The Substantive Representation of Ethnic Minorities in the UK Parliament

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Abstract

Ethnic minorities in the UK Parliament are numerically under represented, despite recent increases in the number of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) Members of Parliament in the 2010 and 2015 General Elections. This under-representation is a problem for several reasons but especially because of the possibility that their interests are not adequately represented. In this thesis I ask the complex question of how, why, and when substantive representation of ethnic minorities takes place in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, using a multi-pronged approach. I draw on theories and concepts developed in studies of representation of other historically marginalised groups, including female political representation, gaining insights mainly from those writing in Europe and the USA. In the first of four empirical chapters I examine substantive representation by those Members of Parliament from BME communities, and who thus are descriptive representatives of those communities. Second, I explore substantive representation amongst those who operate as critical actors, who are not necessarily descriptive representatives of these communities. Third, I ask whether Members of Parliament respond in the same way to BME constituents. Finally, I test certain mechanisms that have been proposed as factors underlying substantive representation.

I find considerable evidence for a link between descriptive and substantive representation, with BME Members of Parliament responding in ways that are different from their non-BME counterparts when critical events occur, in the way that they speak about and represent ethnic minorities in debates (Chapter 3). I also find that non-BME Members of Parliament, or their offices, are less responsive to an ethnic minority constituent, even when the question asked of the representative is of critical importance (Chapter 5). In each of these chapters I find evidence that both electoral incentives and the political party of the Member of Parliament are important. I also look at substantive representation without descriptive representation, or the potential for non-BME representatives to act for ethnic minorities. I find, in Chapter 4, that these critical actors are most likely to be in the Labour Party and represent ethnically diverse seats, as well as being most often found among BME Members of Parliament. In Chapter 6 I test certain mechanisms proposed as underpinning the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation. There, I find good evidence supporting intrinsic mechanisms; linked fate and a sense of responsibility to represent, and some evidence for electoral incentives as a mechanism.

By taking this multi-pronged approach I am able to capture how the substantive representation of ethnic minorities takes place in the UK Parliament, from initial contacts between constituents and their Members of Parliament to how their interests are presented in the House of Commons. Substantive representation is, I argue, a journey, although not necessarily a linear one, which involves constituents' attitudes, how they communicate their concerns to their representatives, and how their representatives communicate them to Parliament. The approach I have taken has allowed me to understand how substantive representation happens at these different stages, and explore why and when representatives are motivated to act for ethnic minorities.

Chapter 1.   Introduction

John Adams, writing in the 18th century, stated that "a legislature should be an exact portrait, in miniature, of the people at large, as it should think, feel, reason and act like them" (Peek, 1954, 68). This summarises the traditional definition of political representation and highlights a key issue. Being like the people or specific people, sharing a common background or experience may be *necessary* to achieve fair political representation but is it *sufficient* to achieve substantive representation? Therein lies the main question of this thesis; do the descriptive representatives of ethnic minorities, those who have a common identity with those they represent, also *act for* those they descriptively represent, or are there other factors that also matter for the substantive representation of ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom?

In this thesis I analyse substantive representation from multiple angles, at each stage using new data and different methods. In the subsequent empirical chapters I will show how existing theories of substantive representation can be tested by looking at what happens in Parliament both amongst descriptive representatives and critical actors who may not be from the minority group, by analysing parliamentary debates (Chapters 3 and 4). I also look at the relationship between constituents and their Members of Parliament using an experimental email study (Chapter 5), and I test explicitly the mechanisms that are said to underpin the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation (Chapter 6).

Citizens are said to select representatives on the grounds of their identity, common interests or shared experience, or expertise (O'Neill, 2001). This speaks to the underlying assumptions that descriptive representatives are able to substantively represent marginalised groups,

such as those from ethnic minorities. Those from an ethnic minority background may use ethnicity as a heuristic with which to make judgments about representatives and which groups they will act for. We do not entirely know *why* and *how* substantive representation happens, so if, as we know, descriptive representatives are more likely to substantively represent, then why is this the case? Underlying mechanisms that have been proposed as underpinning the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation include shared experiences, motivation to represent, and electoral incentives, which are also explored in this thesis.

The question of the substantive representation of ethnic minorities has previously been difficult to study because of certain constraints, including the low numbers of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) Members of Parliament in the United Kingdom and concerns about how to effectively operationalize the substantive representation of ethnic minorities. However, we can now, to some extent, overcome many of these issues. First, the numbers of BME Members of Parliament has risen dramatically in the last two elections (2010, 2015). Second, there is now a wealth of literature on women's political representation that has generated well-theorised concepts that can now be extended to the representation of ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom and which I test in this thesis. Third, and linked to the first point, there are now more data on BME representatives and more scope to study them, using, for example, experimental methods (see Chapter 5). Taken together, these factors have encouraged me to take a multi-pronged approach. I have been able to exploit what is now a substantial literature on the substantive representation of other groups, and to use a wide range of methods and data sources, some new to this subject, to take different approaches that address the overarching research question.

The research for this thesis, as I will show, has been designed in this manner, to answer the question of how substantive representation of ethnic minorities occurs in the United Kingdom. Specifically, is there is a link between descriptive representation, by minority Members of Parliament, and the substantive representation of ethnic minority interests in the political arena. My aim has been to find different ways of "getting at" this complex question by using new data and different methods, looking at substantive representation from a range of different angles, to get a broad but robust picture of how the substantive representation of ethnic minorities occurs in the United Kingdom.

The research design is led primarily by theories of substantive representation and concepts that have been designed to defend the *politics of presence*, the argument that descriptive representatives are best placed to substantively represent marginalised groups. I empirically test the assumptions underlying these theories and concepts to take forward the body of literature on the substantive representation of ethnic minorities. The chapters have been designed to answer individual questions about how representation happens, moving away from a preoccupation about the numbers of descriptive representatives needed, to a focus on what they do and why they do it. Each chapter will answer different aspects of the question of how ethnic minorities are being substantively represented. At the same time, this research seeks to provide a detailed picture about the process of substantive representation of ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom and to what extent this representation is impacted by the characteristics of those that descriptively represent ethnic minorities.

I show that there is good evidence for a link between descriptive and substantive representation. I find that, during critical events, BME and non-BME Members of Parliament differ significantly in the way that they speak about and represent ethnic minorities in debates (Chapter 3). I also find that non-BME Members of Parliament, or their

offices, are less responsive to an ethnic minority constituent, even when the question asked of the representative is of critical importance (Chapter 5). In both these chapters I find evidence that both electoral incentives and the political party of the Member of Parliament play a role. Further to this, I look at substantive representation, without descriptive representation, and thus the potential for non-BME representatives to act for ethnic minorities. I find, in Chapter 4, that these *critical actors* are most likely to be from the Labour Party and represent ethnically diverse seats. Additionally, I find that these actors are mostly amongst BME Members of Parliament. My final approach involves testing the mechanisms that are proposed as underpinning the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation. In Chapter 6 I move to consider *why* substantive representation happens, building on the previous empirical chapters that test *how* it happens in Parliament. Here I find that there is good evidence for intrinsic mechanisms, linked fate and the sense of responsibility, and some evidence for an electoral incentives mechanism. In later sections in this chapter I provide more detail on each of these.

By taking this multi-pronged approach I am able to capture how the substantive representation of ethnic minorities takes place in the UK Parliament, from initial contact between constituents and their Members of Parliament to how their interests are presented in the House of Commons. Substantive representation is, I argue, a journey, although not necessarily a linear one, which involves constituents' attitudes, how they communicate their concerns to their representatives, and how their representatives communicate them to Parliament. The approach I have taken has allowed me to understand how substantive representation happens at these different stages, and explore why representatives are motivated to act for ethnic minorities.

Why is this important?

The under-representation of ethnic minorities amongst elected representatives in legislatures is recognised as a problem for several reasons, some of which concern substantive representation. There are four main arguments in favour of greater representation of ethnic minorities in Parliament (Phillips, 1998). The first is a role model argument, whereby members of historically disadvantaged groups can benefit from seeing members of their group in positions of power. The second draws on ideas of justice, so that it is unfair in a country that claims to be democratic, within which certain groups have experienced explicit past injustices, for decisions to be taken entirely by members of the majority ethnic group. The third relates to the ethnic diversity of the population and the ability to present "overlooked interests" on to the political agenda. With the ethnic minority population itself very heterogeneous, it is necessary to have sufficient numbers of representatives from ethnic minorities to reflect these diverse interests in the deliberation process. The final argument is that it is necessary for a revitalised democracy, a pragmatic argument recognising that, in the face of declining voter turnout, the possibility that candidates from ethnic minorities stand a reasonable chance of being elected may encourage voters from those groups to participate in the electoral process, thereby increasing turnout and thus the legitimacy of the electoral process.

Much of the literature linking descriptive and substantive representation focuses on the final three arguments (Dovi, 2002; Phillips, 1998). Those arguments that include considerations of justice and the placing of overlooked interests on the agenda are specifically related to substantive representation. Descriptive representatives, as argued by normative theorists, are better able to raise issues and interests of ethnic minorities; this can overcome past injustices by ensuring new legislation and policies are more representative of the interests of the population at large. If it can be shown that descriptive representation of ethnic minorities

is both necessary and sufficient to achieve substantive representation, there is an imperative to address the systems that give rise to the current composition of parliament. Additionally, if we can better understand why this link exists, and the mechanisms underlying it, this has important implications for not only the study of minority representation but policies and actions aimed at improving the representativeness of Parliament.

Why now?

In the United Kingdom, ethnic minorities are politically underrepresented, as assessed by the numbers of ethnic minority Members of Parliament. This has improved since the election of the first post-war BME Members of Parliament in 1987. The most recent General Election, in 2015, saw 41 BME Members of Parliament elected, making it possible to study this issue in more detail now. Yet, despite this increase in the number of BME Members of Parliament, ethnic minorities are still descriptively under-represented, and currently make-up only 6.3% the House of Commons. If this were to reflect the ethnic distribution in the population, there would be approximately 84 BME Members of Parliament[1].

This numerical increase in BME Members of Parliament has differed across political parties. The Labour Party, which has traditionally been the party for ethnic minorities, in terms of voters, has elected 28 BME Members of Parliament since 1987. As Table 1-1 indicates, the Labour Party had the first BME Members of Parliament and has consistently seen more elected at each general election than all other parties together. The first four BME Members of Parliament elected in 1987 were Diane Abbott (Hackney North & Stoke Newington), Paul Boateng (Brent South), Bernie Grant (Tottenham) and Keith Vaz (Leicester East), two of

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[1] Source: Lukas Audickas Ethnic Minorities in Politics and Public Life. Standard Note Briefing Paper: SN01156 London: House of Commons Library, 2015

whom Diane Abbott and Keith Vaz, are still serving Members of Parliament. The concentration of ethnic minority Member of Parliament on the Labour benches continued until 2010, when the number of BME Conservatives increased markedly, from 2 to 11 and then again in 2015, to 17. One BME Liberal Democrat candidate was elected in a 2004 Leicester South by-election, but subsequently lost the seat at the 2005 General Election. The first SNP BME Member of Parliament, Tasmina Ahmed-Sheikh, although not the first to BME Member of Parliament have a seat in Scotland, was elected in 2015.

TABLE 1-1 ETHNICITY OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ELECTED AT GENERAL ELECTIONS 1987-2015

	Labour	Conservative	Liberal Democrat	SNP	Other	Total
Non-BME						
1987	225	376	22	3	20	646
1992	266	335	20	3	21	645
1997	409	165	46	6	24	650
2001	400	166	52	5	24	647
2005	342	196	62	6	25	631
2010	242	295	57	6	23	623
2015	209	313	8	55	24	609
BME						
1987	4	0	0	0	0	4
1992	5	1	0	0	0	6
1997	9	0	0	0	0	9
2001	12	0	0	0	0	12
2005	13	2	0	0	0	15
2010	16	11	0	0	0	27
2015	23	17	0	1	0	41

Source: Lukas Audickas Ethnic Minorities in Politics and Public Life. Standard Note Briefing Paper: SN01156 London: House of Commons Library, 2015

The current situation, which has seen an almost doubling of BME Members of Parliament, provides an excellent opportunity to look at ethnic minority representation and, specifically,

how representation of ethnic minorities has been impacted upon by the newly elected members. Has the increase in the descriptive representation led to better substantive representation for the ethnic minority population? This increase enables us to test those theories of representation that previously have been hard to test for. Thus, now is a perfect time to seek to explore the question of substantive representation of ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom Parliament.

Descriptive and Substantive Representation

Before proceeding with this thesis, it is necessary to determine a definition of descriptive and substantive representation and how they have been linked in the literature. This is discussed at greater length in Chapter 2 but, in brief, Hanna Pitkin (1967), a seminal author on political representation, identified four types of representation; formalistic, symbolic, descriptive and substantive. Pitkin conceptualised substantive representation as *acting for* those that are not present by seeking to advance their preferences and interests. Substantive representation is thus set apart from descriptive representation, which requires only that the representatives resemble those that they represent. Substantive representation is the process of raising issues salient to particular groups so as to place these issues on the political agenda, or having an effect on political outcomes. Thus, a link between descriptive and substantive representation would lead minority representatives to be more likely to raise issues of importance for ethnic minorities, or represent their interests in the legislature. This matters because ethnic minorities are already politically marginalised and, if this link exists, the benefits of having a co-ethnic representative could be felt by ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom. Pitkin, however, rejected the assumption that descriptive representation necessarily leads to action on behalf of the represented group, thus highlighting the need to conceptualise substantive representation as a separate concept. This assumption, she suggests, leads researchers to focus too much on the characteristics rather than the actions of

the representatives. However, some authors who are unwilling to reject the idea of a link between the two have contested this, including Anne Phillips (1995) who has defended what she terms, the *politics of presence.*

The politics of presence highlights the role that shared experiences of group members play in allowing descriptive representatives to understand more clearly the needs of the group they represent (Mansbridge, 1999, 2003; Phillips, 1995; Wängnerud, 2009). Descriptive representatives are seen as in "some sense typical of the larger class of persons whom they represent" (Mansbridge, 1999, 629) and descriptive representatives of minorities have contrasting political priorities to members of the majority group (Phillips, 1995). Although there are various explanations for why this link might exist, with a now substantial theoretical literature on the topic (Mansbridge, 1999, 2003; Phillips, 1995, 1998), the empirical validation of such a link remains limited, for ethnic minorities. This argument, which I will refer to as the *politics of presence,* is based on the assumptions that race, ethnicity, or gender, are characteristics shared between members of the electorate and their representatives in the legislature, inciting feelings of familiarity, solidarity, and commonality among members of the group in question (Dovi, 2002; Mansbridge, 1999; Pitkin, 1967). Underlying this concept is an idea that these shared experiences, or a shared group identity, provides a mechanism that can link descriptive and substantive representation. However, although these mechanisms are well theorised, they are underdeveloped in the empirical literature, something which this thesis aims to change.

As will be discussed in more depth subsequently in Chapter 2, an exact definition of substantive representation has been contested in the literature. There are also those who have criticised Pitkin's assessment that substantive representation is not necessarily linked to descriptive representation, as well as much discussion about what substantive

representation actually is and how it can be measured. This is especially important when we look at representation of ethnic minorities, a traditionally marginalised group in politics and society and who face many obstacles to equal political representation of their interests. Pitkin's definition is still the most widely cited, even if it has been subject to some modifications. Thus, *acting for* ethnic minorities, in their interests, and in a manner *responsive* to them, is a workable definition of substantive representation. A problem faced by the predominantly normative debate is some of the main assumptions, which pose challenges when testing them empirically. These are as follows.

First, the assumption that minority representatives are best at substantively representing ethnic minorities is problematic as it simplifies the experiences of minority Members of Parliament. Whilst there are some experiences that might be considered likely to have been shared by many people from an ethnic minority background, others will not be shared by all, especially considering the diverse ethnic minority population of the United Kingdom and their different socio-economic circumstances and migration histories. Moreover, some will not be exclusive to ethnic minorities. A related problem is that parliamentary candidates and Members of Parliament tend to be drawn from a narrow, typically middle class pool (Durose, Combs, Eason, Gains, & Richardson, 2012). It follows that this is the same for BME Members of Parliament, making them less likely to have shared the same experiences of some of the more marginalised ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom[2]. Consequently, although, *a priori* one might expect Members of Parliament from an ethnic minority background to be more likely to represent some ethnic minority issues in Parliament, it cannot be assumed that all will do so. As I show in Chapter 3, even on an issue that is highly salient to members of certain ethnic minority groups, such as anti-terrorism legislation,

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[2] The extent to which the feelings of shared experience apply to BME Members of Parliament is explored in Chapter 6

many backbench BME Members of Parliament did not speak in the debates between 2001 and 2015.

This may also be influenced by their political party, which may be linked to the traditional class cleavages in these parties or the different ethnic minority groups that they attract or who are motivated to run for Parliament for them. Table 1-2 shows the different ethnic backgrounds of BME Members of Parliament across political parties. Both Labour and Conservative parties have different proportions of minority Members of Parliament representing different ethnic minority groups.

TABLE 1-2 ETHNIC MINORITY BACKGROUND OF ALL BME MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT BY PARTY*

	Conservatives	Labour	Other parties†
South Asian	7	22	0
Black African	6	8	0
African Asian	3	0	2
Black Caribbean	0	3	0
Other	3	0	0
Total	20	32	2

*n=52; * 1987-2015; † SNP and Liberal Democrats*

See Table 1-1 for details of source data

Additionally, there is concern that this this might lead, in practice, to prospective parliamentary candidates from ethnic minorities being directed to constituencies that are especially ethnically diverse, potentially leading to a process of "ghettoization" (Saggar & Geddes, 2000). Although this is less of a concern given the recent increase in minority Members of Parliament from the Conservative Party, 21 out of 41 BME Members of Parliament currently represent constituencies where ethnic minorities comprise over 20% of the electorate and all but two BME Labour Members of Parliament represent seats where the

share is over 20%. This raises issues of equality of opportunity, as the distribution of the ethnic minority population in the United Kingdom means that there are a limited number of constituencies where ethnic minorities make up a majority, or even a substantial minority (Sobolewska, 2015). This would serve to limit the number of seats in which BME candidates might be run and poses a practical concern for the electoral system.

Finally, the view that members of legislative bodies act on the basis of their background characteristics or their shared heritage with members of the minority population ignores the role of electoral incentives. It would be very surprising if such incentives were not critical factors in understanding how elected representatives behave in office[3]. Legislators have some freedom to choose which issues they will focus on in their capacity as a representative; a considerable body of literature has been dedicated to understanding the different issues that representatives adopt (Eulau, Wahlke, Buchanan, & Ferguson, 1959; Mansbridge, 1999; Pitkin, 1967; Rehfeld, 2009). Moreover, there should be some attention paid to the ability of Members of Parliament to represent at all times, including constraints they face by virtue of different offices they hold, such as ministerial posts or as members of the Whips' office. Therefore, to conclude that minority representatives will, by default, represent minority interests is problematic and ignores this nuance of political representation. These are some of the issues that I will be addressing throughout this thesis.

Operationalising the concept of substantive representation

In order to test for substantive representation, the theoretical concept needs to be operationalized so that it can be measured empirically. Previous literature sets out several ways that this can be done. Some have argued that the presence of substantive

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[3] The role of electoral incentives is recognized throughout the thesis, and is explicitly explored in Chapter 6

representation is demonstrated by policy outcomes that favour minorities, so that representatives have been successful in getting government to respond to the interests of those that they represent (Bratton & Ray, 2002; Weldon, 2002). Others have seen it as the ability to highlight these interests, or issues relating specifically to the ethnic minority community, inside the political arena by asking questions to ministers, initiating discussions and otherwise placing them on the political agenda (Saalfeld, 2011; Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012; Tremblay, 1998). Others still have suggested that it is being present in the legislature or acting when specific events motivate the representatives to act (Mansbridge, 1999).

Substantive representation is measured in this thesis in several different ways as it is operationalized differently depending on the appropriateness of the measure to the concept I am testing as well as the data and the research design. This allows me to capture substantive representation from several different angles, including within parliamentary activity in the House of Commons and in the relationship between Members of Parliament and their constituents. When I look at the parliamentary speech from debates and committee meetings on the anti-terrorism legislation, in Chapter 3, using keyword analysis I operationalize it as a greater focus on ethnic minorities by BME Members of Parliament, compared to the speech of non-BME Members of Parliament, thereby viewing it as the extent to which the interests of ethnic minorities are considered in the debate. Looking at the general speech in Parliament in 2015 in Chapter 4, which is less focused on ethnic minorities, I look for specific positive mentions of "ethnic minorities" and the terminology associated with these words. In Chapter 5, when I look to the relationship between Members of Parliament and their constituents, substantive representation is operationalized through the concept of responsiveness-as-representation. Finally, in Chapter 6, I explore the theoretical mechanisms that are said to underpin the substantive representation of ethnic minorities.

Theories and measurements of substantive representation

Existing theories in the representation literature that explore, from different perspectives, substantive representation have informed the chapters of my thesis. These are predominantly taken from the established literature on female political representation. I will be looking at the extent to which these theories can be used to aid our understanding of ethnic minority representation and how the substantive representation of ethnic minorities occurs in practice. The main discussion of the existing and competing theoretical arguments that underpin this thesis will be discussed in Chapter 2. However, below, I outline these discussions, including some discussion of how they relate to each chapter and fit into the thesis as a whole.

Critical events

The first empirical chapter is informed by a relatively unexplored aspect of the literature which suggests that descriptive representation is inherently important for substantive representation because descriptive representatives that are present in the legislature are the only ones who can effectively represent particular groups, when certain *critical events* of interest to the group arise (Mansbridge, 1999). It is precisely because they have the strongest link to the minority group through their shared experiences as members of an ethnic minority group as well as having experience as a Member of Parliament that they are best placed to substantively represent this group. Thus, when something appears on the political agenda that directly relates to the group but where the interests of the group are *uncrystallised* and not necessarily forged along party lines, members of the group within Parliament are best placed to provide the perspectives of that group. Thus, ethnic minority descriptive representatives may not necessarily represent the interests of the ethnic minority population at *all* times, but they may be motivated to do so when a particular critical event

prompts them to act on behalf of those ethnic minorities that are unable to be present in person during the political debate.

The way in which Members of Parliament respond to events that directly affect the ethnic minority population can be a meaningful indicator of substantive representation as it requires Members of Parliament to acknowledge and understand the impact the event will have on those that they claim to represent. By critical events I mean junctures in time when attention has been concentrated on an issue directly related to ethnic minorities or a specific ethnic minority group and where there are concerns for this group, which would benefit from representation within Parliament. Importantly, because the analysis is based on proceedings in Parliament, these events must be sufficiently important to warrant attention from Members of Parliament. By examining which Members of Parliament spoke on issues such as these, it may be possible to assess the extent to which ethnic minority Members of Parliament are providing substantive representation, in what way, and by whom.

This concept can be examined by looking at how certain critical events might motivate Members of Parliament to substantively represent ethnic minorities in Parliamentary debate. This offers the potential to find actors who would not be considered critical actors, a concept discussed below, but who, at important moments, are motivated to substantively represent the interests of ethnic minorities. Importantly, in this analysis, there is recognition of the different roles that Members of Parliament play within Parliament, which might prevent Members of Parliament from representing ethnic minority interests at other times. This takes account of the problematic assumptions in the theoretical literature, outlined above. However, it could be suggested that a critical event might prompt Members of Parliament to represent when the threat to the ethnic minority communities is severe enough, regardless of these other roles. Therefore, this type of analysis requires a clear justification for choosing

certain critical events that can capture this, Mansbridge does not set out the criteria for making such choices but in my analysis in Chapter 3 I set out a clear reasoning for my choices.

The critical events that I look at in Chapter 3 are terrorism-related incidents in the UK. These are explored by reviewing speech in the debates and committee meetings on the anti-terrorism legislation from 2011-2015. These events, and the subsequent legislation, bring the ethnic minority population of the United Kingdom into the media spotlight in what is a predominantly negative narrative, with immigration and security concerns associated negatively with ethnic minorities. This is especially so for those of the Muslim faith but the media and political discourse has been shown to affect the Black population and the South Asian population more widely. Thus, it is especially important at these times that there are representatives of the interests of those ethnic minority groups who are able, from inside Parliament, to represent them and their interests. Such interests may be in protection from discrimination and legal powers such as stop and search that are more likely to affect ethnic minorities more generally.

I will be examining this empirically by looking at the debates on the anti-terrorism legislation, which were predominantly prompted by terrorist threats or attacks in the United Kingdom and abroad. A summary of the attacks and the resulting legislation is included in Chapter 3. I compare directly the speech of BME and non-BME Members of Parliament, the first time this has been done. This will enable me to look at how substantive representation is occurring in these debates and whether there are differences in the way that BME and non-BME Members of Parliament are representing these communities in the period directly following terrorist attacks and security threats.

To conduct this analysis, I collected the transcribed speech from the debates and committee meetings which preceded the passage of anti-terrorism legislation between 2001-2015. This is taken directly from the Hansard website and the text has been analysed both for descriptive information about who speaks and when, but also a more in-depth analysis using Corpus Linguistic methods to examine the content of the speech and compare the speech of BME and non-BME Members of Parliament. The specific methods used are discussed in appendix A. I find that there are differences in the speech of the two groups of Members of Parliament. Although not all BME Members of Parliament who are available to speak, do so, those that do focus much more on ethnic minority communities and the impact that the legislation will have on them than do non-BME Members of Parliament. I also find that the way that the Muslim community is framed in these debates also differs between the two groups, suggesting that descriptive representatives are best placed to represent the interests of ethnic minorities in the UK at these critical times.

Critical actors

A second approach to looking at Parliamentary activity involves study of the concept of *critical actors*. This leads to my second empirical chapter, Chapter 4, which has been informed by a more recent trend in the representation literature, moving the focus of substantive representation away from who is representing, in terms of descriptive numbers or critical mass, to how representation is occurring (Celis, Childs, Kantola, & Krook, 2008; Childs & Krook, 2006, 2009). A more detailed discussion of this move from critical mass to critical actors can be found in Chapter 2.The concept of critical actors is explained briefly here.

Critical actors theory has been framed as such to distinguish it from the critical mass theory which asserts that descriptive representatives will be motivated to act once the group is of a

sufficient size. However, the exact size has been contested, one of the many issues with this theory. Advocates of a theory of critical actors have argued that the assumptions of critical mass theory are flawed and that, in using it, researchers are focusing too much on who represents rather than how substantive representation occurs (Childs & Krook, 2009). By making this move, researchers can move away from an "essentialist" portrayal of political actors for whom expectations of what they should do are pre-defined, and can instead look more broadly at critical actors who act, individually or collectively, on behalf of minority interests. Thus, critical actors are not defined descriptively and can emerge from inside *or* outside of the minority group that they substantively represent.

In this thesis, I will be examining this conceptualization of representation as actions by critical actors. By doing this I am broadening the analysis to include representatives outside of those who descriptively represent ethnic minorities. Because of the dual role played by Members of Parliament, acting on their own experiences as well as acting for their constituents, one would expect to find critical actors from among both ethnic minority and non-minority representatives. I expect that non-minority Members of Parliament who represent constituencies that have a high density of ethnic minority constituents could be successful critical actors whilst minority Members of Parliament who represent predominantly white British constituencies might not be, instead promoting other issues that are more salient within their constituencies.

To identify and study critical actors engaged in the substantive representation of ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom parliament I look again at the Parliamentary activity of Members of Parliament. This chapter utilises a completely new dataset of speech and draws on exchanges in the Parliament elected whilst conducting this PhD, by taking general parliamentary speech sampled from 50 days of the 2015-2016 Parliament. This sampling

allows me to look across the parliamentary year at a general selection of speech. Thus, in contrast with the previous chapter, this speech is not specifically directed at ethnic minorities or issues relating to ethnic minorities. Instead I am looking for how critical actors may emerge during periods not classified as critical events.

To conduct this study, I split the speech into several categories that can be compared. I am aiming to discover if there are specific groups of Members of Parliament, with specific motivations, who may be more motivated to act for ethnic minorities generally. Thus, the speech I compare is from Labour and Conservative Members of Parliament and from Members of Parliament representing ethnically dense (>20% ethnic minorities) or predominantly white constituencies (<20% ethnic minorities). There is some evidence that representation is influenced by the political party of the representative (Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012), whether because of party socialisation or pre-existing preferences, and this is explored as a possible motivation for critical actors. Additionally, BME Members of Parliament who represent constituencies with a low proportion of ethnic minority constituents may feel that their priority is to represent their constituency as a whole rather than the population at large with which they share descriptive characteristics. Alternatively, a non-BME Member of Parliament representing a predominantly ethnic minority constituency may feel the opposite and act accordingly. I had also planned originally to compare Members of Parliament who had a *prior interest* in minority issues by looking at members of the All-Party Parliament Group on Social Integration. However, the numbers were too low to conduct a sufficiently robust study, but a discussion of my attempt is found in appendix B.

