Yes we can?

Parties' impact on ethnic representation at the local level in Belgium and England

Floor Eelbode

Paper for the 22nd IPSA world congress in Madrid (8-12 July 2012)

Floor.Eelbode@ugent.be

Work in progress, do not cite without permission.

Introduction

After November the sixth, we will know if Barack Obama is reelected as president of the United States. As the first black U.S. president ever, Obama is probably one of the most successful examples of ethnic minority representation[1]. However, in general, most representatives in our modern democracies disproportionally come from other sections of the population: they are predominantly white, well-educated and middle-class men (Meadowcroft, 2010; Norris and Lovenduski, 1993; Rallings et al, 2010, etc). Studies in North-America and Europe show that ethnic minorities are underrepresented in today's politics, notwithstanding their growing presence in our societies (Kymlicka, 1996; Togeby, 2008, Bird, 2003, etc.) This leads to questions about the justice, effectiveness and legitimacy of the political system (Bird, Saalfeld and Wüst, 2011). However, there seem to be differences between countries regarding this representation, with some countries – for instance Belgium and Denmark – obtaining a far better ethnic minority representation than others (Bird, 2004; Togeby, 2008: Jacobs, 2000).

To explain this underrepresentation and the country differences in representation, several authors suggest to use the Political Opportunity Structure (POS) model (Bird, 2003; Koopmans, 2004).

---

[1] This paper focuses on one of the dimensions of political representation as identified by Pitkin (1976): the issue of descriptive representation or representation as presence. If "representatives are in their own persons and lives in some sense typical of the larger class of persons whom they represent" (Mansbridge, 1999, pg 629) descriptive representation is obtained. The focus is thus on the descriptive characteristics of the representatives, they should have visible characteristics or shared experiences typical for the group he or she represents (Hazan and Rahat, 2010; Mansbridge, 1999). This paper thus takes into account the presence of ethnic minorities in politics. This paper does not discuss the substantive representation of ethnic minorities, that is, the reflection of their political ideas.

1

According to this model, the political environment creates favorable (or non favorable) conditions for the representation of ethnic minorities. More specifically, four different issues are said to have an influence: the citizenship regime, the electoral system, the political party and the characteristics of the ethnic group (Bird, 2003; Kittilson and Tate, 2004; Koopmans, 2004; Koopmans and Statham 2000).

The influence of the citizenship regime, the electoral system and the characteristics of the ethnic group have been already researched in debt by other authors (For instance Bird, 2003; Koopmans, 2004; Giugni and Passy, 2004; Statham et al, 2005, Berger et al, 2001; Fennema et al, 2000; Jacobs et al, 2004). Ethnic minority representation has been found to increase in multicultural citizenship regimes, where ethnic minorities are entitled to vote and easily obtain citizenship (Koopmans, 2004). Furthermore, it has been shown that proportional electoral systems with semi-open lists are more beneficial for ethnic minorities (Bird, 2004; Togeby, 2008, Kostadinova, 2007; Shugart, 1994) For the characteristics of the ethnic group, a group's social capital, its size and geographical concentration and its experiences in the homeland are said to be influential (Bird, 2003).

This article will build on this research by exploring the relevance of political parties for ethnic minority representation. Notwithstanding their important role as gatekeepers, the influence of political parties remains largely unexplored (Bird, Saalfeld and Wüst, 2011). Most studies are purely descriptive (Anwar, 2001) or focus on the influence of extreme-right parties (Kitschelt 1997; Kriesi *et al*. 2006; Sprague-Jones 2011; van der Brug and van Spanje 2009). Political parties are crucial however in determining who is elected for office (Caul and Tate, 2004, Saggar and Geddes, 2000) and it therefore seems indispensable to explore the relationship between political parties and ethnic minorities further by focusing on the experiences of those involved. Next, as research shows that electoral systems influence the way parties behave (Hazan & Rahat, 2010), we will also focus on the interaction between these two dimensions.

This study is innovative in that it is based on an international comparative research design. According to Bird (2003: 7): "There are very few studies that compare ethnic minority representation across countries or that address the underrepresentation of different groups within countries". This article takes the challenge of doing this. It is based on a comparative qualitative research of one Flemish[2] and one British city. By analyzing parties in two completely different party systems, we hope to obtain a more complete picture that is valid in different contexts and/or hints at intervening factors that moderate or reinforce the party factor. In these two cities, interviews were conducted both with ethnic candidates, councillors, members of the ethnic community and party officials.

---

[2] Flanders is a part of Belgium

First, we will review the literature on the effects of political parties and more specifically on party characteristics that are said to influence 1) what parties do to enhance ethnic minority representation, 2) why ethnic minority voters vote for certain parties and 3) why ethnic minority candidates choose to stand for certain parties. Next, we set out the methodology of our research. Afterwards, the empirical analysis section explores the importance of these three elements for ethnic representation. A final section brings the findings together and discusses the implications of this study for future research.

1. The influence of political parties on the political representation of ethnic minorities

1.1 Political parties and ethnic minority representation

According to Copus (2004) local government is party-based government. Both in England and in Belgium, the main actors in local politics are political parties (Copus, 2004; Buelens, Rihoux and Deschouwer, 2008). They are also crucial actors for the presence of ethnic minorities: if local political parties do not put ethnic minorities on their lists, there can be no ethnic minority representation[3]. In addition, ethnic minorities are becoming more and more crucial for the political parties as well. As their share in the population rises, the support of the ethnic minority community might help to win elections and they are therefore an electoral pool that can no longer be ignored (Claro da Fonseca, 2011). Despite the growing relevance of the link between political parties and ethnic minorities, however, their relationship remains largely unexplored (Bird, Saalfeld & Wüst, 2011).

We will argue that parties impact on ethnic minority representation in three ways: by attracting voters from ethnic minorities casting an 'ethnic vote', by doing efforts to recruit and support ethnic candidates and by being attractive to ethnic minority candidates. What is already researched in some way, is the voting behavior of ethnic minorities (dimension 1). Several quantitative studies discuss which parties ethnic minorities prefer (Berger et al, 2001; Bird, Saalfeld & Wüst, 2011; Messiaen, 2012; Steyvers, 2002, etc) and whether and to what extent they cast a so-called ethnic vote, i.e. a vote for fellow people belonging to an ethnic minority (Jacobs, Martiniello & Rea, 2002). We want a more in-depth understanding of how this voting behaviour affects ethnic minority representation. Next, we will focus on the political parties themselves: what do they do to enhance ethnic minority representation? (dimension 2) Finally, we also focus on ethnic minority candidates and explore why they choose certain parties to stand for (dimension 3). By taking these three dimensions (parties,

---

[3] Experiments with ethnic minority parties proved to be unsuccessful in the past. Ethnic minority representation is thus obtained through established parties (for instance Berger et al, 2001).

voters and candidates) into account, we hope to offer a comprehensive view of the influence of political parties on the political representation of ethnic minorities. In sum, ethnic representation will be high in parties with many ethnic voters, in parties whose party strategy is focused on ethnic minorities, and in parties which are attractive to ethnic candidates. Parties will differ on these dimensions. It is our aim to identify party characteristics that influence the position parties take on these dimensions.

