	6	10	56	50
Portugal	75	81	74	80	86	86

Romania	45	49	0	5	34	38
Slovakia	37	39	16	5	35	28
Slovenia	44	48	23	30	41	22
Spain	60	60	54	55	48	30
Sweden	78	86	71	80	73	83
Switzerland	49	50	58	55	31	28
UK	57	56	51	45	60	61
<i>Source: MIPEX Project, 2015 and 2020</i>						

**Table 7:** MIPEX scores for overall integration policies, policies for political participation and policies for membership in 30 European democracies, 2015 and 2020

**Table 7** compares the scores for the “equality standards” in various integration policies for a sample of European countries. These scores are based on expert ratings collected by the MPG team to construct a “Migrant Integration Policy Index” (MIPEX, 2022). The overall integration score is based on 58 policy indicators covering eight policy areas: Labour market mobility, Family reunification, Education, Political participation, Permanent residence, Access to nationality, Anti-discrimination, and Health. The value for each indicator ranges from 0 to 100 where higher values indicate higher standards of equality for immigrants in the relevant dimension. The values from the individual indicators are aggregated to give one summary score for each of the eight policy areas. In a final step, an overall integration score is calculated from the values for the eight policy areas. The sub-score for political participation is based on indicators on electoral rights, political liberties, the existence and powers of consultative bodies and financial support for political participation of immigrants. The sub-score for access to nationality is based on indicators capturing the eligibility for naturalization, conditions and security of naturalization and restrictions on dual citizenship.

**Table 7** shows that countries modified their policies on integration including policies on political participation and membership over time. Between 2015 and 2020, countries like Sweden, Portugal, Ireland, and Finland increased the “openness” of their integration policies including policies on political participation and citizenship (See Table 7). However, changes in the policies have not improved the opportunities and increase the access to rights for immigrants everywhere. Some countries did not make significant modifications in their integration policies while others changed their integration policies from more open to more restrictive (See Table 7). Hence, immigrants experience reforms in the institutional context which may improve, or worsen, their potentials for political careers.

## MESO LEVEL: POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE DESCRIPTIVE REPRESENTATION OF IMMIGRANTS

Institutionalized democratic participation and representation in liberal democracies is largely led by the political parties (Bird et al., 2011). Parties are organizations with specific structures, strategies, regulations and procedures. They influence who joins a party and how careers within political parties are structured. Moreover, by offering a path to elected office, political parties represent an essential venue for immigrants' incorporation into the political system.

Not all political parties provide equal opportunities for immigrants to advance a political career. Some organizational characteristics of political parties can improve the chances of immigrants to be nominated and elected (Sobolewska, 2013). Some exceptions notwithstanding, left-wing parties have traditionally been more inclusive toward immigrants and have been more likely to recruit and nominate elected representatives with immigrant origin (Alonso & Fonseca, 2012; Dancygier, 2014). However, ideology alone does not explain the position the party will take toward immigrants (Odmalm, 2011). The parties' positions on immigration and the strategies they use to incorporate immigrants into their organization can additionally be influenced by the preferences of voters, the electoral context, as well as internal party positions (Odmalm, 2011).

The number of elected representatives with immigrant origin in parliaments is largely influenced by the number of candidates with immigrant origin and moreover the number of winnable seats citizens with immigrant origin compete for (Burchianti & Zapata-Barrero, 2017; Dancygier et al., 2021). Hence the recruitment and candidate selection strategies political parties use are crucial organizational factors shaping the opportunities immigrants have to be elected.

In the process of candidate nomination, parties select those individuals who will eventually participate the decision-making process as elected representatives, and it selects the groups who will be represented in parliaments (Pruysers et al., 2017). Candidate recruitment in political parties tends to be shaped by complex processes, which are defined by macro-level structures such as legal, electoral, and party systems; meso level factors such as the parties' rules, ideologies and gatekeeper preferences; and factors on the individual level such as the backgrounds of individuals with ambitions to run for office (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995).

The recruitment process is considered to evolve in two stages: 1) certification or search for eligible candidates and 2) selection of candidates or creating candidate lists (Seligman, 1961). The screening of eligible candidates can be done through diverse canals. Party's membership is a potential pool of eligible candidates. Those who decide to join a party and are willing to engage in party activities

are more likely to have a desire for a political career than citizens without party membership (Kosiara-Pedersen et al., 2017; Schlesinger, 1984).