The results of the analysis in Chapter 4 show that Labour Members of Parliament and those representing ethnically diverse constituencies are more likely to speak about ethnic

minorities in parliamentary debates. However, there are also differences in the framing of ethnic minorities and ethnic minority issues between the groups. Conservative Members of Parliament speak more about the background, and the opportunities of ethnic minorities, whilst Labour Members of Parliament speak more about the effects of welfare cuts on ethnic minorities. Each reflects to an extent the parties' broader ideologies, which I discuss more in Chapter 6 when I test for motivation mechanisms of representatives. There is interplay between Labour Members of Parliament and those representing ethnically diverse constituencies, but not for Conservative Members of Parliament. BME Members of Parliament appear more prominent in representing ethnic minorities if they are Labour and represent ethnically diverse seats. Thus, there is evidence of a link between descriptive and substantive representation, mediated by the concept of critical actors who are most likely to be found in the Labour Party and in more ethnically dense seats.

Responsiveness-as-representation

Substantive representation has also been operationalized in the literature in terms of responsiveness (Butler & Broockman, 2011). This is prompted by Pitkin's (1967, p 209) assertion that substantive representation is "acting in the interest of the represent in a manner *responsive* to them". Responsiveness requires resources from the representatives. By looking at how these resources are allocated to ethnic minorities, it is possible to focus on any inequality in their relationship with their representative, which will impact on their substantive representation. Responsiveness, which requires a certain effort by the representatives and is an indicator that avenues for ethnic minorities to voice their interests are open, gives us a fuller picture of the process of substantive representation. Thus, determining how responsive legislators are to their constituents and not just their activity in Parliament is important in a study of the substantive representation of ethnic minorities, which I report in Chapter 5.

This chapter has been informed by a study conducted in the United States (Butler & Broockman, 2011). Butler and Broockman investigated whether race affected how state legislators responded to requests from their constituents. They found that white legislators from both the Republican and Democrat parties were discriminating against black constituents, whilst minority legislators were doing the opposite. Therefore, they found that racial discrimination was present and affected the contact that representatives would have with constituents from a different racial group. They concluded that, in the United States, there is strong evidence that descriptive representatives are more likely to engage in the substantive representation of those they descriptively represent by means of being more responsive to them.

The disparity in the responsiveness of representatives is important because it suggests, rather worryingly, that this discrimination may be potentially present in other activities of the legislature, intentionally or otherwise, blocking ethnic minority constituents' concerns from being represented. No study like this has been conducted in the United Kingdom, and it is important to determine if there is discrimination by Members of Parliament and their staff when responding to requests for help from their minority constituents. This would challenge, practically, some of the key assumptions inherent in our Parliamentary system that Members of Parliament act as an avenue for the substantive representation of ethnic minorities equally with their non-minority constituents and the findings could have potentially important implications.

In order to conduct a similar study in the United Kingdom I had to be sympathetic to the differences in the United Kingdom and United States political systems that would require this study to be modified somewhat. Additionally, I had to find a way to ensure that the results and study were as robust as possible, to avoid detection and invalidating the results of

this experimental study. The research design involved sending emails out to every Member of Parliament that represented seats with more than 2.5% of the population reporting to be from an ethnic minority background. This was taken from the 2010 Census. Emails were therefore sent to 468 Members of Parliament, from across England Wales and Scotland. The emails were sent in the lead up to the 2015 General Election in May of that year and the content of the email asked for help with how to register to vote for the upcoming election. Emails were sent from two aliases, a white British and a Black African constituent, Members of Parliament were randomly split into two treatment groups and received an email from one of the two aliases.

The content of the email was designed carefully and based on three justifications. Firstly, the way that we registered to vote in the 2015 General Election had recently changed to Individual Electoral Registration. There was much concern amongst independent commentators that ethnic minorities, along with some other groups in the population would be negatively affected by this change, and were dubbed the "missing millions" because of the issues with losing ethnic minority registered voters. Thus, registering was already known to be an issue for ethnic minorities in the lead up to this election. Secondly, by asking a question such as this, I was able to state that the sender was new to the constituency, which is why they needed to register. This also helped avoid the issue of parliamentary protocol, whereby Members of Parliament are only supposed to help their own constituents. As the sender stated they were new to the area, the idea was that they were less likely to be asked for a correspondence address to prove they were from the constituency. Thirdly, the question was designed to be brief, requiring minimal effort on behalf of the Member of Parliament, or their office staff. This helped with the previous issue, so that it would take up more of their time to chase up if they were a constituent than to simply respond. Additionally, because it was a simple question it was hoped that this would lead to a higher response rate, so I could be more certain that any differences in responses to the two aliases were attributable to their

presumed ethnic backgrounds rather than other confounding factors. Finally, a question about registering to vote is something that all constituents will want to know, regardless of their economic or social background. Thus, a simple question such as this, using simple language conveys nothing else about the social background of the sender.

The responses were collected and analysed after the deadline for registering to vote for the election had passed, after which no reply was of any use to the constituents. I then analysed these responses looking at the response rates to the two aliases, whether this differed by factors such as political party of the Member of Parliament, their own ethnicity and the ethnic density of their constituencies. I also analysed the timeliness of the responses for differences, and finally, and uniquely in this study, I looked at the specific content of the responses. These were coded for the type of response, whether the responses directed then to a more or less helpful place to get an answer to the question. Directing them to the website where they could register was coded as the most helpful, followed by directing them to the local council, and at the other end of the spectrum the least helpful responses were coded as those for which no tangible information was provided.

This study found that there were indeed differences in the responses to the two aliases. Across almost all measures the Black African constituent received poorer responses. This was both in terms of the response rate, from all parties, but particularly from Conservative Members of Parliament or their staff. Additionally, the Black African constituent experienced discrimination in terms of the content of the response, measured by helpfulness. Although there was not strong enough evidence that BME descriptive representatives were more responsive, because of low numbers, there is evidence that ethnic minority constituents do not receive equal treatment from non-BME representatives, thus providing evidence that

they face a penalty, in terms of substantive representation, from being represented by a non-BME Member of Parliament, compared to a white British constituent.

There were specific ethical considerations to take into account when designing this study, which I will outline briefly below. This involved a consideration of the impact on Members of Parliament and their staff, during the period leading up to the General Election 2015. It was decided that, during this period, Members of Parliament would be most likely to have allocated time to their constituents, during their re-election campaigns. Additionally, the use of such a short simple question greatly reduced any potential burden on the respondent. Secondly there was the consideration of covert methods, when it would be impossible to get consent from the respondent. This involved weighing up the benefits and costs of such a study which could have potentially important implications for Parliament, with the issues of covert experimental studies. In conducting the study, I followed similar ethical guidelines for correspondence studies, which have been used consistently to test for discrimination in areas such as housing and employment, with great success. Ultimately with an experimental study like this, it involves weighing up the potential benefits and the costs. The University of Manchester deemed this acceptable and I was granted ethnical approval in October 2014. Further discussion of the ethical considerations can be found in Appendix C.

Linked fate

The final empirical chapter is dedicated to testing the motivation mechanisms that are said to underpin the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation and which have been promoted to defend the *politics of presence*. There are three main mechanisms that have been used in the normative literature and to a lesser extent in the empirical literature, to explain why we might expect there to be a link between having minority representatives and these minority representatives acting for this group.

The first is linked fate, which posits that the specific shared experiences of members of a group which have been historically marginalised and discriminated against will prompt all members of the group to have an interest in representing members of that group and will have an inherent understanding of the needs of the group (Dawson, 1994; Claudine Gay, 2002; C Gay & Tate, 1998). This implicitly underlies much of the literature on the politics of presence, the role of descriptive representation, thus Mansbridge argues that it is shared understanding and shared experience that will prompt descriptive representatives to substantively represent in specific contexts, such as critical events (Mansbridge, 1999).

The second is a motivation to represent. These two may be in some way linked, but without the motivation to represent those group members then action will not be taken. Representatives may understand the needs of the group but there should also be a motivation to represent which may not be present in all descriptive representatives. Together these factors should create *preferable* descriptive representatives (Dovi, 2002). These are the actors that by virtue of these two motivation mechanisms will be the best placed to substantively represent those marginalised groups.

 Thirdly there is a rational choice mechanism, which is said to be influenced by electoral incentives (Downs, 1957), for which there has been evidence in the United Kingdom (Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012). This mechanism is explored throughout this chapter and in the final empirical chapter I explicitly test for it in relation to these other mechanisms.

Finally, and in addition, there is a potentially confounding factor of political party. This comes from some existing evidence of the link between political party and substantive representation (Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012), but also from my own findings in this thesis. I show that the political party is consistently an indicator of substantive representation.

Through this mechanism, the representative may be influenced by their socialisation within the party or the particular ideological standpoints of the two main parties in the United Kingdom; Labour and Conservative. In Chapter 6 I look in more depth at ideological standpoints of the representatives of these parties. All of these mechanisms are explored in the final empirical chapter, Chapter 6[4].

In Chapter 6 I examine the attitudes of Parliamentary candidates in the 2015 general election and of ethnic minority constituents. The data are taken from the Representative Audit of Britain and the British Election Study Online Panel, 2015. In these surveys both candidates and ethnic minority constituents are whether they think that ethnic minorities are held back by discrimination in Britain. In this chapter I use this as the measure of linked fate, the understanding of group interests based on discrimination. Additionally, candidates were asked their opinion on whether being an ethnic minority provided a special responsibility to represent ethnic minorities; this was taken as a measure of responsibility to represent. Finally, these were analysed in terms of both the makeup of the constituencies that the candidates were standing in and the party they were standing for.

The analyses reveal empirical support for both linked fate and responsibility to represent, although non-BME candidates of all parties also felt that ethnic minorities were held back this might help to explain why the gap between BME and non-BME Members of Parliament has previously been quite small (Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012). There is some support for electoral incentives; candidates who seek to represent ethnically diverse constituencies had a greater sense of linked fate, as measured by their perception that non-white people are held back by prejudice and discrimination. However, there are no significant associations

[4] This chapter is from a co-authored paper written with Rosie Campbell (Birkbeck) and Maria Sobolewska (University of Manchester)

between the ethnic presence in the constituency and the candidate's motivations to represent once other variables are taken into account. Moreover, the effect of the ethnic makeup of the constituency had a smaller effect on the sense of linked fate than did being BME or the party affiliation. However, for a candidate's sense of responsibility to represent being both a BME candidate as well as standing in an ethnically diverse seat as an interaction was a stronger predictor than just being a BME candidate alone.

For party ideology, I found good evidence, especially in terms of left and right parties, candidates from parties of the right, Conservatives and UKIP, were less likely to support the notion that prejudice held ethnic minorities back and that they had less support for the idea of responsibility to represent. However, in every party, the BME candidates were more likely than the non-BME candidates to support both notions, even if they were less likely than an average candidate from a more left leaning party.

The relationship between these mechanisms is complex and this chapter is designed to flesh out and test empirically four of the key normative arguments for why representatives will substantive represent ethnic minorities.

Chapter 2.   Theory and Literature

Introduction

This thesis is about *substantive* representation. In a representative democracy, such as the United Kingdom (UK), who advocates for groups within the population, such as ethnic minorities, and why and how do they do it? Is it only those from the ethnic minority populations themselves, who by their shared characteristics and experiences *descriptively* represent them, or are there others who, for whatever reason, take on this role? And why and how do they do so?

The core of my thesis involves ascertaining whether there is a link between descriptive and substantive representation but I also look separately at substantive representation on its own, exploring the possibility that non-minority representatives may substantively act for ethnic minorities. Additionally, I examine some of the motivations that have been proposed as explanations as to why descriptive representatives may be more likely to substantively represent ethnic minorities. The setting for my research is one where the quality of representation is especially important for ethnic minorities, in the United Kingdom House of Commons. However, as will be revealed, my examination of this concept of representation raises a series of subsidiary questions. How well are ethnic minority groups represented? What factors influence the quality of representation? Can they only be represented effectively by individuals who are, themselves, from an ethnic minority background, or can non-minority representatives do this equally well? Indeed, do all representatives who are from ethnic minorities actually seek to represent the ethnic minority population; do they have a sense of shared experience with minorities or see substantive representation as a primary responsibility for minority legislators? These questions form the basis of this thesis.

This chapter explores existing theory on the concept of representation including those theories that support, or justify the *politics of presence* (Phillips, 1995) which forms a main theoretical rationale for why we should expect descriptive representatives also to substantively represent members of their descriptive group, or those whose experiences and characteristics they share. I look here at theories of representation, in general, and theories of ethnic minority representation, in particular, to identify specific aspects of representation that can help to understand when and where the substantive representation of ethnic minorities takes place. After reviewing the existing theories and concepts used to understand the issue of political representation in this chapter, I use the following chapters to show how these theories can be applied to the study of the under-representation of ethnic minorities in the UK Parliament.

Some of the existing literature, which proposes or supports the idea of the *Politics of Presence*, whereby descriptive representatives are necessary for substantive representation, has concentrated on the numbers of representatives. Here I will focus on the assumption underlying these normative arguments, that ethnic minority representatives *necessarily* substantively represent ethnic minorities in the population. I do this with reference to some of the other key arguments, such as electoral incentives and political parties, which may also play a role.

These theories of political representation start from the assumption that the entire electorate should be represented in a parliamentary assembly (leaving aside for now the question of who is entitled to vote). Empirical research on this topic has included groups defined in terms of their gender, their social class, their occupations, the industries in which they are employed, their diverse political, social and cultural interests and their ethnic background (Bird, 2010; Campbell, Childs, & Lovenduski, 2010; Carnes, 2012; Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012;

Smooth, 2011). The form that this representation should take is, however, disputed. Very few would argue for full descriptive representation of all of these groups, not least on practical grounds, especially considering debates on intersectionality whereby it is important to consider the combination of features that can characterise an individual (Smooth, 2011). Indeed, in practice, few legislatures achieve the descriptive representation of those defined by single variables, including women, ethnic minorities, or social class that one would expect if they were to be a "true reflection" of the societies they are elected to represent.

The under representation of traditionally marginalised groups has been recognised as a problem across many legislatures and the case for better representation of minorities has been argued to be fourfold (Phillips, 1998). The first is the role model argument, which links to symbolic representation, insofar as members of historically disadvantaged groups will benefit from having members of *their* group in positions of power. Secondly there is an argument drawing on justice. This is that it is unfair in a country that claims to be democratic, within which certain groups have experienced recognised past injustices for decisions to be taken entirely by members of the majority ethnic group. Thirdly there is the need to be mindful of how, given the diversity of the population in the modern state, descriptive representatives can present "overlooked interests" on to the political agenda. A defining characteristic of a liberal democracy is its heterogeneity; the diversity of society as much as its size is a reason for the inappropriateness of the Athenian model of democracy (Dahl, 1989). With the ethnic minority population itself very heterogeneous, it is necessary to have sufficient numbers of representatives from ethnic minorities to reflect these diverse interests, especially where the interests of different groups may conflict with each other. The final argument is that it is necessary for a revitalised democracy. This is a normative argument where we recognise that if candidates from ethnic minorities stand a reasonable chance of being elected this may encourage voters from those groups to participate in the electoral process, thereby increasing turnout and thus the legitimacy of the electoral process.

For parties that stand to gain from improved turnout, this is also a pragmatic consideration. These considerations do not, however, address the question of what representation actually means. This is not entirely straightforward and is the subject of the next section.

This research is situated specifically in the United Kingdom, looking at ethnic minorities, although I will draw on general theories as well as concepts and literature developed to explore under representation of other marginalised groups, specifically drawing on the vast literature on female representation in legislatures, and from other jurisdictions.

What type of representation?

The contemporary account of the concept of representation starts with Hanna Pitkin (1967). Pitkin's seminal work identifies four forms of representation, each of which provides a different frame within which we can assess the quality of political representation. These are: formalistic which is concerned with processes of accountability and authorization of representatives; symbolic, which describes the intrinsic benefits and emotional response that the represented derives from the representative; descriptive, which looks at whether the representatives share certain characteristics or experiences with the represented; and substantive, which is concerned with the advancement of the interests of the represented, by the representatives. Taken together these forms of representation contain paradoxes and have sometimes conflicting understandings of how representatives should behave and thus how we assess our representatives (Dovi, 2007). The two forms that I will focus on in this thesis are descriptive and substantive representation. The differences between these two and the difficulty in reconciling them is the basis for much of the subsequent literature, normative arguments, and empirical research on the political representation of marginalised groups. They are hard to reconcile because descriptive representation assesses representatives on the extent to which they have shared characteristics, so to an extent

whether they *visually* represent a marginalised group, whist substantive representation allows us to assess representatives by what they *do* and how they *behave* in the legislature, in this case whether they *act for* ethnic minorities.

The challenge that I face, therefore, is that while the concept "representation", like other political concepts, such as democracy, authority, and power, is widely used in everyday conversation, with most people having some understanding of what representation means to them, not everyone may have the same understanding. Indeed, much of the academic literature concerned with representation that goes beyond superficial understandings acknowledges that "the concept of representation remains hidden behind a cloud of countless definitions, theoretical approaches, platitudes, truisms and different practices" (Pollak, Batora, Mokre, Sigales, & Slominski, 2009, 1) and suggest that representation is, to use Gallie's (1956) term, 'an essentially contested concept'.

The next section will examine the concepts of descriptive and substantive representation. In essence, it asks whether it is sufficient to achieve representation of ethnic minorities to have some members of their group in Parliament or does it require something more? Much of this literature arises from researchers studying gender representation and, as far as possible, I will discuss the similarities and differences with the representation of ethnic minorities.

Descriptive and substantive representation

As noted earlier, in this thesis I am concerned with the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation. Descriptive representation relates to the presence of those with certain characteristics in the legislature. At its simplest, for example, a woman descriptively represents women, a BME Member of Parliament descriptively represents ethnic minorities

or, more specifically, a Pakistani Member of Parliament descriptively represents those of Pakistani heritage in the United Kingdom. Thus, descriptive representation of ethnic minorities would see the number of BME representatives in the legislature increase to reflect, proportionally, the ethnic minority population in the UK, which it so far fails to do. Having representatives who share some background characteristics with, especially, those who are traditionally politically marginalised, places their 'over-looked interests' on the political agenda (Mansbridge, 1999; Phillips, 1995). This is particularly important if it gives rise to outcomes that affect the marginalised group. This introduces the concept of substantive representation, whereby the interests, voices, and opinions of the marginalised group are represented in the legislature. This requires that representatives act in certain ways and the act of representation is not determined solely by their physical presence in a legislature. Although the distinction between descriptive and substantive representation, for some, essentially corresponds to whether the focus is on the *number* of ethnic minority representatives or on the *effect* of their presence (Wängnerud, 2009) there is still debate as to whether descriptive representatives do act for those they share inherent characteristics with.

For some years, there have been calls for descriptive representation precisely because, as normative scholars argue, it leads to better substantive representation of these groups. The need for descriptive representation has long been a factor for those calling for better representation and for more attention to be given to the effects on these groups. Thus, "male representatives are not always aware of how pubic policies affect female citizens" (Dovi, 2007, p 309). This has formed the basis for many calls for constitutional and electoral changes, such as quotas which increase the numbers of descriptive representatives for certain groups (Dovi, 2007). This argument holds for ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom who have lived experiences and attitudes that are sometimes specific to their minority group and which can differ from those of the majority group. Thus, a legislature

dominated by a majority group *may not* be able to deliver substantive representation for the other groups.

The concept of descriptive representation has enjoyed a longer history in the literature on representation. This form of representation underpinned the American Declaration of Independence and the subsequent United States Constitution, where a perfectly representative institution would be similar to the general population whilst, crucially, African Americans were excluded from the political system as 'non citizens' (Tate, 2003). Additionally, it is easy to understand and thus legislate for because there is a distinct and measurable dependent variable that can be analysed; the number of people with particular characteristics in the assembly. Substantive representation, on the other hand, has only more recently been discussed as a *key* concept in the literature, since researchers have started to look at what descriptive representatives might do. This concept, is more difficult to theorise and, thus, to operationalise in research. In addition it is only relatively recently that those marginalised groups whose descriptive representation we most often discuss, primarily women and ethnic minorities, have increased their numbers in elected legislatures to the extent that it is possible to ask questions that go beyond how many there are to ask what they do (Childs & Lovenduski, 2013). In other words, it is only in recent years that it has even been possible to ask questions about how these concepts interplay with each other and to test empirically the mechanisms through which any possible relationship between descriptive and substantive representation occurs.

Substantive representation has become a major theme amongst normative scholars and those conducting empirical research on representation. Hanna Pitkin, who had advocated the importance of substantive representation, argued that what matters for representation is the actions of the representatives (Pitkin, 1967). In this conceptualisation she is somewhat

dismissive of a focus on descriptive representation, arguing that a focus on the characteristics of representatives diverted attention from what they did and what the outcomes were; in other words, whether they represented substantively the preferences and interests of the different groups in society (Pitkin, 1967). Others who agree with Pitkin stress that too great a focus on descriptive representation diverts attention away from substantive representation, which is a far more important dimension (Celis, 2012). Descriptive representation is only important insofar as it leads to the greater substantive representation of marginalised groups.

This view was, however, contested by Anne Phillips, who argues in 'The Politics of Presence' that "the role of the politician is to carry a message", a conceptualisation less focused on their activity and outcomes and more about the shared experiences of the represented and the representative that can be carried into the political arena (Phillips, 1995, p 6). This leads to another key feature of the concept of representation; which are the potential democratic gains that having more descriptive representatives will bring? Phillips argues for the need for descriptive representation, even if there is "no discernible consequence for the policies that may be adopted" (Phillips, 1995, p 40). She justified this as being necessary to prevent the minority being represented by a few who claim to know best, leading to "the infantilization of large segments of the citizenry" (p 39). Thus, for decisions to be democratically representative, they must include different groups in the population, which in the context of this thesis includes those defined by ethnicity. Descriptive representation, by this account, is important for the sake of justice, the promotion of group interests and for the legitimacy of the legislature. Phillip's 1995 book "the Politics of Presence" provides reasons for expecting a link between descriptive and substantive representation. This has preceded a critical shift in the focus of the literature, with work from authors such as Mansbridge (1999, 2003), Young (2000) and Dovi (2002, 2007) restating the importance of descriptive representation for those groups who are politically marginalised. Thus, for these authors, when asked why these

groups should be brought into the democratic institutions, they argue for the democratic benefits of bringing more voices and perspectives into the political arena.

If we understand representation as primarily a process by which the voices, opinions, and interests, of citizens in a democracy are made present, then it follows that adding those marginalised voices that have traditionally been excluded but who have a legitimate right to be represented will lead to better representation. Further to this, Suzanne Dovi argues in favour of descriptive representation not just because it brings *in* marginalised groups in, but also because of being able to *exclude* and limit the undue influence of the overrepresented and already privileged majority (Dovi, 2009). This asks more from us than simply considering who else should be included; it asks us to make harder decisions about who should be left out, or "muted" from the political process. However, when related to descriptive and substantive representation, this still relies on the assumption that marginalised and over-privileged groups, ethnic minorities and non-minorities have essential characteristics that lead them to act for certain groups in a specific way.

A further contested issue which some of the theoretical literature addresses is the essentialising of group interests and the ignoring of the heterogeneity of these minority groups. Phillips' and other's work has been criticised by those who question the appropriateness of assuming shared group interests, but Phillips responds that this theory does not suppose a "unified women's position" (p168) and instead it opens the process up to a variety of different women, not all of whom will feel responsible for representing the group as a whole. This speaks to the argument that representation is important for justice and the legitimacy of the democratic process, if not always for the promotion of underrepresented interests. Furthermore Mateo Diaz (2005) has shown that female elected representatives are more likely to be highly educated, middle class, and elite than women in the population at

large, something we also know to be the case for BME Members of Parliament (Lamprinakou, Morucci, Campbell, & vanHeerde-Hudson, 2016).

Thus, arguing for descriptive representation for its own sake is unhelpful. For it to be justified in terms of its contribution to substantive representation, which many of the normative arguments do (leaving aside for now arguments about symbolic representation) we need to be able to evaluate these representatives in terms of their actions and behaviour, including their relationships with the groups in question. An understanding of the association between descriptive and substantive representation goes to the heart of my thesis. Is it the case, as Mansbridge, echoing Phillips, argues, that the very presence of ethnic minorities enhances the process of representation? Alternatively, is it as Pitkin argues, that what is important is the activity of the representative; what they do rather than who they are? In other words, it is not necessary for ethnic minority groups to be represented in Parliament by individuals from the same group, if those from other groups are substantively representing their interests. Pitkin (1967) contends that the two concepts are distinct, perhaps linked but not necessarily so. This has been supported by the mixed results from the empirical literature that finds some link but with mediating factors such as political party and constituency make up (Bird, 2010; Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012; Tate, 2003; Wängnerud, 2009).

In contrast, Phillips and others argue that representatives from the minority group *must* be present, otherwise they cannot benefit from this realisation of their interests and the minority group cannot benefit from their presence. In subsequent sections of my thesis I look in more detail at the theories and different conceptualisations of substantive representation. Those who advocate for descriptive representation do so for intrinsic reasons of fairness, justice, legitimacy, and inclusion but they also do so to promote the further

substantive representation of those who are politically marginalised. Therefore, we must find out if the two are linked and under which conditions substantive representation occurs and what mechanisms underpin it.

Operationalising substantive representation

How can we know that substantive representation has been achieved or what substantive representation looks like? Researchers have looked at actions of representatives and evaluated policy outcomes, so that the introduction of a policy geared positively towards the minority group, which might be measures to tackle racially aggravated violence, is a measure of substantive representation (Weldon, 2002). Others have suggested that it is sufficient that minorities and their interests are placed on the agenda, which is assessed by determining whether there are mentions of them or their interests in the proceedings of the legislature (Chaney, 2006; Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012). Others still have suggested that substantive representation can be measured by trust in government, empowerment, and efficacy, from the perspective of the represented group (Atkeson & Carrillo, 2007; Banducci, Donovan, & Karp, 2004; Tate, 2003).

For my purposes, it is not sufficient to restrict the measure of substantive representation to policy outcomes. This is a narrow definition that pays insufficient attention to the various factors that contribute to successful policy outcomes (Childs & Krook, 2009) and to the nuances of substantive representation. Kingdon (1995) notes how policies are adopted when there is a coming together of problems, solutions, and political will. This is, however, too high a threshold, as representatives can show that a problem exists and that there is a solution, even if there is little scope to change political will. This will be especially the case for legislation and policy initiatives aimed at a minority group. Furthermore, not all areas that are of interest to ethnic minorities require new policies, and we cannot assume that all

ethnic minority groups will be in favour of, or benefit from, the legislation agreed in Parliament. I argue that the failure to adopt a policy does not mean that the interests of ethnic minorities are not being brought into the political arena and that their perspectives are not being promoted in other areas. For this reason, I will not be using this measure of substantive representation.

Instead, drawing on some of the examples of earlier research on representation of ethnic minorities in the UK Parliament (Saalfeld, 2011; Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012) I will measure substantive representation through the inclusion of ethnic minorities and their interests in political processes such as debates. This involves a substantially lower threshold for action. Recognising the constraints upon Members of Parliaments' time and resources, reading their speech will reveal whether they are bringing ethnic minorities onto the agenda and whether they are promoting their interests in their speech. I will look at debates and committee meetings and analyse the speech of Members of Parliament. The methodology to be used is discussed in the corresponding chapters.

There are several key features of substantive representation. It is the contested features with which I am concerned in this thesis. These include contested arguments about how to assess or evaluate our representatives. Amongst the many conceptualisations of representation, there are competing claims as to how we can evaluate the extent to which descriptive representatives also substantively represent. These competing normative arguments are explored in this thesis and outlined in the next sections. Additionally, a key feature of substantive representation, especially in the contemporary literature, is that it is not just a numbers game. Increasingly, and in response to criticism of previous theoretical arguments, the theoretical literature looks to other ways of evaluating descriptive representatives. Researchers have asked when do descriptive representatives substantively represent?

