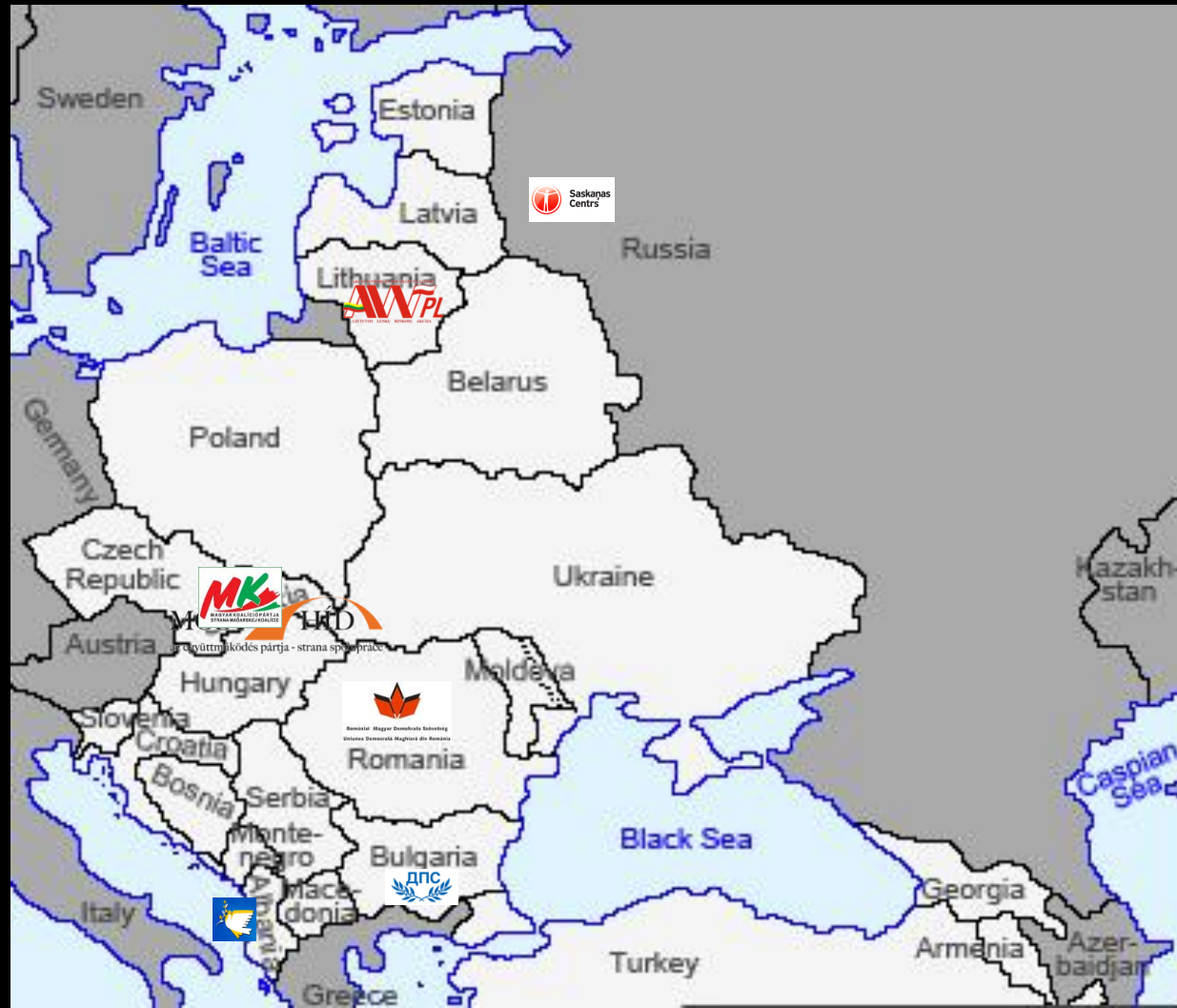


POLITICAL INCLUSION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN NEW EU MEMBER STATES: MODES OF PARTY REPRESENTATION

