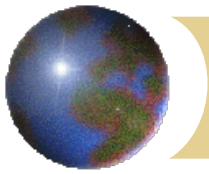


Different States, Different  
Groups, Different Routes:  
*Comparing Pathways to Parliament for  
Immigrants and Visible Minorities*

Karen Bird

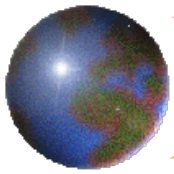
Department of Political Science

McMaster University



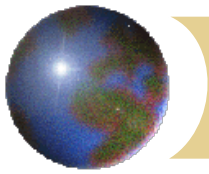
# Overview:

- ⊕ The problem of comparing
  - ⊞ Which groups? Which countries? Which representative bodies?
- ⊕ What can others learn from Canada? What can Canada learn from others?
- ⊕ Citizenship regimes
- ⊕ Local civil society landscapes
- ⊕ Electoral and political system factors
- ⊕ The spectrum of minority representation



# The Problem of Comparing

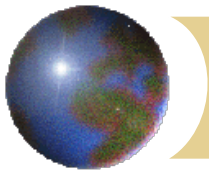
- ✚ Can we compare different types of ethnic minorities?
  - ❏ Kymlicka (1995, 2007): “targeted” approach
  - ❏ Horowitz (1985): careful delimitation of the class of cases, or risk unmanagable analytical complexity
  - ❏ Broader scope of comparison?
    - Work at the “messy, eclectic centre” of theoretically informed empirical political analysis (Kohli et al., 1996)
    - Comparative politics that cares about complicated cases: historic sequences and configurations of factors that explain varieties of minority representation in public life



# The Problem of Comparing

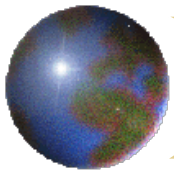
## ✦ Ambitious agenda

- ✦ **Immigrants:** country of origin (TCNs, EU citizens) foreigners/naturalized/migrant background
- ✦ **Historic co-ethnics:** nationals of neighbouring countries, whose ancestors lived in the “mother country” for ages
- ✦ **Historic ethnic minorities (non-territorial):** Tatar, Roma, Irish Travellers, urban Aboriginals, Jewish, African Americans
- ✦ **Historic ethnic minorities (territorial):** Flemish, Catalan, Quebecois, Aboriginals
- ✦ **Recidivist minorities:** conflict-prone states



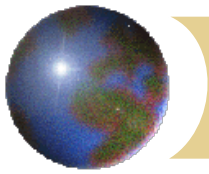
# The Problem of Comparing

- ❖ Wide differences in discourses and mechanisms for minority political integration
  - ❖ Co-ethnic reintegration: *logic of the motherland*
    - natural members returning to the polity: Germany, Greece, Poland
  - ❖ Territorially concentrated “recognized” minorities: *logic of state cohesion*
    - Belgium, Denmark, France, Canada
  - ❖ Special mechanisms for historically marginalized ethnic minorities: *politics of presence*
    - New Zealand (Maori), Nova Scotia (Acadians & Blacks)