In order to identify these characteristics, we rely on the literature on the political representation of women (Caul, 1999). Both a party's ideology, its candidate selection procedures, the newness of a party and the presence of group representatives (in this case ethnic minorities) within the party are said to be relevant in this respect.

1.2 Party ideology

First of all, ideology seems to be a factor of interest. To start, it influences the strategies parties adopt to enhance ethnic minority representation (dimension 2). According to several authors, leftist parties support egalitarian ideologies and are more open to marginalized and powerless groups in society (Matland & Studlar, 1996). Therefore they will undertake more actions to improve the political representation of ethnic minorities. Rightist parties on the other hand, focus more on individualism and traditionalism and favour a limited interventionist role for the government (including reluctance towards rules guaranteeing a minimum presence of particular groups). They are less open to group representation (Girvin, 1988; Hyde, 1995). In addition, they are seen as less sympathetic to ethnic minorities in particular, as they often support restrictive migration policies (Anwar, 2001). Especially extreme-right parties will be hesitant to put ethnic minorities on their lists. (Bird, 2003).

Furthermore, the ideology of a party also seems to influence the support it gets from ethnic minority voters (dimension 1). Several studies have shown that ethnic minorities tend to support left-wing parties (Berger et al, 2001; Messiaen, 2012; Teney et al, 2010) and this support seems to remain stable over time (Bird, Saalfeld & Wüst, 2011). The socio-economic status of migrant and minority groups seems to be influential in this respect, but is not a determinative for party choice. Also socialization and the position of parties towards cultural change are said to be relevant (Bird, Saalfeld & Wüst). Furthermore, studies have shown that ethnic minorities tend to support candidates of the same ethnic origin and this can help to explain the success of these ethnic minority candidates (for instance Teney et al, 2010,Tillie, 2000).

To our knowledge, there are little studies that discuss the link between ideology and the party preference of ethnic minority candidates (dimension 3), but we expect that they will rather join leftist parties too (in analogy with voter preference).

1.3 Candidate selection process

A second factor that could influence the political representation of ethnic minorities, are the candidate selection procedures of a party (Hazan & Rahat, 2010). Several elements of the selection process can both influence what parties do and why candidates choose for certain parties. We found little studies that discuss the influence of candidate selection procedures on why voters vote for a certain party (dimension 1).

But for the second dimension, it turns out that an exclusive selectorate, the use of quota and the use of an appointment system can help to improve what parties do to enhance ethnic minority representation (Hazan & Rahat, 2010; Matland & Studlar, 1996). If a party has an exclusive selectorate, that is, if only a small group of people decides who will be a candidate, these people have more control over who is nominated to run for the party (Caul, 2012). When they are committed to increase the number of ethnic minority candidates, they have the actual power to do so. Evidently, the vesting of greater power in a non-committed selectorate works against ethnic participation (Bell, 2003; Caul, 1999). If candidates are selected by party members or supporters on the other hand, the result is likely to be a unrepresentative list because these people cannot be instructed to select a socially representative group of candidates nor are 'package deals' possible in which the division of list positions is balanced (Hazan & Rahat, 2010).

A second element of the candidate selection procedure is the existence of an appointment system. According to the same reasoning as above, this is thought to be more beneficial for ethnic minorities compared to a voting system (Hazan & Rahat, 2010).

Thirdly, parties can adopt certain target figures, quota or even reserved seats to enhance ethnic minority representation. Factors like party ideology and the power of intraparty groups such as women's organizations are likely to influence the existence and the scope of these mechanisms. But also the electoral appeal is relevant in this respect: parties will ensure representation if this is electorally beneficial, or when they fear to lose voter support if they ignore such demands (Hazan & Rahat, 2010; Caul, 1999; Caul, 2012). Evidently, such measures are supportive for ethnic minority representation.

Furthermore, the candidate selection procedures can also help to explain why ethnic minority candidates choose for a certain party (dimension 3). Especially open candidacy requirements and an

institutionalised selection process are said to be beneficial for subordinated groups (Hazan & Rahat, 2010; Matland & Studlar, 1996). If candidacy requirements are low, ethnic minority people will be more likely to present themselves as a candidate (Hazan & Rahat, 2010). Requirements of for instance citizenship, minimal length of membership, a monetary deposit, etc. can impede ethnic minority representation. Also how a party treats incumbency may affect representation. If there is a high turnover within a party, it becomes easier for ethnic minorities to get selected (Caul, 1999; Hazan & Rahat, 2010). Furthermore, if the selection process is institutionalized and clear to both new and old candidates and if the formal institutions are transparent to all aspirants, the opportunities for ethnic minority candidates are enhanced (Czudnowski, 1975). In non-institutionalized parties, party leaders can favour certain candidates, which are often people with a great 'personal political capital' (political status and resources). As ethnic minorities are often newcomers, they have less personal capital, which makes it harder for them to get selected (Guadagnini, 1993). Furthermore, research suggests that in some parties institutional racism is present (Durose et al, 2010). In those parties, ethnic minorities are less likely to put themselves forward as a candidate.

1.4 New parties

Besides a party's ideology and its candidate selection procedures, also the newness of the party can be a factor of influence. New parties are said to enhance ethnic minority representation, as they are more likely to be open to postmodern values (Caul, 1999). Therefore, it is to be expected that they find ethnic minority representation important (dimension 2). However the newness of a party can also be a barrier if it concerns the voting behaviour of ethnic minorities (dimension 1), as ethnic minorities are often socialized to vote for other (longer existing) parties (Bird, Saalfeld & Wüst, 2011). Ethnic minority candidates (dimension 3) on the other hand, can be attracted to new parties, because of their absence of incumbents.

