



the little **MANUAL**
for symbolic elections

a political initiative for
participation and equal
migrant voting rights

No Voting Rights

Mr. Nykiel
born in Chicago, USA
31 years residency in Freiburg

Mr. Rizzuti
born in Decollatura/ Italy
28 years residency in Freiburg

**No
voting
rights**

EU or non-EU nationals.

Mr. Nykiel and Mr. Rizzuti live in Freiburg and both like to have an equal say in their community.

We vote on the 25th of May
in Freiburg Voting District 100 %

Whoever lives in Freiburg should be allowed to vote!

Kein Wahlrecht!

Herr Nykiel
geb. in Chicago/ USA
seit 31 Jahren in Freiburg

Herr Rizzuti
geb. in Decollatura/ Italien
seit 28 Jahren in Freiburg

Kein Wahlrecht!

EU- oder Nicht-EU-Staatsangehörigkeit.
Herr Nykiel und Herr Rizzuti leben in Freiburg und wollen gleichberechtigt mitentscheiden.

**Wir wählen am 25. Mai
im FREIBURGER WAHLKREIS 100%**

Wahllokal 1 / 25.5.2014 / 10 -17 h / Theater Freiburg
Weitere Wahllokale unter: www.wahlkreis100.de

www.facebook.com/FreiburgerWahlkreis100

Freiburger Wahlkreis 100%

Wer in Freiburg lebt, soll auch wählen dürfen!

Co-funded by the European Union

iParticipate

Election poster
Symbolic election
Freiburg, 2014



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Text & Layout *Clemens Hauser* translation *Joe Nykiel*
Fotos *Maurice Korbel, Oliver Rath, Marc Doradzillo*
Posters *Fabian Gampp* • drawing *Eduardo Bastone*

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Questions & Answers

What is at stake?

| | | |
|---|-------|------|
| 20 Million EU residents have no voting rights | | 1 .. |
| How does Malawi differ from the US? | | 3 .. |

Why a symbolic election?

| | | |
|---|-------|------|
| Symbolic elections proclaim with confidence Yes! to Democracy | | 5 .. |
|---|-------|------|

How is it done?

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What do you need?

| | | |
|--|-------|------|
| The fundamentals for a successful campaign | | 9 .. |
|--|-------|------|

Step by step guide

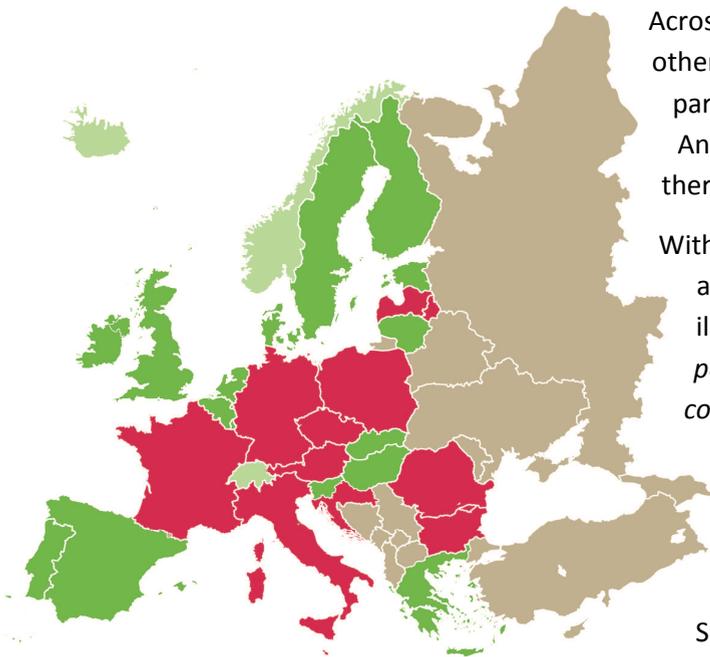
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|---|-------|-------|
| Timetable, media, drumming up support, finances | | 11 .. |
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Voter Exclusion Reloaded

The right to participate in free, equal, and secret elections is a basic principle of our democracies.