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POLITICAL INCLUSION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN NEW EU MEMBER STATES



POLITICAL INCLUSION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN NEW EU MEMBER STATES

**Impact of institutional mechanisms → Parliamentary
Representation of Minorities**

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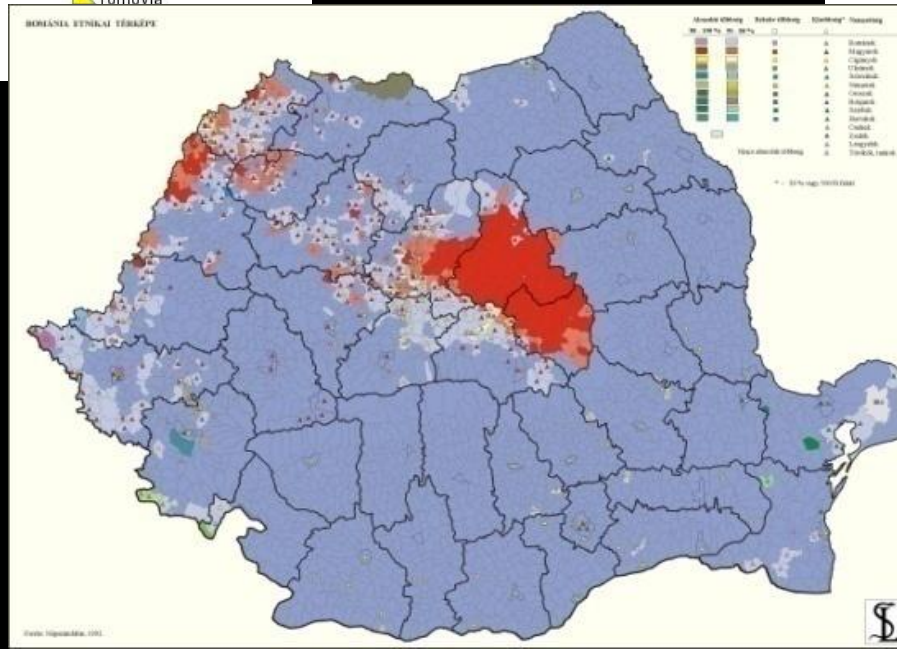
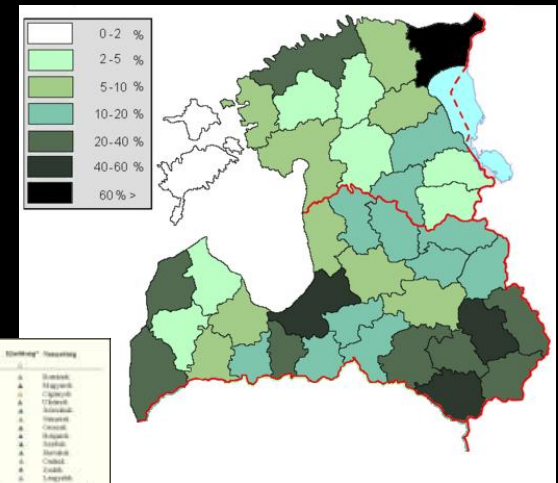
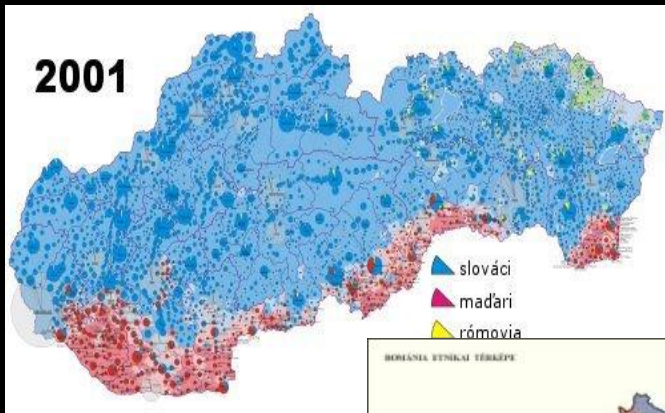
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Country	Total Population	Largest Minority	Number of self-identified members of Largest minority	Percentage of Largest Minority ²	Dominant type of ethnic minority representation
Estonia	1 339 662	Russians	340 750	25.4	Accommodative majority (Centre Party)
Latvia	2,067,887	Russians	556,422	26.9	Integrationist minority (Harmony Center)
Romania	19,042,936	Magyars	1,237,746	6.5	Ethnic particularistic (Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania)
Slovakia	5,397,036	Magyars	458,467	8.5	Integrationist minority (Most-Hid; previously, Coalition)