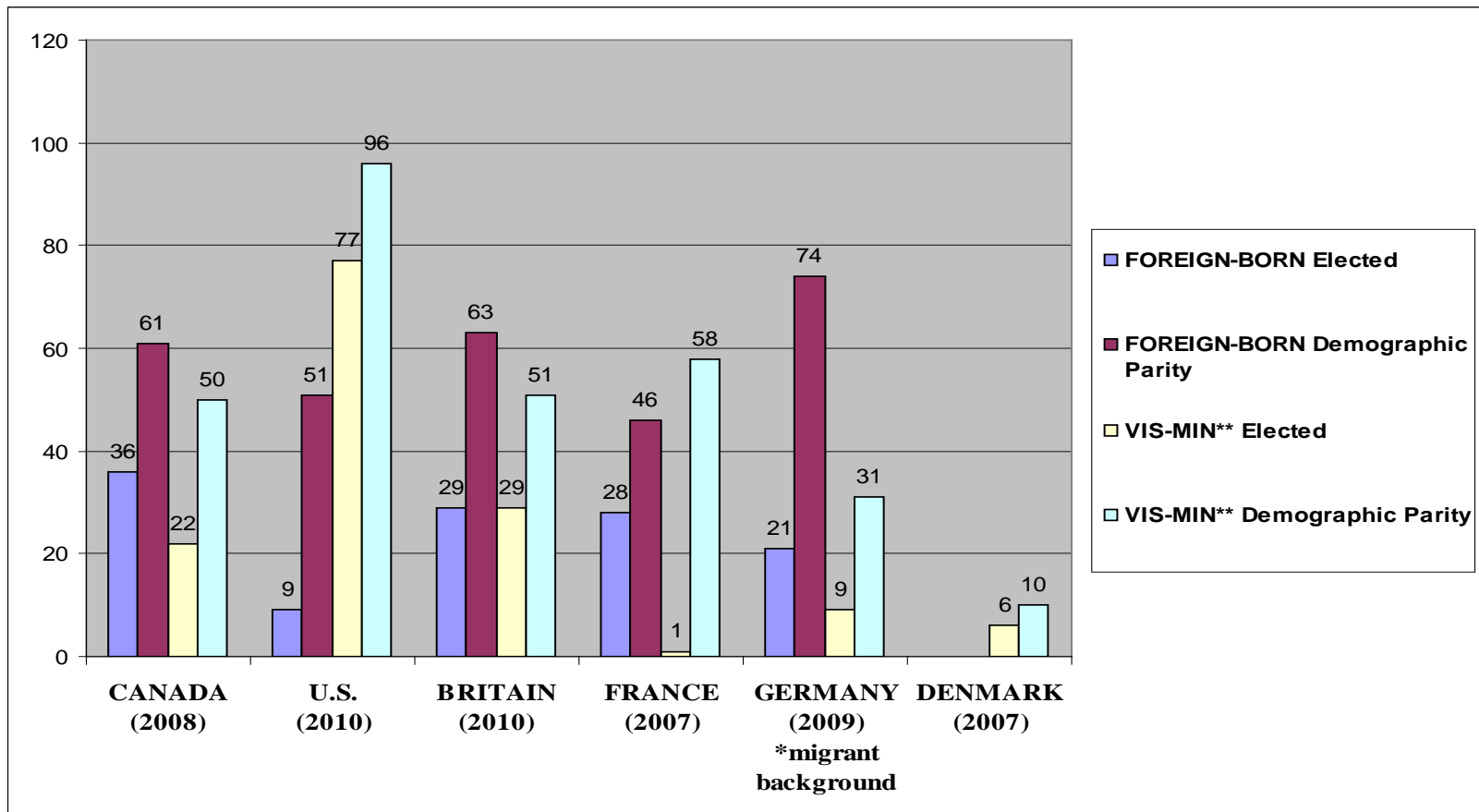


## The Problem of Comparing

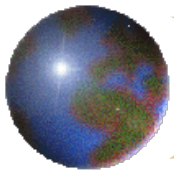
- ✦ Non-historic ethnic groups – immigrants, racialized minorities
- ✦ Less likely to enjoy special mechanisms for participation and representation
- ✦ Rather, depends on:
  - ✦ Immigration and citizenship regime...
  - ✦ General electoral and political system...
  - ✦ Local civil society landscape and political linkages...
- ✦ Only surface similarities to women's rep<sup>n</sup>



