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Applying Tolerance Indicators

## APPLYING TOLERANCE INDICATORS:

### ANNEX to the report on ASSESSING MINORITY MOBILISATION AND REPRESENTATION

Angéline Escafré-Dublet,  
CERI Sciences Po



EUROPEAN COMMISSION  
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[www.eui.eu/RSCAS](http://www.eui.eu/RSCAS)  
email: [anna.triandafyllidou@eui.eu](mailto:anna.triandafyllidou@eui.eu)

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# ANNEX TO THE CLUSTER REPORT: ASSESSING MINORITY MOBILIZATION AND REPRESENTATION

Indicators presented:

**Indicator 6.5** Minority mobilisation and claims-making

**Indicator 6.6** Representation of minority politicians in parliament

Countries covered and teams responsible for the country assessments:

**Bulgaria:** Marko Hajdinjak, IMIR

**France:** Angéline Escafré-Dublet, CERI Sciences Po

**Ireland:** Nathalie Rougier, University College Dublin

**United Kingdom:** Jan Dobbernack, University of Bristol

## Detailed Comparative Country Overview of Indicator 6.5 Minority mobilisation and claims-making

Country	Score	Motivations for score regarding Indicator 6.5 Minority mobilisation and claims-making
Bulgaria	LOW	<p>Time period for assessment: 1990-2012 Level of assessment: national.</p> <p>Bulgarian Constitution (Art. 11 (4)): “There shall be no political parties on ethnic, racial or religious lines, nor parties which seek the violent seizure of state power.” The 1990 Political Parties Act confirmed this restriction (Art. 2): “A political party may not be established when it is based on a confessional or an ethnic principle.” However, the current Law on Political parties, passed in 2005, contains no such article.</p> <p>Constitutional prohibition of ethnic parties is on the one hand undemocratic and discriminatory, as it potentially denies a large number of the Bulgarian citizens a proper political representation. On the other hand, it forces political parties to work beyond the confines of a particular ethnic community.</p> <p>In practice, minorities (especially Turks and Pomaks, and to a lesser extent Roma) are active participants in politics and can freely put forward their political claims and grievances, as long as their political associations remain open to people from other ethnic and religious communities. The main (but not the only) political party representing minority interests is the Movement for Rights and Freedoms – always represented in Parliament since 1990 and three times member of a governing coalition.</p> <p>Note: It is exceptionally difficult to give one uniform score to this indicator. In addition to conflicting evaluations of legislative framework and practical situation, we need to note and assess also the perceptions of the society regarding the minority claims-making. While seen as fully legitimate for the larger part of the assessed period, in the recent years the attitudes towards political mobilisation of minorities are becoming increasingly intolerant and therefore should be scored as Medium.</p> <p>Sources: Constitution of Bulgaria, 1991; Hajdinjak, 2008; Hajdinjak, Kosseva, Zhelyazkova, 2012.</p>
France	LOW	<p>Time period of assessment: 1989-2012 Level of assessment: national</p> <p>Minority claim-making is generally considered illegitimate. Articulating ethnic and religious demands is regarded as opposing the civic understanding of French citizenship that guarantees a vertical relationship between the state and the citizen. It is considered as stemming from Article 1 of the 1958 French constitution that reads: “the Republic shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law regardless of their origin, race or religion”. Any political claim articulated in ethnic or religious terms is considered favouring the pursuit of particular interests over general interest.</p> <p>Minority mobilizations are equally disqualified, although fieldwork demonstrated that minority activists have learned to articulate their claims in Republican terms. Minority mobilization is therefore not completely absent</p>

Country	Score	Motivations for score regarding Indicator 6.5 Minority mobilisation and claims-making
		<p>from French political life but minority identities have no formal recognition.</p> <p>Sources: Escafré-Dublet, Kastoryano 2012.</p>
Ireland	MEDIUM to HIGH	<p>Time period of assessment: 1990-2012 Level of assessment: national</p> <p>The basis for this assessment is the country's constitutional and legal framework. No minorities or minority claims are considered illegitimate or formally disqualified. Concerns and grievances can be expressed and emphasised by minorities as specifically pertaining to their minority position. Minority groups are free to take part in political life and to mobilise/associate on the basis of the political identities they choose.</p> <p>Minorities are however not assisted in mobilization.</p> <p>In 2009 the Immigrant Council of Ireland published its second <i>Directory of Migrant Led Organisations</i>, listing 61 organisations and demonstrating a wide range of supports and activities in civic, commercial and community spheres</p> <p>There are however no immigrant political parties.</p> <p>Note: The claim of Travellers to official ethnic group status is not accepted by government, though supported by civil society groups and human rights agencies (the Equality Authority &amp; Amnesty International). In February 2012, the Justice Minister stated that 'consideration is still ongoing and I intend that the question will be before the Government for decision as soon as possible'.</p> <p>Sources: Honohan, Rougier (2010); Honohan, Rougier (2012); Dáil Éireann Debates (2012); ICI (2009).</p>
United Kingdom	HIGH	<p>Time period of assessment: 2005 - 2012 Level of assessment: national</p> <p>Minority groups are free to take part in political life and to mobilize on the basis of the political identities they choose. There is a considerable history of various minority mobilizations, beginning in the 1960s and often centred around experiences at work, in housing, education or with the police, thus pressuring mainstream politics to face up to the reality of discrimination. The political representation of minority identities <i>within</i> mainstream</p>