Worked in a party or political organization in the past 12 months	First-generation immigrant	Second-generation immigrant	No migratory background	Total
<i>Absolute numbers and column percentages</i>				
Yes	126 2.72%	173 4.85%	1,598 4.16%	1,897 4.07%
No	4,514 97.28%	3,393 95.15%	36,861 95.84%	44,768 95.93%
Total	4,640 100%	3,566 100%	38,459 100%	46,665 100%
$\chi^2 = 28.12^{***}$				
Source: European Social Survey 2018				

**Table 8:** Party members by immigrant status in 25 European democracies, 2018

**Table 8** compares the share of party members among “first-generation” and “second-generation” immigrants to the relevant percentage among persons without immigrant origin. The data were calculated from responses to the latest available round of the European Social Survey (2018) and aggregated for 25 European democracies. The question asked in the European Social Survey captures whether respondents worked in a political party or similar organization in the past 12 months before the interview. First-generation immigrants are defined as persons who were born in a country other than the country of residence and were not citizens of the country of residence at birth, while the children of such persons are defined as second-generation immigrants. Table 8 shows that citizens of immigrant origin, particularly first-generation immigrants, are generally less likely to join political parties. Political parties that attract higher number of members with immigrant origin have a larger pool of potential eligible candidates of immigrant background.

An important channel for candidate recruitment are the parties’ sub-organizations. For example, women’s sub-organizations played an important role in the recruitment of female candidates and contributed to greater representation of women amongst candidates for political office (Childs & Kittilson, 2016; Ponce et al., 2020; Scarrow et al., 2017). Although most parties have sub-organizations, it is not very common for political parties to maintain sub-organizations for ethnic minorities or citizens of immigrant origin. In a sample of 122 parties in 19 countries between 2012 and 2014, 78% reported to have youth sub-organizations, 41% had women’s sub-organizations, whereas only 5.7% had sub-organizations based on ethnic/linguistic status and only 3.3% represented religious minorities (Allern & Verge, 2017).

Sub-organization: sub-organization: Ethnic/linguistic group				
COUNTRY	Not Provided	Yes	No	Total
Austria	20	1	4	25
Belgium	29	0	24	53
Czech Republic	15	0	5	20
Denmark	28	0	8	36
France	6	0	2	8
Germany	14	0	14	28
Hungary	17	1	3	21
Ireland	16	0	5	21
Italy	15	1	4	20
Netherlands	34	0	10	44
Norway	21	1	6	28
Poland	18	0	6	24
Portugal	18	0	6	24
Spain	13	0	7	20
Sweden	24	0	8	32
United Kingdom	30	1	6	37
Total	318	5	118	441

Source: *The Political Party Database Project, rounds 1a and 1b*

**Table 9:** Sub-organizations based on ethnic or linguistic group membership in political parties, 2010-2016

As demonstrated in **Table 9**, only 5 political parties in the 16 countries included in the survey of the Political Party Database Project reported to have sub-organization based on ethnicity or language. It is important to note, however, that the definitions of citizens of immigrant origin on the one hand and ethnic minorities on the other are different (Bloemraad & Schönwälder, 2013). Although we do not have comprehensive data on sub-organizations of immigrants in political parties, the data from Poguntke, Scarrow and Webb (2020) in **Table 9** suggest that immigrants are not frequently organized as ethnic minorities in in the sub-organizations of European political parties. Where such sub-organizations existed (e.g., the British Labour Party's Labour Party Black Sections consisting of African, Caribbean, and Asian Labour Party members between 1983 to 1993), they have often been temporary (Anwar, 1986). Nevertheless, some party organizations use informal platforms dealing with minority issues (Odmalm, 2004).

Political parties can have formal collaborations with independent organizations and diverse external groups (Allern & Verge, 2017). These social connections parties have potential channels for candidate recruitment. Trades unions, typically associated with social democratic, socialist, and communist parties, have been a traditional pool for the recruitment of candidates of immigrant origin (Messina, 2007). The links parties have with immigrant or ethnic-minority organizations have also been of particular significance in this context. Immigrants who are active in associations and organizations generally tend to have better civic

skills and knowledge relevant for political participation (Fennema & Tillie, 2001; Jacobs & Tillie, 2004), which makes them more competitive candidates. Hence parties that establish links with organizations that are attractive to immigrants or promote the interests of ethnic minorities and immigrants may increase the pool of eligible candidates significantly.

Despite improvements in past 20-30 years, the limited pool of eligible candidates on the “supply side” of political recruitment remains a problem contributing to the underrepresentation of immigrants (Noris & Lovenduski, 1995), although some studies demonstrate that progress has been made in some countries and the severity of the problem varies by country (Dancygier, 2021). Recruitment through channels from outside the parties is one strategy parties have used to attract a broader pool of eligible candidates with immigrant origin (Sobolewska, 2013).

The search for eligible candidates is followed by the candidate selection process. The candidate selection can be defined depending on four dimensions: 1) candidacy (Who can present his or her candidacy?); 2) selectorate (Who selects the candidates?); 3) decentralization of decision making (Are candidates selected by a national or a sub-national selectorate?); 4) method of nomination (Nomination by a vote or by appointment?) (Rahat & Hazan, 2001). These dimensions of the selection process can influence the chances immigrants have to be nominated.