Always? If no, then when? This has necessitated a revision of some of the earlier assumptions that descriptive representation must be good for those who are traditionally marginalised. This includes an understanding of what motivates representatives to act and in which contexts they might be more able to act for those they descriptively represent. Finally, another key feature of the concept of representation is the idea of preferable representatives. This looks to the different motivations of descriptive representatives, which make them better or worse at substantively representing those whom they share characteristics with. These features of the concept of representation are further explored in the subsequent sections. These are laid out in the order in which I tackle them in this thesis.

In the following sections I will explore theories of substantive representation that have been developed specifically in relation to marginalised or minority groups. I will discuss the existing theories that underpin much of the current debate. This material has informed and shaped my empirical research and the different perspectives and concepts will appear again in the empirical chapters. Some of these concepts, as I will discuss have limitations, which, to some extent, are addressed by more recent literature that have evolved to overcome these criticisms. However, in some cases these issues are unresolved and I will be addressing them here and in my empirical analyses.

Representation in specific contexts; Critical Events

Phillips' ideas are developed by Jane Mansbridge (1999) who suggests that although representative from a specific group may not substantively represent them at all time, there are four contexts in which the group can benefit from this descriptive representation. This is where there is mistrust, where interests are *uncrystallised* and therefore not fully articulated; where there has historically been political subordination; and where the group has low *de facto* legitimacy. These all apply, in different ways, to ethnic minorities.

Some ethnic minority groups may distrust the government and state institutions, evidenced by the biased way controls such as "stop and search" are implemented and the way that some media commentators implicitly and explicitly link Islam with terrorism. The interests of ethnic minorities will often be *uncrystallised,* especially in relation to some of the complex issues that Parliament is increasingly called upon to legislate on in reaction to specific events. An example might be Female Genital Mutilation, with the way it is described in the media, popular discourse, and political commentary, as well as legislation, having religious and cultural implications for certain communities, but where the possibilities are so novel in UK legislation that clear positions have not been reached. It is self-evident that many ethnic minority groups have been subject to political subordination, exemplified by the experience of slavery among the Afro-Caribbean population and other ethnic minority communities' experiences of racism and institutional discrimination. Finally, in a climate where some politicians are challenging the right to citizenship of people from some ethnic minorities, and indeed where governing parties are restricting the grounds on which migrants can achieve it, some groups lack legitimacy as citizens in the eyes of some in the majority population.

Mansbridge thus makes a convincing argument for a link between descriptive and substantive representation, in specific contexts. In this thesis I will explore the context of *uncrystallised* interests; as Mansbridge explains "descriptive representation can draw on elements of experiences shared with constituents to explore the unchartered ramifications of newly presented issues" (Mansbridge, 1999, p 644). I look at Members of Parliaments' reactions to newly presented issues, which I term Critical Events, and examine whether BME Members of Parliament are more likely to make present the interests of ethnic minorities in the context of such critical events.

Mansbridge suggests examples of this type of critical event. These are events that are not explicitly already on the political agenda but are recognised by representatives from the minority group most affected by them as being important. She argues that issues involving gender and ethnicity are rapidly evolving and can find themselves on the political agenda with very little prior discussion. Mansbridge gives the example of the period after the fall of communism in Eastern and Central Europe when many political issues were uncrystallised, but this is perhaps an extreme example. Other instances rise with respect to issues rarely included in party manifestos or in the campaigns of electoral candidates, so that when they do arise, representatives are freer to act on them because they are less likely to go against a distinct party policy. The questions they raise, such as the differential impact on certain groups, may not previously have been thought about in detail.

The theoretical justification for using the concept of critical events in this context is that descriptive representatives are required in such cases, so that someone can speak for those outside of the political system and for whom the outcomes of the debate or legislation will have consequences. If there is no voice present that inherently understands the position of the group affected, then there is a danger that the importance of the issue may be overlooked and there will be undue influence from the over-represented group. This speaks to the question of justice and legitimacy of the democratic process. Any decision with possible ramifications for a group in society should be deliberated with the interests and perspectives of that group present. By virtue of shared experiences with the group they descriptively represent, they can enter into the deliberation process, bringing with them the perspectives of the group. This Mansbridge calls "experiential deliberation" (p 643). Without these representatives present in the deliberation process, these experiences will be excluded and interests overlooked, as those from outside the group lack the "moral force" to act for the group in the same way (Mansbridge, 1999, p 648). Thus, if it is shown that descriptive

representatives are the representatives providing these perspectives then they must be included.

It may be the case that defaulting to descriptive characteristics as a measure of representation can reassure members of under-represented groups that their interests will be represented in such situations. However, this cannot be assumed. Mansbridge's conceptualisation does not address the complexities of the different motivations and abilities for representatives to act, something which I address in my empirical chapters. Additionally, there are no prescribed criteria that can define these critical events or indicate what they would look like, suggesting that events as diverse as the collapse of Communism and the introduction of concerns about violence against women on to the political agenda might equally be considered as critical events in this context. It will be my responsibility, therefore, to justify my choice of critical events in the corresponding chapter.

In summary, Mansbridge is suggesting that members of a minority group can vote for someone who descriptively represents them, because, in four main ways, descriptive representatives will by virtue of their shared experiences be able to substantively represent the minority group. I will look at what happens during critical events, when the interests of the group are *uncrystallised* and the representative can draw on their experiences of being from the group and their expertise and experience of the legislature to effectively act on behalf of the group.

This view implies that other differences between the Member of Parliament and the ethnic minority community, in terms of education, employment experience and social status will have little impact. In the United States, some research suggests that the shared experience of discrimination and prejudice cross cuts social and economic status, a concept termed "linked

fate", which is explored later in this thesis. However, in my study of critical events I will also be examining whether differences between representatives and other factors might influence how BME Members of Parliament act for ethnic minorities during these critical events.

My focus is on critical events in the UK, chosen to ascertain whether these events give rise to substantive representation of ethnic minorities. I will be using this concept of critical events, not as a comparison with "general speech" but as a framework for looking at substantive representation. Thus, I will be looking at critical events precisely because it is in these contexts that BME Members of Parliament should be more motivated to act, recognising the still low numbers of BME Members of Parliament and the competing calls on their time and resources. Based on existing theory, I would expect that ethnic minority Members of Parliament will be most responsive to these events and therefore be more likely to promote the interests of ethnic minorities in these contexts.

I contend that the ways in which Members of Parliament respond to events that directly affect the ethnic minority population can be a useful indicator of substantive representation as it requires Members of Parliament to acknowledge and understand the impact the event will have on those that they claim to represent. However, in the next section, I draw on the literature on critical actors, which allows me to look for those representatives that are not from an ethnic minority background but who may be motivated in other ways to act on behalf of ethnic minorities in Parliament. Critical actors, as I will show, are individuals who substantively represent but who are from either inside or outside the minority group. However, the two concepts of critical events and critical actors are not *necessarily* mutually exclusive. I use critical events in this thesis as a framework from which I look at how descriptive representatives act. Thus, based on the normative understanding that descriptive representatives are more likely to act in these circumstances, I use this to look at possible

differences between BME and non-BME Members of Parliament. However, it is possible that there may be a few non-BME Members of Parliament who are also motivated to act, although in Chapter 3 this is not the focus of the analysis, in Chapter 4 I look at possible non-minority actors who substantively represent ethnic minorities.

How instead of Who; from critical mass to critical actors

Some recent developments in the literature on substantive representation have moved beyond asking who represents to asking how it happens. Within this literature, there is an understanding of the need to leave open the question of who is acting. This requires us to look beyond descriptive representatives, instead conceptualising substantive representation as the actions taken by representatives, not their presence, thereby not restricting themselves to a small set of pre-specified actors. This literature has recognised that the concept of acting for is "fluid and evolving" (Childs & Krook, 2009, p 126).

As noted previously, some of the earlier literature on substantive representation advocated descriptive representation on the grounds that there needed to be a sufficient number of descriptive representatives for action to happen, thus there needed to be a *critical mass* of actors in the legislature. In its application to representation it is used to explain how a minority group in the legislature will adopt the characteristics of the majority to "blend in" with their surroundings until their numbers reach a certain threshold, beyond which they can begin to exert influence. This happens once the minority group reaches a size that is sufficient for its members to provide mutual reinforcement, motivating its members to speak out and giving them confidence in doing so. Critical mass has underpinned the argument for using gender quotas for election candidates or for reserved seats in a legislature (Caul, 2001; Childs & Krook, 2009; Dahlerup, 2006). It became popular, in part because it supports the case for increasing the participation of women in legislatures, but also because it offers an

explanation for why it is sometimes hard to find evidence of women acting for, as it suggests that there are rarely enough women in a legislature to reach that threshold and therefore to make a difference (Childs, Webb, & Marthaler, 2010; Dahlerup, 1988).

In recent years, the concept of critical mass has fallen out of favour, partly due to the empirical difficulties of measuring a critical mass and the difficult of providing supporting evidence based on legislatures where there are such competing pulls on representatives' time and resources. However, by pre-supposing that the representatives descriptively represent the group they are identified with, we are potentially ignoring other sources of representation from outside of the minority group (Celis et al., 2008; Childs & Krook, 2006, 2009; Krook, 2010). Sarah Childs, for example, suggests that critical actors can substantively represent marginalised groups despite not coming from that background, sex, or ethnicity, whilst not denying the significance of descriptive representation.

The idea of critical actors has been introduced by several researchers as an antidote to what they see as a misunderstanding of the seminal work of Kanter (1977) and Dahlerup (1988). Specifically, they argue that there has been an overemphasis on critical mass theory that they believe has led to a static and inflexible view of substantive representation (Celis et al., 2008; Childs & Krook, 2006, 2009; Childs et al., 2010). Critical actors are representatives who seek to promote issues and concerns that they perceive to be important to the groups they represent, or claim to represent. Critical actors act regardless of the number of other people in their institution who are also representing the same minority group. In other words, they have a low threshold for action on an issue. By focussing on critical actors, these authors argue that the question of substantive representation is thrown wide open. One should look at how substantive representation occurs, not where and when members of a minority substantively represent their group. It implies that one should broaden the definition of who

can substantively represent minority groups beyond only those people who are from the minority group. Previous research on female substantive representation has shown that, in some cases, men have been influential in promoting women's policy concerns (Celis, 2007). It has been acknowledged that there is "no empirical nor theoretical plausibility" that women share all or even particular experiences (Celis et al., 2008). Whilst there are some experiences that one would consider as being shared by many people from an ethnic minority background, these are not shared by all and some are not exclusive to ethnic minorities.

Crucially, critical mass relied on the assumption that members of under-represented groups had an identical, high threshold for action and would only act if there were many others who were willing to act the same way. However, this ignores that fact that people have different thresholds for action, something readily observable in everyday life. The critical actors are therefore people who are willing to represent substantively the minority group, whether or not they have the support of a particular minority. In the UK Parliament, these critical actors will be Members of Parliament who are substantively representing what they perceive to be ethnic minority interests through an array of activities, or critical acts, which can include encouraging others to support the representation of ethnic minority issues.

So far, this approach has not been applied to substantive representation of ethnic minorities to any great extent. Yet the study of critical actors, identifying who they are and what they do, will reveal how ethnic minority concerns and issues are represented in Parliament and by whom. Based on the arguments advanced by Phillips (1995) in the Politics of Presence, discussed earlier in this chapter, and the importance of descriptive representation, I might expect that the most vocal critical actors are Members of Parliament from the same minority group. However, some previous evidence from the gender and politics literature and

examples of non-minority representatives, such as George Galloway of the Respect Party, actively representing minority groups, prompts a deeper exploration to identify Members of Parliament who are not from ethnic minority backgrounds but who may fall into this category of critical actors for ethnic minority representation.

There are various motivations that we might expect to prompt or influence representatives to act for ethnic minorities in Parliament. These include electoral incentives. Thus, the influence of the make-up of their constituencies and those that vote for them and party ideology or party socialisation may lead members of different political parties to feel differently about representing one group or another. These will be explored in more detail in Chapter 4 where I look at the concept of critical actors in parliament and the role they play in promoting substantive representation of ethnic minorities. I will do this by categorising Members of Parliament by the ethnic composition of their constituencies (taken from the 2011 Census) and their political party and looking within these groups for evidence that these two theorised potential mechanisms might prompt critical actors to substantively represent ethnic minorities; these actors will likely be from both minority ethnic and non-minority backgrounds.

Representation as responsiveness

Any research that looks at representation and the relationship between the represented and the representative "must take account of the different types of activities that constitute the job of the representative" (Campbell & Lovenduski, 2015, p 692), in this section I look to the literature on the responsiveness of representatives. Whichever way representation is conceived, it is intuitive that good quality substantive representation requires a relationship between representatives and those they represent; the concept of representation merely collapses if there is no link between politicians and their electorates. This speaks to the

seminal definition of representation as "acting in the interest of the represented in a manner *responsive* to them" (Pitkin, 1967, p 209). Thus, legitimate representativeness must also ensure responsiveness and, therefore, we can use responsiveness to evaluate our representatives (Celis, 2012). But how can we understand responsiveness and how does it arise? Whilst Pitkin stresses the importance of responsiveness, there are few clues as to how to understand what responsiveness is or how to operationalize it.

Eulau and Karps (1977) went some way to interpreting this in their paper in which they set out the concept of "representation-as-responsiveness". I will now deal with the direct responsiveness of representatives to their constituents, not with policy responsiveness, although the responsiveness of policy to the people whose actions it seeks to govern does rely on the reflexivity of the political system and its capacity to draw on and engage with the people within it. Two of Eulau and Karps' four components of responsiveness, *service responsiveness* and *symbolic responsiveness*, involve representatives interacting with their constituents. Symbolic responsiveness involves Members of Parliament making public gestures that provide a sense of support for constituents, fostering trust in their relationship with them. Service responsiveness is more direct and tangible and can include what is often referred to as "case work" by representatives, including writing to constituents, helping them with problems and, in the UK, attending constituency surgeries to interact with them.

Service responsiveness, which provides a setting for direct interaction with constituents, can provide an important insight into "representation in action" (Morlino, 2004 20). This also speaks to Saward's (2010) and others criticisms of Pitkin's conceptualisation of substantive representation, which is criticised for being monolithic and for not recognising the diversity of interests and competing groups claims "out there" (Severs, 2010). In order to tap into this diversity of ethnic minority interests, the representative must be aware of them. Although

there are, of course, other ways of receiving this information, such as through representative groups and organisations, the representation process must allow for the diversity of interests. Thus, if responsiveness of representatives to their constituents' interests is low then it follows that the quality of representation must be poor. Consequently, part of the argument for a link between descriptive and substantive representation, whereby minority interests are carried through to the political arena, must allow for an evaluation of whether the representative, in many ways a gate keeper to parliamentary politics, is responsive to them. I look specifically at service responsiveness and the direct relationship between constituents and their Member of Parliament by conducting an experiment using e-mail to evaluate Members of Parliaments' responses to two constituents bearing aliases implying a Black African and white British ethnicity.

Barriers to high quality representation in Parliament can arise through failures in the relationship between those being represented and those who represent them. If this relationship is working well, we can be reassured that those representing in Parliament are more likely to be equipped with the information they need to express the views of their constituents; whether they choose to do so or not. This is not the only channel through which Members of Parliament can gain this information about their constituents but it remains an important one, especially constituents whose views are under-represented, for example by advocacy groups or those lobbying in Parliament. However, if the relationship is not working well, so that information cannot flow freely between Members of Parliament and constituents, then it cannot be assumed that the representative has an accurate reflection of those whom the Members of Parliament claim to represent. This requires the representative to be responsive to their constituents. Whilst having a descriptive representative may improve trust in and perceptions of representatives, thereby enhancing the political engagement or empowerment of under-represented groups (Banducci et al., 2004; Bobo & Gilliam, 1990; Claudine Gay, 2002), the effect of these benefits are limited if these

perceptions of efficacy are inaccurate, especially if representatives are not responsive to their constituents. This is important because, although the potential benefits of descriptive representation in achieving empowerment of minorities may be great, there is a suggestion that it can be short lived if the representatives fall short of expectations (Tate, 2003).

The responsiveness of representatives in relation to casework has been looked at previously in the USA, but not substantially in the UK. Butler and Broockman (2011), in their study of the responsiveness of legislators in the USA found that white legislators, regardless of party, demonstrate similar levels of discrimination against black constituents, with a lower rate of response to attempts at contact them. Black legislators, on the other hand, act in the opposite way, and provided a higher response rate to black constituents. This lends support to the idea that descriptive representation enhances the substantive representation as co-ethnic representatives are more likely to respond, and thus act on the information from those they descriptively represent. It is concerning then, that ethnic minority constituents may be disadvantaged in constituencies with a white representative. The compelling results of this study and the potential implications this has for the UK make it an excellent one to replicate here. In Chapter 5 I describe the methods used in the Broockman study and how I replicate them.

The literature on the responsiveness of representatives also speaks to the question of what mechanisms underlie substantive representation. Service responsiveness, or the interaction between individual constituents and representatives, should not be influenced by the characteristics of the constituent or the representative, as each constituent has had an equal vote in electing the representative. There are, however, mechanisms that are likely to have influenced this, such as the make-up of the constituency. A representative may behave in a way that they believe will see them re-elected and thus will be more responsive the majority

group in their constituency. It is mechanisms such as this that are relatively under-explored and which I will direct attention to in this thesis.

Motivation mechanisms behind substantive representation

So far in this chapter I have discussed the relevant theoretical and empirical literature concerning substantive representation. As noted previously, my focus is on whether descriptive representation is linked to substantive representation. In this section I will discuss the supposed mechanisms that have been proposed as the motivation for descriptive representatives to act for their group. The opportunity to represent people who share the same background characteristics as you is said to come from a sense of shared experience. This has been conceptualised in different ways. For example, in the US literature this is predominantly referred to as a sense of *linked fate*. It is these similar experiences, for example, of racial discrimination, prejudice and a lack of equality of opportunity which are said to lead to similar demands on and interests of members of the group (Burden, 2007; Dawson, 1994; C Gay & Tate, 1998). These experiences cut across class and educational boundaries, which is why this mechanism is argued to relate to, and thus bind together all members of the group. This bypasses empirical issues related to the social class representativeness of minority Members of Parliament.

As I have discussed previously, Mansbridge (1999) outlines four contexts in which descriptive representativeness is necessary for substantive representation. It is this shared experience, the mechanism of linked fate, and thus understanding of the interests of this group that leads Mansbridge to make these claims. This is important, for example, in the case of critical events, and in contexts of mistrust, common amongst some minority communities because of the actions of state institutions and the failure of government to protect them in the past. Often, in the literature, shared experiences are assumed to befall all

members of the group. It is this intrinsic motivation that is a crucial assumption. Whilst the US literature largely supports the existence of a shared experience amongst African Americans, this is not the case in the UK where there is relatively little exploration of the mechanisms behind substantive representation. Therefore, whilst it may seem that this intrinsic mechanism is well explored, empirically this is not the case everywhere.

A second intrinsic mechanism explored in the literature is that of a sense of responsibility to act. This is, to an extent, linked to shared experience but it is conceptuality distinct (Dovi, 2002). Whilst shared experience can go some way to raising feelings of familiarity and solidarity with group members, the sense of a responsibility to act for them is tangibly different. This mechanism is easier to conceptualise in the UK where there is a more heterogeneous ethnic minority population; different patterns of migration, times of arrival in the UK and cultural and religious distinctiveness for example between Pakistanis, Indians and Bangladeshis will weaken the ties associated with the concept of linked fate. This also speaks to the literature on representative claims as it distinguishes between those who do and do not claim to stand for a group (Saward, 2010).

Summary

All these theories are at some level exploring and evaluating the link between the descriptive representation and substantive representation of marginalised or minority groups. This review of the literature has informed my research plan, which sets out the ways in which I will be testing empirically these theories and the assumptions and mechanisms that underpin them. I am adopting various methods, using a mixture of survey data and records of parliamentary activity, to obtain evidence on the extent to which they can explain how the substantive representation of ethnic minorities occurs.

The review of this literature reveals that the concept of representation is indeed multifaceted but despite Eulau's claim that "we cannot say what representation is" *(Eulau & Wahlke, 1978)* it is possible to operationalize the concept so enable empirical research to be undertaken, based on the theoretical literature outlined here. Crucially this shows that normative arguments of representation are evolving. Whilst critical mass had been a dominant theory of the substantive representation of marginalised groups, it has been criticised for focussing too much on the raw numbers of descriptive representatives, rather than *how* representation happens. This thesis, agreeing with those critics, moves beyond critical mass to look at how substantive representation happens, and at the mechanisms that underpin why it happens. In doing so I will explore the context of critical events, potential critical actors, the responsiveness of Members of Parliament and mechanisms of motivation for representatives to act for ethnic minorities.

Chapter 3.   Ethnic minority representation in Parliament: substantive representation during critical events

This chapter examines the link between descriptive and substantive representation, taking the concept of critical events from Jane Mansbridge as a framework for the analysis. Mansbridge suggested that, whilst descriptive representatives may not represent the politically disadvantaged at all times, they will be motivated to do so by specific critical events. Here I look at the parliamentary reaction to terrorist threats in the UK using Corpus Linguistic methods to analyse the parliamentary speech in debates and committee proceedings during the passage of six of the anti-terrorism Acts between 2001 and 2015. I compare the speech of BME and non-BME Members of Parliament and find that there are factors that mediate the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation of ethnic minorities and which influence who speaks on this issue and in what way. I find that Muslim Members of Parliament engage increasingly in debates later in this period when the debates shift away from Irish terrorism, to focus on Islamic terrorism, so that the consequences of the legislation are more likely to affect those that these particular Members descriptively represent. I also find that those who represent constituencies with a greater ethnic minority density are more likely to speak in these debates and that, when compared to the speech of non-BME Members of Parliament, BME Members concentrate on speaking the impact of the legislation on minority communities. Finally, there are differences in the way that these communities are framed in the speech. This chapter finds evidence that, during certain critical events, some BME Members of Parliament, especially those who are Labour and who represent ethnically diverse constituencies are more likely to substantively represent ethnic minorities.

Introduction

In this, the first empirical chapter of my thesis on representation of ethnic minorities in the British Parliament, I ask whether the nature of the discourse employed by BME Members of Parliament differs from that used by Members of Parliament who are not from these populations, focussing on the discussion of ethnic minorities at times when issues arise that *disproportionately* affect them. Specifically, I ask whether BME Members of Parliament substantively represent ethnic minorities, intervening in ways that speak to the issues of most importance to them. To answer this question I will draw on the concept of critical events, introduced by Jane Mansbridge (1999) and developed in this chapter. Recognising that descriptive representatives may not be able to substantively represent at all times, Mansbridge has argued there are some specific contexts when these representatives are most likely to represent them substantively. Mansbridge therefore argues that these situations, or as she terms them, contexts, are likely to arise at some point and, for this reason, constituents from an affected minority should vote for those who descriptively represent them because they will be best placed to speak for them at these moments and protect their interests.

In this chapter I look at one of these contexts, the context of *uncrystallised interests,* which, as described in Chapter 2, can be considered *critical events,* using this concept as a frame through which I look at a possible link between the descriptive and substantive representation of ethnic minorities in Parliament. Thus, if BME Members of Parliament do indeed substantively represent the populations from which they are drawn, it is to be expected that it will be most apparent during such critical events and it is at these times that differences between BME and non-BME Members of Parliament will be easiest to identify.

Critical events

In the previous chapter, I have discussed in detail the existing theories and literature on the concept of representation. In this chapter I will focus on the concept of critical events.

Whilst the electoral processes in place in the United Kingdom and in other large democracies have, as far as is known, never produced a parliament that is a mirror image of society, the issue of disproportionately low representation of politically marginalised groups has attracted much attention, with growing pressure to rebalance legislatures in terms of both gender and ethnicity (Bird, 2003). A large body of work has grown around this topic, addressing the theoretical and practical complexities involved and whether descriptive representation of politically marginalised groups enables their substantive representation (Mansbridge, 1999; Phillips, 1995; Pitkin, 1967; Williams, 2000; Young, 1990). This body of literature addresses, amongst other things, how measures to improve descriptive representation can be justified in modern democracies, different types of representation, and motivations of representatives to act for those they descriptively represent. These authors have also helped to shift the discussion of the concept of political representation from a monolithic concept, leading to a lively debate on the different forms of representation and how one might be able to map representatives onto these different models. Jane Mansbridge has been at the forefront of this reconceptualization, providing normative arguments justifying the presence of descriptive representatives on the grounds of substantive representation.

In response to criticisms of the "politics of presence", as discussed in Chapter 2, Jane Mansbridge offers a solution; that there are specific conditions under which descriptive representatives will be motivated to speak for those they descriptively represent even if they do not do so at all times. Therefore, voters from minority populations should rely, by default,

on descriptive representatives in case these situations arise, as it is the unanticipated nature of critical events, and the inability to predict them, that defines them.

Descriptive representatives can draw on their shared experiences as a member of an ethnic group as well as their experiences within Parliament to articulate perspectives of the group effectively (Mansbridge, 1999). Thus, it is precisely their shared background that would make BME Members of Parliament best able to represent those from the same background when such critical events arise, and when there is uncertainty about how to respond. These representatives can use this opportunity to assume the role of an advocate even if they did not feel compelled to do with other issues. Moreover the very fact of being from the group of interest can give the legislator a "certain moral force", which can enhance their argument (Mansbridge, 1999:648). This is important for minority groups because, although there are issues about which the majority has defined and clearly articulated interests, some of those related to ethnicity (and gender) are constantly emerging and evolving and, as new events and issues arise, the problem of unarticulated interests can lead to the interests of these groups being left off the agenda.

This leads to my first hypothesis;

H$_1$: the content of speech of BME Members of Parliament is observably different from that of non BME Members of Parliament in that it will be more focused on ethnic minorities.

Availability versus motivation to represent

Mansbridge does not, in my view, address the conflict that arises from the representative's struggle between their motivation and ability to represent. Whilst Mansbridge touches on

this by stating that descriptive representatives need to be sufficiently numerous to work within the various settings where decisions are made, such as the many diverse committees within Parliament, each of which may only include under 5% of the entire legislature (as is the case with select committees of the House of Commons)[5]. However, this point is not developed further.

In practice, representatives face multiple constraints on their actions. These constraints include some that have already been discussed, such as choosing whether to represent those who elected you or those who you descriptively represent, where they are not the same. This raises the question of surrogate representation versus electoral incentives will be discussed in a later section. Searing (1994), in his seminal work "Westminster's World" identified two main roles of representatives. Firstly position roles, such as Cabinet Ministers and Chief Whips tied to prominent positions in the institution. Secondly, preference roles, these are best exemplified by backbench Members of Parliament. These Members have a considerably greater opportunity to shape their own role through their preferences within the institutional framework. Within these roles there are further subgroups of roles that Searing identified from his interviews with Members of Parliament, these are policy advocates, ministerial aspirant, constituency member and parliamentary man (Searing, 1994, p32). Importantaly however, those in preference roles have a greater availability and different motivations from which to pursue activities in Parliament whilst the behaviour of those in front bench, position roles, are strongly institutionally defined.

Based on this, one such constraint that I must account for in this study of parliamentary speech is the other roles the Member of Parliament may have. As Searing (1994) notes,

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[5] On average a Public Bill Committee will have around 15 Members of Parliament, out of 650 in the House of Commons

backbench Members of Parliament face far fewer constraints than those who hold position roles such as ministerial office positions, in terms of the time to engage in debates about subjects where they have no ministerial responsibility and what they can say, lest it be seen to challenge government policy. Representation has multiple aspects and representatives have multiple motivations as well as constraints on their actions. These motivations must be taken account of in any study of political representation if we are to explain what we find empirically. In the next sections I will discuss some of the other normative arguments that have been proposed as influencing representatives' motivations to substantively represent.

This distinction between backbench and frontbench Members of Parliament leads to my second hypothesis;

H_2: All BME Members of Parliament will speak in debates where the issue is of great concern to the ethnic minority communities considered, those in preference roles, such as backbench MPs will be more likely to speak.

Surrogate representation versus electoral incentives

In recent work, Jane Mansbridge has drawn attention to a form of representation termed *surrogate representation* (Mansbridge, 2003). This occurs when the representative represents those from outside their electoral boundaries, based on a relationship or understanding that these citizens need representation (Mansbridge, 2011). Because those whom they are representing are not from within their district or constituency they cannot hold them accountable through elections. The relationship is different to those they represent within their constituency. Instead the relationship between surrogate representative and those being represented is based on the shared experiences and

characteristics between the two, and cannot be based on electoral incentives. Thus, surrogate representation is interlinked with descriptive representation. In the process of representing those outside one's area, the shared experiences and characteristics will "circumvent the strong barriers to communication between dominant and subordinate groups" (Mansbridge, 1999, 642).