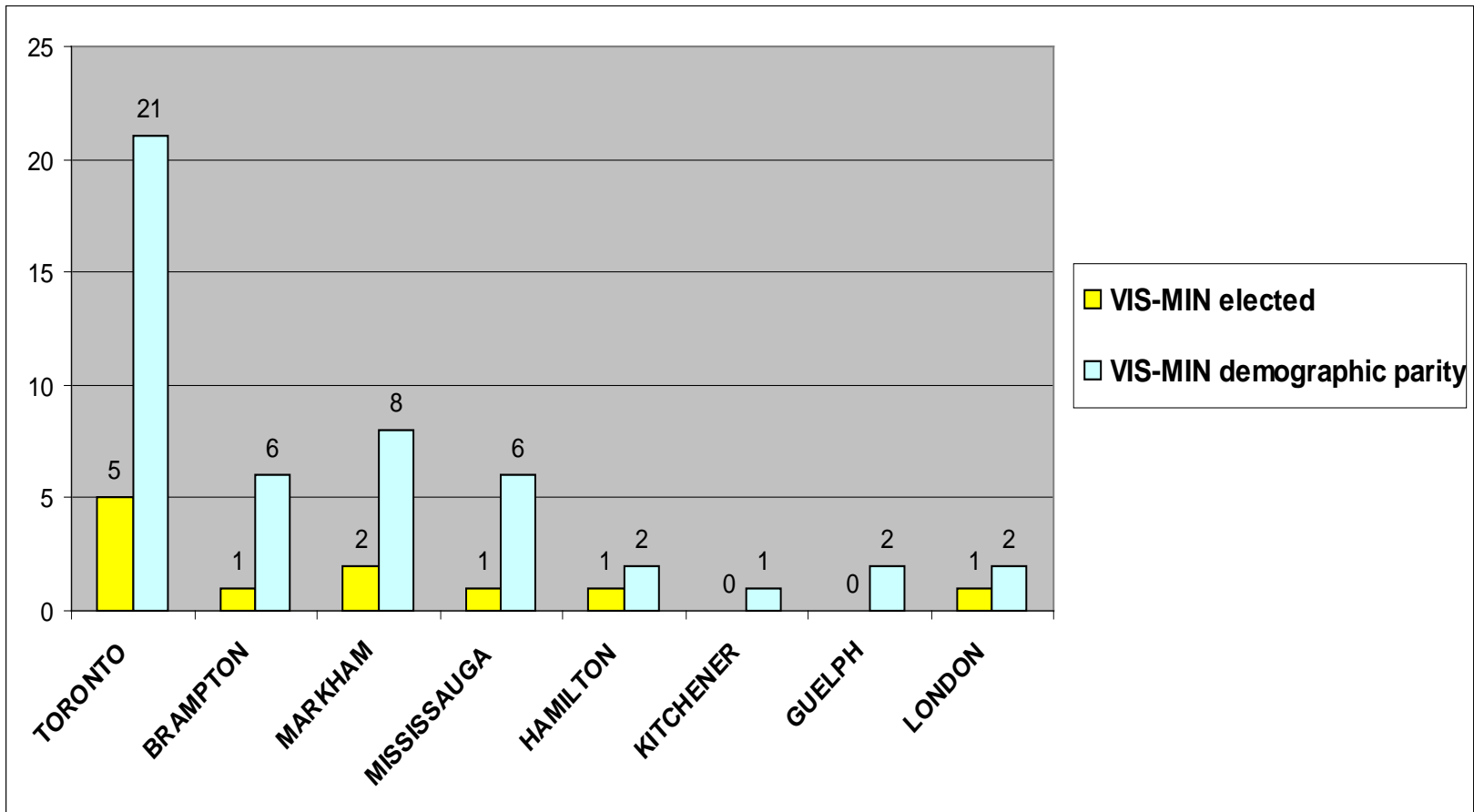
# Immigrants and Visible Minorities: Actual Representation vs. Demographic Parity in National Parliaments (Lower House)

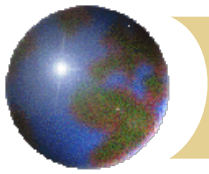


\*\*VIS-MIN excludes Aboriginal or special designated seats for over-seas territories



# Visible Minorities: Actual Representation vs. Demographic Parity in Ontario City Councils





# Citizenship Regime

## ✦ Immigration regime

- ✦ Post-colonial, guest-worker, co-ethnic, settler-state
- ✦ Migration streams and language proficiency
- ✦ Maturity (2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> + generation)

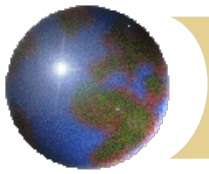
## ✦ Access to citizenship

- ✦ Years residence, dual citizenship, citizenship tests...