1.5 Presence within the party

Finally, also the presence of ethnic minorities within the party can matter. Firstly, more ethnic minorities at the higher party levels can improve ethnic minorities' position in the recruitment process and further the nomination of ethnic candidates, as they can approach suitable candidates in their community. This can influence the actions parties undertake to enhance ethnic minority representation (dimension 2) and the choice of ethnic minority candidates for certain parties (dimension 3). Secondly, the structural inclusion of ethnic minorities within the party can also have an influence on the voting behaviour of ethnic minorities (dimension 1), as it establishes long-lasting bonds between the party and the ethnic community(Celis, Eelbode and Wauters, 2011).

In this paper, we will thus investigate if these party characteristics, that is the ideology of a party, its candidate selection procedures, its newness and the presence of ethnic minorities within the party

have an influence on 1) why ethnic minorities will vote for a party; 2) what a party does to enhance ethnic minority representation; and 3) why ethnic minority candidates choose a certain party to stand for. We will base our analysis on the experiences of the people involved, i.e. ethnic minority candidates, councillors, members of the ethnic community and local party officials. When necessary, we will also take the interaction between the electoral system and the political party into account.

2. Methods

This article focuses on the political representation of ethnic minorities at the local level. We expect this to be the optimal level for ethnic minorities representation. Firstly, both in England and in Belgium, ethnic minorities are entitled to vote at the local level. Secondly, ethnic minorities are often active in the local community and therefore more visible/committed than on the national level (Jacobs, 1997).The local level is also often considered a testing ground, where barriers for political participation are lower than at the central level.

This article uses data collected through semi-structured interviews between April and October 2011 Ethnic minority councilors, ethnic minority candidates, representatives of the ethnic community and party representatives in one Flemish (Rosie Town) and one English (Derby Town) city[4] were interviewed. We focused on councilors that held a seat in the local council at the time of the interviews[5], candidates were selected from the lists of the former local elections[6] and both party representatives and representatives from the ethnic community were selected through recommendations from the other respondents and political parties. On average, interviews lasted about 75 minutes and were guided by the same set of questions. Councilors were queried about their experiences with the political party, elections and representation. Ethnic candidates were asked to discuss their political party and the election process. The ethnic minority representative fielded more general questions about political parties and the representation of ethnic minorities, while party representatives were asked about the party and the selection process.

This research is based on two countries with completely different electoral systems. Belgium has a proportional system with semi-open lists (preference votes are possible), in England the first-past-the-post system is present. In both countries, studies show that there is an underrepresentation of ethnic minorities at the local level (Khan, 2007; Messiaen, 2012). Although, it is impossible to control for all relevant characteristics in comparative case-study research, special care was taken to select

---

[4] We changed the names of the cities to guarantee the anonymity of this research. Respondents were explicitly guaranteed anonymity and the confidential use of data.
[5] For Rosie Town this was between April and August 2011, in Derby Town this was in October 2011.
[6] In Rosie Town, these were the local elections of 2006. As in the Derby Town, each year 1/3 of the council is reelected, we checked the candidacy lists of the last four years (the fourth year, there are no elections). We thus focused on the lists of 2008, 2010 en 2011 (in 2009 there were no local elections)

two cities that were as similar as possible. Both cities have a similar number of inhabitants and a similar proportion of ethnic minorities in the city[7]. Furthermore, also concerning the type of city, they are comparable. Both Rosie Town and Derby Town have well-known universities and colleges. However, they are not typical university cities, as they also have an important harbor and an industrial center. In addition, both cities have a rich cultural heritage. Despite the similarities, there were inevitably some differences between the cities. Firstly, in both cities, different parties are in power. In Rosie Town, the social democratic party is in power for almost 25 years, whereas in Derby Town the conservative party has the majority in the local council. More specifically, the latest council elections in Rosie Town resulted in 17 seats for the social-democratic party and 11 seats for the liberal party (both present in the college of aldermen), with the opposition consisting of the extreme-right party (9 seats), the green party (6 seats), the Christian-democratic party (6 seats), the Flemish-nationalist party (1 seat) and one independent candidate. In Derby Town the conservative party is in power with 26 seats, whilst the labour party (19 seats) and the liberal democrats (3 seats) are part of the opposition.

However, the most important difference is that the ethnic set-up in both cities is different. In Rosie Town, the majority of the ethnic community comes from one specific region in Turkey, but also smaller communities from Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana, Iran, China, Algeria, India, Congo, Nigeria, Pakistan and Cameroon are present . In Derby Town, on the other hand, the largest ethnic community comes from India, followed by communities from Pakistan, China and black Caribbean communities.

Interviews were collected, recorded, transcribed and analyzed using the grounded theory approach and Nvivo. As a method, grounded theory enables to systematically examine social phenomena and explain these through an inductively derived theory. We used Glaser's (1992) open coding approach rather than Strauss and Corbin's (1990) systematic coding approach.

---

[7] Rosie Town has about 248.000 inhabitants, with a proportion of more or less 20% ethnic minorities in the population. Derby Town has about 240.000 inhabitants, with a proportion of more or less 17,5 % ethnic minorities in the population.

3. Results

We will first discuss the influence of certain party characteristics on what parties do to enhance ethnic minority representation. Next, we will focus on their influence on why ethnic minorities vote for certain parties and finally we will interpret their influence on the party choices of ethnic minority candidates.

3.1 The influence of party characteristics on what political parties do to enhance ethnic minority representation (dimension 2)

In this part we will first discuss what political parties actually do to improve ethnic minority representation. We wonder if political parties are only interested in power or if certain party characteristics determine if they take specific efforts to enhance ethnic minority representation or not.

Parties can undertake different actions: 1) they can actively recruit ethnic minority candidates, 2) they can give them an eligible position on the list and 3) they can offer specific support to ethnic minorities. The presence or absence of these actions gives us an indication of the importance that political parties attach to ethnic minority representation.

For the first action, i.e. actively recruiting ethnic candidates, the interviews showed that most parties in Rosie Town made considerable efforts to attract ethnic minority candidates. The only party that did not do this was the extreme-right party. This is also clear from the electoral lists: with the exception of the extreme-right party, all parties included four or more ethnic candidates on their list.

Table 1: Number of ethnic candidates on the lists in Rosie Town

List	Number of ethnic minorities (from 51)
Social democratic list	6
Liberal list	4
Extreme right list	0
Green list	6
Christian Democratic list	4

The situation in Derby Town is a bit different. In this city, both Labour- and the Conservatives have contacted possible ethnic minority candidates in the past, but in general they made less efforts than their Belgian counterparts. Most of the ethnic minorities on the list, approached the political parties themselves and asked to stand as a candidate. The liberal democratic party on the other hand,

claimed that it would like to have ethnic minorities on their lists, but it did not go actively looking for them. They turned down ethnic minorities in the past because these were found unsuitable (for instance because they were not familiar with the liberal democratic values or the practices of politics). As a result, if we look at the candidacy lists of 2008, 2010 and 2011, the number of ethnic minorities on the lists is very small[8].