Descriptive representatives can therefore adopt the "critical role of providing representation to voters who lose in their own district" (Mansbridge, 2003:523). This can give a voice to those who are under-represented, as the elected representative may be able to collectivise the interests of this group nationally even when they may not feel represented their own constituencies. In this way, descriptive representatives may be best placed to take on the issues faced by other members of marginalized groups from outside of their constituency, if this motivation exists. Susan Carroll (2000) found, in the USA, that although most female representatives did see themselves as surrogate representatives for women and had a common perception of the shared experience that bind women, this differed according to considerations such as the nature of their districts, their partisan alignments, and their ethnicity.

Although this has most often been explored in relation to women, the nature of ethnic minority representation provides a good opportunity to test this normative argument. Although women usually make up at least 50% of a constituency or district, ethnic minorities are far more disproportionately placed across the country. Therefore, I can test for whether BME Members of Parliament who represent constituencies with a low proportion of ethnic minorities are as likely to substantively represent minority interests in these debates. David Broockman, in his study of Black African legislators in the USA, found that they were responsive to minority constituents even when there were weak electoral incentives to do so

(Broockman, 2013). If the role of electoral incentives is weak, in this chapter measured by the percentage ethnic density in the Member of Parliament's constituency, and BME Members of Parliament are representing ethnic minorities anyway, then this can be evidence of surrogate representation. In other words, this is evidence of an intrinsic motivation of descriptive representatives to substantively represent ethnic minorities.

In this way, I am comparing the normative argument of surrogate representation with the argument for electoral incentives, that the representative will be responsive to their constituency members. Thus, does the composition of the constituency matter for BME representatives in the United Kingdom. Although Members of Parliament cannot, by virtue of parliamentary protocol, directly represent specific individuals living outside of their constituency, they are still able to represent groups and communities in the United Kingdom in debates and other meetings in Parliament.

This leads to my third hypothesis;

H_3: BME Members of Parliament take on a surrogate role so their participation is not mediated by the ethnic density of their constituencies.

Which critical events?

A critical event, as defined by Mansbridge, is when something occurs for which the group has not developed fully articulated interests. The critical events I am looking at are the terrorist attacks that directly provoked new anti-terrorism legislation in the United Kingdom. The government's response to terrorist threats and attacks, involving permanent legislation, began with the September 11th 2001 attack in the United States, which was followed swiftly

by the 2001 Anti-Terrorism Crime and Security Act[6]. This was followed by five subsequent Bills, including the 2006 Terrorism Act that was prompted by the July 7th 2005 attack on London tubes and buses (Parker, 2007)[7]. These events prompted widespread public discussion about ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom, bringing this population, and especially Black African and Muslim communities, firmly into the spotlight in a way they had not been before, with predominantly negative narratives linking immigration with security and terrorism (Paul Baker, Gabrielatos, & McEnery, 2013a). Thus, it is important, especially at these times, that there are those inside parliament who can act as representatives of the interests of these ethnic minority groups.

Anti-terrorist legislation in the UK

Although many Acts of Parliament have been enacted to counter the real or perceived threat from terrorism previously, predominantly for terrorism related to Northern Ireland, these were always subject to sunset clauses and time-limits. This changed in 2000 when, for the first time ever, permanent counter-terrorism legislation was enacted that covered the entire United Kingdom. However, the subsequent 2001 Anti-Terrorism Crime and Security Act also differed in being a response primarily to a perceived threat from Islamic terrorism and not from that emanating from Northern Ireland. Since that first permanent legislation, there have been seven further Acts of Parliament that have created offences labelled as *terrorism* and confer special counter-terrorism powers on the state.

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[6] The Anti-Terrorism Crime and Security Act 2001 gained Royal Ascent on December 14th just over 3 months after the September 11th attack.

[7] I do not look at the 2000 Terrorism Act because there were no BAME Members of Parliament who spoke at any time during the debates or committee meetings for this legislation, therefore it would not be possible to undertake a comparison between BAME and White Members of Parliament speech.

Since the first permanent anti-terrorism legislation there has been an almost constant escalation of anti-terrorism legislation, with expansion of police powers in the United Kingdom. Much of the legislation, with the exception of the 2000 Terrorism Act, has been an emergency measure, in response to a particular event; despite this the legislation since 2000 has remained permanent. To illustrate how these Acts relate to terrorist events and threats, Table 3-1 shows a timeline of the anti-terrorism legislation and the events that preceded them.

TABLE 3-1 A TIMELINE OF TERRORIST EVENTS AND ATTACKS WITH ANTI-TERRORISM LEGISLATION PASSED BY THE UNITED KINGDOM PARLIAMENT

1997	Good Friday Agreement
2000	Terrorism Act
2001	September 11th terrorist attack in the United States
2001	Anti-terrorism, crime and security Act
2004	Madrid train bombing
2005	Prevention of Terrorism Act
2005	July 7th terrorist attack in London
2006	Terrorism Act
2007	Glasgow airport terrorist attack
2008	Counter Terrorism Act
2009	Fort Hood shooting in the United States
2010	Terrorist Asset-Freezing (Temporary Provisions) Act
2011	Terrorism Prevention and Investigation Measures Act
2012	London Olympics
2013	Woolwich Barracks Lee Rigby attack in London
2015	Counter-Terrorism and Security Bill

Source: www.legislation.gov.uk

The specific counter-terrorism measures in these Acts go beyond existing powers in, for example, successive Criminal Justice Acts that provide the standard responses to criminal offences. They have given the police and the security services powers designed to address what have been presented as the specific challenges associated with terrorism. Yet there is a tension inherent in this approach, whereby certain offences are treated differently from

"normal" ones. Measures to prevent and protect against terrorism are presented as being necessary to protect citizens' most basic human rights, such as the right to life. However, in doing so they inevitably encroach on others, such as the right to privacy, freedom of assembly, or even to a fair trial. An appropriate balance has not always been achieved and measures that respond to the perceived threat from terrorism have, in some cases, breached human rights and civil liberties, impacting disproportionately upon ethnic minorities (Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011). Moreover, counter-terrorism legislation in the United Kingdom has often been prompted by specific events, enabling it to be portrayed as a knee jerk response in which governments of the day adopt an ever-expanding portfolio of increasingly severe laws, often without assessing whether these additional powers are either necessary or effective, or indeed whether they have the opposite effect from that intended.

Commentators have been critical of the anti-terrorism acts, especially of the proportionality of the legislation to the events that they were introduced to counter. Although there has been a global shift in the discourse on anti-terrorism, which has been criticised for allowing the erosion of laws, protecting human and civil rights, in the United Kingdom there have been high profile campaigns against the legislative proposals by civil liberties and human rights organisations. A large part of the concern comes from the constantly expanding definition of terrorism, a definition being so broad as to impact on many individuals that lie far beyond the intended targets (Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011); The Terrorism Act 2000 caused particularly widespread concern because of the broad definition of 'terrorism', which could include many forms of previously lawful protest, and which, it was argued, could adversely impact on ethnic minorities (McGhee, 2005). Since then, the definition has been expanded even further. The government saw fit to extend its provisions in the 2001 Anti-Terrorism Crime and Security Act, which allowed for detention without trial, thus requiring the United Kingdom to opt out of Article 5 of the European Convention on Human Rights (Abbas, 2007; McGhee, 2005). This gave the police powers to arrest and hold suspects on suspicion of

terrorist activity, and the ability to seize assets that they believed were related to such activities, whether or not a terrorist offence had taken place (McGhee, 2005). While these powers have adversely affected the freedoms and liberties of all citizens, in practice their impacts have been greatest on ethnic minorities, especially but not exclusively British Muslim and Black communities (Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011; EHRC, 2010; Liberty, 2001, 14).

Specific examples of measures having such disproportionate effects include the provisions enacted in the wake of events in New York and Washington on the 11th September 2001 (9/11) which gave the government the power to detain foreign nationals suspected of terrorism offences *indefinitely,* even if they had never been charged with such offences. This was explicitly directly discriminatory on grounds of nationality as it did not apply to British nationals, but also potentially indirectly discriminatory because those foreign nationals so affected were, in practice, more likely to be from ethnic minorities. However, these measures were greeted with concern that went well beyond their discriminatory potential, including the extent to which they were actually lawful, a criticism that seemed to be upheld when, following challenges in the courts, they were replaced by Terrorism Prevention and Investigation Measures (TPIMs), which also allow indefinite house arrest and other restrictions on British suspects but which are subject to additional safeguards.

A further measure, particularly relevant to ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom, is "stop and search" powers created by section 44 and schedule 7 of the Terrorism Act 2000 (EHRC, 2010). The former has since been repealed and the latter has attracted critical comment when it was used to detain David Miranda at Heathrow airport, allowing him to be questioned for 9 hours. Schedule 7 allows passengers to be stopped at ports, airports, and international rail terminals with no requirement to show reasonable suspicion that the

person is involved with terrorism before they are stopped. Until it was repealed, Section 44 allowed people on any street to be stopped and searched. This differs crucially from previous stop and search powers, which required a police officer to show grounds for reasonable suspicion, as it allows a senior police officer to designate zones within which officers can stop and search people even without any such grounds. There is evidence that the use of these powers against black men especially is discriminatory and disproportionate, leading to accusations that the existence of these powers provide evidence of unlawful racial discrimination (Bowling & Phillips, 2007). The need for reasonable suspicion was previously viewed by parliament as a necessary safeguard to prevent police from exercising their powers in an arbitrary or, especially, a discriminatory way.

Subsequently, it has been shown that both schedule 7 and section 44 have been used disproportionately to target ethnic minorities, especially the Black and Asian population (Dodd, 2011). Whilst stop and search under PACE (Police and Criminal Evidence Act) is used more disproportionately against ethnic minorities than powers under the Terrorism Act, ethnic minorities are still more likely to be stopped than non-ethnic minorities(EHRC, 2010). The Equality and Human Rights Commission (Choudhury & Fenwick, 2011) expressed concern about findings that, for many Muslim men, stop and search had become their most frequent interaction with the police, leading to many to experience a sense of alienation while fuelling their perception of discrimination by the police and other authorities. Thus, it may be that these measures are helpful in specific circumstances; they are also "'blunt tools', which risk damaging community relations and being used disproportionately and in a discriminatory manner.

These are just a few examples of the powers created by successive counter-terrorism legislation that have direct effects on the ethnic minority population whilst, it has been

argued, undermining the very democratic values they have been proposed to protect. However, commentators argue that the problem is not only the way that police powers are being used disproportionately to target ethnic minorities. There are also fears that the legislation and the accompanying media coverage are creating a society in which there is a binary division between "them" and "us", manifest as the division between the 'civilised versus the uncivilised world, or Christian against Muslims' (Hillyard, 2002 109-10). As McGhee notes, "the post-9/11 climate is both a culture of fear and a culture of indignation in which established and asylum seeker migrant communities are viewed with suspicion". Baker et al. (2013a) found, in their comparison of broadsheet and tabloid coverage of Islam in the British press, that there was specific evidence of "othering" and linking Islam and Muslims to terrorism and security issues. They also suggest that exposure to these discourses over time leads to mental triggers, which encourage the British public to associate Muslims and Islam to terrorism.

However, it would be wrong to see the issues arising from the anti-terrorism legislation as confined to the Muslim population. The impact of measures introduced by this legislation, including increased discrimination and racial tensions, have been felt by a range of ethnic minorities. Moreover, it is apparent that some of the majority population are unable to distinguish quite different ethnic groups, as seen in attacks upon Sikhs who were believed to be Muslims on account of wearing turbans [8]. This confusion may have been exacerbated by media coverage of terrorist attacks and, especially, images of the obviously non-white faces of the perpetrators (Patel, 2012).

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[8] Several British Sikh organisations, including the Sikh Federation UK have raised concerns about targeting of Sikhs following recent attacks.
http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/fears-rise-over-possible-hate-crimes-targeting-british-sikhs-following-paris-attacks-1530655

In the circumstances where anti-terrorist legislation gives rise, intentionally or otherwise, to disproportionate consequences for people from ethnic minorities, it is important to ascertain who is speaking for these ethnic minorities when this legislation is being debated in Parliament and how ethnic minority groups are being represented by parliamentarians in these debates. As the next section will show, Members of Parliament have expressed very different views on the impact of these laws on ethnic minorities.

Views of Members of Parliament

As the previous section showed, there have been concerns raised outside parliament about the disproportionate effects on ethnic minorities of powers granted by and discourse emerging from the anti-terrorist legislation. However, similar concerns have also been expressed by some Members of Parliament, not all of who are from an ethnic minority background themselves. Caroline Lucas (Green Party, Brighton Pavilion) referred to the aforementioned stop and search powers as "stop-and-seizure powers" and labelled them "discredited" (HC Deb, 15 December 2014, c1183). Speaking in 2008, Keith Vaz, (Labour, Leicester East), who is of Indian (Christian) descent, and who had been elected as Chair of the Home Affairs Select Committee the previous year, stated that the House of Commons "is the last place that should do anything that would act disproportionately against the Muslim and wider south Asian communities" (HC Deb, 1 April 2008, c685) as he warned against some of the measures that were being proposed as part of the 2008 Counter-Terrorism Bill. Mr Vaz has also asked that Parliament "send out a clear message to [minority communities] that they are on our side and we are on their side in dealing with those elements who seek to subvert our democracy" (HC Deb, 15th February 2006, c1448).

Another Member of Parliament, Sadiq Khan, previously Chair of the Muslim Council of Britain's Legal Affairs Committee and now the Mayor of London but then the Labour

Member of Parliament for Tooting, said that anti-terrorist legislation had "led to the internment in the UK of Muslim men, respectable charities having their funds seized, and charities suffering because Muslims are reluctant to donate for fear of being accused of funding 'terrorists'" (quoted in Dowards and Hinsliff 2004 p 2). Moreover, Ashok Kumar (Labour, Middlesbrough South and East Cleveland) highlighted how anti-terrorist legislation impacted upon other members of other religions, reporting how "I recently met members of the Hindu community who expressed their concerns that they have not been involved in consultation and their concerns about the legislation" (HC Deb, 13 February 2006, c1124).

On the other hand, some Members of Parliament have refused to acknowledge the effects of legislation on ordinary ethnic minority citizens. David Winnick (Labour, Walsall North) stated, "I do not believe that the Government have some hidden agenda to undermine civil liberties" (HC Deb, 28 Feb 2005, c683). Moreover some Members of Parliament have been positive about the broad reach of the legislation, with Lady Hermon (Ulster Unionist Party then Independent, North Down) seeking assurance "so that the message is as loud and clear to dissident republicans as it is to jihadists?" (HC Deb, 15 Dec 2014, c1189).

As this shows, Members of Parliament, even from within the same party have expressed different views about the effect of anti-terrorist legislation on ethnic minority groups. The revelation that Members of Parliament themselves recognise that there are specific issues concerning the rights of ethnic minorities in relation to anti-terrorism legislation supports my decision to use this legislation in this study. It is clear that the protection of the rights of ethnic minorities and thus the representation of their interests in likely to be pertinent to these debates.

The previous section has set out the justification for choosing the anti-terrorism legislation debates in this study of substantive representation during critical events. I have described the impact of the legislation on ethnic minorities, the public discourse this generated, and revealed the concerns raised by actors inside and outside of Parliament. Additionally I have outlined how the legislation has been used by successive governments in response to terrorism threats and attacks, showing how the passage of successive Acts through Parliament can be framed as critical events. This is because they require quick decisions in times of crisis, when the interests of all involved are relatively uncrystallised as they are responding to new and emerging issues. However these debates have also been chosen for pragmatic reasons. First, because there has been a succession of anti-terrorism laws there is a sufficient volume of speech in the debates to conduct a meaningful analysis. Second, because the body of legislation has taken place over a period of 15 years, there is speech from a wide range of Members of Parliament, allowing me to look at a variety of characteristics of BME Members of Parliament that might speak. Moreover during this time the Members of Parliament will have taken on different roles. I am thus able to look at whether being a backbench Member of Parliament or holding office had an effect on BME Members of Parliament speaking in the debates.

Methods

Hansard records

There were several different types of parliamentary activity that could potentially been used in this study to capture substantive representation by Members of Parliament. One is voting records. However, looking at votes alone falls short of capturing substantive representation in Parliament. Moreover, voting records in the United Kingdom are especially problematic for researchers because of the use of whipped votes, with a high threshold for defying the party apparatus. As I outlined in Chapter 2, one of the arguments in favour of the politics of

presence is that it brings the voices and opinions of the marginalised *into* the political arena. Thus, it is important to look at the process of deliberation in Parliament and the discussions that feed into the decisions taken by representatives to understand whether and how the substantive representation of ethnic minorities is occurring.

Other studies of substantive representation have analysed parliamentary questions tabled by Members of Parliament (Saalfeld, 2011; Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012). This has both theoretical and pragmatic justifications. However, this chapter will seek to go one step further and look at the speech of Members of Parliament during the debates and committee meetings that took place during the passage of the Bills. By looking at speech and directly comparing what is said by different members of parliament I will be able to test whether there are statistically significant differences between the discourse of BME and Non-BME Members of Parliament when speaking on anti-terrorism legislation. In this way I will be able to assess whether the presence of BME Members of Parliament in the legislature increases the diversity of interests brought to the discussion and enhances the representation of ethnic minority interests during critical events. I look at which BME Members of Parliament speak in these debates, the possible constraints they face, such as holding office, and the ethnic composition of their constituency, thus seeking evidence for any effect of possible electoral incentives or surrogate representation.

Data and collection

The data used are transcripts of parliamentary debates and Public Bill Committee proceedings that took place during the passage of six of the anti-terrorism Bills through the House of Commons. These are the debates in the House of Commons and the Bill Committee meetings for the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001, Prevention of Terrorism Act 2005, Terrorism Act 2006, Counter Terrorism Act 2008, Terrorism Prevention and

Investigation Measures Act 2011, and the Counter Terrorism and Security Bill 2014/15[9].

These legislative processes span different electoral cycles and thus involve Parliaments of different compositions, with differing numbers of Members of Parliament from the main parties and from ethnic minority groups. In the next chapter I will also look at parliamentary speech but, for the study of critical actors in that chapter, I collect and analyse an entirely new dataset of parliamentary speech. This will be general speech from the 2015-2016 Parliament.

Debates in the House of Commons, including second readings and consideration of Lords amendments, can be searched for online by date[10] whilst the Public Bill Committee (PBC) meetings are filed by parliamentary sessions and can be found by searching the PBC debates from previous sessions[11]. Several of the Bills were discussed by a Committee of the Whole House and not by a separate Bill committee; these can be located by date under House of Commons debates. In these cases, the committee sessions tended to be over fewer days and less formal.

For this chapter I was able to collect the data by identifying the dates of the stages of each Bill on the parliamentary website and then searching Hansard records online for the corresponding transcripts of the debates. In the subsequent Chapter 4 I used a computer programme to scrape the data from the Internet because of the much larger volume of speech and the need to sample from it. The only criterion for including text for this chapter was that the debate or committee meeting was identified on the parliamentary website as

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[9] The 2000 Terrorism Act was not included in this analysis because no ethnic minority spoke at any stage of the Bill. The 2011 Terrorist Asset Freezing Act is not included because it was started in the House of Lords and this study is primarily of the House of Commons debates.
[10] www.parliament.uk/business/publications/hansard/commons/by-date/#session=26&year=2014&month=11&day=18
[11] www.parliament.uk/business/publications/hansard/commons/bill-committee-debates/previous-sessions/

forming part of the deliberation of one of the Bills listed above. The application of this criterion resulted in a sample of 46,704 words from BME Members of Parliament and 1,321,268 words from non-BME Members of Parliament.

A corpus linguistics based study, using keywords, offers an appropriate means to analyse these debates, looking at the substantive representation of ethnic minorities by BME Members of Parliament. This is a method used to compare two sets of text[12] that has previously been undertaken successfully with parliamentary speech. It allows me to compare directly the speech of BME and non-BME Members of Parliament, which has never been done before.

The methods used to analyse the speech in this chapter draw extensively on those employed in a study by Baker (2004b) and other studies of parliamentary speech (Paul Baker, 2009; Paul Baker et al., 2013a), the first of which looked at the discourse of homosexuality in the House of Lords and, specifically, at debates in the House of Lords on proposed legislation to equalise the age of consent for gay men. This used a keyword comparison of the speech of those who voted for or against changes to the legislation. In this chapter I have also used the keywords tool on the WordSmith Tools software package (Scott, 2016). This tool allows me to compare directly the speech of BME and non- BME Members of Parliament using a log-likelihood test to identify words that are statistically more likely to appear in one text than in the comparison text. Thus, it identifies words that are salient in one text and reveals the subject and tone of the text. In this case I use it to show words that are salient in the speech of BME Members of Parliament, thus revealing the distinct nature of their speech compared to that of non-BME Members of Parliament. In the next chapter, I use different software, making use of SketchEngine and its tool word sketch, which allows me to look at less specific

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[12] See Appendix A for more detail on the corpus linguistic methods used

text to ascertain how ethnic minorities are being spoken about in general parliamentary speech.

Results

Who speaks?

If descriptive representation is sufficient to achieve substantive representation then, given the clear relevance of the anti-terrorism Bills to ethnic minority communities, one would expect that if all else is equal, all BME Members of Parliament would speak in each debate. As outlined in the previous section, anti-terrorism legislation has had far reaching consequences for many ethnic minority communities in the UK, so one can reasonably expect all BME Members of Parliament, and not only those who are Muslim, to understand the importance of the debates to ethnic minorities at these times. There are however, various constraints on the ability of Members of Parliament to conduct parliamentary activity. These may influence whether they have been able to participate, as will be discussed below.

In the period 2001 – 2015, when these laws were being passed, 36 BME Members of Parliament held seats at some time, 12 of whom were Conservative and 24 Labour. The text sample collected from Hansard reveals that only 15 (42%) of the BME Members of Parliament spoke at least once in any of the debates or committee meetings and only three of these Members of Parliament spoke during the passage of more than one of the Bills. At first sight this indicates that factors other than descriptive representation may drive substantive representation and that these factors may change over time, affecting the ability of BME Members to engage to different extents throughout their time in Parliament.

The first step in analysing contributions to these debates is thus to identify those BME Members of Parliament who occupied roles which either precludes or compels them to speak

at the time of the debates. Table 3-2 shows the backbench and frontbench roles of all BME Members of Parliament during the passage of the anti-terrorism legislation. I find that all Members of Parliament who spoke during these debates were backbench Members of Parliament at the time, with only two exceptions. These were Parmjit Dhanda, who spoke during the 2005 debates when he was an assistant government whip, and Shabana Mahmood (Labour, Birmingham Ladywood) who in 2011 was a Shadow Minister (Home Affairs). As Shadow Minister of Home Affairs one would expect Shabana Mahmood to speak in these debates, on behalf of the opposition. Of the 15 who did speak, 8 have been long standing backbench Members of Parliament, with either intermittent or no frontbench roles.

TABLE 3-2 ALL BME MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND THEIR HISTORY OF BACKBENCH AND FRONT BENCH ROLES DURING THE ANTI-TERRORISM LEGISLATION DEBATES

Member of Parliament	2001	2005	2006	2008	2011	2015
Diane Abbott	**BB**	**BB**	**BB**	**BB**	FB	BB
Adam Afriyie			BB	FB	BB	BB
Rushanara Ali					FB	BB
Paul Boateng	**BB**	FB				
Dawn Butler			**BB**	BB		
Rehman Chishti					BB	BB
Parmjit Dhanda	BB	**FB**	FB	FB		
Helen Grant					BB	FB
Sam Gyimah					BB	FB
Mark Hendrick	BB	BB	**BB**	**BB**	FB	BB
Sajid Javid					BB	C
Piara Khabra	**BB**	BB	BB			
Sadiq Khan			**BB**	FB	FB	FB
Oona King	**BB**	BB				
Ashok Kumar	BB	BB	BB	BB		
Kwasi Kwarteng					BB	BB
David Lammy	BB	FB	FB	FB	BB	BB
Khalid Mahmood	BB	BB	BB	BB	BB	**BB**
Shabana Mahmood					**FB**	FB
Seema Malhotra						FB
Shahid Malik			**BB**	FB		
Lisa Nandy					BB	FB
Chi Onwurah					FB	FB
Priti Patel					BB	FB
Yasmin Qureshi					BB	**BB**
Anas Sarwar					BB	FB
Mohammad Sarwar	BB	BB	BB	**BB**		
Alok Sharma					BB	BB
Virendra Sharma				BB	BB	BB
Parmjit Singh Gill		BB				
Marsha Singh	BB	BB	BB	BB	BB	
Chuka Umunna					FB	FB
Paul Uppal					BB	BB
Shailesh Vara			BB	**BB**	BB	BB
Keith Vaz	BB	BB	**BB**	**BB**	**BB**	**BB**
Valerie Vaz					BB	BB
Nadhim Zahawi					BB	BB

BB- Backbench; FB- Frontbench.

Note: Bold indicates when the Member of Parliament did speak

Source: Backbench and frontbench positions were taken from www.theyworkforyou.com by viewing individual MPs profiles

from the time of the debates.

Table 3-3 shows the volume of speech by the 15 BME Members of Parliament in the debates and committee meetings; the shaded areas of the table indicate when the person was not in parliament.

TABLE 3-3 BME MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT'S SPEECH IN THE DEBATE AND PUBLIC BILL COMMITTEE MEETINGS PRECEDING THE ANTI-TERRORISM LEGISLATION 2001-2015

Member of Parliament	Anti-Terrorism Acts of Parliament (words spoken)						Total
	2001	2005	2006	2008	2011	2015	
Diane Abbott	2037	62	88	3381			5568
Paul Boateng	6						6
Dawn Butler			59				59
Parmjit Dhanda		111					111
Mark Hendrick			1472	54			1526
Piara Khabra	1113						1113
Sadiq Khan			687				687
Oona King	713						713
Khalid Mahmood						3051	3066
Shabana Mahmood					10753		10753
Shahid Malik			1361				1361
Yasmin Qureshi						4342	2514
Mohammad Sarwar				76			76
Shailesh Vara				55			55
Keith Vaz			2555	8532	1669	4408	17161
Total	3869	173	6222	12098	12422	11801	46368

Source: Frequencies calculated using WordSmith Tools, original data taken from the text scraped from the Hansard records online

The whole sample of speech from these 15 Members of Parliament consists of 46,368 words, the majority of which was in the most recent three Bills, in 2008, 2011 and 2015. It can be seen that more BME Members of Parliament are speaking in the in the 2006 debates, which were a response to the terrorist bomb attack on London public transport in July 2005, than in any other. This was unique in the legislation so far, because it dealt specifically with the idea of "home grown terrorism" something that had until then received relatively less attention. The increased contributions in these last three debates is driven both by

contributions from more experienced Members of Parliament, including Keith Vaz (Labour, Leicester East) and Diane Abbott (Labour, Hackney North and Stoke Newington) who made their greatest contributions in 2008, and by the presence of two of the newest Members of Parliament, Shabana Mahmood (Labour, Birmingham Ladywood) and Yasmin Qureshi (Labour, Bolton South East), as described above. The increase in the speech of BME Members of Parliament may partly be explained by the new intake of Members of Parliament, but also because, for the first time, the legislation focused on so-called "home grown" terrorism, the response to which presents greater problems for the minority communities in the United Kingdom.

Although, as I explained previously, one might expect that most of the Members of Parliament that did speak would be from the backbenches, because of the scope that this affords Members of Parliament to speak freely, I also find that many Members of Parliament who *did not* speak were backbench Members of Parliament. Of the 22 who did not speak in any of the debates, 11 had been backbench Members of Parliament at all times. Consequently, they would have been free to speak in these debates if they chose to. Eight of the Members of Parliament who did not speak had served in a mix of frontbench and backbench roles during their time in Parliament, whilst only three had only ever had a frontbench role during the debates.

Despite increasingly vocal criticism of the most recent anti-terror legislation and its perceived discriminatory nature, there is little evidence to suggest that the 18 BME Members of Parliament elected in 2010 have voiced these concerns during the debates. Of those newly elected in 2010, only two have spoken in the debates on the anti-terrorism Bills during their time in Parliament (2011 and 2015). These Members of Parliament, Shabana Mahmood and Yasmin Qureshi are also two of the first female Muslim Members of Parliament elected to

Parliament, both representing Labour. Table 3-3 also shows that Shabana Mahmood, despite being a recent addition to Parliament, is the second most prolific speaker in this sample, behind Keith Vaz, who was elected in 1987 and who has been serving as a Member of Parliament throughout the entire period covered by this sample of speech. Yasmin Qureshi, also newly elected, is the fifth most prolific speaker. Therefore, even though only two Members of Parliament from the 2010 cohort have contributed to the debates on anti-terrorist legislation, those that did have made a much larger contribution than some of those with much longer parliamentary experience. Table 3-4 shows the characteristics of BME Members of Parliament and their constituencies.