Some studies show that decentralized selection processes may reduce the number of minority candidates (Pruysers et al., 2017; Sobolewska, 2013). When the party leadership wants to improve immigrant representation, a centralized selection process can increase the chances of immigrants to be selected (Sobolewska, 2013). On the other hand, the level of democracy in the party can influence the electoral lists in a way that more democratic practices increase the pool of eligible candidates for public offices by increasing engagement and mobilization (Bolin et al., 2017).

Party rules on candidate selection can be introduced to regulate the profile of candidates. For example, formal quotas have been used to overcome the underrepresentation of women (Allern & Verge, 2017; Childs & Kittilson, 2016). Although parties may seek to ensure representation of citizens with immigrant origin in their pool of candidates and on party lists, parties rarely have quotas for ethnic or religious minorities and immigrants (Allern & Verge, 2017). Moreover, only a few political parties in Europe have procedural rules in their candidate selection procedures for the national legislature that target the representation of ethnic minorities or religious minorities (see Table 10). Some parties might use informal targets or recommendations to increase the presence of some groups (Allern & Verge, 2017). However, none of the parties from Europe included in a

survey conducted by Poguntke et al. (2020) reported such informal targets for ethnic or religious minorities and immigrants in the candidate selection process (Appendix Table 1).

Party constitution or rulebook makes specifications in respect of the representation of ethnicity or religion in the process of selecting candidates for the national legislature.				
COUNTRY	Not Provided	Yes	No	Total
Austria	20	0	5	25
Belgium	41	3	9	53
Czech Republic	20	0	0	20
Denmark	28	0	8	36
France	6	0	2	8
Germany	21	0	7	28
Hungary	17	0	4	21
Ireland	16	0	5	21
Italy	15	0	5	20
Netherlands	34	1	9	44
Norway	21	2	7	28
Poland	19	0	5	24
Portugal	18	0	6	24
Spain	15	0	5	20
Sweden	24	1	7	32
United Kingdom	30	3	4	37
Total	357	10	88	441
Source: <i>The Political Party Database Project, rounds 1a and 1b</i>				

**Table 10:** Candidate selection rules targeting ethnicity and/or religion, 2010 – 2016

Few parties that report to have rules concerning ethnic or religious minorities in the candidate selection procedure (see Table 10). When asked to explain the regulation they usually refer to statements in the party statutes that deal with general principles of representation and diversity in the population (see Appendix, Table 11). Only two parties in Europe report to have statutory rules about representation of ethnic, linguistic, or religious minorities on the party’s highest executive body and only six parties have statutory rules about representation of ethnicity or languages in the process of selecting party congress delegates (see Appendix, Table 12). Recognizing the differences between citizens of immigrant origin and ethnic or religious minorities, these findings do not speak directly about citizens of immigrant origin. However, the results suggest the use of some organizational tools for the promotion of group-specific rules for candidate-selection that might inform the debate on the opportunities citizens of immigrant origin have in political parties.

Beyond formal rules, scholars have recognized that electoral gatekeepers have a strategic role in the recruitment process (Dancygier et al., 2021; Eriksson & Vernby, 2021; Soininen & Qvist, 2021). Gatekeepers may provide a boost to the

political ambitions of eligible candidates, and they influence the selection of candidates (Lawless & Fox, 2005). Some studies suggest that the underrepresentation of citizens of immigrant origin is influenced by discrimination through party elites (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995; Soininen, 2011; Soininen & Qvist, 2021). In the case of Sweden, Dancygier et al. (2021) found evidence to suggest that party gatekeepers have placed immigrants on less desirable list positions. By doing so they reduced the chances of citizens with immigrant origin to be elected. Informal networks within parties may be even more difficult to access for ethnic minorities and immigrants, potentially contributing to de-facto discrimination (Soininen, 2011). Hence, the difficulties immigrants might encounter to integrate into the informal networks in the party may hinder their perspectives for political career.

## CONCLUSIONS

Scholars examining the descriptive representation of immigrants and their descendants have made significant progress in identifying factors that explain barriers to political careers for citizens of immigrant origin. Nonetheless, there is still lot to learn on the issue of opportunities and constraints for political careers immigrants are facing in European democracies. What we know from existing research is that immigrants are generally less likely to pursue a political career than the relevant reference groups. Also, immigrants that do harbour an ambition for a political career face obstacles that have resulted in the underrepresentation of immigrants in parliaments and other democratic representative bodies. The sources of immigrant underrepresentation stem from a variety of factors across a number of levels of analysis. This book chapter provides a review of the most relevant factors at the macro and meso levels of political systems.