Table 2: Number of ethnic minorities on the lists in Derby Town

Year	Party	Number of ethnic minorities on the list (from 16)
2008	Labour party	1
	Conservative party	0
	Liberal democratic party	0
2010	Labour party	0
	Conservative party	1
	Liberal democratic party	0
2011	Labour party	1
	Conservative party	1
	Liberal democratic party	0

Political parties do not only recruit ethnic minority candidates, they also need to give them an eligible position on the list or a district in which they have a chance to become elected. With the ranking on the electoral list or the choice of the ward, parties express their own preference of who should get elected (Jacobs, Martiniello and Rea, 2002). What an eligible position is, differs according to the electoral system[9]. In both electoral systems, there are positions where you make a chance to win and positions without any chance to win.

---

[8] I chose to show the absolute numbers, but even proportionally, the number of ethnic minorities on the English list is smaller than in Belgium.
[9] In the Belgium semi-open list system, parties receive seats in proportion to their number of votes. Each party makes up a list equal to the total number of seats in the council . Some of these places are seen as more eligible than others, especially the first place, the last place and places two till four are said to be the good ones, because they are so-called visible places and (for places one till four) they can benefit from the list vote . Also the number of seats won by the party in the previous election gives an idea about which places are eligible. In the English first-past-the-post-system, candidates stand for particular wards. The candidates who gets the highest number of votes in a certain ward, wins. Traditionally, certain wards are said to have a specific political preference. As a result, political parties know which wards are 'their wards', which wards are 'winnable wards' and which wards belong to the other parties. It is clear that certain wards will be eligible wards and others will not.

If we first focus on Rosie Town, we can see that none of the ethnic minority candidates got one of the best places in the local elections of 2006 (see table 3).

Table 3: Places ethnic minorities attained on the lists in Rosie Town

List	Places ethnic minorities attained
Social democratic list	10, 25, 36, 37, 44, 45
Liberal list	7, 12, 17, 19
Extreme right list	/
Green list	5, 8, 9, 15, 19, 21
Christian Democratic list	9, 23, 27, 37

Of all parties, the Green party gave the best positions on the list to ethnic minorities: they put three ethnic minorities in the top ten. However, none of these positions were one of the real top positions. Most respondents were disappointed, because they thought they deserved better or because they were not consulted. One respondent says:

> "If I had been in the top 20, I could have had a 1000 more votes. It makes a difference in the Turkish community you know. Why? The lower you are on the list, the less votes you will have. They think it means that the party is dissatisfied with you. They think it means you do not work good enough". (Ethnic minority councilor, Rosie Town)

In Derby Town, the situation is not much different. In fact, all ethnic minority candidates (from 2008 till 2009) were put in wards that were known to be the other party's safe seats.

> "That is why I always have an argument with the labour party. They give the safe seats to their own people: their friends, family… And when there is no chance to win, they give it to the ethnic minorities. This (ward) is an Asian populated area, a very faithful labour ward, but all our councilors here are white. And if we want a ticket for this area, they sent us far away, to other districts, where there are no chances to win". (Ethnic minority candidate, Derby Town)

It is clear, that both in Rosie and Derby Town, political parties are reluctant to give ethnic minorities eligible places. However, whereas this obstructs ethnic minority representation in Derby Town, this is not the case in Rosie Town as we will see further on.

Finally, political parties can enhance the political representation of ethnic minorities, by offering ethnic minority candidates special support during the election process or by using quota or reserved seats. Interviews revealed however that none of the parties provided specific training or support to ethnic minorities, nor did they use quota or reserved seats.

> *"They did not prepare you for what was going to happen. It was a bit of a shock actually. I thought, okay, I will do it. I will see what happens. But I was not prepared. A quick picture, your name somewhere on the list. It was, how shall I put it, they left me without any support".* (Ethnic minority candidate, Rosie Town)

Supporting ethnic minority candidates is crucial however, as they are often newcomers in politics and have little experience with its day to day practices.

Political parties can thus take specific efforts to enhance ethnic minority representation. To get a general overview of what parties actually do, we put the aforementioned actions in a table (see table 4). For each action[10], we gave parties a – or a +, according to their efforts.

Table 4: actions political parties undertake to improve ethnic minority representation

Party	Searching for ethnic minorities	Putting ethnic minorities on the list	Giving ethnic minorities eligible places/safe districts	Offering support
Social democratic party	+	+	-	-
Liberal party	+	+	-	-
Christian-democratic party	+	+	-	-
Green party	+	+	+ -	-
Extreme right party	-	-	-	-
Labour	+ -	+ -	-	-
Conservative party	+ -	+ -	-	-
Liberal democratic party	-	-	-	-

---

[10] For reasons of clarity, we split the first variable into two new variables: searching for ethnic minority candidates and putting ethnic minority candidates on the list

Next, on the basis of the above table, we divided the political parties of both Rosie- and Derby Town into four archetypes. The first type, *the apathetics*, did not make any efforts to improve ethnic minority representation. The second type, *the casuals*, made some efforts, but these efforts were rather limited. The third type, *the attentives*, did more than only putting ethnic minorities on the list. And the fourth type, *the advanced*, undertook all actions that can improve ethnic minority representation.

Table 5: types of political parties according to the efforts they make to enhance ethnic minority representation

Type	Rosie Town	Derby Town
Apathetics (only -)	Extreme right party	Liberal democratic party
Casuals (+- till ++)	Social democratic party, liberal party, Christian-democratic party	labour party, conservative party
Attentives (++ +- till +++ +-)	Green party	/
advanced (++++)	/	/

Two things are clear from the above: 1) In general, political parties make some efforts to enhance ethnic minority representation, but these are only limited and 2) there are not much differences between parties in this respect as most parties belong to the same type (*casuals*). Only the green party does better than the rest, but only slightly. Despite the predictions of for instance Caul (1999) or Matland and Studlar (1996), party characteristics like ideology do not seem to be decisive in influencing the efforts parties take to enhance ethnic minority representation. There are only two exceptions to this rule: firstly, the extreme-right party confirms the expectations from the literature that they are hesitant to put ethnic minorities on their lists (Bird, 2003). Secondly, also the different position of the green party can be explained by the finding that the green party is more preoccupied with its ideology than the other parties as Buelens et al (2008) found. As this ideology favors more diversity in society, this is advantageous for the representation of ethnic minorities. This was also confirmed in the interviews. These two exceptions make us suspect that the classical divide between leftist and rightist ideologies is not important here. However, other divides, for instance between materialism and post-materialism (Kitschelt, 1986), seem relevant. Also the fact that both parties

(the extreme right and the green party) are relatively new parties may help explain their different position.