When looking at contributions to the debate by political party, it can be seen that it is Labour BME Members of Parliament that dominate proceedings. Whilst there are many potential reasons for this, such as their personal ideology or the demographics of their constituency, an obvious explanation might be the difference in numbers of Members of Parliament from ethnic minorities in each party; historically the Labour Party has had more BME Members of Parliament. However, even after taking this into account, Conservative BME Members of Parliament are still under-represented; only 8% of Conservative BME Members of Parliament contributed compared to 63% of Labour BME Members of Parliament. One potential explanation is that it was only in 2010 that the Conservative Party elected its first two Muslim Members of Parliament. Between 2001 and 2015, Labour had nine Muslim Members of Parliament, six of whom spoke in the debates. Yet, another nine more Members of Parliament who were not Muslim were also motivated to speak.

TABLE 3-4 DEMOGRAPHICS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF BME MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND THEIR CONSTITUENCIES

MP	Party	Ethnicity	Muslim[*]	Constituency ethnic density [13](%)	Sex
Diane Abbott	*Labour*	*Black Caribbean*	*No*	*42.26*	*Female*
Paul Boateng	*Labour*	*Black African*	*No*	*64.60*	*Male*
Dawn Butler	*Labour*	*Black Caribbean*	*No*	*64.60*	*Female*
Parmjit Dhanda	*Labour*	*Indian*	*No*	*11.39*	*Male*
Mark Hendrick	*Labour*	*Black African*	*No*	*23.73*	*Male*
Piara Khabra	*Labour*	*Indian*	*No*	*69.55*	*Male*
Sadiq Khan	*Labour*	*Pakistani*	*Yes*	*34.10*	*Male*
Oona King	*Labour*	*Black African*	*No*	*53.06*	*Female*
Khalid Mahmood	*Labour*	*Pakistani*	*Yes*	*60.33*	*Male*
Shabana Mahmood	*Labour*	*Pakistani*	*Yes*	*72.67*	*Female*
Shahid Malik	*Labour*	*Pakistani*	*Yes*	*21.62*	*Male*
Yasmin Qureshi	*Labour*	*Pakistani*	*Yes*	*27.01*	*Female*
Mohammad Sarwar	*Labour*	*Pakistani*	*Yes*	*24.15*	*Male*
Shailesh Vara	*Cons.*	*African Asian*	*No*	*6.28*	*Male*
Keith Vaz	*Labour*	*Indian*	*No*	*68.56*	*Male*
Adam Afriyie	Cons.	Black African	No	13.15	Male
Rushanara Ali	Labour	Bangladeshi	Yes	53.06	Female
Rehman Chishti	Cons.	Pakistani	Yes	10.39	Male
Helen Grant	Cons.	Black African	No	6.86	Female
Sam Gyimah	Cons.	Black African	No	6.50	Male
Sajid Javid	Cons.	Pakistani	Yes	4.21	Male
Ashok Kumar	Labour	Indian	No	2.47	Male
Kwasi Kwarteng	Cons.	Black African	No	12.70	Male
David Lammy	Labour	Black African	No	49.91	Male
Seema Malhotra	Cons.	Indian	Yes	55.13	Female
Lisa Nandy	Labour	Pakistani	No	2.94	Female
Chi Onwurah	Labour	Black African	No	25.78	Female
Priti Patel	Cons.	African Asian	No	3.01	Female
Anas Sarwar	Labour	Pakistani	Yes	24.15	Male
Alok Sharma	Cons.	Indian	No	19.11	Male
Virendra Sharma	Labour	Indian	No	69.55	Male
Parmjt Singh Gill	LD	Indian	No	50.78	Male

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[13] *Constituency ethnic density data is sourced from the 2011 Census of England and Wales, 2011 Census of Scotland, and 2011 Census of Northern Ireland. The ethnic density is calculated from the ethnic group data, as all non-white ethnic minority usual residents as a proportion of all usual residents. This captures the proportion of 'visible' minorities in each constituency. Usual residents are all those who responded to the Census as a member of the household on the day the survey was conducted, 27th March 2011.*

TABLE 3-4 CONTINUED

MP	Party	Ethnicity	Muslim[*]	Constituency ethnic density [14](%)	Sex
Marsha Singh	Labour	Indian	No	62.92	Male
Chuka Umunna	Labour	Black African	No	41.81	Male
Paul Uppal	Cons.	Black African	No	35.51	Male
Valerie Vaz	Labour	Indian	No	39.29	Female
Nadhim Zahawi	Cons.	Iraqi	No	2.88	Male

Note: Those in italics are the Members of Parliament who spoke

Source: Information on whether the Member of Parliament was Muslim was taken from press releases from Muslim News

Constituency ethnic density from 2011 Census England and Wales

(https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/ethnicity); 2011 Census Scotland

(http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ethnicity-identity-language-and-religion)

There has also been a shift in the ethnicity of Members of Parliament who are contributing to the debates. In the early debates, Members of Parliament from Black Caribbean and Black African backgrounds dominated contributions. More recently, however, as the debates have focused more on perceived threats from Islamic terrorism, leading to curbs on the rights of members of the Pakistani and Arab communities in the United Kingdom, the ethnicity of Members of Parliament who speak has shifted to those who are Pakistani (and Muslim) or Indian. No Black Members of Parliament have spoken in the debates since the 2008 legislation.

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[14] *Constituency ethnic density data is sourced from the 2011 Census of England and Wales, 2011 Census of Scotland, and 2011 Census of Northern Ireland. The ethnic density is calculated from the ethnic group data, as all non-white ethnic minority usual residents as a proportion of all usual residents. This captures the proportion of 'visible' minorities in each constituency. Usual residents are all those who responded to the Census as a member of the household on the day the survey was conducted, 27th March 2011.*

Again looking at Table 3-4, BME Members of Parliament who spoke also represent, on average, constituencies with a higher ethnic minority density. BME Members who spoke represented constituencies with an average 42.9% ethnic minority density while the corresponding figure for those who did not was 26.9% (p=0.044). However, there is no significant difference in participation according to the religion or gender of the Member of Parliament. This suggests that BME Members of Parliament may be guided at least partially by their sense of accountability to their ethnic minority constituents during these debates, rather than adopting the surrogate form of representation whereby they would seek to represent minorities outside of their constituencies. Interestingly, I find that non-BME Members of Parliament who spoke are not significantly more likely to represent high ethnic density constituents than those who did not (p=0.084). Those who did speak had represented on average constituencies with 10.7% ethnic density and those who did speak 12.7%. There is also evidence to support what has been termed gyroscopic representation, whereby BME Members of Parliament look within themselves and their own experiences. This can be inferred by more Pakistani and Muslim Members of Parliament engaged in later debates while there was less engagement by Black Members of Parliament when, as has been noted, the discussion increasingly focused on Islamic terrorism and Muslim communities.

Taking these results together I find no support for hypothesis 2 that all those BME Members of Parliament free from ministerial roles contribute to the debate. Instead there were many instances where both Muslim and non-Muslim BME Members of Parliament had the opportunity to speak, by virtue of being on the backbenches but did not. Additionally, I find that there is evidence to counter hypothesis 3, that BME Members of Parliament will take on the role of surrogate representatives and speak in these debates regardless of electoral incentives. BME Members of Parliament who did speak represented constituencies with a significantly higher proportion of ethnic minorities, thus lending support to a role for electoral incentives, or anticipatory representation. Its contribution to substantive

representation is discussed further in the subsequent chapters and emerges as a mechanism for explaining, in part, why BME Members of Parliament substantively represent ethnic minorities.

In the following sections I will look at what Members of Parliament say, comparing the speech of BME Members of Parliament to Non-BME Members of Parliament. I will be comparing the two corpora and looking at the discourse surrounding anti-terrorism legislation.

Analysis of the Corpora

There are many points that Members of Parliament may wish to contribute to a debate on legislation, making both general and specific points about the topic. For there to be evidence of substantive representation, it will be necessary to show that BME Members of Parliament are focusing on ethnic minority concerns. Some of these concerns, which have been highlighted by organisations such as Liberty and the European Human Rights Council, have been discussed in the previous sections of this chapter. Moreover, it is arguable that, in the context of Anti-Terrorism Legislation, they are arguably largely self-evident.

In the following sections I will look in turn at how the corpora of BME and Non-BME Members of Parliament compare with each other and how the BME corpus evolves over time. I will be comparing the two corpora whilst looking at the discourse surrounding anti-terrorism legislation. Firstly, I will consider the corpora and what they can tell us about the speech of Members of Parliament during these debates.

Who are they speaking about?

In the speech I find that Members of Parliament make references various ethnic minority groups. As discussed above, the Anti-Terrorism legislation has had wide reaching effects on a range of ethnic minority groups. In the speech I find that non-BME Members of Parliament make references to Muslim Asian, Pakistani, South Asian, West Indian, and Bangladeshi people whilst BME Members of Parliament make reference to Muslim, Asian, Black, South Asian, Afro Caribbean, Bangladeshi and Kashmiri people[15]. Both groups reference other ethnicities, including African, Somali, Libyan, Kurdish and Sikh, but only in relation to political regimes, armies or organisations not linked to the UK minority communities. By far the most references are to Muslims, amongst both groups of Members of Parliament, followed by Asian and then Asian subgroups such as Pakistani. The overwhelming majority of references to ethnic minorities in the BME speech relates to communities in the United Kingdom whilst, in the non-BME Members of Parliament speech, there are many more references to minorities outside of the UK. The BME Members of Parliament make a similar number of references to minority groups in the UK other than Muslims, whilst non-BME Members of Parliament proportionally speak more about Muslims than other groups. There is a range of minority groups being discussed but the majority of the speech, from both sets of Members of Parliament, is focused on the Muslim and Asian communities. Moreover, BME Members of Parliament speak proportionally more about these communities than do other Members of Parliament.

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[15] *In order of frequency in the text*

What are they talking about?

Examination of the speech of Members of Parliament reveals what they are talking about. Table 3-5 shows the top 10 lexical words[16] in both sets of text (excluding generic parliamentary language such as Hon., House, government, and members). These words are largely self-explanatory and the discourse themes are clearly observable. Three in particular emerge. First, there is the theme of terrorism, which one would expect in these debates. Non-BME Members of Parliament are slightly more focused on this theme, as *terrorism* and *terrorist* make up a larger proportion of their speech. This is interesting as, even though the debates are clearly focused on the theme of terrorism, the words one would most associate with this topic, *terrorism* and *terrorist*, *are not* the most frequent words in the texts, although they are more prominent in the speech of non-BME than BME Members of Parliament. The most frequent word in both sets of text is *people*.

TABLE 3-5. TOP 10 LEXICAL WORDS (GROUPED BY MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT)

BME MP's speech	Non-BME MP's speech
People [(223)], community [(85)], communities [(50)], Muslim [(49)]	People [(3391)], public [(1281)]
Committee [(126)], time [(89)], country [(64)]	Point [(2886)]
Terrorism [(93)], police [(107)], evidence [(91)]	Terrorism [(2932)], police [(2234)], order [(2019)], evidence[(2012)], security [(1811)], control [(1728)], orders [(1491)], terrorist [(1441)], powers [(1326)]

Note: The words have been grouped into themes of similar words, where more than one word appears they are listed in order of frequency in the text

The second discourse theme which emerges is of police power; *control, powers, orders, security, police, order, evidence.* These words denote power relations between the police and those who are deemed to be a threat, powers which have been provided by Parliament. Superficially, this could be related to any legislation strengthening police powers, but these words have a specific meaning in the context of the anti-terrorism legislation debates.

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[16] Non grammatical or function words- thus excluding common words such as "and", "the", "is", "if" which are not of interest in this particular study.

Control orders and *regime* (relating to Terrorism Prevention and Investigation Measures (TPIMs)) are two specific examples that appear here. These are security measures introduced and developed in successive legislation (TPIMS replaced control orders) and which place restrictions on the movement and actions of individuals considered by the Home Secretary "to have engaged in terrorism-related activity" in order to "protect the public" (Anderson, 2015 2). These are highly controversial measures that exist outside of the normal rule of law as they require a lower burden of proof and have fewer checks on their implementation than more usual measures for controlling criminal activity. This theme is more prominent amongst the non-BME Members of Parliament and reveals a discourse theme around police power, in both corpora but significantly more for non-BME Members of Parliament, which is dominated by these restrictive measures, which as mentioned previously in the chapter, have been used disproportionately against ethnic minorities in the UK.

The third theme relates to community and the public; *community, communities, Muslim, public* and *people* appears in the corpora. This is a stronger theme in the BME corpus and appears almost twice as often in the speech of BME Members of Parliament than non-BME Members of Parliament. Words indicating a discourse of community appear relatively frequently in the BME corpus, on a par with words such as *police, order* and *security* in the non-BME corpus, which are closely associated with police power. Thus, two distinct themes can be ascertained, which denote, on the one hand, police powers and on the other the community and the public. The former is a greater concern amongst non-BME Members of Parliament whilst the latter appears to be a greater concern to the BME Members of Parliament.

As the last section showed, it is possible to ascertain some of differences in the speech of these two groups of Members of Parliament. To examine this in more detail it is possible to compare frequencies of keywords. This reveals the most significant and salient differences between the texts and indicates the "aboutness" (Paul Baker, 2004a) of the speech. In this way, it captures what is specific to the speech of BME Members of Parliament and can be used as a guide when studying the BME MP's speech in more detail[17]. The keywords are shown in Table 3-6 in order of statistical keyness, within the categories. Keywords are calculated and ordered by keyness in the output, these are the words most likely to appear in the BME corpora compared to the non-BME corpora.

TABLE 3-6. KEYWORDS IN BME MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT CORPUS

Community	community, people, Muslim, communities, Asian, schools, young, engagement, ethnic, minority, disproportionately, parents, son, groups, school, teachers, pressure, emphatically
Terrorism	schools, ideology, Islam, young, fight, groups, school, teachers, emergency, pressure, contingencies (Act)
Government	select, days, she, madam, proposal, votes, home, ministers, vote, emergency, emphatically

Note: Some words appear twice because they have been used in different ways in the speech

It is immediately apparent that there is a focus by BME Members of Parliament on minority communities, their concerns and engagement with these communities. Where there are references to terrorism and terrorist acts, these refer to recent issues, such as younger Muslims going to Syria to fight and the alleged Trojan Horse affair in certain schools in the United Kingdom. Overwhelmingly however, minority communities are the main focus of the BME corpus. Specifically, they are focusing on those concerns of the communities that have already been highlighted, such as that they are being disproportionately affected by the new anti-terrorist powers given to the police and courts. There is particular attention paid to

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[17] See Appendix for more detail on keywords and other corpus linguistic terms

community engagement, seen as a means of preventing individuals being recruited for terrorism that contrasts with more punitive measures that have been proposed. However, some of these Members of Parliament are promoting community engagement not only as a means of preventing individuals becoming engaged in terrorism but also as a means to avoid further isolation of minority communities, whom they view as feeling that Parliament is making decisions that adversely affect them. In these ways, there is a discourse theme of concern for the minority community emerging from the keywords in this speech.

It is of interest that, although one might expect *Muslim* to appear equally frequently amongst Members of Parliament in both groups, because of the nature of the debates, Muslim is actually a keyword in the BME corpus. Moreover, these BME Members of Parliament are speaking consistently about Muslims in the United Kingdom and, as a collective, a community, rather than Muslim-based terror attacks or Muslims abroad, which can be seen in the speech of non-BME Members of Parliament. This suggests that there are some differences in the way that minority groups, especially Muslims, are being spoken about in these debates by the two groups of Members of Parliament.

When keywords are examined over the entire time period during which the anti-terrorism debates took place, the theme of minority communities is not consistently a key characteristic of BME corpus. In fact, this has only been the case in 2006 and 2008 (see Table 3-7). It is likely that this is in relation to the new threat of "home grown terrorism", which became the focus of attention in parliament and in the media after the 2005 terrorist attack in London. This was the first time that the government had had to respond to an internal threat of Islamic terrorism on such a large scale. These results reflect the response by BME Members of Parliament to attacks on Muslim and Asian communities in the United Kingdom that followed the terrorist attack. It can also be seen that this issue does not

reappear as a key feature of the BME corpus in more recent debates. This again reflects discussions happening elsewhere, in the media, focusing more on individuals in schools or in other settings, who are considering travelling to Syria or engaging in terrorism as individuals. Consequently, this lends some support to a link between descriptive and substantive representation, as BME Members of Parliament are reacting to the threats to the minority communities and their concerns about legislation seen as targeting their communities in the wake of the 2005 terrorist attacks.

TABLE 3-7. KEYWORDS IN BME CORPORA BY YEAR

Bill	Keywords
2001	internment, al, concession
2006	community, Muslim, Asian, groups, affect, Islam, communities,
2008	vote home, emergency, select, votes, communities, proposal, ministers, she, secretary, he, distinguished, community, friend, solid, disproportionately, Asian, scrutiny, parliament, letter, civil, ethnic, Muslim, friends, exceptional
2011	he, scrutinise, Macdonald, inquiry
2015	people, select, guidelines, personnel, schools, everybody, they, we, with, parents, them, son, commit, deal, engagement, dealt

Note: Insufficient text for keywords from the 2005 Corpora

Hypothesis 1 was that BME Members of Parliament will substantively represent ethnic minorities. For this to be true we would expect clear differences in the speech of these two groups of Members of Parliament, specifically in relation to ethnic minorities. I have shown that there are some differences in the way ethnic minorities are being spoken about and the key themes that characterise the two corpora. Further to this I looked at how the Muslim community are being spoken about as this emerges as a key feature of the BME corpus to see if this also differs. On more detailed inspection of the BME corpus, these Members of Parliament were consistently talking about the Muslim community *and* something/someone else, thus framing them alongside another group.

Table 3-8 shows a representative selection of text from both the BME and non-BME corpora that resulted from a search for *Muslim* and *community* alongside *and* to see if there are differences in the way that this group has been framed with others. Concordances show the words of interest in their original context in the text. This table shows a random selection of terms used alongside Muslim and Community. This shows the "other" that the Muslim community is being spoken about, with BME Members of Parliament talking about the Muslim community alongside other minority groups, framing them within this *wider* community. This has several effects. Firstly, it bolsters the claims of the Muslim community, reducing the potential for them to be ignored, as they are portrayed as part of a larger minority community. Secondly it has an effect of reversing the discourse of "othering" that is seen so often, especially in the media and popular discourse. This is because they are being framed as being part of society and, importantly not an isolated community.

TABLE 3-8. CONCORDANCES OF AND WITH COMMUNITY FOR BME MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

BME Members of Parliament	particularly the Muslim community	and	the wider Asian community.
	views of the general Muslim community	and	of Islam, allowing them access
	recognises that it is the Muslim community	and	the Asian community generally
	effect on the Muslim community	and	the Asian community.
	parallel problem here with our Muslim	and	wider Asian community.
	impact disproportionately on the Muslim	and	ethnic minority communities.
	disproportionate effect on the Muslim	and	wider Asian community.
Non-BME Members of Parliament	and the non-Muslim community	and	between the Muslim community
	between the Muslim community	and	and the state.
	between the Muslim community	and	the non-Muslim community
	between the Muslim community	and	the police, the work
	between the Muslim community	and	the remainder of our citizens
	both the Muslim community	and	from wider society
	in the Muslim community	and	others?
	with the Muslim community	and	with organisation such as

Note: Above are a selection of representative examples from the speech of both Non-BME and BME Members of Parliament.

In contrast, this is not seen in speech of non-BME Members of Parliament; instead there is an extension of the "othering" discourse. The Muslim community is set apart, discussed in relation to "the remainder of our citizens" and the rest of society or the state and its institutions. Despite some of this speech not being directly aimed against the Muslim community, the way that it has been explicitly framed as external to the rest of society or the state and the police, has the consequence of setting them apart from everyone else. There is therefore a clear contrast between the way that the Muslim community, which is a key feature of the BME Members' of Parliament speech and is the main minority group in both sets of speech, are being spoken about and framed as included or excluded from the rest of society, and therefore excluded and included from the normal rules of society. It is exactly this issue that has been highlighted by groups such as Liberty, concerned about the way that Muslims and Asian minorities more broadly have been disproportionately affected, often as peripheral to the "main" problem of tackling terrorism, thus avoiding the question of who's civil liberties is it most important to protect.

Conclusion

This chapter has identified which BME Members of Parliament spoke and has shown that the majority of them have not engaged in the anti-terrorism legislation debates despite the genuine and distinct concerns that have been raised about the effects of successive waves of legislation on ethnic minority communities. The results indicate that there is very little evidence of surrogate representation (H_3), as those who contributed to the debate are also more likely to represent constituencies with a higher ethnic minority density than those who did not. Thus, I do not find that those who represent predominantly white constituencies are engaging in the debate even if they descriptively represent those across the country who may be negatively affected by the legislation. The findings suggest that electoral incentives are at play. This could reflect Mansbridge's anticipatory and promissory forms of representation or

other electoral incentives, which will be explored in more detail in subsequent chapters and will emerge as a key theme in this thesis.

I have also shown that there has been a change over time in the characteristics of Members of Parliament who speak in these debates. Most recently, Black Members of Parliament have not engaged in them whilst South Asian and Muslim Members of Parliament have become more engaged. Although this might be a case of how available these Members of Parliament are and, potentially, an effect of the changing composition of the House of Commons, it does provide some evidence of gyroscopic representation. This is the term Mansbridge gives to descriptive representatives who look inside themselves for cues as to how to represent. Thus, Pakistani and Muslim Members of Parliament are starting to engage more when the content of the debate is increasingly focusing on Islamic terrorism and Muslims in the United Kingdom. Additionally, the results show that whilst those who spoke were, as expected, predominantly backbench Members of Parliament and so were free to speak, there were many backbench BME Members of Parliament, from different ethnic backgrounds who have not spoken at any point in these debates. This is despite being free from the constraints of positions in ministerial offices, although there may be other constraints that I have not tested for. However, as not all BME Members of Parliament who are able to speak do so, even though the anti-terrorism legislation is an important issue for ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom, it can be concluded that there is little support for H_2.

Finally, I have shown that there are distinct differences in the discourse of non-BME Members of Parliament and BME Members of Parliament, most notably in relation to how they speak about ethnic minority communities, and specifically the Muslim community in the UK. Thus, I find clear evidence for H_1, the potential for descriptive representatives to substantively represent, but mediated by other factors as shown by H_2 and H_3.

The main discourse themes in these debates on anti-terrorism reflect the fine balance between individual liberty, especially for ethnic minorities, and collective security, which both Members of Parliament and commentators have pointed to as being a key point of contention. Members of Parliament are reflecting, to an extent, this division and "the distinction between freedom and security—the distinction between the civil liberties of the individual and the liberty of civil society" (HC Deb 19 November 2001, col 106). This is not to say that Non-BME Members of Parliament are exclusively focusing on security measures and BME Members of Parliament on their communities. However, I do find that BME Members of Parliament are speaking predominantly about the protection and engagement with minority communities than are non-BME Members of Parliament. This is also revealed by the subtler use of framing when discussing the Muslim community in the UK. I find a clear difference in the way that the Muslim community is framed, and thus how they are discussed within the debate. Deliberate or not, this framing in the debates has an immediate effect on the way that the community will be perceived. Furthermore, the fact that I find this difference between these two groups of Members of Parliament goes some way to supporting a link between descriptive and substantive representation of (some) minorities in Parliament, mediated by the factors which I have discussed.

Chapter 4.   Who else speaks for ethnic minorities in Parliament? Critical Actors and how to find them

This chapter, which also employs Corpus Linguistics methods, looks at the substantive representation of ethnic minorities using the concept of critical actors. Here I conduct an analysis of a random selection of parliamentary debates in the House of Commons, taken from one year after the 2015 election (May 2015-May2016). I explore, using different software and methods to the previous chapter, whether becoming a critical actor, i.e. positively engaging in a discussion of ethnic minorities in the UK, can be linked to specific motivations. In this chapter I am looking specifically at substantive representation, thus moving the focus from descriptive representatives, as was the focus of the last chapter, to any representative. The motivations I look at are; electoral incentives, associated with MPs that represent ethnically diverse constituencies, and socialisation mechanisms, associated with Labour Party MPs. Labour MPs and those representing ethnically diverse constituencies are both more likely to speak about ethnic minorities in parliamentary debates, although being a Labour MP is most important. There are differences in the framing of ethnic minorities and ethnic minority issues between these groups. Conservative MPs speak more about the background of, and the opportunities open to ethnic minorities, whilst Labour MPs speak more about the effects of welfare cuts on ethnic minorities. Each reflects, I argue, the parties' underlying ideologies. There is an interaction between Labour MPs and those representing ethnically diverse constituencies, but this is not found for Conservative MPs. Finally, BME MPs are more likely to represent ethnic minorities than non-BME MPs if they are from Labour and represent ethnically diverse seats. This is the first study that attempts to identify groups of MPs who might be motivated to be critical actors for ethnic minorities, thus moving away from preconceiving substantive representatives as descriptive representatives.

Introduction

In Chapter 3 I show that BME Members of Parliament are more likely to intervene in debates to raise the concerns of ethnic minorities, providing some degree of substantive representation. However, I also show that this is limited almost exclusively to Labour Members of Parliament. Thus, we cannot assume that *all* descriptive representatives will necessarily act for ethnic minorities in this way, by virtue of the intrinsic motivation of being from an ethnic minority. The previous chapter found that some descriptive representatives do represent ethnic minorities in those debates that are of importance to these communities, however this does not reveal the whole state of substantive representation of ethnic minorities in parliamentary debates. In this chapter I move to consider *critical actors*, thus representatives who are motivated to substantively represent those who they *do not* descriptively represent.

An issue that has not been explored fully in the previous chapter is that ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom are disadvantaged in terms of descriptive representation, as most members of minority communities live in constituencies where the Member of Parliament is not BME. Only 16% of ethnic minorities in the UK are represented by a BME Member of Parliament. Many are in large, ethnically diverse cities such as London and Birmingham where they make up a majority or large minority. However there are other ethnic minorities living outside of these ethnically diverse areas and while a few constituencies have high concentrations of ethnic minorities, half of all British parliamentary constituencies account for only 10% of the ethnic minority population. Members of minority communities in these seats have less strength as a group to influence their Member of Parliament. Those represented by a non-BME Member of Parliament in either an ethnically diverse or majority white constituency may find their Member of Parliament has shared few of the experiences

that are associated with an ethnic minority background and have little understanding of the issues facing their BME constituents.

As discussed in Chapter 2, authors who propose a link between descriptive and substantive representation, the politics of presence consider that this lack of shared identity and experience will constrain the Member of Parliament's ability to partake meaningfully in debates and deliberation on issues that are of importance to this group of their constituents (Mansbridge, 1999; Phillips, 1995). As I have shown, the political landscape is complex, in terms of descriptive representation and the number of other ethnic minorities in constituencies across the country. Consequently, it is necessary to ask whether there are *non-descriptive representatives* who might represent the interests of the ethnic minority population in the political arena and look at potential motivations other than being from the group for the substantive representation of ethnic minorities.

The normative assumptions of a link between the descriptive and substantive representation of ethnic minorities, as I have shown in Chapter 2, rest on the belief that there are shared interests between minorities and their representatives, and thus an ability by the representatives to bring what would otherwise be under-represented voices into the debate. Yet, even though the numbers of Members of Parliament from an ethnic minority background have increased, most are university educated and from a professional background, characteristics that may serve to distance them from their ethnic minority constituents, many of whom will have suffered material and educational disadvantages. Thus, descriptively, they are still a long way away from "mirroring" those that we might expect them to represent substantively.

In this chapter I will ask whether it is possible to identify who, beyond those who provide descriptive representation of BME populations, function as critical actors, and thus represent ethnic minorities in the UK Parliament. I will use data that I have extracted from the Hansard Records of parliamentary speech and which I analyse using a corpus linguistics method. By using a random sample of speeches in the House of Commons between May 2015 and May 2016, I can include the new cohort of BME Members of Parliament who entered Parliament after the May 2015 General Election, bringing their numbers to an all-time high of 41.

As will be seen, critical actors are most likely to emerge from among those Members of Parliament whose constituencies contain a higher proportion of ethnic minorities and who are Labour Members of Parliament. Moreover, those Members of Parliament who might be expected to represent the BME population on these grounds do raise concerns about welfare, poverty, and housing, all of which disproportionately affect minorities, especially in urban deprived areas, but not in a way that is specific to ethnic minorities.