The word democracy - the people's rule - and its basic system dates back to the original democracy in Athens about 2,500 years ago. But even a brief look at this original model reveals that the word "people" is relative in size. It was probably only 20% of the population that could cast a ballot or shard to influence the course of the state - women, slaves, and migrants had no voting rights and the wealthy-"class" regulated the access to political office.

It has not looked much different in the democracies of the modern era. The democratic structures bloodily wrested from the monarchs and nobility were known only to a male electorate, wealth determining how many or few votes were allocated. In the year 1874 in Essen, the entrepreneur Alfred Krupp was allocated a third of the votes of the constituency according to the Prussian three-class-voting-law - as an individual. Wealth, race, and gender are no longer measures of exclusion from the democratic process; today only your passport determines which "class" you belong to. In Germany, a German passport ensures participation in all elections, an EU passport ensures equal participation in communal elections and a non-EU passport means: no voice, no right to vote.



Across Europe, Germany is the exception rather than the rule. Already 16 of 28 EU Member States and three other European countries - Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Switzerland - practice legally regulated voter participation of non-EU nationals on the local level.

And if the decisions of the European Council and the European Parliament were to be put into legislation, there would be EU-wide communal voting rights for all migrants regardless of nationality.

With the Maastricht Treaty from 7.2.1992 a shared understanding of equal citizenship was defined and adopted by the Member States in the European Union. One core point regarding EU citizenship is illustrated in Article 8b: *"Every citizen of the Union residing in a Member State...has the active and passive right to vote in local elections in the Member State in which he resides according to the same conditions applying to nationals of that Member State..."*.

For some EU countries this recognition of citizenship was not unknown territory. As in Ireland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Greece, EU and non-EU citizens have been able to vote actively and passively in local elections after a residency of 6 months since 1963.

Some countries only allow active voting rights, but not running for office – Belgium, Estonia, Luxembourg, Lithuania and Hungary. Spain, Portugal and Great Britain foresee the active voting rights only for certain groups of people with whom they are related historically, i.e. members of former colonies.

The tough negotiations of the Treaty of Maastricht led to shortcomings regarding the theme of integration of the immigrant population in the EU countries. That is why the European Council, already on 5.2.1992 - not coincidentally 2 days before the Treaty of Maastricht - approved the *“Convention of the European Council on the participation of foreigners in public life of the communities.”* Implemented in 1997, it contains the voluntary commitment *“to give every foreign resident the active and passive right to vote in communal elections.”* Specified in later decisions, it deals with the voting rights of all migrants *“after a three-year legal residency.”*

Some of the new EU Member States, e.g. Estonia, Lithuania, the Czech Republic, Hungary had introduced communal voting rights for non-EU citizens at the same time that the Union citizenship was introduced. On the European stage, the demand for equal participation has long appeared on the list of headline goals; it is up to the individual EU Member States and their civil societies to implement them.

The introduction of woman’s voting rights was not and has still not been automatic up to today - in Saudi-Arabia the introduction of communal(!) women’s voting rights was planned for 2015 - but that was the result of decades of stubborn fighting . Such was the case for the descendants of slaves in the USA - the Civil Rights Act of 1964 - and is still the case for migrant voting rights. Many EU Member States are already steering the right course. The shining example is far-off New Zealand: There, after a one-year residency, migrants are democratically integrated and are eligible to vote in all elections.

| 16 12 | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| Voting Rights for non-EU-nationals in the EU | | | | |
| Communal All non-EU nationals active (voting) + passive (running for office) | only active | Communal only certain non-EU nationals | Regional, national (certain prerequisites, certain groups, only active) | No voting rights (and constitutional amendment necessary) |
| Ireland (1963) Holland (1983) Slovakia (2002) Denmark (1971) Finnland (1991) Sweden (1975) Slowenia (2002) Greece (2010) | Belgium (2004) Estonia (1996) Litthuania (2004) Luxemburg (2005) Hungary (1990) | Spain (bilateral accords with Bolivia, Cape Verde, Chile, Equador, Iceland, Colombia, New Zealand, Paraguay), Portugal (Brazil, Cape Verde) Great Britain (Commonwealth-countries) | regional: Denmark, Finnland, Great Britain, Portugal, Sweden, Slovakia, Hungary national: Great Britain, Ireland, Portugal | Bulgaria, Germany, France, Italy, Croatia, Latvia, Austria, Poland, Romania, Cyprus Possible with bilateral accords, none exist so far: Malta, Czech Republik |
| In 28 EU-member states 34.3 million citizens form the foreign national population (6.8% of all citizens in the -EU), out of which 20.7 million are non-EU nationals. | | | | |

sources: eurostat 2011, 2013 u.a. - text, table: Clemens Hauser - Grafic: Simone Meister

How does Malawi differ from the USA ?