Furthermore, we also found no real influence of the candidate selection procedures, as most parties applied more or less similar candidate selection procedures. Both in Ada and Rosie Town, candidates were generally appointed to lists by a small committee and as a next step, the members of the party had to approve that list. Only the extreme right party did things differently: there, one single leader decided over the list (without a vote of the members). It is clear here that the influence of candidate selection procedures is mediated by the party ideology, as Bell (2003) and Caul (1999) predicted: even though the extreme right party has the most exclusive selectorate of all parties, which was said to be advantageous for ethnic minorities (Hazan & Rahat, 2010), ethnic minority candidates were not selected because of its anti-migrant ideology. As none of the parties used a members-only selection process, we do not know if this impedes ethnic minority representation or not.

In addition, the presence of ethnic minorities within the party does not seem to have a big influence as well. As we will see in the next part, especially the social-democratic party has some ethnic minorities within its ranks. This does not result in more actions to improve ethnic minority representation however.

To conclude, what parties do or do not do to enhance ethnic minority representation seems to depend more upon keeping up appearances and electoral benefits, than upon certain party characteristics like ideology, candidate selection methods, newness or presence of ethnic minorities within the party. Parties will include ethnic minorities on their lists out of electoral considerations, but fail to really include them in the political sphere. Even if, according to their ideology, we expect them to do this. This is especially seen as problematic in Derby Town, because there – as a result of the electoral system the selection process of the party is de facto more decisive than the election itself (see below).

3.1.2 The influence of party characteristics on why ethnic minority voters vote for a party (dimension 1)

However, although political parties are more or less similar in the efforts they (do not) take to improve ethnic minority representation, interviews confirmed earlier evidence that ethnic minorities predominantly vote for social democratic parties. As we can see in table 6 and 7 this resulted in more elected ethnic minority people in these parties.

Table 6: number of elected ethnic minorities by party in Rosie Town

Party	Number of elected ethnic minorities

Social democratic party	<u>4</u>
Liberal party	1
Christian-democratic party	0
Green party	1
Extreme-right party	0

Table 7: number of elected ethnic minorities by party in Derby Town

Party	Number of elected ethnic minorities
Labour party	<u>1</u>
Conservative party	0
Liberal democratic party	0

According to the literature, this is a more general trend and it could be explained by several factors (Berger et al, 2001; Messiaen, 2012; Steyvers, 2002, etc.).

First of all, there is an ideological factor. In line with the findings of Jacobs, Martiniello and Rea (2002), we found that ethnic minorities tend to vote for social-democratic parties. This is especially clear in Derby Town. All respondents agree that the labour party is the most popular party in the ethnic community. The conservative party is seen as tough on immigration and as the party for the rich. The liberal democratic party is more or less ignored and the labour party is seen as softer on immigration and the party of the working class. As most ethnic minorities are working class people, they vote for labour. Most respondents admit however, that this is mostly a historical perception. The divide between the parties is less clear today and ethnic minority voters keep supporting the labour party because their parents or grandparents did.

> *"They vote for labour simply because labour has the social democratic principles. Whether they happen or not is another matter. They don't vote for the conservative party because it is a very capitalistic and very imperialistic party. But people are voting slightly differently now and I think that young people will vote differently. So it is changing, people are beginning to look at the differences". (Ethnic minority councilor, Derby Town)*

These findings correspond with those of other studies (Bird, Saalfeld and Wüst, 2011; Norris and Lovenduski, 1993; Purdam, 2001; Rallings, 2010)

In Rosie Town, the preference for the social democratic party is less outspoken, but still present. Its socio-economic and cultural values appeal to ethnic minorities, but also in this town historical ties are important. Many ethnic minorities were bound to the socio-democratic party through the process of pillarization[11], where the strong ties between ethnic minorities and social democratic trade unions resulted in support for the social democratic party.

A second (and new) factor of importance in explaining why ethnic minorities vote for certain parties, lies in the issue of power. Respondents claim that ethnic minorities will vote for parties that are in power. As one respondents states:

> *"Turkish people seem to be opportunists, they seem to be very pragmatic. In essence, they want parties that quickly and thoroughly will defend their interests. They do not find opposition parties very interesting in this respect"(Ethnic minority candidate, Rosie Town).*

As the social democratic party in Rosie Town is in power for nearly 25 years, this can help explain its popularity in the ethnic community. In Derby Town however, this does not seem to be relevant. There, the conservative party is in power, but does not have elected ethnic minorities (although it did had ethnic candidates in districts with a large ethnic community). This could be explained by the fact that the conservative party is only in power for a short time yet. Perhaps a longer timeframe is needed to have a result. Another possibility is that the issue of power is linked to an ideology that attracts ethnic minorities. Also Jacobs and Teney (2009) found that ethnic minorities tend to vote for the party of the mayor.

A third factor of importance are the ties between political parties and the ethnic community. This is partly linked with the issue of power, as the party in power probably has the closest relationship with all the different communities in one city. Most respondents agree that the social democratic party has the most extensive and long-lasting bond with the ethnic community both in Rosie- and in Derby Town. This makes it for instance easier to select adequate ethnic minority candidates who are rooted in their community and will therefore get a lot of votes. Linked with this issue, is the presence of ethnic minorities within the party. Both in Rosie – and in Derby Town, the presence of ethnic minorities within the party was seen as relevant for the success of the social democratic party. They ensured contact with the ethnic community, also in between election periods.