Critical Actors

Recognition of the limitations of descriptive representatives has led to the emergence of the concept of "critical actors", developed by scholars writing within the gender representation literature (Childs & Krook, 2009). This contends that not all descriptive representatives will be motivated to act, and not all those motivated to act will be descriptive representatives. These authors suggest that we must move away from the base assumption of the presence of bodies necessarily equating to representation, thus, it looks to both those who are descriptive representatives, who are more motivated than other descriptive representative, *and* it looks to those who are not descriptive representatives but who are still motivated to act on behalf of them.

The idea of critical actors has been posited as an antidote to what is seen as a misunderstanding of the seminal work of Kanter (1977) and Dahlerup (1988) which resulted in the failure of the concept of critical mass (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of this) when it was applied to the literature on women in politics. Specifically, it is argued that there has been an overemphasis on critical mass theory that they believe has led to a static and inflexible view of substantive representation (Celis et al., 2008; Childs & Krook, 2006, 2009; Childs et al., 2010). Instead, if we contend that representatives have different thresholds for action, then we can look at other mechanisms of motivation for substantive representation. Critical actors may, crucially, have relatively low thresholds for political action, so although they may have views similar to other legislators, they are much more *motivated* to act than are others. This chapter therefore asks whether Members of Parliament that might be expected to be subject to these motivations are more likely to represent ethnic minorities. This raises the question of *how* ethnic minorities are represented.

The literature using discourse analysis has documented how those who hold power can control the ways in which different groups and their interests are framed in the public discourse (Van Dijk, 2008). While ethnic minorities are spoken about in the public discourse, it has often been in a negative or disparaging way, typically by portraying them as a threat, for example in the context of unwanted migration, street crime, or terrorism (Paul Baker et al., 2013a). These views are often amplified by the media, creating a climate in which these associations become the dominant narrative. Ethnic minority populations, by virtue of their underrepresentation in both Parliament and the media, have few means to challenge this narrative or to exert any control over how they, or their communities, are presented. As a consequence, their identities and discourses are often constructed for them. Yet it is possible that the interests of such groups can be represented by those who do not share their background or ethnicity.

Throughout history there have been many examples of British politicians who have sought to represent the interests of those who differ substantively from them. A historical example is Wilberforce's opposition to the slave trade (Hague, 2007). Others include the few male Members of Parliament who vociferously supported female suffrage, such as Kier Hardie or George Lansbury, who actually resigned his seat so that he could stand on the issue of votes for women (Shepherd, 2004). In the 1960s, politicians such as Roy Jenkins spoke out on behalf of other underrepresented groups, pushing reform on homosexuality, divorce, abortion and race relations (Oborne, 2014). Such individuals can be considered to be critical actors, as defined by Childs and Krook (2009) as those who act individually or collectively to represent the interests of those who are politically under represented, or marginalised.

The concept of critical actors moves the focus of substantive representation on from asking simply who is representing, in terms of descriptive representatives, to how representation is occurring and not what descriptive representatives do but what specific actors do (Celis et al., 2008; Childs & Krook, 2006, 2009). This allows us to conceive of these other representatives, some of whom have been mentioned above, as "acting for" and in the interests of ethnic minorities. Advocates of the concept of critical actors have argued that the assumptions of the politics of presence are flawed and that, in using it, researchers are focusing too much on descriptive representation rather than how substantive representation occurs (Childs & Krook, 2009). By making this shift, we can move away from an essentialist portrayal of political actors for whom expectations are pre-defined, and can instead look more broadly at critical actors who act for minority interests. Thus, critical actors are not defined descriptively but can emerge from inside *and* outside the minority group that they substantively represent. This gives rise to my first hypothesis;

H₁. Critical actors will be found amongst non-BME Members of Parliament as well as amongst BME Members of Parliament.

Mechanisms for representation as critical actors

There are two theoretically grounded reasons that might lead to an individual becoming a critical actor[18] which have been discussed in Chapter 2 and which I now summarise. The first is institutional socialization. Membership of a political party where the norms and culture support the development of perspectives that are congruent with the interests of ethnic minorities should encourage Members of Parliament to represent such interests (Rush & Giddings, 2011; Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012). The second is electoral incentives. Members of Parliament representing constituencies with a high density of ethnic minorities will be motivated to represent their constituents' interests in order to secure their votes (André, Depauw, & Shugart, 2014; Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012).

i Institutional Socialisation

This refers to a mechanism within sociological institutionalism whereby people seek to fulfil their role within a particular community or group through the gradual internalising of norms associated with that group (Rush & Giddings, 2011). These roles can be attached to an individual's position, such as their role as a legislator (Weber 1995). Here I am primarily concerned with pre-election socialisation, so the norms they internalise are those that are congruent with the values of a political party and which are advocated by it (Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012). The British Labour Party has, throughout its recent history, selected and elected more BME parliamentary candidates than other parties in Westminster. A study of

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[18] In the Appendix I include a rationale and data on a third which I termed prior socialisation. However due to a lack of data this was removed from the chapter see Appendix for a discussion of this mechanism.

manifestos of the main political parties found "Labour demonstrating a markedly greater commitment to tackling racial discrimination and the Conservatives demonstrating markedly greater opposition to immigration." (Heath, Fisher, Rosenblatt, Sanders, & Sobolewska, 2013). Labour governments have introduced and passed every extant item of race relations and equality legislation relating to ethnic minorities[19]. The party has also offered more opportunities for ethnic minorities, both within the party and through its policies. Thus, its members can be expected to be well aware of the concerns of ethnic minorities and the willingness of the party to address them.

Despite some incongruence in some of their policy stances, in particular the response to rising asylum claims in the early 2000s, including the increasingly restrictive immigration and asylum legislation brought in by the Blair government, the Labour Party has historically been the party most likely to promote minority interests, especially when compared with the Conservative Party. In 2010, 70% of BME respondents said that the Labour Party looks after the interests of Blacks and Asians fairly or very well. 60% of BME respondents saw the Labour Party as adopting policies that would improve opportunities for minorities, while only 35% thought the Conservatives did this (Heath et al., 2013).

This history has benefited the Labour Party electorally, in terms of gaining ethnic minority voters, although it has arguably also led, at least recently, to an alienation of Labour's traditional white working class voters (Ford & Goodwin, 2014). Heath et al. (2013) showed that ethnic minority allegiance to Labour, at double the rate among white British, could be attributed to the Labour Party's past behaviour. Thus not only have members of the parliamentary Labour Party come up through a party that has a history of promoting

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[19] *Race Relations Act 1965, Race Relations Act 1968, Race Relations Act 1975 and the Equality Act 2010*

minority interests but they know that part of their support base among ethnic minorities is centred on their history as a party that promoted these interests. They will, therefore, be motivated to promote these interests. Saalfeld and Bischof (2012), who looked at pre-election socialisation, found that while BME Members of Parliament were more likely to raise questions in Parliament on issues affecting the BME population, it was overwhelmingly Labour Members of Parliament that did so. This, they interpreted, offered support for the existence of this motivation. The current study, which analyses speech from the first year of the 2015 parliamentary term, has the advantage of including a more balanced selection of BME Members of Parliament, with more from the Conservative Party than in the past.

Other parties aside from the Labour Party have moved, in recent years, to improve the numbers of BME Members of Parliament, to open themselves to minority voters, and have made efforts to improve their processes in ways that increase the chances that these representatives will be elected (Sobolewska, 2013). One of the biggest changes has been with the Conservative Party. The number of BME Conservative Members of Parliament has risen from 11 in 2010 to 17 in 2015, with seven new BME Members of Parliament elected. Comparatively, the Labour Party only increased the number of BME Members of Parliament by seven despite having consistently increased their numbers of BME Members of Parliament previously, to a much greater extent than the Conservatives, representing a far cry from their "virtual monopoly" of BME representation prior to 2010 (Sobolewska, 2013). This reflects a move by the Conservative Party to take the issue of under representation of ethnic minorities more seriously, in an attempt to both close the ethnic minority vote gap, important for a modern governing party to achieve, and rebrand their image as a more inclusive party. The Conservative Party participated in the all-party Speakers Conference discussing increasing the descriptive representation of ethnic minorities. The party also sought to improve both its internal strategies and external image on this issue. This increase in Conservative BME Members of Parliament has changed the landscape of BME

representation in another way; these new Members of Parliament now represent predominantly white seats while, previously, BME Members of Parliament were elected to seats with a majority, or large minority of ethnic minorities, in part by virtue of being elected as Labour Members of Parliament. In 2015, Conservative BME Members of Parliament represent constituencies with an average of 6.5% ethnic minorities, whilst Labour BME Members of Parliament on average represent constituencies with 43% ethnic minorities.

Thus, despite the concerted effort of both the Labour and Conservative parties to improve the selection and election of BME Members of Parliament, there are specific differences which may affect how these Members of Parliament act. Conservative BME Members of Parliament are more likely to be in white seats, whilst Labour BME Members of Parliament are more likely to represent more ethnically diverse constituencies. Additionally, despite evidence that some of the norms of the Conservative Party have changed, increasing minority candidates and gaining minority votes, these changes are still relatively recent. It is likely that, despite the recent changes, there is still less support for minority issues to be raised than there is in the Labour Party.

It is, inevitably, impossible in a cross-sectional study of serving Members of Parliament to determine whether an observed relationship is causal. In other words, did Members of Parliament self-select to stand for office as Labour candidates on the basis of their earlier views and experiences, before becoming a party member, or did these views come about through a process of socialisation within the party? This is an important question but is beyond the scope of this research and would require a prospective study over a long period of time. For the present purposes, it is sufficient to ascertain whether there is indeed an association between Labour Party membership and those who do not descriptively represent BME populations becoming critical actors. This gives rise to the second hypothesis:

H2. Members of Parliament from the Labour Party will be more likely to raise issues of concern to ethnic minorities

ii Electoral incentives

Representation is, as Mansbridge (2003) explains, largely "anticipatory". This means that representatives often act in a way that they believe will be rewarded at the next election. Above all legislators want to be re-elected so that they can continue to do what they value as a legislator. For this to happen they must be endorsed through the electoral institutions within which they operate. Under the UK electoral system, which uses Single Member Districts in which each constituency has one representative, the ties between the elector and the local electorate are stronger than in the multi-member seats found in certain other systems (Mitchell, 2000). In the former system, it is easier for a constituent to monitor how well their representative is doing, as the costs are lower than monitoring multiple representatives (Curtice & Shively, 2009). However, where partisan ties are strong, the cost of changing party for some may counteract any concerns that electors have about the performance of their representatives. Yet, even if the threat of losing their seat is low, for example in what are termed "safe seats", having one legislator for one constituency strengthens the ties between the electorate and the legislator so they will be more likely to be motivated to act on behalf of their local constituents.

This is an important issue for underrepresented constituents such as ethnic minorities. In the UK, of the 122 constituencies with more than 20% of the population from ethnic minorities, only 21 have Members of Parliament from a BME background. In other words, in 101 of those constituencies BME constituents are not represented by someone who can be a descriptive representative. There has been little empirical research on this issue in the UK, partly because it can be difficult to disentangle the motivations behind the mechanism

involved in electoral accountability and incentives. However, Saalfeld and Bischof (2012) found that although BME Members of Parliament were more likely to represent issues salient to ethnic minorities, *all* Members of Parliament with a geographical concentration of ethnic minorities are responsive to these issues.

According to this mechanism, we would expect that those who represent constituencies with a higher ethnic minority density, who therefore may rely more on ethnic minorities to secure re-election, would be more responsive to these voters, and more likely to represent ethnic minorities in parliamentary debates. This leads to my third hypothesis.

H3. Members of Parliament representing constituencies with a greater proportion of ethnic minorities will be more likely to raise issues of concern to ethnic minorities in debates.

These are the two groups of representatives within which we might expect to find critical actors. I hypothesise that these mechanisms could explain the motivations for representatives to be mobilised to substantively represent ethnic minorities in Parliament. At this stage I am not seeking to interrogate the characteristics of individual critical actors, but instead I look within these three samples for evidence that critical actors are more likely to be found in them. Thus, it is possible that both or none could play a role, or that it is descriptive representatives that are more likely to represent ethnic minorities.

Building on the existing literature I would argue that the election of representatives from minority groups is important, based on their shared experiences as members of these groups. However, essentialising representatives in this way and assuming that being from this group provides them with a primary motivation may be misleading. I therefore argue that there are

likely other mechanisms that lead a Member of Parliament to represent this group, including institutional socialisation and electoral incentives.

Methods

Operationalising the concept of critical actors is not straightforward. The activities that a critical actor might undertake can take various forms, such as initiating proposals for policy, promoting issues that are salient for the group in debates or parliamentary questions, and working on their own or in a group to advance their interests, some of these I have discussed in Chapter 3. Importantly it is not necessary for these activities to be successful. Often, attempts to change policy fail and limiting my analysis to those initiatives that led to policy change would be very constraining. It can also be substantively misleading as policy success usually only happens after several failed attempts and this measurement cannot account for these efforts which have failed.

Instead, in this study, consistent with others working on this issue, I am principally concerned with those critical actors who, in parliamentary debates, disproportionately raise issues affecting ethnic minorities (Chaney, 2012). These are actors who will seek, successfully or unsuccessfully, to represent ethnic minorities and engage in a set of "critical acts", here defined as positive interventions in parliamentary debates relating to ethnic minorities. Thus, by looking at critical actors in this setting I am seeking to identify actors who make a disproportionate number of interventions in debates, placing or retaining issues affecting ethnic minorities on the parliamentary agenda, as well as identifying differences in the ways in which ethnic minorities are represented. By looking at critical actors, I seek to explore further the link between descriptive and substantive representation. As Childs and Krook (2009, 145) note "A turn to critical actors... pushes scholars to specify the mechanisms that in each case link – or uncouple – these two forms of representation.". In the next section I

examine two possible mechanisms that might motivate those who do not descriptively represent ethnic minorities to become critical actors.

Data

As in Chapter 3, this chapter takes a corpus linguistics based approach to the analysis of parliamentary debates. The advantage of analysing speech from parliamentary debates is that it provides a rich data source of millions of words of text with a mixture of pre-prepared and spontaneous speech, and which is an observable measure of what Members of Parliament say and how they act in Parliament. The process of deliberation that Members of Parliament engage in when they debate in Parliament brings with it various voices and sources from which ethnic minorities can be represented. It is in this arena that we can see representatives from across the House of Commons speaking with a relatively low threshold for action, compared to drafting and submitting parliamentary questions or enrolling in a committee or other parliamentary group. In this way, I can capture a broader idea of how ethnic minorities are being represented which is especially important, pragmatically, when looking at general parliamentary activity because activities focused on ethnic minorities make up a small part of what goes on in Parliament. Consequently, narrowing my focus to these topics would reduce the scope for findings.

In order to obtain an insight into what Members of Parliament say, I use a sample of the Hansard records of parliamentary speech. To recap on Chapter 3, the transcripts of the

Hansard Records are near verbatim accounts of proceedings in Parliament and can be accessed online[20].

I sampled the debates differently from chapter 3, and the transcripts of a random sample of 50 days of parliamentary speech were taken from the Hansard archives online. This represents 32% of debates during the year. The House of Commons sat for 158 days in the 2015/2016 Parliament but I discounted the days when new Members of Parliament were sworn in and making their maiden speeches as this is not representative of general parliamentary speech. The random sample was taken from one year after the 2015 General Election (11th May 2015-11th May 2016) and consists of speech of 618 Members of Parliament (see Appendix Table B-4 for descriptive information on the sample). The rationale for this sampling strategy is to ensure as far as possible that the speech is representative across the whole year, taking account of different events that happen throughout the year and different priorities adopted by different Members of Parliament. For example, the response to the budget or Autumn Statement, or events that give rise to emergency legislation, will skew the sample of text (See Appendix B for dates sampled). I chose to sample speech from after the most recent election, because it is the most recent full year available and using the most recent Parliament takes advantage of the fact that 2015 saw the election of the largest number of BME Members of Parliament ever to the House of Commons. Although I am not specifically looking at descriptive representatives here, it is important to ascertain whether BME Members of Parliament act as critical actors in these groups so it was important to have the largest sample of BME Members of Parliament possible.

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[20] http://www.parliament.uk/mps-lords-and-offices/offices/commons/hansard/

TABLE 4-1 MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT IN THE TEXT AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY CHARACTERISTICS

	Freq. of MPs in text	Freq. MPs in House of Commons
Ethnicity		
BME	41	41
White	577	609
Electoral incentives (ethnic density)		
>20%	122	125
<20%	496	525
Political Party		
Conservative	312	331
Labour	224	232
SNP	55	56
Lib Dem	8	8
DUP	8	8
Sinn Féin*	0	4
Plaid Cymru	3	3
SDLP	3	3
UUP	2	2
UKIP	1	1
Green	1	1
Independent	1	1
Total MPs	618	650

* Sinn Féin Members of Parliament are abstainers and do not engage in activities in the House of Commons so would not be present in any sample of text.

After generating a random sample of days that Members of Parliament sat in the House of Commons from the last parliamentary year, the text was collected from the Hansard website using a web scraping computer program[21]. This resulted in a sample of text of 2.98 million words. To carry out the analysis it was necessary to edit the transcripts and "clean" the data to remove parts of the transcript which do not report speech directly. This is quite a long process and included removing time stamps, date and column stamps, non-linguistic descriptions e.g. "Jeremy Lefroy (Stafford) (Con) rose", and meta-discussion of general

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[21] My thanks to Andrew Hardie from the University of Lancaster for this computer program

procedural matters e.g. "That the Bill be now read a Second time". This process also involved removing all speech by the Speaker and Deputy Speakers of the House of Commons; as officially they do not represent a constituency in these debates. Consequently, the Speakers speech would skew which ever section the speech was included in, especially as the Speaker interjects frequently in the debates.

Tools and procedures

In the previous chapter, Chapter 3, I used the Corpus Linguistics software WordSmith tools (Scott, 2016) to conduct a keyword analysis, directly comparing the speech of BME and non-BME Members of Parliament in the debates relating to the successive anti-terrorism legislation. In this chapter I utilise a different software package and, although not a formal part of the thesis, this allowed me to compare the merits of the two software packages and gain experience with their use. In this chapter I use Sketch Engine[22] (Kilgarriff et al., 2014). Sketch Engine is an online corpus analysis interface, which has functions distinct from WordSmith Tools that can be used for corpus based analysis. Using Sketch Engine, the researcher can upload their corpora onto an online database. The text is then tagged, so that when one looks at collocates of words one can identify grammatical relationships between them. This function makes it possible to obtain a more sophisticated picture of collocation patterns (words that co-occur next to each other) than when we look purely at collocations on their own. Thus, in this chapter I will be looking at how words such as "ethnic" modify other words (nouns and verbs), therefore looking at how minorities are represented in the text. Word Sketch provides the frequency with which each word is used as well as the word's *saliency* which is a measure of the strength of the collocation and is calculated by the *logdice* statistics (See Rychlý, 2008).

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[22] www.sketchengine.co.uk

WordSmith tools is less suited to the analysis employed in this chapter as its main function, key words, is less powerful in revealing patterns around the representation of ethnic minorities in general speech. This is because ethnic minorities do not make up a majority of the speech of Members of Parliament in general debates and thus keywords will be inefficient in identifying those instances where they are used. Instead, Sketch Engine has a unique Word Sketch function, which aims to present a full and complete account of a word's grammatical and collocational behaviour, making it possible to discern the grammatical relationships between words. Thus, it is more suited to an analysis of general texts where the researcher can focus in on the language relationships of specific search words. Sketch Engine has been used previously by Baker et al. (2013b) to look at representations of Muslims in the British press.

The advantages and disadvantages of a corpus based approach have been discussed widely (Paul Baker, 2006, 2014; Wodak & Meyer, 2009) with some of the advantages being; reducing researcher bias, being able to analyse a far larger body of text, and the ability to identify statistical patterns of language which would be much harder to observe without automated analysis. As I have shown in Chapter 3, corpus based research has revealed some interesting findings relating to migration and refugee discourses. I am not expecting to find bias in the speech of Members of Parliament in Parliament to the same extent as would be found in the media. Yet, given the responsibility that Members of Parliament have towards the entire population and their role in framing public discourse it will be important to ascertain how ethnic minorities are constructed in parliamentary speech.

TABLE 4-2 TEXT FILES FOR ANALYSIS, NUMBERS OF WORDS AND PERCENTAGE OF TEXT

	Text of interest (Corpora of interest)	Reference text (Reference corpora)
	All Labour MPs	All other MPs
No. of words	890,808 words	2,287,674 words
% of words	39%	61%
	MPs representing >20% ethnic minorities in their constituency	All other MPs
No. of words	539,463	2,648,703
% of words	20%	80%

After collecting all of the speech data, I compiled a list of all the Members of Parliament that had spoken at any time in the sample, and in a separate Excel file I coded them according to the Member of Parliament's party, constituency ethnic density and Members of Parliament ethnic background (Table 4-2). The text was split into separate files to separate the speech of Members of Parliament from different political parties, and those who represent constituencies with more and less than 20% ethnic minority constituents. This 20% cut off represents a point at which minority constituents are likely to become visible enough to be a consideration for the representative. This is also consistent throughout all chapters of this thesis. This generated four files (Table 4-2). Using these data, the contributions to the debates were analysed according to the pre-specified hypotheses above, to enable the comparison of the different groups of Members of Parliament.

Results

In this section I first look at the proportion of the different groups of Members of Parliament who speak about ethnic minorities. Secondly, I look at how ethnic minorities are being spoken about in this speech. Finally, I draw in more detail on some of the nuances that appeared as interesting in the way that ethnic minorities are being spoken about. In most of

these results the *n* is relatively small, which reflects the relative lack of discussion about ethnic minorities in general parliamentary debate, compared to specific debates as in Chapter 3, but also some of the restrictions of the software. In the final section I move to a more qualitative undertaking picking up on some of the interesting findings that emerged during my examination of the text. This chapter has been designed to see if it is possible to look for critical actors for ethnic minority substantive representation and demonstrate the potential of such an approach as well as the value of looking at substantive representation, somewhat distinctly from descriptive representation.

The first finding is that the presence of words referring directly to ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom is relatively low, much lower than in texts that are directly relevant to ethnic minorities such as in Chapter 3. However, as Table 4-3 shows, one can already see differences between the frequency of use, and thus the representation of minorities in the speech of different Members of Parliament. This table shows the search results for ethnic*. This search uses the "lemma", or "root word" *ethnic* and conducts searches for ethnic/ethnicity/ethnicities. BAME and BME commonly used to refer to Black and Minority Ethnic are also searched for as proxies for the frequency of discussion on ethnic minorities. Labour Members of Parliament are three times more likely to be speaking about ethnic minorities than those from any other party, and Members of Parliament representing more ethnically diverse constituencies are four times more likely to do so than those representing more white constituencies. This is in line with both the theoretical and empirical literature and lends some support to both H_2 and H_3. Below I will look at the WordSketch results in detail.

TABLE 4-3 FREQUENCY OF ETHNIC* AND BAME/BME MENTIONS IN THE TEXT

	Labour	All other parties	>20% ethnic density	<20% ethnic density
Ethnic*	22	29	19	31
% of text	0.003	0.001	0.004	0.001
Non-relevant [†]	1	10	0	12
BME/BAME	3	6	3	6
% of text	0.0001	0.0003	0.0006	0.0002
Non-relevant	0	0	0	0

*Included ethnic minority/ethnic minorities/ethnic/multi-ethnic

[†]Non-relevant items include those in reference to ethnic minorities who are abroad e.g. ethnic genocide

In the next section I use Sketch Engine (See Appendix B) to show how ethnic minorities are being spoken about in the text. In this section I compare Labour with Conservative Members of Parliament and those representing constituencies with more than 20% ethnic density with those representing constituencies with less than 20%. The WordSketch results below, in Table 4-4, show how ethnic is used as an adjective to modify other words. These results are presented in order of saliency, rather than raw frequency because of the different relative sizes of the text. In this sample of text, ethnic is related to a diverse range of other words. In Table 4-4 the words highlighted in bold are those specifically relating to ethnic minorities in the UK, as opposed to ethnic minorities abroad. From Table 4-3 we know that Labour Members of Parliament are more likely to be talking about ethnic minorities in their speech. However, the results in Table 4-4 show that there is also a difference in the context in which ethnic minorities are being spoken about. Table 4-4 shows the nouns and verbs which WordSketch reveals as being modified by words with the root "ethnic". This is shown on the left hand side. It also shows in the columns how many of these were used by BME Members of Parliament or those representing ethnically diverse seats. Interestingly, Conservative Members of Parliament are speaking about people from ethnic minority *backgrounds* more than ethnic minority *communities,* which appears to be a framing employed more by Labour Members of Parliament.

These are subtle differences, but looking in detail at the text, *background* is used within a framing of opportunity, related to "children", "army recruits" and "students" from ethnic minority backgrounds and their relative under-representation in various institutions. *Community* is used exclusively to refer to the "black and minority ethnic community" which homogenises the group and is a relatively uncritical way of binding ethnic minorities together. It also reflects multiculturalism, a policy supported especially by New Labour, as applied to communities and the importance of community in the mutual respect for cultural difference (Kymlicka, 1995; Taylor, 1995).

"Background" is not used amongst Labour Members of Parliament. Instead they focus more on "ethnic minorities" and black and minority ethnic *communities* and ethnic minority people, which has the same homogenising effect. However they also speak of ethnic minority "women", which opens up a nuanced discussion of the different types of problems facing ethnic minority groups. These findings speak somewhat to the party ideology, for example the Conservative focus on the individual, their background and how this impacts opportunity. In Chapter 6 I provide more details, using data from a survey of candidates, of ideological differences between Conservative and Labour parties. It is interesting, therefore, that there is evidence of this ideological divide being reproduced here.

TABLE 4-4 FREQUENCY OF WORDS RELATED TO "ETHNIC" IN SAMPLE OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT SPEECH

	Nouns and verbs modified by "ethnic"	Frequency	UK mentions	BME MP	High ED MP	Saliency
Labour	Minority	7	6	2	5	11.97
	Applicant	1	1	0	0	10.00
	Coach	1	1	0	0	9.51
	Mix	1	1	0	0	9.07
	Representation	1	1	0	1	8.54
	Community	5	5	4	5	7.63
	Population	1	1	0	1	7.55
	Woman	2	2	0	2	7.46
	Worker	1	1	0	1	6.74
	Group	1	0	-	-	4.80
	People	1	1	0	0	3.13
Conservative	Cleansing	1	0			10.96
	Background	4	4	0	0	10.25
	Genocide	1	0	-	-	10.00
	Loyalty	1	0	-	-	9.91
	Identification	1	0	-	-	9.75
	Origin	1	0	-	-	9.71
	Diversity	1	1	0	0	9.61
	Dimension	1	0	-	-	9.57
	Minority	1	1	0	0	9.02
	Group	8	2	0	1	7.79
	Population	1	1	0	0	7.50
	Violence	1		-	-	7.36
	Community	2	2	0	0	6.88
	Target	1	1	0	0	6.62

Note: Words in bold are those which relate to ethnic minorities in the UK

Interestingly, looking at Table 4-4 again, BME Members of Parliament are only speaking about ethnic minorities if they are both Labour and represent ethnically diverse seats. The BME Members of Parliament in this sample who speak about ethnic minorities are Shabana Mahmood, Tulip Siddiq, David Lammy, Keith Vaz, Kate Osamor, and Rupa Huq. However only 29% of Members of Parliament meet these criteria. Interestingly, all of these Members

of Parliament, except Keith Vaz, also represent London constituencies. Thus, 45% of BME London Labour Members of Parliament are speaking about ethnic minorities.

These results do not include references to specific individual minority groups and the sample is too general to pinpoint discourses about these groups. Despite this, it is clear that BME Members of Parliament who are in the Labour Party are speaking proportionally more about ethnic minorities than those from other parties. Additionally, there is a greater focus on ethnic minority "communities", which I also found in Chapter 3. The nature of the discussion of communities is discussed in a subsequent section. There are no BME Conservative Members of Parliament speaking in this sample about ethnic minorities, in the way it is measured here. This is despite the sample including 17 Members of Parliament of a BME origin on the Conservative benches, remembering that Conservative Members of Parliament are less likely to represent ethnically dense constituencies.