## ✦ Voting rights

- ✦ 17 of 29 EU states allow TCNs to participate in local elections, with some conditions

## ✦ Evolution of citizenship regime → swift, substantial increase of foreigners who have become electors

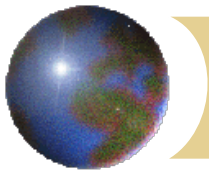


# Citizenship Regime

## ⊕ Multiculturalism *vs.* assimilation

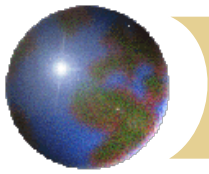
- ❖ Bloemraad (2006): “structured mobilization”
  - strong community infrastructure, co-ethnic support, recognition of legitimate political standing
- ❖ Stronger support for vis.min. candidates among all voters
  - but no voter bias against vis.min. in France (Brouard & Tiberj, 2010)
- ❖ Then why such low representation at Ontario municipal level, while so high in cities in Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, Norway...?

## ⊕ M/C cannot account for patterns of minority representation across / within countries



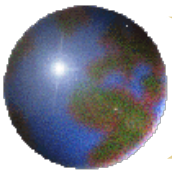
# Local Civil Society Landscape

- ✦ **Spatial concentration** within certain cities and national electoral districts
- ✦ But, enclaves may be accompanied by:
  - ❖ socio-economic marginalization → low human capital resources for political participation (Siemiatycki: Toronto; Masclet: France)
  - ❖ strong network of ethnic associations → social capital (Fennema & Tillie: Amsterdam)
  - ❖ vibrant ethnic media → increased political knowledge (Howe: Canada vs. Britain)
  - ❖ low language proficiency → lower turnout (Jacobs et al: Brussels; Koopmans: Amsterdam)