To conclude, there seem to be several party characteristics that influence the vote of ethnic minorities. However, the influence of the ethnic minority vote on the political representation of

---

[11] In the Belgian system of pillarization, the society was divided into exclusionary ideological pillars each with its own network of related institutions (e.g. political parties, trade unions, schools and newspapers) (Deschouwer, 2009).

ethnic minorities is different in Derby and in Rosie Town, as it also depends on the electoral system. As we saw before, both in Rosie Town and in Derby Town political parties are reluctant to give ethnic minorities eligible places. Whereas this obstructs ethnic minority representation in Derby Town, this is not the case in Rosie Town. Six ethnic minorities are elected anyway, even from the worst places on the list. The main reason for this is a combination of the compulsory voting system and the high number of preferential votes they get, which enables them to jump over the other candidates as also Togeby (2008), Jacobs (2000), Jacobs & Swyngedouw (2003) and Taagepera (1994) found. In Rosie Town, putting ethnic minorities on the list, even on bad positions, implies that they have a chance to become elected. Thanks to the power of preferential votes, non-eligible places actually do not exist. In Derby Town, on the other hand, the electoral system obstructs the representation of ethnic minorities. If ethnic minorities are put in unwinnable wards, they fail to get elected. Contrary to what Alonso and Ruiz-Rufino (2007) expect, this is also the case in so-called ethnic minority wards. In those wards, the ethnic divide in the ward and party loyalty (more specifically towards the labour party) seemed to be more important than ethnic background in influencing the ethnic vote.

3.1.3 The influence of party characteristics on why ethnic minority candidates choose to stand for a certain party (dimension 3)

In this final section, we wonder if there are certain party characteristics that help to explain why ethnic minority candidates choose to stand for a certain party.

First of all, as the ideology of a party (and especially a social democratic ideology) influences the voting behavior of ethnic minority voters, we expect this to be also the case for ethnic minority candidates. We thus expect that ethnic minority candidates will rather join a social democratic party. In Rosie Town, this is partly confirmed as the social democratic party is the only party that states that they did not need to search for ethnic minority candidates, as they receive many voluntary applications from the ethnic community anyway. Other parties have more trouble finding ethnic minority candidates. Next, we also expect that – thanks to its ideology – the extreme right party will not get any applications from ethnic minority candidates. This is confirmed in the interviews as well, as we found no ethnic minorities that want to be a candidate for the extreme-right party (this was seen as a bridge too far).

However, when we ask ethnic minority candidates themselves why they have joined a party, it becomes clear that the influence of ideology is more nuanced than we first thought. In contradiction to what we expect, i.e. a preference for the social democratic ideology, several respondents choose to be a candidate of other parties (the green party, the Christian democratic party, the liberal party) precisely because of their ideology. The same is true in Derby Town where ethnic minority candidates join both the labour and the conservative party out of ideological reasons. Contrary to ethnic

minority voters, ethnic minority candidates do not seem to have an outspoken preference for the social democratic party, but are attracted by other ideologies as well.

Secondly, the majority of candidates for the social democratic party in Rosie Town do not join this party out of ideological reasons but because they know people there. Especially the mayor and the aldermen are said to attract ethnic minority voters. As one respondent states:

> *"I had more contact with the social democratic aldermen and the mayor, because in Rosie Town, the social democratic party delivers the aldermen and the mayor. So, it was more or less because I knew them. Later on, I discovered that we had the same intentions towards the ethnic community. And then I saw that I had made the right choice, that I unknowingly had made the right choice to choose for the right party" (Ethnic minority councilor, Rosie Town).*

In Rosie Town, the success of the social democratic party in attracting ethnic candidates is thus also linked to the fact that the party is in power there for more than 25 years. As the party in power, it is able to establish close contacts with possible candidates in the ethnic community. However, this sometimes results in weird situations where the ideology of a candidate is in conflict with that of the social democratic party. Some respondents for instance claim that members of the grey wolves[12] have been on the social democratic list in Rosie Town.

The issue of power also seems to be present in Derby Town. There, the social democratic party does not receive more applications from ethnic minority candidates than the other parties, but finds it instead very hard to recruit ethnic minorities. As the conservative party is in power at the moment in Derby Town, this can diminish the attractiveness of the social democratic party. The lack of popularity of the liberal democratic party among ethnic minority candidates could be explained by this as well.

In addition, candidate selection methods appear to influence ethnic minority candidates as well. Firstly, candidacy requirements are important. If ethnic minorities want to stand as a candidate in Derby Town, they have to be a party member for at least a year. As Hazan & Rahat (2010) expected, these more restrictive candidacy requirements seem to impede ethnic minority representation as there were less ethnic minority candidates in Derby Town than in Rosie Town (see also table 1 and 2). Next, the issue of incumbency is also more present in Derby Town. Caul (1999) and Hazan &Rahat (2010) expected that incumbents would hinder a fair representation and this is confirmed in the interviews. Respondents are angry about incumbents that kept the same seat for years, without making room for new candidates.

---

[12] An ultra-nationalist, neo-fascist Turkish organization.

"These people have been there 20 odd years. They don't want to give their seat and they influence the party that they are ok. Why do you want to be a councilor for 20-30 years? If you do that, then youngsters are never gonna come. You will make brick walls to them. You will upset ethnic minorities, you will upset young and enthusiastic candidates because you want to be 20 years in the council. It is ridiculous and the party allows it" (Ethnic minority candidate, Derby Town).

Even in districts where the majority is from ethnic descent, all councilors are white, because they have been in their seat for years. Some ethnic minority candidates therefore decide to stand as an independent against these incumbents. The issue of incumbency is probably more present in Derby Town than in Rosie Town because of the electoral system. In the English first-past-the-post-system, there are less seats to be distributed, as there is only one candidate per ward, which is often an incumbent (Meier et al, 2006; Taagepera, 1994). If incumbents get the safe seats, ethnic minorities have no chance of getting elected. This can discourage them to stand as a candidate. In a proportional system on the other hand, there are more seats to be distributed, there is a higher turnover and there is room for a whole range of candidates (Bird, 2004; Togeby, 2008; ; Kostadinova, 2007; Shugart, 1994; etc.). This makes it easier for political parties to select ethnic minorities without upsetting the incumbents. Furthermore, even if incumbents are present, ethnic minorities are able to jump over them and get elected thanks to their preferential votes. This could be another reason for the higher number of ethnic minority candidates in Rosie Town.

4. Conclusion

This paper builds on the rich body of research on ethnic minority representation, by exploring an underexplored factor of the POS model: the influence of political parties. By means of an international comparative research, it tries to fill a gap in this body of literature, which often consists of one-country studies (Bird, 2003). In this paper, we explore how political parties influence ethnic minority representation by taking the influence of certain party characteristics into account. Parties impact on ethnic minority representation in three ways: by attracting votes from ethnic minorities casting an ethnic vote, by actively recruiting and supporting ethnic candidates, and by being attractive to ethnic candidates. We have investigated which party characteristics influence the position of a party on each of these three dimensions.