Finally, it is of interest, when we consider that the supposed mechanism underlying descriptive representatives acting for ethnic minorities is their shared experiences, that in this sample there is only one example of a BME Member of Parliament referring to themselves as being from an ethnic minority as a way of representing ethnic minorities more generally through their own experience. I discuss this further in Chapter 6, where I explore specific mechanisms involved. The quote from David Lammy refers to himself *directly* as a member of an ethnic minority and by doing so adds weight to the discussion on effects of nationalism on ethnic minorities. In this instance he is placing himself, and thus his own experiences, at the centre of the debate. This is what we expect BME representatives to be doing but this example is the only one that supports it. This is an empirical example of what one might have expected based on the normative discussion by Mansbridge and others about representatives and their link with those they descriptively represent.

"As a member of an ethnic minority, I have always feared the prospect of nationalism."

David Lammy, Labour, Tottenham.

In the next sections I focus on three different ways that ethnic minorities are being discussed in these debates by some of these critical actors, from both minority and non-minority backgrounds. Because I am only looking here at when they are discussed the numbers of examples are low. However, I try to link them to some of the motivations outlined above and to other findings in the thesis.

Different ways of representing ethnic minorities

In relation to other marginalised groups

One aspect of this discourse that was of interest was that, within the sample of text, ethnic minorities are consistently being spoken about in relation to other, similarly deprived or struggling groups of people. In Chapter 3, I also found that ethnic minorities were being spoken about, amongst BME Members of Parliament in relation to the wider ethnic group or in relation to other minority communities. In this sample they are commonly being spoken about in the same way as women, another group considered to be disadvantaged in many ways. The quote below shows how ethnic minorities are grouped with women and single parents because of the similar effects on them of tax and welfare changes.

"A reduction in a family budget of that scale would be deeply damaging. By its very nature, the impact would be felt disproportionately by women, ethnic minorities and single-parent households like the one that I grew up in."

Matthew Pennycook (Labour, Greenwich and Woolwich)

In another debate, ethnic minorities are discussed in the same instance as boys and those with learning disabilities. These are again groups that face some vulnerability or disadvantage. This is in a discussion about child sexual abuse, and issues which might be barriers to different group reporting this sexual abuse.

"It is likely that children from black and minority ethnic backgrounds, and boys in particular, are under-represented in the data. As my hon. Friend mentioned, children with learning disabilities are particularly vulnerable and are particularly unlikely to be able to report, even if they wish to, or to understand that they have been the victims of a crime."
Tim Loughton (Conservative, East Worthing and Shoreham)

Discussing groups such as these together may have a compounding effect of increasing the saliency of ethnic minority issues in the debates. Potentially it is being used as a mechanism for drawing attention to these minority groups when they would find it hard to attract attention on their own. Because of this, it is difficult to discern whether ethnic minorities are the focus of the intervention or being discussed because of the compound effects that being disadvantaged have on these groups. This is used by both minority and non-minority representatives. This also indicates that people are willing and motivated to represent all those who are seen as vulnerable and marginalised, or those who are under-represented. I find some evidence of this in Chapter 6, when I look at candidates' attitudes towards various changes to the selection and election of different underrepresented groups. There is support for these changes for BME, working class and disabled candidates, which suggests support in general for improving the opportunities for those who are disadvantaged.

Welfare

There is a discourse around ethnic minorities that is linked to welfare, which is typically more closely associated with the interests of the Labour Party, and especially when it is in opposition. This is evidenced by the keyword analysis I did in preparation for this chapter, comparing the speech of Labour to Conservative Members of Parliament. This revealed that the Labour discourse is focused on the housing crisis, and government cuts. The top five keywords were *cuts, housing, cut, affordable, rented* (See Appendix table B-2). The top keywords for those representing more ethnically diverse constituencies were *London, housing, detention, Londoners and Ealing,* reflecting the fact that many of these Members of Parliament are in London (18% of Labour Members of Parliament in the sample were from London) and other large cities and the issues that are associated with crowded urban areas. We can see that both Labour Members of Parliament and those representing ethnically diverse constituencies are focused on issues of deprivation and welfare affecting those in urban areas. However these are greater priorities for Labour Members of Parliament, which links to the interplay between Labour and ethnically diverse constituencies.

"Time is short so I will focus on two areas: the effects of the changes to tax credits on my constituency, and the disproportionate effect of those changes on black and minority ethnic communities"
Imran Hussain (Labour, Bradford East)

Many of the instances of ethnic minorities being discussed relate to welfare cuts, which attract the attention of Labour Members of Parliament and those representing ethnically diverse constituencies. Although welfare cuts and issues such as housing are more a feature of Labour speech, it appears that it is most key in the speech of those Labour Members of Parliament who *also* represent ethnically diverse constituencies. In this way, ethnic

minorities are placed within the larger framework of the Labour Party's ideology and its focus on welfare and inequalities, which makes sense as Members of Parliament are there to address grievances on behalf of their constituents. Thus, we see more references to problems facing ethnic minorities, from Labour Members of Parliament, and especially those in ethnically diverse seats which tend to be more urban and poorer, ethnic minorities are combined in a discourse of inequality and relative suffering.

Surprisingly, even though these Members of Parliament make the link between ethnic minorities and welfare, it is interesting that this is not tied directly to the theme of deprivation. In Table 4-5, I show that deprivation is discussed not in relation to ethnic minorities, it is discussed more generally in relation to local communities and, in specific cases I found that it is linked to what we know to be white working class areas of the UK and post-industrial areas, such as parts of Wales.

Ethnic minority "community"

Finally, I found an interesting difference in the way ethnic minority communities were being framed. This links to the findings in the previous chapter and reveals that in the discourse of ethnic minorities, especially amongst Labour Members of Parliament, the term "community" is used much more. The results in Table 4-4 showed that "community" is a consistently salient collocate in relation to ethnic minorities in this speech, especially amongst Labour Members of Parliament, but noticeably, amongst Labour BME Members of Parliament representing ethnically diverse constituencies. From this sample, we can see that there are more references to ethnic minority "communities" from BME Members of Parliament than for other collocates of ethnic. In Chapter 3, I found that "community" was being used by BME Members of Parliament to refer to the Muslim population and had the effect of framing the Muslims as a cohesive community. Baker et al. (2008) had similar findings, when they

looked at the representation of Muslims in the British Press. They found that the term "Muslim community" is used to refer, usually uncritically, to a large concentration of Muslims or to British Muslims generally.

Table 4-5 shows the collocates of "community" in the sampled speech. These are words that are co-located in the text and give an idea of how community is being discussed. Those in bold relate specifically to ethnic minorities in the UK. Thus, we can see that Labour Members of Parliament and those representing ethnically diverse seats are speaking proportionally more about minority communities.

TABLE 4-5 COLLOCATES OF "COMMUNITY" IN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT SPEECH. ORDERED BY SALIENCY IN THE TEXT.

Labour	Deprived, **diverse**, **muslim**, local, **mixed**, **minority**, **ethnic**, rural, international, coastal, flood-hit, lgbt, cumbrian, **indian**, poor, small, fishing, whole, wide, entire, business, industrial, steel, sustainable, west
Conservative	International , local, **muslim**, rural, economic, research, business, fishing, force, farming, coastal, medical, jewish, armed, deprived, whole, **diverse**, European, entire, science, world, host, **faith**, **minority**, scientific
High ethnic density	Deprived, **minority**, **ethnic**, **mixed**, force, **diverse**, host, disadvantaged, **indian**, **faith**, armed, local, international, **BME**, solid, poor, **muslim**, coastal, whole, fishing, entire, business, wide, strong, world
Low ethnic density	International, local, **muslim**, coastal, fishing, island, business, research, farming, diverse, economic, whole, entire, jewish, wide, scientific, small, medical, European, polish, **minority**, **ethnic**, science, world

Note: those in bold are directly referencing ethnic minorities.

The analysis from this sample of texts offers evidence in support of this use of "community" to describe ethnic groups in popular discourse. In the corpus of parliamentary speech, the term "community" is used uncritically to refer to broad groups of ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom. The word "community" in relation to ethnic minorities is used proportionally more by Labour Members of Parliament and those representing ethnically

diverse constituencies than by Conservative Members of Parliament or those in less ethnically diverse seats. The use of this word is also linked to the previous point, as it is sometimes tied to welfare, as we can see in the quote below from Shabana Mahmood a BME Labour Member of Parliament, here she refers to the effect of tax cuts on ethnic minority communities. Grouping ethnic minorities as a community is more of a feature of BME Members' of Parliament speech, and it is interesting that it is used in these instances, as we know that not all ethnic minorities will be affected by tax credit cuts or welfare cuts. Instead, as was shown in Chapter 3, framing of ethnic minorities as a community or communities has the effect of bolstering the group and groups of people, giving a sense that this is a homogenous group which is large enough that Parliament should be paying attention to the issues which affect them.

"we already know from what we saw over the last Parliament that women are disproportionately affected when the Government start to cut tax credits, as are black and minority ethnic communities."
 Shabana Mahmood (Labour, Birmingham Ladywood)

The use of this language to bolster or tie these groups together has appeared a lot in my analysis in this chapter and the previous chapter, this suggests that these Members of Parliament are highlighting the similarities of the groups, or the shared interests of the groups as a way of representing them. In Chapter 6 I explore in more detail this idea of shared experiences and linked fate as a way of binding sometimes diverse, minority groups together for the purpose of representation.

Conclusion

This type of study helps reveal the way the issues that concern ethnic minorities are framed and who is discussing them in parliamentary debates. This chapter explores the concept of critical actors. Building on Chapter 3, I am moving to look at representatives who substantively represent ethnic minorities without approaching the analysis from the assumption that descriptive representatives will substantively represent ethnic minorities. Instead, I open this up to include potentially all Members of Parliament. The method and software that I use reflects this different approach as I explore how minorities are spoken about within each group, rather than conducting a keyword comparison. This chapter is largely exploratory, aiming to show that there is merit in looking at substantive representation from this perspective and fits within the larger thesis as one way of "getting at" the complex question of substantive representation.

Overall the results offer evidence in support of all three hypotheses. I find that non-BME *and* BME Members of Parliament are talking about ethnic minorities, positively, and addressing issues relating to them. However, those doing so, who are Labour Members of Parliament, are proportionally more likely to be BME and also represent ethnically diverse constituencies. Amongst Conservative Members of Parliament, the pattern is not the same; there are no Conservative BME Members of Parliament speaking about ethnic minorities and no Members of Parliament who represent ethnically diverse seats spoke of minorities either. Interestingly, Conservative Members of Parliament were also more likely to speak about ethnic minorities abroad than were Labour Members of Parliament.

Further to this, the discourse on ethnic minorities differs between these groups. The focus on ethnic minority communities and the disadvantages they face are more strongly represented in the discourse of Labour Members of Parliament and those in ethnically diverse seats.

Amongst Conservative Members of Parliament, the focus is on different aspects such as background. There is evidence, therefore, of a compound effect of these motivations. We see that most of the mentions of ethnic minorities are from Labour, BME Members of Parliament representing ethnically diverse constituencies, although there is evidence also of those non-descriptive representatives within the Labour Party and those in the Conservative Party who have no such motivation. It should be noted here that these results appear at least in part to be driven by the government and opposition relationship. The nature of Labour's recent opposition has been criticisms of the Government's record on welfare cuts for those most in need, exemplified by the keyword defining the scope of the Labour Members of Parliament's speech (see Appendix table B-2). Additionally, some of the Conservative Members of Parliament will be restricted by virtue of being in government and in the cases where they do speak, although they are speaking about them positively are talking about the Government's policies such as meeting targets for recruitment and policies for ethnic minorities in schools.

In order to conduct this analysis, I have had to operationalize substantive representation quite broadly as Members of Parliament who simply mention ethnic minorities. This is because of the constraints of the data as there are so few mentions of ethnic minorities in the sample. However, this chapter still contributes to understanding of substantive representation as it is the first study to test empirically the concept of critical actors and, although it reveals some interesting patterns, in line with the normative assumptions of what we would expect from these actors. The results also show, alongside Chapter 3, the relative methodological merits of looking at a more focused sample of speech, or debate. The findings reflect the nature of general debates in the House of Commons, few of which are specifically related specifically to ethnic minority issues. A conclusion that can be drawn is that although corpus linguistic methods can be valuable in identifying framing and discourse patterns, this is most useful in contexts where ethnic minorities are more salient. To this end, in the future

this type of analysis would be best directed towards using specific debates, such as in Chapter 3 or other parliamentary activities, such as written questions which has proven useful before (Saalfeld & Bischof 2013) where one can really focus in on the discourse employed by Members of Parliament.

Chapter 5.   Discrimination in the responsiveness of Members of Parliament to ethnic minority constituents: Evidence from an experimental study

In a democracy, Members of Parliament should be responsive to their constituents, treating them in a non-discriminatory manner. Responsiveness is important in three ways; practically, both addressing and representing the concerns of constituents and symbolically, legitimizing the democratic process. Although there are many studies of UK parliamentary representation, there is less information on the responsiveness of MPs to constituents from different ethnic backgrounds. This email experiment conducted in the lead up to the 2015 General Election used black African and white British aliases to ask MPs how to register to vote. The black African constituent received fewer responses, was less likely to receive information that was useful for registration, and received responses that were less welcoming in tone. This has clear implications for the process of communication between MPs and constituents and the broader issue of ethnic minority discrimination and representation.

Introduction

Communication with parliamentary representatives is a fundamental aspect of a healthy democracy; it allows citizens to present them with the issues and concerns that matter to them and to enable Members of Parliament to represent them effectively in parliament and elsewhere. The process of communicating with Members of Parliament provides a direct link between the constituent and those they have democratically elected. Thus, it is essential that those who are already marginalised do not encounter further discrimination when they interact with those in institutions designed to represent them and that they can access their representatives in Parliament in a way that is open and equal.

Representation is important for all constituents; we all expect our elected representative, in the UK, our Member of Parliament, to represent the interests of us as constituents, and be *responsive* to us. The responsiveness of a Member of Parliament is important in three ways. First, practically, because it gives the constituent an answer to a question they have asked or a point they have raised. Second, because it brings the issue to the attention of the Member of Parliament helping them to understand their constituents' needs better. Thirdly, and symbolically, it sends a message to the constituent that their elected representative, their link to Parliament, is responsive to them. In this chapter I look at the issue of ethnic minority substantive representation, taking a different approach to the previous chapters, by looking at it through the concept of responsiveness-as-representation.

One of the potential barriers to high quality representation lies in the nature of the relationship between those being represented and those who represent. If this relationship is working correctly, then those who represent the citizen in Parliament are more likely to be equipped with the information they need to express accurately the views of their constituents or others they descriptively represent, which may be different. However, if the relationship is

not working correctly and the information cannot flow freely between each group, then it cannot be assumed that what is being represented in Parliament is an accurate representation of those whom the Members of Parliament claim to represent.

To explore the substantive representation of ethnic minorities in this way, in this chapter I examine the relationship between Members of Parliament and their constituents, as assessed by direct communication, by means of an experiment. I argue that direct communication is a crucial avenue through which constituents can voice their concerns, enabling Members of Parliament to represent them more effectively in Parliament. This was also prompted by evidence that ethnic minorities, specifically Black African constituents are less likely to be registered to vote and concerns that they face barriers in obtaining advice from their Members of Parliament.

The responsiveness of a representative is *especially* important for those who are already politically marginalised, such as ethnic minority constituents who are descriptively underrepresented in Parliament, and specifically black Africans, who have the lowest rates of voter registration of any ethnic group in the United Kingdom (Heath et al., 2013). This is concerning because registering to vote is a vital aspect of political participation in established democracies, for several reasons. First, it is the initial step in the act of political participation and one where there is a relatively low barrier to entry, recognising that more complex systems decrease registration and can especially affect those already politically marginalised (Norris, 2004). Second, voter registration figures are used to determine constituency boundaries. If specific groups are underrepresented it can reduce their electoral presence and power in when new constituency boundaries are created, a matter that is especially salient given the boundary reforms currently underway in the United Kingdom (Electoral Reform Society, 2016a). It is in the urban and socially deprived areas where this is the

greatest issue, areas in which a high proportion of the United Kingdom's ethnic minority population live. Third, voter registration gives Members of Parliament an indication of who is voting in their constituencies and, therefore, to whom they are electorally accountable. Members of are incentivised to act on behalf of those they anticipate will vote for them and support them (Shane, Thomas, & Kaare, 2014). As I have already shown the ethnic composition of the constituency, especially as regards BME Members of Parliament, is a factor influencing substantive representation. Thus, those that are not registered lack power in the current political system.

Members of Parliament are an obvious source of information on how to register to vote, and they expect to receive correspondence from their constituents on matters of constituency and Westminster politics. In a country in which non-discrimination is enshrined in law, all constituents should expect to have equal access to information from their Member of Parliament. However, there is a substantial body of research, including that on the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation that might lead one to suspect that responsiveness of Members of Parliament varies according to the ethnicity of the constituent, the characteristics of the representative, and other factors, such as the ethnic density of the constituency they represent.

In this study, I examine the issue of under-registration of ethnic minorities using an experiment to assess the responsiveness of Members of Parliament to their constituents, and whether this varies by ethnicity. The process of registering to vote for an election in the United Kingdom changed prior to the 2015 General Election, with adoption of the Individual Electoral Registration (IER) system, whereby instead of registering households, individuals are responsible for registering themselves. There have been concerns that this would lead to an underrepresentation of ethnic minorities on the register, who have been referred to as the

"missing millions", exacerbating the known issue of under registration in this population (James, 2014).

This experiment involves emailing Members of Parliament from two aliases, one with a name suggesting a white British and the other a black African constituent, asking about how to register to vote in the upcoming election. This design makes it possible to assess the experience that a real constituent would have, using almost the entire the population of Members of Parliament, making it possible to assess ethnic bias in a way that other studies of this topic have so far not been able to do in the United Kingdom.

The subject of the email was a question about how to register to vote. The rationale for choosing such a question is fourfold. First, a question necessitates a response, as opposed to simply relaying some information. It requires a reply if the sender's issue is to be resolved, thus allowing responsiveness to be measured by the scale and nature of the replies. Second, a question about registering to vote implies nothing else about the sender; registering to vote is something that people of all social backgrounds will be required to do and so there is no risk of capturing inadvertently something other than the influence of ethnicity on the responses, as would be the case with, say, a question about welfare benefits. Third, and crucially, the individual will not already be on the electoral register, thus limiting the likelihood that the alias will be discovered. Fourth, the timing of this study was designed to coincide with the lead up to the 2015 General Election, when the rules on how to register to vote changed so that individuals were responsible for registering themselves. Thus, Members of Parliament should be aware of the difficulties that many constituents might face. Finally, ethnic minority voter registration in the UK is very low, particularly amongst black Africans (Heath et al., 2013), as highlighted as a problem during the last parliament (PCRC, 2014) so the registration changes could mean that already marginalised BME constituents will be less

likely to register because of lack of information, amongst other reasons. Consequently, the question chosen was particularly salient in the months before the 2015 election and for BME constituents.

This study finds that while constituents can obtain relevant information on voter registration from their Member of Parliament, constituents identifiable as Black Africans are disadvantaged compared to white British constituents in both the number of replies and the content of the responses.

Responsiveness–as-representation

Studies seeking to unpack the complex concept of representation, specifically the link between descriptive representatives and substantive representation, have looked at different types of representation and representative's actions. This includes policy responsiveness in the House of Commons or other legislative forums (Chaney, 2015), whether Members of Parliament table questions that are substantively important to specific groups (Saalfeld, 2011; Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012), and the discourses of Members of Parliament in debates (Bird, 2010). While important, these are limited to what happens within the legislature. Rather less attention has been given to the representation of the individual constituent and the relationship between constituent and representative, especially amongst those from minority groups. This process typically takes place within constituencies, thus studies of what happens in legislatures cannot easily be extrapolated. Whichever way it is measured, it is intuitive that high quality substantive representation of minorities requires that representatives are responsive to their constituents, it is through this avenue that they will be more aware of their constituents needs and concerns. An experimental study in the USA found that descriptive representatives, i.e. those from the same ethnic background as the constituent, were more responsive to their co-ethnic constituents, and this held true even

when controlling for partisan bias (Butler & Broockman, 2011). Yet, little is known about what ethnic minority constituents in the United Kingdom experience when contacting their representative, including the quality of the information they get and the tone of the response.

The responsiveness of representatives has been a core element of the concept of political representation since the seminal work of Hanna Pitkin, defining political representation as "acting in the interest of the represented in a manner *responsive* to them"(Pitkin, 1967). Yet whilst Pitkin notes the importance of responsiveness, it is less clear how it can be operationalized. In Eulau and Karps (1977) conceptualisation of "responsiveness as representation" they included four components; policy responsiveness, allocation responsiveness, symbolic responsiveness and service responsiveness. The last is of particular interest as it is exhibited by Members of Parliament through their direct contact with their constituents, primarily in their constituency casework, including writing or emailing, helping them with their problems and holding constituency surgeries that members of the public can attend. This form of responsiveness directly refers to this relationship between the constituent and the representative. An analysis of service responsiveness , in the setting in which representatives have their main interaction with constituents, can provide an important insight into "representation in action" (Morlino, 2004) and is a frame though which a link between descriptive and substantive representation of ethnic minorities can be assessed further. Service responsiveness can include what is often referred to as "case work" for representatives, including writing to constituents, helping them with problems and, in the UK, attending constituency surgeries to interact with them. It is in this way that responsiveness tell us a lot about political representation, indeed it has been stated that responsiveness is "representation in action" (Morlino, 2004 20).

Authors that have looked at the responsiveness of representatives include Butler and Broockman (2011) in their previously mentioned experimental study in the USA, from which I have taken inspiration for the analysis in this chapter. Outside of the this field of study, correspondence testing, as this experimental methodology is widely referred to, has been used successfully to expose various other forms of discrimination in housing and employment markets, including gender discrimination and ethnic discrimination (Ahmed & Hammarstedt, 2008; Esmail & Everington, 1993; Hanson, Hawley, & Taylor, 2011; Riach & Rich, 1987; Wood, Hales, Purdon, Sejersen, & Hayllar, 2009). Yet, despite the success of these methods in other subject areas, there are only a handful of studies that have looked at political discrimination (Butler & Broockman, 2011; Habel & Birch, 2014; Southern, 2014). Arguably, there is a strong case for doing so to determine whether Members of Parliament are discriminating on grounds of ethnicity when responding to their constituents and which other factors influence this relationship.

Responsiveness-as-representation is important for researchers of political representation looking within the UK system to see how Members of Parliament are interacting with their constituents and, importantly whether this is influenced by the ethnicity of either the representative or the represented. The system of government, much like the American system where some of the previous research is based, functions as a deliberative democracy. Therefore, marginalised groups must be present to take part, as some would argue, for representation to be fair and just (Mansbridge, 1999; Phillips, 1995). To do this, these groups must be "free to define their interests" (Tate, 2001 627) and thus, they must be able to access their representatives.

Descriptive and substantive representation

The main argument for exploring the responsiveness of representatives rests on the assumption of a link between descriptive and substantive representation, so that descriptive representatives, those that share similar background characteristics, are best placed to represent substantively those who are politically marginalised. As I explained in Chapter 2, in Phillips' book "the Politics of Presence" she argues in favour of this idea, suggesting that those who descriptively represent are best placed to carry through with them into the political arena the shared experiences with those they descriptively represent *(Phillips, 1995)*. This is important, as it is these experiences, which need to be heard, which will shape how descriptive representatives act, in ways that those who are not from this group cannot. Consequently, these experiences will add to the political debate, improving the quality of deliberation in Parliament. However, this rests on the assumption that there are inherent differences between people who do or do not share experiences. In the context of ethnic minority representation, this could be the shared experience of exposure to discrimination, or the barriers which minorities face in higher education or the job market. Thus, one might argue that a representative who has not had these experiences cannot effectively understand and thus represent the voices of those who have. This not only assumes that ethnic minorities have specific shared experiences but that also ethnic minorities have distinct values or opinions that would require them to be distinctly represented in Parliament. Heath et al., (2013) in their analysis of the British Election Study (BES), found significant differences in the importance that BME and non-BME British respondents placed on various topical issues, but also that there were differences amongst ethnic minority groups. What is convincing is that there is potential for a link between the descriptive and substantive representation of ethnic minorities.

Yet a direct link between descriptive and substantive representation has been challenged empirically in recent years by studies exploring other mechanisms which may influence this relationship, including other characteristics of representatives (Saalfeld, 2011; Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012) and their motivation or ability to represent (Childs & Krook, 2009). On the other hand, there is evidence to support this link. For example, Saalfeld and Bischof found that minority ethnic Members of Parliament were more likely to table questions relating to the problems and rights of ethnic minorities in the UK and on immigration (Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012), but this is also influenced by other factors. For these reasons, we might expect to find that BME Members of Parliament are more responsive to co-ethnic constituents, and would thus be more likely to reply to a black African constituent. We might also expect to find that non-minority Members of Parliament would be more likely to respond to a white British constituent. This leads to the first hypothesis:

H_1. Members of Parliament are more likely to be responsive to their co-ethnic constituents.

Electoral Incentives

Although the main argument for looking at the responsiveness of representatives rests on the assumptions outlined above, it is necessary to take account of other institutional factors that may impact on the responsiveness of representatives. One is the electoral incentive that Members of Parliament will inevitably wish to consider, which have been outlined in Chapter 2. We know that legislators will pursue a variety of goals, taking on different roles in the legislature and we know that their inclination to pursue these various goals will differ (Searing, 1994). However, all elected legislators face the reality of seeking re–election, a precondition to achieving other legislative goals. Representatives will therefore engage in pre-emptive behaviour because, as Mansbridge notes, representation is to a large extent

"anticipatory". Thus, legislators will, between elections, act in a way which they believe voters will reward at the next election (Mansbridge, 2003).

Legislators can pursue personal vote-seeking behaviour by working in the interests of their constituents and identifying themselves as someone who works for them, taking part in activities which they believe constituents will reward (Mayhew, 1974). Despite some characteristics of the Westminster system which may give Members of Parliament less incentive to cultivate a personal vote, i.e. the strong party system and safe constituencies, there is evidence that they do engage in personal vote seeking behaviour and thus are motivated by electoral incentives (Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012). This requires Members of Parliament to direct their finite resources, including time and their staff, to activities that they believe will be most likely to achieve re-election. One such consideration that Members of Parliament may consider, in this context, is the ethnic make-up of their constituency. Saalfeld and Bischof (2012), for example, found in their analysis of Prime Minister's Questions that Members of Parliament who had a higher proportion of ethnic minorities in their constituencies were more likely to table questions on ethnic minority issues.

We know that Members of Parliament seek to show that they are responsive to their constituency needs, as many now report their parliamentary activity online, listing the questions they have raised and their involvement in debates and committee meetings. Yet, even before the internet, Franklin and Norton reported that 82% of Members of Parliament reported sending reports of their parliamentary activity to the local press (Franklin & Norton, 1993). These activities signal that Members of Parliament are aware of these electoral considerations. The motivation of Members of Parliament to respond to electoral incentives is not directly tangible, however we can observe Members of Parliament' personal vote seeking behaviour by looking at their constituency case work (Strøm, 1997) which

should usually be free from partisan constraints. Consequently, we would expect, based on electoral considerations, that Members of Parliament with a higher proportion of ethnic minorities in their constituency would be more responsive to a black African constituent. Additionally we know from Searing's (1994) typology of legislative roles that we can expect Members of Parliament to be motivated differently when it comes to being a constituency representative, however the question in the email that was sent was designed to be simple enough so as to not be influenced by this, and that all Members of Parliament regardless of their constituency preference would be motivated to answer the question.

Another consideration is the marginality of the Member of Parliament's seat (Converse & Pierce, 1986). A representative of a safe seat might feel that they have more freedom to conduct activities that do not represent the wishes of their constituents than has a representative of a marginal seat. This is particularly important for this study as we conducted the experiment during the campaign for the General Election. However, amongst those who have tested this, results have been mixed. Those who have looked at the United Kingdom have found evidence that those in marginal seats were more orientated towards constituency casework (Cain, Ferejohn, & Fiorina, 1984) and that incumbents receive the benefits of a personal vote because of the work they have already done on behalf of their constituents (P Norton & Wood, 1993). Thus, it makes sense to consider seat marginality alongside other electoral incentives in this study. Representatives of safe seats will have less incentive to act to gain votes than those who represent marginal seats. Therefore, I expect that whether the Member of Parliament represents a seat that is safe or marginal will have some impact on their responsiveness to their constituents. This leads to hypothesis 2 and 3;

H_2. Members of Parliament with a higher ethnic minority proportion of constituents will be more likely to respond to a black African constituent.