Existing findings demonstrate that the political institutions and the framework of political rights for immigrants in the country of residence can have a significant impact on the opportunities immigrants have to be elected as democratic representatives. The policies states have implemented to incorporate and integrate citizens of immigrant origin contribute to a reduction of the representational gap between the share of immigrants in the population and the much smaller proportion of immigrant-origin representatives in elected office. On the meso level of political parties, research suggests that political parties report very few organizational mechanisms for the incorporation of immigrants in their organizations. However, parties are crucial filters, because there is a considerable variation in the level of immigrant descriptive representation amongst the elected officials nominated by these parties. Although the mechanisms political parties use for immigrant incorporation might not be institutionalized as they are for other minorities, they are obviously very powerful. Future research needs to understand better how cross-level interactions between the macro, meso and micro

levels account for the descriptive representation of immigrants and their descendants.

## APPENDIX

Brief summary of national party rules concerning ethnic or religious minorities and candidate selection.		
Belgium	Democrat Humanist Centre	National executive sets directives regarding balance ethnic origins
Belgium	Ecolo	Statutes specifically mention that the party has to ensure respect and representation of minorities
Belgium	Christian-Democrat and Flemish	Statutes mention the necessity to have a balance of all groups in society on the list
France	Socialist Party	No rules, although party statutes mention that the pool of candidates should reflect the country's 'diversity.'
Netherlands	Labour Party	No strict rules, but are supposed to strive to reflect the diversity in The Netherlands.
Norway	Christian Democratic Party	All of the party's representatives in public office and party officials are committed to and should work for the party's Christian values as defined in Å§1.
Norway	Socialist Left Party	The county branches are encouraged to consider the following in the nomination process: Prioritize minority candidates.
Sweden	Centre Party	The party's procedures requires its nomination committees to take account of various factors, including "diversity" (which means ethnic diversity), in their proposals for party lists.
United Kingdom	Scottish National Party	'The Parliamentary Candidate Vetting and Selection Rules will specify processes for ensuring a balanced list of candidates.' (SNP Constitution, p. 10)
United Kingdom	Liberal Democrats	The Federal LibDems Constitution, 2012,p.30 states: 'In deciding whether to enter an applicant on a list, each State Candidates Committee shall take into account...(c) the need to ensure that the (short-)list contains a reasonable balance between both sexes and different age groups, and includes representatives of different social and economic groups and of ethnic minorities'. It goes on to state (p. 31): 'Subject to there being a sufficient number of applicants of each sex, short lists of two to four must include at least one member of each sex and short lists of five or more must include at least two members of each sex; there must also be due regard for the representation of ethnic minorities.'
United Kingdom	Labour Party	'... targeted action will be taken to increase the representation of women, ethnic minority and disabled members and those from manual and clerical backgrounds on the national panel.' (Rule Book 2010, p. 27).
Source: <i>The Political Party Database Project, rounds 1 a and 1b (2010 - 2016)</i>		

**Table 11:** Summary of national party rules concerning ethnic or religious minorities and candidate selection, 2010 – 2016

Items A92EXCETHTXT and A80CONETHTXT			
	Country	Political Party	Statutory rules about representation of ethnic, linguistic or religious minorities on the party's highest executive body
1	Norway	Socialist Left Party	Party statutes (Å§ 3-2): Minority representation should be strived for. Party statutes (Å§ 8-2): 2 of the following 10 people will have an ethnic minority background: the 4 ordinary members of the National Executive Committee and the 6 members of the National Council that are elected directly by the party conference.
2	United Kingdom	Labour Party	One member of the NEC is to be elected by the Labour Party Black Socialist Society. This is possible if the membership of the society reaches 2500 and a third of trade unions have affiliated to the society.
	Country	Political party	Statutory rules about representation of ethnicity or languages in selection party congress delegates.
1	Austria	The Greens	9 members of the sub-organization for ethnic minorities.
2	France	Socialist Party	The statutes indicate that lists should 'try to pay attention to the representation of diversity, notably geographical and sociological, of French society. No specific rule about how this may be implemented
3	Norway	Centre Party	Party statutes (Å§9 - 2): Delegates to the national conference are the party`s MPs in the Sami Parliament, the leaders of the Sami Political Forum in electoral districts, three members of the board of the Sami Political Council.
4	Norway	Socialist Left Party	Party statutes (Å§Å§ 8-2 and 7-3): Among the members of the National Council, which are all delegates, at least two must have ethnic minority background.
5	Sweden	Centre Party	There is a recommendation in the statutes that each election within the party (boards, delegates, external positions of trust and election candidates) should take into account gender, age and ethnicity to create a uniform distribution of assignments and good representativeness.
6	United Kingdom	Labour Party	Members of the Executive Committee of the Black Socialist Society have ex officio representation at the annual Conference.
<i>Source: The Political Party Database Project, rounds 1a and 1b (2010 - 2016)</i>			

**Table 12:** Statutory rules about representation of ethnic, linguistic, or religious minorities on the party's highest executive body and party congress delegates, 2010 – 2016

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