Table 8: influence of certain party characteristics on the behavior of a political parties, ethnic minority voters and ethnic minority candidates

	Ideology (left versus right)	Ideology (materialist versus posmaterialist)	Newness party	Candidate selection methods	Presence of ethnic minorities in the party	power
Party	—	↗	↗	—	—	—
Voters	↗	↘	↘	—	↗	↗
Candidates	—	—	—	↗	—	↗

Most parties in Rosie (B)- and Derby Town (UK) do not take sufficient actions to enhance the political representation of ethnic minorities (dimension 2). Data from semi-structured interviews show that in line with the expectations of Copus (2004) and Buelens et al (2008) all political parties seem predominantly preoccupied with issues of power and capturing control over the council, rather than with the political representation of ethnic minorities. In general, specific party characteristics do not seem to influence the actions political parties take to a large extent, contradicting to the expectations of Caul (1999), Matland and Studlar (1996) et al. Only a post materialistic ideology and the newness of a party seem to have a little influence.

However, certain party characteristics do seem relevant in influencing why ethnic minorities vote for a party (dimension 1). First of all a party's ideology was said to be influential as social democratic parties are able to attract most of the ethnic minority votes. This is due to their perception as the party of the working class and the party's attitude on immigration. Secondly, also the age of the party mattered. Social democratic parties in both towns managed to attract votes thanks to its historical

ties with the ethnic community. As we expected from the literature (Bird, Saalfeld & Wüst, 2011) it is therefore harder for new parties to attract ethnic minority voters. Furthermore, we also found that ethnic minorities tend to vote for parties that are in power, especially if these parties have an ideology that attracts ethnic minority voters. Parties in power are also more likely to have a good contact with the ethnic community which also matters in attracting ethnic minority voters. Finally, also the presence of ethnic minorities in the party resulted in more votes from ethnic minority voters. It is clear from the above that the support of ethnic minority voters for certain parties sometimes also stems from a combination of several of these party characteristics.

Ethnic minority candidates choose for a party (dimension 3) because of its ideology (but with no common preference for a certain ideology), because it is the party in power or because they know people there. Stricter candidacy requirements and the presence of incumbents have been found to discourage ethnic minority candidates.

Based on these findings, we could suggest that political parties ought to invest more in their ethnic minority candidates. Now, the political representation of ethnic minorities seems to be predominantly influenced by the voting capacity of the ethnic minority community (especially in proportional systems). If political parties want to avoid losing the support of the ethnic community and if they really want to integrate ethnic minorities in our society, they will need to enhance the opportunities for ethnic minority representation.

This article illustrated the usefulness of small cases to understand the influence of political parties on ethnic minority representation. It offers a more in-depth study of this phenomenon. However, since the findings of this article are based on the experiences of a small group of people involved, they cannot be generalized beyond the cases studied in this research. More case studies are needed (in other cities, in other countries) to further our knowledge of the influence of political parties. Furthermore, it seems interesting to explore the effect of the electoral system further as this clearly influences the way in which parties behave. Next, as we investigate here the descriptive representation of ethnic minorities, as identified by Pitkin (1967), it seems interesting to also explore the influence of political parties (and the electoral system) on their substantive representation. Finally, also quantitative research projects could build on this study by considering to include some of the characteristics mentioned above in a statistical model.

References

Alonso, S. And Ruiz-Rufino, R. (2007) Political representation and ethnic conflict in new democracies. *European Journal of Political Research* 46(2), 237-267.

Anwar, M. (2001) The participation of ethnic minorities in British politics. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27(3): 533-549.

Berger, M., Fennema, M., van Heelsum, A., Tillie, J. and Wolff, R. (2001) *Politieke participatie van etnische minderheden in vier steden. Een onderzoek in opdracht van het Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties uitgevoerd door het Instituut voor Migratie en Etnische studies van de Universiteit van Amsterdam*. Amsterdam, IMES.

Beulens, J., Rihouw, B. and Deschouwer, K. (2008) *Tussen kiezer en hoofdkwartier. De lokale partijafdelingen en de gemeenteraadsverkiezingen van 2006*. Brussel, VUBPRESS.

Bird, K. (2003) Comparing the political representation of ethnic minorities in advanced democracies. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, 3 June, Winnipeg.

Bird, K. (2004) Obstacles to ethnic minority representation in local government in Canada. In: C. Andrew (ed.) *Our diverse cities*. Ottowa, Metropolis and the federation of Canadian Municipalities, pp. 182-186.

Bird, K., Saalfeld, T. and Wüst, A.M. (2011) *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, Parties and Parliaments in Liberal Democracies*. New York: Routledge.

Caul, M. (1999) Women's representation in parliament: the role of political parties. *Party Politics* 5(1): 79-98.

Caul, M. (2012) 'Party politics', in G. Waylen, K. Celis, J. Kantola and L. Weldon (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook on Gender and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Forthcoming.

Caul, M. and Tate, K. (2004) *Political parties, minorities and elected office: comparing opportunities for inclusion in the U.S. and Britain.* CSD Working Papers, Center for the Study of Democracy, UC Irvine.

Celis, K., Eelbode, F. and Wauters, B. (2011) *Ethnic minorities in local political parties: a case study of three Belgian Cities (Antwerp, Ghent and Leuven).* Paper presented at the ECPR General Conference, 25-27 August, Reykjavik.

Claro da Fonseca, S. (2011). 'New citizens – new candidates? Candidate selection and the mobilization of immigrant voters in German elections', In K. Bird, T. Saalfeld & A.M. Wüst (eds.) *The political representation of immigrants and minorities. Voters, parties and parliaments in liberal democracies*. New York, Routledge, pp. 109-127.

Copus, C.(2004) *Party politics and local government*. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Czudnowski, M. (1975) Political Recruitment. In. F. Greenstein and N. Polsby (eds.) *Handbook of Political Science: Micropolitical Theory. Vol. 2*. Reading, MA:addison Wesley.

Deschouwer, K. (2009) *Belgisch staatsbestel*. Luster: Antwerpen.

Durose, C., Gains, F., Richardson, L., Combs, R., Broome, K. and Eason, C. (2010) *Pathways to politics.* Manchester: equality and human rights commission.

Fennema, M., Tillie, J., van Heelsum, A., Berger, M. and Wolff, R. (2000) *Sociaal kapitaal en politieke participatie van etnische minderheden*. Amsterdam: IMES.

Girvin, B. (1988) *The Transformation of Contemporary Conservatism*. London: Sage.