50 of approximately 110 democracies world-wide grant migrants voting rights at the local, regional or national level. The reasons behind the states' extension of voting rights to migrants are as varied as the conditions regarding them.

In one of the states, migrants are only allowed to run for office and vote in school board elections (USA) while in four other states, migrants are allowed to cast a ballot in national parliamentary elections (New Zealand, Malawi, Uruguay, and Chile). In New Zealand a one-year residency is required, in Chile 5 years, in Malawi 7 years, and in Uruguay 15 years.



Campaign of the national election authority for the national election in New Zealand, 2014

Quelle: Electoral Commission

State (53 states), 40 % of migrants in Great Britain have the right to vote in communal and even national elections.

Democratic principles, economic and social advantages, avoidance of segregation through social integration, or the experience of emigration of its own citizens all provide the motivation for political participation by citizens, who belong to a state through their presence, but without formal citizenship.

According to the definition of citizenship - historically speaking a modern construction accompanied by the founding of the construct nation - the theoretical debate around residency or denizenship could be helpful; that way those who are stakeholders would be able to participate.

On the other hand, US immigrants enjoyed communal voting rights and were even allowed to vote in presidential elections up to the 1920's. The flip side of the coin: while the integration of "white" immigrants was strengthened by voting rights, those of black former slaves were carved away and women were not granted complete voting rights until 1920.

In Europe, 28 states are looking to achieve political unity and justify common rights amongst its citizens with the future while the colonial past is the godfather of voting rights for the countries of the Commonwealth. By belonging to a Commonwealth-

3 Questions - 1 Answer

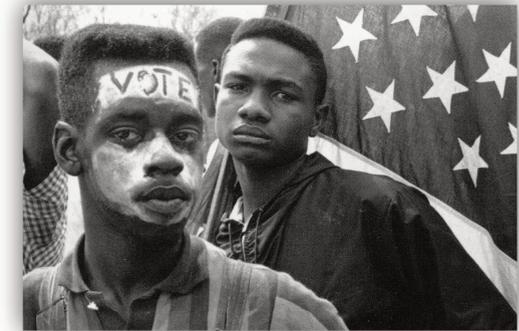
In 2009 Germany commemorated the 90-year anniversary of the introduction of women's voting rights.

Would anyone today accept the question of whether the role of gender should be a determining factor in relation to social status or equal voting rights?



As a result of the Civil Rights Movement in 1965, black americans were granted unrestricted access to the polls for the first time through the Voting Rights Act.

Would anyone today accept the question that race or ethnicity be a determining factor in relation to social status or equal voting rights?



Do we still want to accept the question that a passport or nationality be a determining factor in relation to equal voting rights?

Until the day comes when we get to celebrate the introduction of migrant voting rights, we will continue to vote in the symbolic 100% voting districts.



Symbolic elections proclaim with confidence Yes! to Democracy

The model of symbolic elections introduced here is new and distinguishes itself from familiar lobbying and campaign work (resolutions, petitions). It is based on sustained activation and participation of the migrant stakeholders who may express themselves as a group or individually by casting a ballot. The question of participation is both a mutual and unifying theme for all migrant groups - beyond ethnic and national attributions and differences. The method of parallel elections has high symbolic power.

Initiatives for the introduction of migrant voting rights deal fundamentally with the continued development of the understanding of democracy. If in Germany 90 years ago, or in our neighboring country, Switzerland 40 years ago people fought tooth and nail against the right to vote for women; today, the questions of proper voting age or the democratic inclusion of citizens differing only by place of birth or that of their parents are on the agenda of democratic development.

Whoever lives in a community is affected by political decisions—independent of nationality. The participation in elections by all foreign citizens promotes integration and is an expression of social and political equality.



parliament“ in 1964 which first convened on May 2, 1964.