Country	Score	Motivations for score regarding Indicator 6.5 Minority mobilisation and claims-making
		<p>channels, however, has been more problematic and only recently have all three main parties started to compete, at least at certain times, for 'minority votes' (this includes the Conservative Party under David Cameron).</p> <p>Fieldwork demonstrates that, although significant opportunities are available for political mobilizations around minority identities, mobilizing actors often feel it necessary to make special efforts to justify and defend their political agency. In the mainstream, the accusation of 'identity politics' and 'sectarianism' has some purchase and is strongly levelled in particular against the political presence of Muslims. Their experience is indicative of a situation not of intolerance; rather, it exemplifies immaterial and symbolic pressures that actors face whose 'special status' is widely accepted. There is evidence, however, that such pressures do not stifle but give rise to creative forms of political agency that attempt to defeat the experience of stigmatization.</p> <p>We assign the score 'high' due to the overall vibrancy of minority political claims-making in Britain and the increasing responsiveness of mainstream parties to the political presence of a minority electorate.</p> <p>Sources: Dobbernack, Meer, Modood 2012.</p>

## Detailed Comparative Country Overview of Indicator 6.6 Representation of minority politicians in parliament

Country	Score	Motivations for score regarding Indicator 6.6 Representation of minority politicians in parliament
Bulgaria	HIGH for Turks, LOW for other minorities	<p>Time period for assessment: 2009-2012 Level of assessment: national.</p> <p>Politicians from the Turkish minority are fully represented in parliament (28 out of 240 MPs, or 11.7%, compared to 8.8% of their share of the Bulgarian population). All other minorities are severely underrepresented.</p> <p>There are no quotas or reserved seats for minorities and their parliamentary representation is based solely on the election result.</p> <p>Note: It is exceptionally difficult to give one uniform score to this indicator. In addition to conflicting evaluations of legislative framework and practical situation, we need to note and assess also the perceptions of the society regarding the minority claims-making. While seen as fully legitimate for the larger part of the assessed period, in the recent years the attitudes towards political mobilisation of minorities are becoming increasingly intolerant and can be scored as LOW.</p> <p>Sources: Web site of the National Assembly of the Republic of Bulgaria; Hajdinjak, Kosseva, Zhelyazkova, 2012.</p>
France	LOW	<p>Time period of assessment: 2012 Level of assessment: national</p> <p>Only 1.8% of the representatives in the National Assembly have an immigrant background. This is less than one third of the overall proportion of French people with an immigrant background (12%).</p> <p>Sources: Escafré-Dublet, Kastoryano 2012; Website of the French National Assembly.</p>
Ireland	MEDIUM	<p>Time period of assessment: 1990-2012 Level of assessment: National</p> <p>The basis for this assessment is the constitutional and legal framework and current membership of the Oireachtas (Dáil/Lower House and Seanad/Upper House).</p>