Giugni, M. and Passy, F. (2004) Migrant mobilization between political institutions and citizenship regimes: a comparison of France and Switzerland. *European Journal of Political Research* 2004 (43): pp. 51-82.

Glaser, B.G. (1992) *Emergence vs. Forcing: Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis*. Mill Valley: Sociology Press.

Hazan, R.Y. and Rahat, G. (2010) *Democracy within parties. Candidate selection methods and their political consequences.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hyde, C.A. (1995) Feminist social movement organizations survive the new right. In: F. Marx and P. Yancey Martin (eds.) *Feminist Organizations. Harvest of the New Women's Movement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, pp. 306-22.

Jacobs, D. (1997) *Nieuwkomers in de Belgische politiek? Bedenkingen over politieke participatie van vreemdelingen.* Http://users.skynet.be/stemrecht-voor-migranten/nieuwkom.pdf.

Jacobs, D. (2000) Multinational and polyethnic politics entwined: minority representation in the region of Brussels-Capital. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 26(2): 289-304.

Jacobs, D., Martiniello, M and Rea, A. (2002) Changing patterns of political participation of immigrant origin citizens in the Brussels Capital Region. The October 2000 elections. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 3(2): 201-221.

Jacobs, D. and Swyngedouw, M. (2003) Politieke participatie en zelforganisatie van allochtonen in de Brusselse gemeenten. Een verkenning. In: E. Witte, A. Alen, H. Dumont, P. Vandernoot and R. De Groof (eds.) *De Brusselse negentien gemeenten en het Brussels model - les dix-neufs communes Bruxelloises et le modèle Bruxellois*. Brussel, Lacier, pp. 261-290.

Jacobs, D., Phalet, K. and Swyngedouw, M. (2004) Associational membership and political involvement among ethnic minority groups in Brussels. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30(3): 543-559.

Jacobs, D. and Teney, C. (2009) De allochtone stem te Brussel. In: K. Celis, P. Meier and B. Wauters (eds.) *Gezien, gehoord, vertegenwoordigd? Diversiteit in de Belgische politiek*. Gent, Academia Press.

Khan, O. (2007) *Local decision-making and participation. Think-piece paper on cohesion and integration.*

Kitschelt, H. (1986) Political opportunity structures and political protest: anti-nuclear movements in four democracies. *British Journal of Political Science* 16 (1): 57-85.

Kitschelt, H. (1997) *The Radical Right in Western Europe. A Comparative Analysis*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Kittilson, M.C. and Tate, K. (2004) Political parties, minorities and elected office: comparing opportunities for inclusion in the U.S. and Britain. Paper presented at 'The Politics of Democratic Inclusion', 18-19 October, University of Notre Dame.

Koopmans, R. (2004) Migrant mobilization and political opportunities: variation among German cities and a comparison with the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30(3): 449-470.

Koopmans, R. and Statham, P. (2000) Migration and ethnic relations as a field of political contention: an opportunity structure approach. In: R. Koopmans and P. Statham (eds.) *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 13-56.

Kostadinova, T. (2007) Ethnic and women's representation under mixed election systems. *Electoral Studies* 26(2): 418-431.

Kriesi, H., Grande, E., Lachat, R., Dolezal, M. and Frey, T. (2006) Globalization and the transformation of the national political space: six European countries compared. *European Journal of Political Research* 45(6): 921-956.

Kymlicka, W. (1996) Three forms of group-differentiated citizenship in Canada. In: S. Benhabib (ed.) *Democracy and difference. Contesting the boundaries of the political*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, pp. 153-170.

Matland, R.E. and Studlar, D.T. (1996) The contagion of women candidates in single-member districts and proportional representation electoral systems: Canada and Norway. *The Journal of Politics* 58(3): 707-733.

Meadowcroft, J. (2010) Political recruitment and local representation: the case of liberal democrat councillors. *Local Government Studies* 27(1): 19-36.

Meier, P., Rihoux, B., Erzeel, S., Lloren, A. and Van Ingelgom, V. (2006) *Belgische partijen en seksegelijkheid: een trage maar gestage evolutie?* Brussels: Instituut voor gelijkheid van vrouwen en mannen.

Messiaen, M. (2012) *Koplopers van de politieke participatie. Rapport etnische diversiteit bij lokale mandatarissen*. Brussel, Minderhedenforum.

Norris, P. and Lovenduski, J. (1993) 'If only more candidates came forward': supply-side explanations of candidate selection in Britain. *British Journal of Political Science* 23(3): 373-408.

Purdam, K. (2001) Democracy in practice: muslims and the labour party at the local level. *Politics* 21(3): 147-157.

Rallings, C., Trasher, M., Borisyuk, G. and Shears, M. (2010) Parties, recruitment and modernization: evidence from local election candidates. *Local Government Studies* 36(3): 361-379.

Saggar, S. and Heddes, A. (2000) Negative and positive racialisation: re-examining ethnic minority representation in the UK. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration studies* 26 (1): 25-44.

Shugart, M. (1994) Minorities represented and unrepresented. In: W. Rule and J. Zimmerman (eds.) *Electoral systems in comparative perspective: their impact on women and minorities.* London, Greenwood Press, pp. 31-41.

Sprague-Jones, J. (2011) Extreme right-wing vote and support for multiculturalism in Europe. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34(4): 535-555.

Steyvers, K. (2002) *Hoe komen toekomstige vrouwelijke mandatarissen in contact met de lokale politiek?* Paper presented at Politicologenetmaal Dordrecht, 22-23 mei.

Strauss, A.L. and Gorbin J. (1990) *Basics of Qualitative Research. Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Taagepera, R. (1994) Beating the law of minority attrition. In: W. Rule and J. Zimmerman (eds.) *Electoral systems in comparative perspective: their impact on women and minorities.* London, Greenwood Press, 235-245.

Teney, C., Jacobs, D., Rea, A. and Delwit, P. (2010) Voting patterns among ethnic minorities in Brussels (Belgium) during the 2006 local elections. *Acta Politica* 45(3): 273-297.

Tillie, J. (2000) *De etnische stem. Opkomst en stemgedrag van migranten tijdens gemeenteraadsverkiezingen, 1986-1998*. Utrecht: Forum.

Togeby, L. (2008) The Political Representation of Ethnic Minorities: Denmark as a Deviant Case. *Party Politics* 14(3): 325-343.

van der Brug, W. and van Spanje, J. (2009) Immigration, Europe and the 'new' cultural dimension. *European Journal of Political Research* 48(3): 309-334.