Symbolic elections in the form of a political campaign to attain equal voting rights and as a demonstration of political interest are no new invention. In Switzerland in Unterbäch/Wallis, women took part in a referendum in 1957 (women’s voting rights were not introduced in Switzerland until 1971.)



In the Stuttgart area, Italian union members founded the U.E.G. (Union degli Emigrati in Germania) and organized the symbolic election of the “emigrants

the 100% - Model in Freiburg

Alongside the official voting district, non-eligible migrants are called to cast a symbolic ballot in an additional voting district, the Freiburg Voting District 100%. Migrants can vote according to the exact same procedure with the same parties and candidates from the official voting district. In so doing they express their wish for equal voting rights and democratic participation.

The Voting District 100% sets up street stands, prints election posters, organizes events, writes up electoral touchstones, creates a virtual polling station, and contacts the media during the “election campaign”. For elections (2002-2014), 500 to more than 1000 voters were greeted in seven hours, casting their symbolic ballots at the 100% polling stations in Freiburg. Parallel to the official election, non-eligible migrants were able to vote for city council members or the federal parliament while German and EU citizens were able to cast a “solidarity vote”.

The ballots cast were later presented to their elected representatives in a ceremony as a popular mandate.



- **parallel election on election Sunday (10 a.m.-5:00 p.m.)**
- **15 – 20 polling stations / run by initiatives / associations**
- **same election procedure**
- **same candidates, same lists**
- **solidarity ballots for eligible voters**
- **ballot presentation to elected officials / “Voter mandate”**

Figures. When residents are called to the polls on election Sunday to choose the city council or vote on a referendum as on the privatization of public housing, 14,500 votes of legal-age residents are missing in Freiburg and 650,000 in the state of Baden-Württemberg. While EU citizens have been allowed to vote in communal elections since 1998, non-EU nationals remain disenfranchised.

Variation 1



Variation 1: small, but loud

“Which of the polling stations had the most fun and enthusiastic atmosphere?” asked the Badische Zeitung on page 1 of the Freiburg section of the local newspaper on the day after the 2014 communal elections.

And gave the answer immediately: “here, where those who voted were not allowed to vote.” With one centrally located polling station in the middle of the city, the symbolic election attained maximum publicity with minimum effort. A friendly, colorful polling station with waving flags, brownies for everyone who voted, and live music on a Sunday afternoon aroused the curiosity of those who happened to be strolling through the city.

The best setting for an informative chat and for participating in the election - after all, everyone is eligible to vote in the 100% election (solidarity vote).

Publicity expenses remain about the same for the basic equipment (e.g. posters, election notices, ballots), but can be trimmed down (e.g. no election events, electoral touchstones, videos, stands, etc.). The organisation and administration of 15-20 polling stations and electoral assistants is not required. Additionally, 1-2 mobile polling stations can drive out to attractive locations and collect votes at festivities, events and refugee homes

The voter turn-out will be smaller on the whole; but being visible and noticeable with a large group striving for the same goal in one location is a strong signal and remains engraved in people’s memories, memories which can motivate and be built upon.

Wahlkreis 100 Prozent: Symbolis

Und welches war das Wahllokal mit der besten Stimmung? Das vor dem Stadttheater. Die Wahlurne stand Open Air auf dem Vorplatz, daneben zwei Straßenmusikanten, die mit Gitarre und Kontrabass loslegten. Die gut gelaunten Wahlhelfer trugen gelbe T-Shirts mit dem Bild eines Bollenhutmädchens mit Migrationshintergrund. Hier wählte der Freiburger Wahlkreis 100 Prozent. Hier wählten die, die nicht wählen dürfen. Hinter der mit



Variation 1

Preparation: approx. 3 months

Budget: 500 – 5.000 €

Variation 2: Voting before elections

Voters are able to cast their ballots over the course of seven hours on one day in the Freiburg Voting District 100% polling stations. In Berlin, the symbolic polling stations were open for 7 days in 80 different locations. In accordance with the symbolic under-18 elections for the lowering of the voting age requirement to 16, the Berlin initiative took advantage of the last two weeks of the hot phase of the election campaign in order to motivate people to the polls. Many locations over a longer time period make it easier for potential voters to participate. Furthermore, possible conflicts are avoided which may arise due to parallel elections on election day (e.g. "same" ballots, mixing up polling stations, acceptance by the communes, approval of venues). Election results can be made public before the official election and is therefore more attractive for the media.