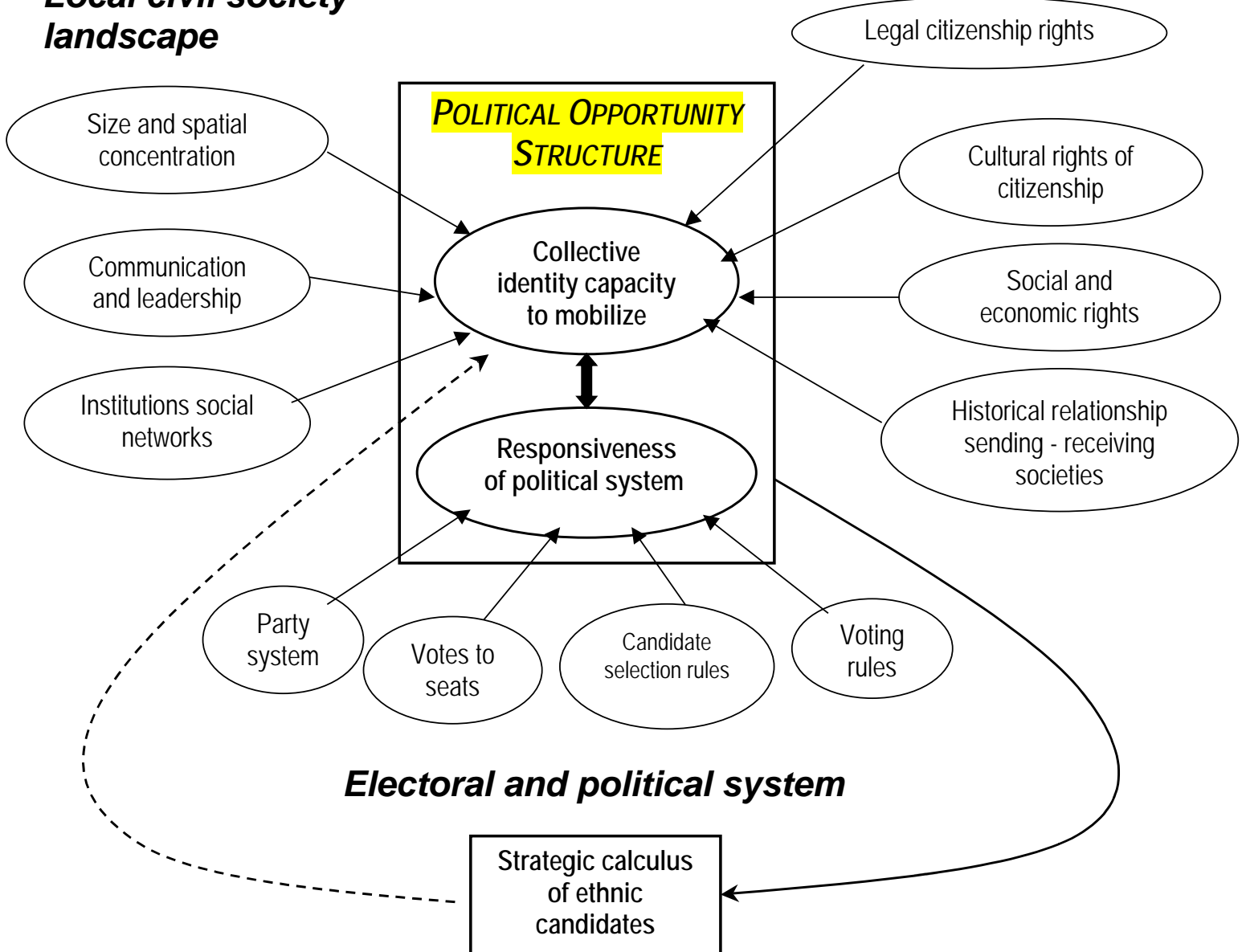
# Electoral and Political System

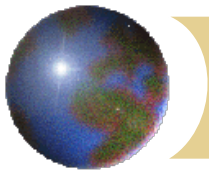
- ⊕ **Political parties** play key role in mobilizing, initiating vertical integration of ethnic civil society
  - ⊞ Openness of membership base
  - ⊞ Decentralized candidate selection
- ⊕ **Anti-immigrant parties**
  - ⊞ Simultaneous pro- and anti-immigrant mobilization
- ⊕ **Voting rules**
  - ⊞ PR with preference voting
  - ⊞ Mandatory voting
- ⊕ **Insulation of government from societal pressures**
  - ⊞ Cumul de mandats, votes to seats formula, incumbency rate



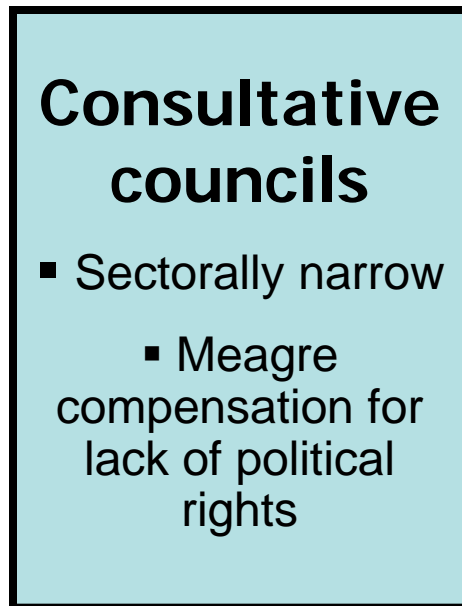
# Citizenship regime

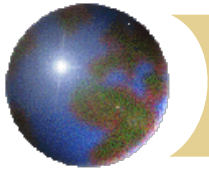
## Local civil society landscape





# *Towards a Mature Representative Relationship...*





**Thank you!**

*kbird@mcmaster.ca*