Country	Score	Motivations for score regarding Indicator 6.6 Representation of minority politicians in parliament
		<p>There are representatives of indigenous (religious) minorities (e.g. Protestants, Jews) almost proportional to their (small) numbers. For example, in 2009, there were 5 Protestant TDs; in 2012 there are 2.                      Up to 1997 there were 3 Jewish TDs; in 2012, there is 1.                      There was 1 Muslim TD (Moosajee Bhamjee) from 1992 to 1997.                      There are no Traveller representatives.                      While some representatives in the Dáil and Seanad are immigrants or of immigrant extraction, they do not formally represent migrants.</p> <p>Politicians of migrant or native minority background in parliament do not act specifically as representatives of those minorities; there are no minority parties in Ireland.</p> <p>Notes: The local level appears slightly more open to politicians of migrant background.                      Ireland's first black mayor, Rotimi Adebare, was elected Mayor of Portlaoise in 2007.                      In April 2009 all the parties, with the exception of Sinn Féin, had selected a number of immigrant candidates to represent them in the local elections. Four of these were elected.                      Four independent candidates of immigrant backgrounds contested the 2011 General Elections – none were elected.</p> <p>Sources: Honohan &amp; Rougier (2010); Honohan &amp; Rougier (2012); Oireachtas website; Fanning et al (2009).</p>
United Kingdom	MEDIUM	<p>Time of assessment: 2005 – 2012                      Level of assessment: National</p> <p>The House of Commons (the UK's lower house of parliament) has 27 members with ethnic minority backgrounds (representing 4 percent of the total) while the House of Lords has 48 members (5 percent). At local government level, roughly 3-4 percent of councilors in the UK have an ethnic minority background.</p> <p>In the Commons, the current figures represent a sizeable increase from 6 in 1992, 12 in 1997, 15 in 2005 to the current level. The recent increase is in particular the result of sustained effort on the part of the Conservative Party to select non-white candidates in winnable constituencies. Yet there remains some controversy about the orientation of the Conservatives towards the minority electorate.</p>



Country	Score	Motivations for score regarding Indicator 6.6 Representation of minority politicians in parliament
		<p data-bbox="520 261 1936 329">It is of course disputed whether an increased non-white presence in parliament leads to a greater concern for policy issues that particularly affect the non-white electorate.</p> <p data-bbox="520 367 1936 435">Despite an upward trajectory, public institutions in Britain are generally only beginning to catch up with the increasing diversity of the country (as shown in the 2011 Census).</p> <p data-bbox="520 472 1768 505">Sources: Cracknell 2012; Dobbernack, Meer, Modood 2012; Official for National Statistics 2012.</p>

## FURTHER READINGS AND COUNTRY REPORTS

### Minority Mobilization in the United Kingdom and France

By Angéline Escafré-Dublet and Rosa Ng, CERI Sciences Po', Paris (2012)

Download your copy from: <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/24317>

### ACCEPT PLURALISM Tolerance Indicators Toolkit

By Anna Triandafyllidou, European University Institute (2013)

Download your copy from: <http://www.accept-pluralism.eu/Research/ProjectReports/ToleranceIndicatorsToolkit/ToleranceIndicators.aspx>

### Tolerance and Cultural Diversity Discourses in Bulgaria

By Marko Hajdinjak and Maya Kosseva with Antonina Zhelyazkova, IMIR (2012)

Download your copy from: <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/23257>

### Concepts and Practices of Tolerance in France

By Riva Kastoryano and Angéline Escafré-Dublet, CERI Sciences Po', Paris (2012)

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### Tolerance and Cultural Diversity in Ireland. Concepts and Practices

By Iseult Honohan and Nathalie Rougier, University College Dublin (2012)

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### Tolerance and Cultural Diversity in the UK

By Jan Dobbernack, Tariq Modood and Nasar Meer, University of Bristol (2012)

Download your copy from: <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/23256>

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## About ACCEPT PLURALISM – project identity

<b>Acronym</b>	<b>ACCEPT PLURALISM</b>
<b>Title</b>	<b>Tolerance, Pluralism and Social Cohesion: Responding to the Challenges of the 21st Century in Europe</b>
<b>Short Description</b>	<p>ACCEPT PLURALISM questions how much cultural diversity can be accommodated within liberal and secular democracies in Europe. The notions of tolerance, acceptance, respect and recognition are central to the project. ACCEPT PLURALISM looks at both native and immigrant minority groups.</p> <p>Through comparative, theoretical and empirical analysis the project studies individuals, groups or practices for whom tolerance is sought but which we should not tolerate; of which we disapprove but which should be tolerated; and for which we ask to go beyond tolerance and achieve respect and recognition.</p> <p>In particular, we investigate when, what and who is being not tolerated / tolerated / respected in 15 European countries; why this is happening in each case; the reasons that different social actors put forward for not tolerating / tolerating / respecting specific minority groups/individuals and specific practices. The project analyses practices, policies and institutions, and produces key messages for policy makers with a view to making European societies more respectful towards diversity.</p>
<b>Website</b>	<a href="http://www.accept-pluralism.eu">www.accept-pluralism.eu</a>
<b>Duration</b>	March 2010-May 2013 (39 months)
<b>Funding Scheme</b>	Small and medium-scale collaborative project
<b>EU contribution</b>	2,600,230 Euro
<b>Consortium</b>	17 partners (15 countries)
<b>Coordinator</b>	European University Institute Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies
<b>Person Responsible</b>	Prof. Anna Triandafyllidou
<b>EC officer</b>	Ms. Louisa Anastopoulou, Project Officer, Directorate General for Research and Innovation, European Commission