Direct comparison with the election turnout to the official election is not possible with a model running many days or weeks. But this is not a high priority because it is a symbolic election and instead, voter mobilization can be broader and larger.

On the other hand: the trip to the polling station on the same day that the neighbors, friends, and colleagues go, including the parallel rituals - electoral assistants, polling stations, vote count, prognoses, election results, election party - has a stronger personal, as well as public symbolic power.

Variation 2

Preparation: 6 months (with previous experience)
6 - 12 months • Budget: 1.500 - 12.000 €



Fundamentals for a successful campaign



Idea & Conviction. During inter-culture week, Freiburg Voting District 100% hosts a potluck dinner, where guests are invited to share songs and poems dealing with democracy and participation. At a table laden with tasty dishes, Said recites a poem by the American poet, Langston Hughes, who at the time was ineligible to vote. A campaign is nurtured by common dreams and convictions.

Multilinguism. An address in the native language promotes not only the perception and dissemination of the theme and call to vote, but also takes into account the hurdles and perspectives of the primary target group. Above all, **active visits**/personal exchanges enhance credibility for the initiative.

Alliance partners/ Infrastructure. Cooperation with related groups is of the utmost importance for its success, e.g. rooms, authorisation, public relations, mailing lists, fliers, posters, events, volunteers. It does influence the time factor. Maintaining contact is essential.

Diversity in the initiative's membership with the highest possible percentage with immigrant background creates a stronger group, making a bigger impact.

On the streets. Visibility and campaigning on the streets is vital for feedback, publicity, and the sense of the "people's voice".

A campaign demands time and energy.

Commitment and success call for celebration!

Democracy

*Democracy will not come
Today, this year
Nor ever
Through compromise and fear.*

*I have as much right
As the other fellow has
To stand
On my two feet
And own the land.*

*I tire so of hearing people say,
Let things take their course.
Tomorrow is another day.
I do not need my freedom when I'm dead.
I cannot live on tomorrow's bread.*

*Freedom
Is a strong seed
Planted
In a great need.*

*I live here, too.
I want freedom
Just as you.*

Langston Hughes
amerikanischer Dichter (1902-1967)



Step by Step

Form Initiative Group
Gather interested people
Brainstorm!



Partners
Get advices & support & involve Migr.-Council, MSO, Clubs intercultural org. Individuals

Funding
Calculate costs & money resources, apply for funding

Decide
Which variant?
Determine outlay

Concept
Describe the Initiative

"Tour to Associations"
Attend meetings and make presentations
gather support, check cooperation
Polling station?



Material Public relations
Call to vote
Posters
Flyer
Stand-Equipment

Video Ad
cinema,
online



Virtual Public relations
Home-page
facebook
newsletter

Get out on the streets!
monthly, later weekly
visit migrant events



Polling stations
Determine where
Apply for Authorisation,
information materials
set up stands



Elect-oral Assistants
List of names & phonenr.,
remind,
instruction-meeting

Call to vote
Write texts
translate
set up distribution-structure
(polling stations!)

Electoral touchstones / Election event
Set up questions
contact cooperation partners, **Political Parties** meet & engage the interested

Media
Print, radio, TV
Press release
min. 1x before
1x election day,
1x ballot presentation ceremony



Election Day Material

Ballot boxes
Ballots (solidarity ballots!)
1 package per polling station (display election procedure, photos candidates, signs, arrows, stamps, mobiles)



Polling stations

logistics, electoral assistants, materials (Flyer, Posters, Pens ...)