POLITICAL INCLUSION OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN NEW EU MEMBER STATES



Three Types of Political Ethnic Representation

- **ethnic particularistic minority party**
- **integrationist minority party**
- **accommodative majority party**

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**Impact of institutional mechanisms → Parliamentary
Representation of Minorities**

Electoral Laws and Territorial Concentration

	Electoral system	Threshold	Number of electoral districts for PR part of vote	Degree of territorial concentration of the relevant ethnic minority*
Estonia	PR	5%	12 (6 to 13 seats each)	25.4% (High in NE Estonia Mixed in Tallinn)
Latvia	PR	5%	5 (13-29 seats)	26.9% (Concentrated in urban areas)
Romania prior to 2008	PR	5%	1 (nationwide)	6.5% (concentrated in central Romania)
Romania after 2008	MMP (includes overhang seats)	5% or 6 seats in lower house or 3 in Senate, 8-10% for alliances; reserved seats for ethnic minorities	315-single-member districts (candidates must win 50%+1 votes) 1 (nationwide) for votes in districts where no majority wins	6.5% (concentrated in central Romania)
Slovakia	PR	5%	1 (nationwide)	8.5% (concentrated in southern Slovakia)

Institutional Constraints

- **permissive rules for party formation + restrictive electoral thresholds → fragmentation**
- **Legitimacy of ethnic minority (native vs. settled)**
- **Divide et imperia: 'good' vs, 'bad' minorities**

Three Types of State Policies

- **Asymmetric:** state discriminates *between* different minority groups
- **Asymmetric cooptation:** states seeks to asymmetrically coopt portions of a particular minority ethnic group over other parts of that same minority
- **Symmetric:** states pursue an even-handed approach to different ethnic groups and subgroups within particular ethnic minorities

Three Types of State Policies

→ **Asymmetric: Romania**

→ **Asymmetric cooptation: Estonia**

→ **Symmetric: Latvia, Slovakia**

Asymmetric: Romania

- Minorities: **18 seats**
- Competition for minority seats occurs solely between ethnic organizations
- Establishment of a loyal minority base
- **DUHR** – particularistic position



Symmetric : Slovakia

- No + or – discrimination
- Smaller minorities prevented from gaining parliamentary representation
- **Most-Híd** (Bela Bugar) – integrationist



MOST

HÍD

az együttműködés pártja - strana spolupráce

Asymmetric cooptation : Estonia

- **Citizenship:** - limited to pre-1940 residents only
 - Old Believers + 500 pro-ind. elites
- State encouraged the formation of Russian civic organizations (Russian Parliamentary Assembly)
- non-citizens could vote in local elections
- 'Soviet' Russians vs. 'Baltic'/Estonian Russians
- **Centre Party** (Edgar Savisaar) – party representing Russian minority interests



Symmetric: Latvia

- **Citizenship: - limited to pre-1940 residents only**
- **No special legal accommodation to large elements of Russian speakers**
- **No encouragement of civil institutions within non-Latvian community**
 - **Latvian pop. – higher level of threat ('89: Latvians 52% of pop.)**
- **non-citizens could not vote in local elections**
- **No support for majority party**
- **Integrationist minority party – Harmony Centre**



Types of Ethnic Parties

→ Romania → **Asymmetric** → ethnic particularistic minority party

→ Estonia → **Asymmetric cooptation** → accommodative majority party

→ Latvia, Slovakia → **Symmetric** → minority integrationist parties