Election mobile

bus, team locations: visit in advance! recruit

Elect. Assistants

4 Pers./ Stat.
2 x 4 hours

Election Day

Election headquarters, elect. Assistant meeting, Transportation, polling stations, signs, deco, (1-2 pers. flexible), packed lunches, culture program, music



Documentation

profess. Photographer
Video-/ Film drawings



Press

Invite, look after



Election Party

Open to the public invite (Call to vote)
food, drink
election results



Vote count

evaluation sheets
press release sent out that evening
election results online

Helper Party

Celebrate, feedback, photos, evaluation, new goals

allies local & world-wide

networking, visit, projects



Ballot presentation

Political mandate to the symbolically elected representatives
call for 100%-council



Preparation: 6 mon. (with previous exper.) - 12 mon. • Variation 1 app. 3 months
Budget: 1.500 – 12.500 € • Variation 1: 500 – 5.000 € • Variation 2 as standard

- 1

- 2



+ 2 - 4

+ 2 - 4





Checklist

ELECTION DAY

- Ballot boxes
- Ballots
- Solidarity ballots
- Pens (optional as present/souvenir)
- Election information - How does the election work?
- Stamps/stamp pads
- Signs/decoration
- Evaluation sheets
- Press release (“preliminary official results“)

- Electoral assistants
 - 2x2 per polling station, vote count 3-6,
 - 2-3 back-up (polling stations, packed lunches, election party lists with telephone numbers and tasks, schedule

- Election headquarters
- Room

- Election-mobile (optional)

- Cultural program (preferably music, mobile, loud)

- Documentation
 - photos, video (semi-professional + all)

BEFOREHAND

- Polling stations
 - Venues, authorization, election-day meeting,
 - Information and publicity material, posters

- Election announcements
 - Announcement, information: polling stations, voting procedure
 - multi-lingual, translations

- Posters
- Media (set up mailing lists, contacts) & virtual campaign

- T-Shirts for electoral assistants, stands, for sale
- Hang up and distribute posters, election announcements (polling stations, migrant org., stores, city centers, cultural...)

- Visit migrant organisations

- Visit political parties, engage them (it’s also their campaign, meet ineligible voters, bring election announcements to their stands)

- Street - stands authorisation, material
- Election touchstones (optional)
- Election events (opt.)
- Wahlwerbespot (opt.)
- Dial Democracy (telephone list, election day reminder; opt.)

BEFORE

- Funding
 - Local - communal, city council, foundations
 - Country - integration ministry, county foundations
 - Federal/ EU - foundations – integration support announcements
 - Participation - prizes for projects, competitions

AFTER

- Election Party
 - party, share experiences, photos, film
- Ballot presentation + voter mandate
 - invite elected members of parliament and media
 - or invite the 100% - city council
 - present documentation + voter mandate

BEFORE + AFTER

- Find alliance partners and network : local • regional / state • nationwide • international (partner cities, Europe, world-wide)

| Freiburger Wahlkreis 100% - 25.05.2014 - to do | | Prioritäten | | | | | 1 |
|--|--|-------------|----------|----------|----------------|-------|---------------------------------------|
| datum | to do | mu ss | so ll | ka nn | späte stens | Wer ? | Infos / Bemerkung / zeitl. Aufwand |
| | Wahlaufufe Text - Logos - Grafik - Wahllokale - Verteilung (Stadtteile, Inis, Stände) | | | | | | |
| | Wahllokale Orte - Vereine/ Träger - Vorbesuch - Wahlhelfer (4 Pers./ 2 Schichten) Genehmigungen - Schlüssel - Infomaterial (Wahlzettel, Stempel ..) Transport (Material, Urnen, Personen) hin&zurück WAHLMOBIL - Bus, Helfer, Orte vorbesuchen | | | | | | |
| | Wahlhelfer Liste mit Namen Telefon mobil, Einsatzort und -zeit Erinnern, einteilen Wahlhelfertreffen – Instruktionen - Ablauf | | | | | | |
| | Wahltag - Material Wahlurnen Text/ Logos erstellen, bekleben, Stimmzettel erstellen, drucken Infomaterial (wie funktioniert Wahl/ Bilder Kandidierende) Paket pro Wahllokal plus Schilder, Pfeile ... | | | | | | |
| | Wahltag Essen - Verpflegung - Getränke Kulturprogramm - Musik | | | | | | |

to do - list
(section)
Freiburg 2014

Symbolic Elections

as demonstrated by the
Freiburg Voting District 100%

a political campaign
for participation and
equal migrant voting rights