H$_3$ Those representing marginal seats will be more likely to respond to both constituents.

Party differences

A further institutional factor is the presence of party differences; this links to the strong role of party ideology and discipline in modern democratic institutions, something particularly important in the United Kingdom. These differences can have a mediating effect on substantive representation by disrupting the link between descriptive representatives and substantive representation (Bird, 2010). Taking cues from the feminist literature on female representation, which has looked at the intersectional nature of class, political party and ethnicity on the values and actions of female representatives (Young, 1997), I also consider the effects of the Political party of the Member of Parliament on their responsiveness to ethnic minority constituents.

The Labour Party, for example, has traditionally been the party of choice for ethnic minority voters (Heath et al., 2013) and has in the past paid the most attention to ethnic minority issues (Chaney, 2015), although there is evidence that this is shifting (British Future, 2015). Therefore, one would expect that Labour Members of Parliament would be most aware of the issues of under-registration of ethnic minorities and would be more likely to respond to the black African constituent. Studies finding evidence of partisan bias intersecting with ethnicity include Saalfeld and Bischof's (2012) study of Prime Minister's Questions (PMQs) in the UK, which found that Labour Members of Parliament were more likely to table questions on minority issues. Black and Hicks' (2006) study of candidates in the Canadian federal election found that candidates' attitudes to ethnic minority issues were more strongly correlated with partisan bias than whether the candidate was themselves from an ethnic minority. However, there must be consideration of the possibility of conflation with the ethnic density of a Member of Parliaments' seat and their party as, in the UK, Labour

Members of Parliament tend to represent more ethnically diverse constituencies, although this is changing. It is, however, something that must also be considered in the analysis.

This gives rise to hypothesis 4;

H_4. Members of Parliament from the Labour Party will be more responsive to a black African constituent.

The experimental research method and ethical considerations

Observational studies are common in the literature on parliamentary behaviour, with authors attempting to disentangle the relationship between constituents' preferences, representatives' behaviour and parliamentary or policy outcomes. However, these methods have not yet been able to address all aspects of responsiveness of representatives, a key issue in political representation. Experimental studies have been used to determine the responsiveness of various groups or institutions and can assess how individuals really respond to requests and reveal some of the mechanisms underlying responsiveness. In other words experimental studies can help to shed light on the "mundane realism" of how representatives actually behave (Druckman, Leeper, & Mullinix, 2014), which we cannot easily capture using other types of studies. If we want to know what Members of Parliament might do then surely, the best way to find this out is to determine, wherever possible, what they actually do?

A great example of an experimental study being used to determine the responsiveness of elected representatives is Butler and Broockman's field experiment, which showed how state legislators in the United States responded to their constituents' requests (Butler &

Broockman, 2011). They sent emails to state legislators asking "how to register to vote for the upcoming election" and randomised the emails so that the legislators received an email from either a black or white alias. They found that the black constituent received fewer replies and that this held even after controlling for partisan bias. They were able to show that white legislators from both parties were less likely to respond to a black constituent than a white constituent.

Despite the success of Butler and Broockman's study, the use of experimental designs to analyse responsiveness is rarely used in legislative studies in the United Kingdom, despite being widely used in other fields. These *correspondence studies* involve sending identical correspondence with only one or a few characteristics of the sender being altered. These have been used successfully to expose ethnic and sexual discrimination in various contexts including the housing market (Ahmed & Hammarstedt, 2008; Hanson et al., 2011) and the labour market (Esmail & Everington, 1993; Noon, 1993; Riach & Rich, 1987; Wood et al., 2009), finding that ethnic minorities were disadvantaged in the labour market, for example when randomly assigned CVs were sent, differing only in the ethnicity of the sender. Correspondence testing is now a readily accepted experimental research method in other fields of research; with David Cameron, the former Prime Minister for the United Kingdom citing CV correspondence testing in his 2015 Conservative Party Conference speech as an example of ethnic discrimination and as evidence supporting his call to make university applications (UCAS) anonymous.

This type of experimental study is well suited to the study of political representation as Members of Parliament are well used to communicating with their constituents. Since the earlier work of Searing (1994), who identified a significant group of Members of Parliament who primarily focused on constituency work, subsequent studies have indicated that

constituency work has become a much greater part of Members of Parliament day to day work and that responsiveness to constituents is being recognised by researchers and Members of Parliament as being vital to their popularity (Philip Norton, 2012; Ward & Lusoli, 2005). Casework can be a way for representatives to cultivate relationships with their constituents, which can be enhanced by their use of the internet (Jackson & Lilleker, 2009; Philip Norton, 2007). Modern Members of Parliament are increasingly seeing casework and communicating directly with their constituents as positively affecting their electoral outcomes and are seeing this constituency service, including holding more surgeries, as an increasingly important part of their role as representatives (O. Gay, 2005).

Constituents are also demanding more from their Member of Parliament. A recent Hansard Society report linked technological advances to the demand for improved communication between constituents and Members of Parliament. They pointed to how the internet and email as well as, more recently, social media outlets such as Twitter were effectively "shrinking distance" and changing our expectation of contact with our Members of Parliament (Williamson, 2009). Whilst this shrinking can also be seen globally, within Parliament we can see that constituents are demanding more from their Members of Parliament on online platforms, including e-petitions (change.org, 38degrees) and email (including websites which allow you to search for your Member of Parliament and send them a pre-prepared email) (Hansard Society, 2016). The most recent Hansard Society Audit of Political Engagement found that contacting their Member of Parliament was the most popular way their respondents said they would engage with Parliament (Hansard Society, 2016). These same technological shifts give Members of Parliament the chance to improve their communication and achieve an increasingly direct line to their constituents. Thus, the Internet is being used extensively as a tool for communication and political campaigning, linking Members of Parliament directly to their constituents.

The Hansard Society report looked at Members of Parliaments' attitudes towards these changes, and showed that Internet-based exchanges with constituents are now a part of their everyday life (Williamson, 2009). Email contact is not only a recognised way of communicating but also a very useful way for constituents to get their point directly to their Member of Parliament or their constituency office. This chapter looks exclusively at the relationship based on email, which is likely to be the most frequently used online means of communication between Members of Parliament and their constituents. The Hansard report suggests that it is reasonable to assume that a clear majority of Members of Parliament and their staff are already well used to communicating through email so one would expect to see relatively high response rates. This provides the justification for using this medium to contact Members of Parliament in this experiment.

However, despite the increasing use of email communication between constituents and their representatives, when approaching this type of research design, we must recognise that there is a challenge in determining how we can apply existing deontological ethical principles of our existing and accepted research designs to this experimental methodology whilst still upholding the inviolable principles of consent and anonymity as well as consideration of the burden placed on the subject. I will now briefly address the ethical issues, which were considered for this experiment, there is a further discussion of this in the appendix.

Ethical considerations

A key consideration that researchers using the internet and online sources have to consider is whether the data is considered to be public or private (McKee, 2013). Whilst personal correspondence would usually be seen as private information, the public role that Members of Parliament occupy means that this information can be considered public, especially if the correspondent who is not the public figure agrees, and in this case they are not a real person.

Furthermore, Members of Parliament are, more than most other professions, used to a high level of transparency, with their actions being publicly scrutinised. A further point to consider is the content of the email, as the correspondence was not dealing with sensitive information; asking about how to register to vote requires only that the Member of Parliament pass on information that is already readily available elsewhere so the information is not sensitive. Another consideration is the anonymity of the Member of Parliament. Those who are working with social media data have similar concerns about anonymity and gaining consent (McKee, 2013) from their subjects. I have taken appropriate steps to anonymise the data; including collapsing the smaller parties into one group and avoiding any quotation from the email correspondence. Additionally, the files which hold the collected data are anonymised and the email accounts password protected

Yet another consideration is the burden placed on Members of Parliament. These are public officials who have a responsibility to those constituents who have real and pressing issues so one cannot impose an undue burden on their time for a study. Thus, it was important that the question asked could be easily, and quickly answered. Most emails were responded to within a day, supporting the use of a simple question in this type of experiment. Finally, and importantly there was the consideration of the use of aliases and deception when contacting Members of Parliament. One approach would have been to access real constituents living in the constituencies, as although it is not a legal stipulation, there is a convention that Members of Parliament only communicate with their own constituents on constituency issues. However, I do not have access to actual constituents living in constituencies across the UK and this would have created further ethical and practical complications; it would be problematic to use a real person who might want to contact their Member of Parliament in the future or who might be placed on a mailing list or recorded in another way by the Members of Parliament office. Additionally, it would add a practical obstacle as the real constituent would have to pass any responses on. Therefore, emails were used to contact

Members of Parliament, avoiding the need to provide a home address, while enabling the use of aliases instead of real constituents. Similar issues have been considered in other studies (Ahmed & Hammarstedt, 2008; Butler & Broockman, 2011; Weichselbaumer, 2003). Using aliases for the experimental study minimised the number of research participants and, by keeping the treatment names constant, it ensured a high level of internal validity.

The challenge is to find the balance between the benefits of the realism obtained by studying legislators, the unique insights and validity that these experiments provide, avoiding social desirability bias, and the ethical considerations that must be addressed. After consideration of these issues, ethical approval was granted by the University of Manchester in October 2014. It was argued that this experimental study provided unparalleled insight into the behaviour of legislators, which would be impossible to gauge through surveys or other types of observational studies. Only by engaging directly with the legislator as a "real" constituent could one be privy to the actual behaviours of these representatives and it was agreed that the relevant ethical and confidentiality safeguards had been incorporated.

Experimental design

To test for differences in responses to ethnic minorities and white British constituents, Members of Parliament were randomly allocated to one of two groups, each to be sent an email from one of two constituents. 468 Members of Parliament were included from across England, Wales, and Scotland,[23] representing constituents where over 2.5% of the population reported being from an ethnic minority background (based on 2011 Census data). This defined constituencies with a 'presence' of ethnic minorities and was adopted to minimise the risk of Members of Parliament discovering that the senders were not real. The sample in

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[23] Northern Ireland was not included because of a mixture of low ethnic density and complicated existing race relations issues

this study therefore represents the whole population of all Members of Parliament representing seats with a BME presence. Thus, as no inference is made about how these results scale up from a sample to a larger population, one can "refrain from calculating statistics relevant only to inference from samples to a population" *(McCloskey & Ziliak, 1996 ; Ziliak & McCloskey, 2008,p 80)*. The population sample used in this chapter therefore does not require significance testing, the conditions of population data violates the conditions under which significance testing is appropriate (Johnson, 1999; McCloskey & Ziliak, 1996; Ziliak & McCloskey, 2008). I should however answer to Rubin's (1985) concern of results of subgroups being by chance. This concern is dealt with as the recipients of email were randomly allocated whether they would receive an email from the black African or white British constituent, additionally the study looks at more than just the response rates, including usefulness of the information and the tone and cordiality of the responses. Thus the differences in response rate are backed up by further evidence. Finally I make sure to note that due to the nature of the population sample of MPs, I make no greater inference about how these results scale up to another population.

The names chosen were Robert Davies, representing the white British constituent and Emmanuel Kwambe representing the black African constituent[24]. In order to reinforce the ethnic identity of the sender the email addresses were created for these two names in the format "firstname.surname@email.com" so that the marker of the sender's ethnicity, the name, was present in both the email address and in the email signature[25] (Figure 5-1). As mentioned previously, I ran the study in the run up to the 2015 General Election when there was still time for constituents to register to vote but there was also some urgency in receiving

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[24] See Appendix for more detail on choosing the names
[25] Whilst trying to minimise the risk of anything other than ethnic bias being measured, by not suggesting any other characteristics of the constituent, I acknowledge that ethnicity may act as a proxy for partisanship, as Africans in the UK predominantly vote Labour.

an answer as the deadline was approaching. Thus, I could be sure to collect all answers in a reasonable amount of time, with a clear cut off point, when registration closed. The emails were sent over 24 working days from February 20th until March 25th 2015. The voter registration deadline was April 20th 2015, so there were 25 days between the last emails being sent and the voter registration deadline. Emails were sent over this time to further minimise the risk of the experiment being discovered. The email addresses for the Members of Parliament were collected manually from their parliamentary profile page, or when not available, their personal website[26].

After the voter registration deadline had passed, after which no response could have been useful to the constituents, responses were collected. The responses were matched with secondary data that recorded the Member of Parliament's characteristics, including ethnic background and party, and their constituency characteristics[27]. I conducted logistic regressions using SPSS, separately for both aliases, controlling as appropriate for, ethnic density, political party and seat marginality, calculating predicted probabilities based on these outcomes[28]. The responses were assessed in various ways, including helpfulness, by categorising the information in terms of how easily it led to being able to register to vote. This ranged from being directed to one of the main government approved websites (aboutmyvote.co.uk, gov.uk/register-to-vote) through which they could fill in the registration form, to being given no discernible contact information, with intermediate values including being given the local council or electoral offices phone number or website or being given a phone number or email for someone else. In a minority of cases, the emails were passed on or they responded asking for confirmation that the sender was a constituent. In these cases, I

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[26] I considered sending emails via "write to them" a website dedicated to helping constituents contact their MP however there were concerns that sending this volume of emails through the website would be considered spam and therefore emails would be blocked. Additionally, by manually collecting the emails I could be sure that these were the most up to date contact details available to the public.

[27] Ethnic density is calculated from the 2011 Census and seat marginality prior to the election is taken from the Electoral Reform Society accessed here www.electoral-reform.org.uk/safe-seats

[28] Predicted probabilities are reported in this chapter, the full logistic regression results are available in the appendix

did not respond further. However, in some cases these emails were responded to later and I coded these separately. Using a pre-specified checklist, I analysed the tone of the emails, which has not been done before, looking at common words that indicate welcoming or enthusiasm. These included "welcome", "thanks", "thank you" and the use of "!". These are clear indicators of a more enthusiastic or welcoming tone which would have an impact on the experience of the constituent and, if their frequency varied in the responses to the black African and white British constituent, would be a further indication of subtle discrimination. By analysing the response rates, adjusting for various characteristics of the Member of Parliament and their constituency, as well as the tone and helpfulness of the responses this study is able to capture a much more detailed picture of the constituent experience. In addition, this study can identify evidence of both an obvious bias, as measured by response rates, and more subtle bias in the content and tone of the responses, which is harder to assess and, in many ways, easier for the responder to "get away with" but by no means less important in the story of ethnic bias in the responsiveness of representatives.

One potential limitation of this study is that although Members of Parliament have two primary foci of activity; legislation and interaction with constituents, they also have considerable freedom to choose how they allocate their time and resources (Jewell, 1982 149). This could affect responses if Members of Parliament choose, or by virtue of ministerial and other roles, are required to spend more time on work inside Parliament than on their constituency casework. Additionally, there is the obvious fact that not all Members of Parliament respond to their own correspondence and constituency office staff will reply on their behalf. However, by using random allocation, these characteristics, whether measurable or not, should be evenly divided between each group. Moreover, this mirrors the experience of an ordinary constituent contacting the same Member of Parliament. I do however note in the results whether the responses indicate, in the email signature, whether the Member of Parliament replied directly or not, as Southern (2014) does. This

experimental design benefits greatly from the fact that I sent emails to all Members of Parliament with an ethnic presence, that the question is easy to answer and salient and that the design allows us to measure the experience of real constituents contacting their representative.

Subject: A question about voting

Dear [Title] [MP's surname],

I have recently moved into your constituency and I was hoping that you could help me with a question. I am trying to work out how to register to vote for the upcoming election in May as I have heard that the registration process has changed and that the deadline might be soon. I don't want to miss out so can you tell me what do I need to do to register?

Best wishes

[Treatment name]

Note: Items in bold were modified when emails were sent

FIGURE 5-1. TEMPLATE OF EMAIL SENT TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Results

This first section reports response rates. These were calculated for both constituents and analysis includes consideration of other mechanisms that might influence responses, as outlined in the previous sections. Table 5-1 presents the response rates. They are further broken down by the ethnicity of the Member of Parliament. Firstly it should be noted that the response rate is very high at 88.5%, which might seem surprising given the short time frame and many other activities that Members of Parliament have to undertake, although it is consistent with another recent study (Habel & Birch, 2014) and with the initial premise that a short and easy question would facilitate more responses. BME Members of Parliament were 7.4% less likely than non-BME Members of Parliament to respond to any of the emails. Comparing responses between the two constituents, the results show that the black African

constituent received 3.4% fewer responses than the white British constituent. BME Members of Parliament were less likely to respond to the black African constituent than the white British constituent, although the actual numerical difference is small. 3 BME Members of Parliament did not respond to the black African constituent whilst 2 did not respond to the white British constituent, it is likely therefore that prior to the 2015 election the numbers of BME Members of Parliament are too small to be able to discern evidence of whether they are more likely to respond. Overall the results indicate that the black African constituent was less likely to receive a response.

TABLE 5-1 RESPONSE RATES BY MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT'S ETHNIC BACKGROUND

	All MPs	Non-BME MPs	BME MPs
	Yes	Yes	Yes
Black African	86.8%	87.3%	78.6%
	(203)	(192)	(11)
White British	90.2%	90.5%	84.6%
	(211)	(200)	(11)
Total	88.5%	88.9%	81.5%
	(414)	(392)	(22)

n=468

Chi-Square; Non-BME MPs 1.161, Sig 0.281

BME MPs 0.163 Sig 0.686

All MPs 1.340 Sig 0.247

Source: Original Author Survey 2015

Thus, although non-BME Members of Parliament were less likely to respond to the black African constituent than to their co-ethnic constituent, lending some support to the link between descriptive and substantive representation, these findings, while revealing that a black African is less likely to receive a response that their white British equivalent, reject hypothesis 1. BME Members of Parliament were both less likely to respond overall and less

likely to respond to the black African constituent. In the subsequent sections, results are adjusted as appropriate for confounding variables using logistic regression. A list of variables is in Appendix table C-2. For brevity, only summary results are presented in the main text but full results of the regressions are in the appendices.

Turning to hypotheses 2 and 3, recognising the potential correlation between ethnic density in a constituency and political party of the Member of Parliament, the logistic regression controlled for party, ethnic density, and seat marginality and the predicted probabilities are shown in Figure 5-2. The ethnic density of the constituency influences the responsiveness of Members of Parliament to each constituent differently. As ethnic density increases, the white British constituent becomes substantially less likely to receive a response whilst the responsiveness to the black African constituent is fairly consistent, only decreasing marginally as ethnic density increases. It is only at over 65% ethnic density that the black African constituent is more likely to receive a response that the white British constituent.
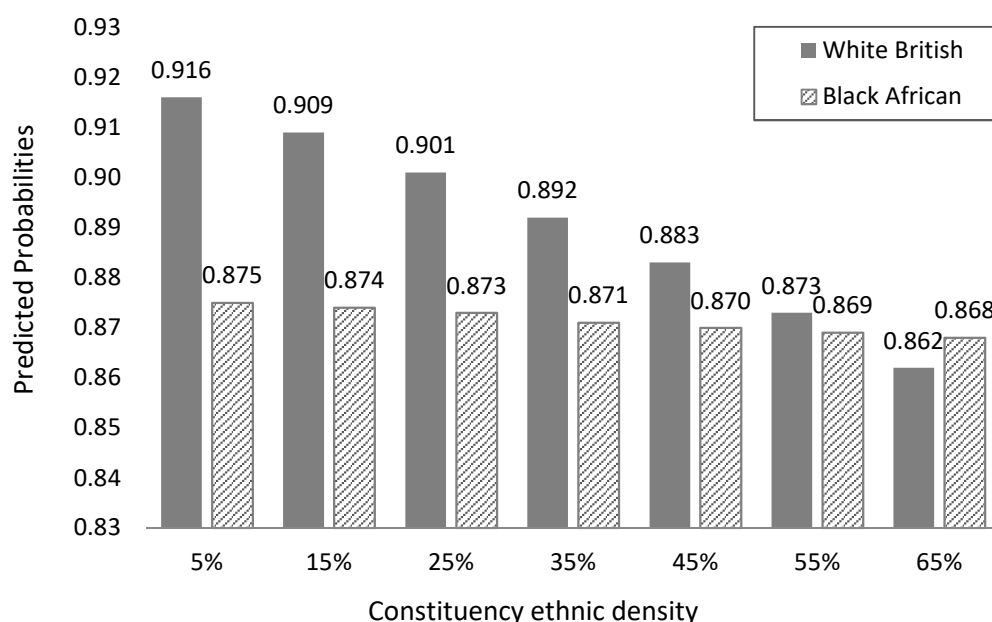
FIGURE 5-2 RESPONSES BY ETHNIC DENSITY, PREDICTED PROBABILITIES

This can be explored in more detail by examining the effect of adjusting for the political party of the Member of Parliament (Appendix Table C-6). This makes little difference[29]. The predicted probability, in the fully adjusted model, of the black African constituent receiving a response from a Conservative Member of Parliament is 0.834, which is lower than the predicted probabilities for a response from a Member of Parliament in any of the ethnic density categories. Consequently, the ethnicity of the constituent seems the predominant explanation for the difference in response rate. However, for the white British constituent there was a different story. The predicted probability of receiving a response from a Conservative Member of Parliament is higher than that from a Member of Parliament representing a seat with an ethnic minority population of over 25%. Below 25% this is not the case. Members of Parliament representing more ethnically homogenous white seats are more likely to respond than Conservative Members of Parliament in general, suggesting that the ethnic density of the constituency has more power to explain response rates to the white British constituent. This suggests that there may be an ethnic penalty for white constituents in ethnically diverse constituencies.

Hypothesis 3, which also draws on the electoral incentives model, involves examining the potential impact on responsiveness of the marginality of the Member of Parliament's seat, something particularly salient in the lead up to a General Election. Contrary to the predictions of H_3, those in safe seats were more likely to respond overall (Figure 5-3) Those in safe seats were also much more likely to respond to the white British constituent, whilst the pattern is reversed for those in marginal seats, who were more likely to respond to the black African constituent.

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[29] Pseudo R2 for the white British constituent changes from 0.0001-0.0009; for the black African constituent, it remains at 0.139. In the regression with both included, it changes from 0.0089 to 0.0091.
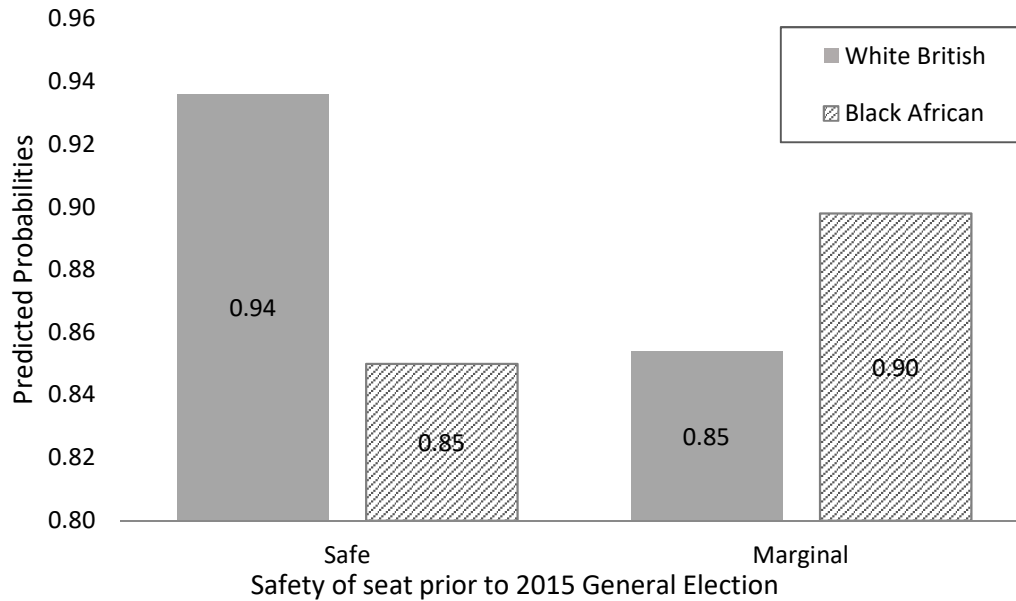
FIGURE 5-3 RESPONSES BY SAFETY OF SEAT PRIOR TO THE 2015 GENERAL ELECTION, PREDICTED PROBABILITIES

Source: Original Author Survey 2015

Figure 5-4 shows that the probability of responding to the black African constituent differs by political party of the Member of Parliament. The predicted probability of a response to the white British constituent by a Conservative Member of Parliament is 0.903 compared with that to the black African constituent at 0.834. In the unadjusted comparison, the difference in response rate to the black African and white British constituent jumps from 3.4% amongst all Members of Parliament to 6.3% amongst only Conservative Members of Parliament. Amongst Liberal Democrat Members of Parliament there is the opposite effect, with a 6.9% difference whereby the black African constituent receives more responses.
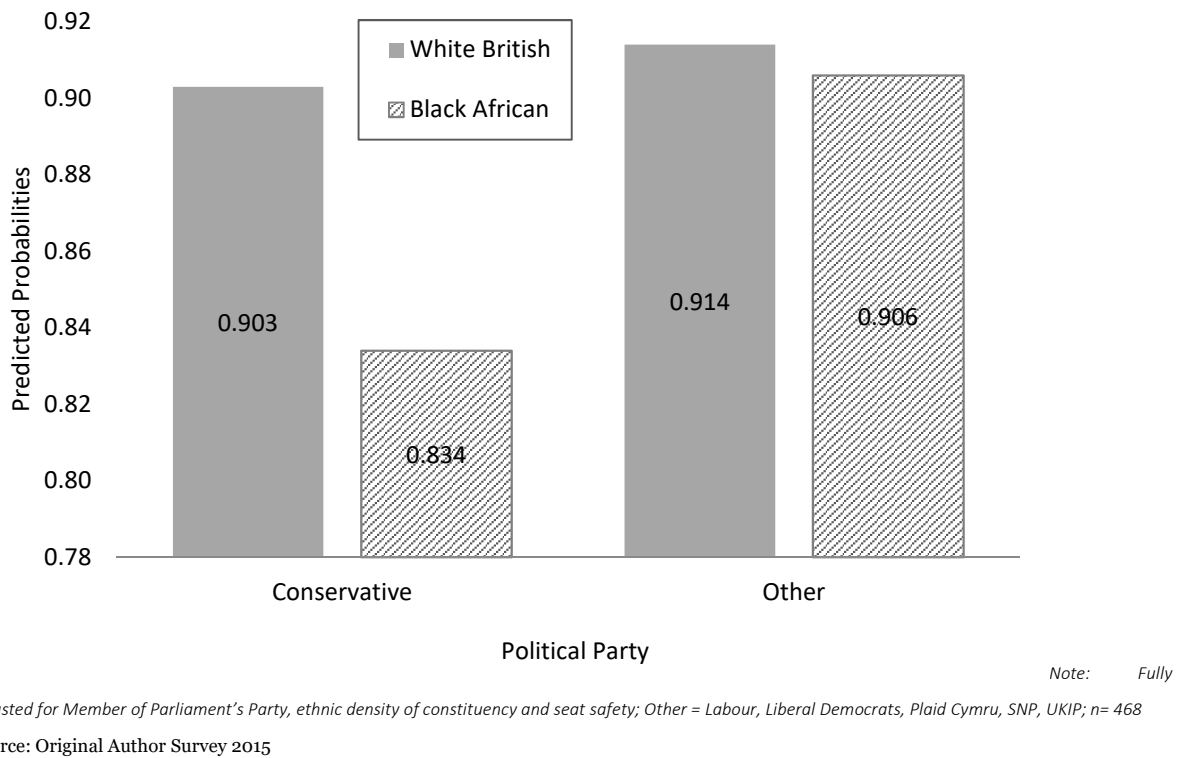
FIGURE 5-4 RESPONSES BY POLITICAL PARTY, PREDICTED PROBABILITIES

Moving beyond response rates, the following section examines more subtle aspects of responses that will influence the experience of a constituent contacting their Member of Parliament.

Table 5-2 shows the timeliness of the responses to the two constituents. Overall, 62% responded on the same day that the email was sent. However, Emmanuel, the black African constituent, was more likely to receive a reply the same day (all emails were sent before 12 noon); although as noted before he was also less likely to receive a response overall. Labour Members of Parliament responded substantially more quickly to the black African constituent than they did the white British constituent and quicker than the Conservative Members of Parliament did for either constituent.

TABLE 5-2 TIME IT TOOK FOR A RESPONSE; EMMANUEL AND ROBERT BY POLITICAL PARTY

		Same Day	1	2	3	4 or more days	No response
All Parties	Emmanuel	64.1%	11.1%	1.3%	3.8%	6.2%	13.7%
	Robert	60.3%	13.2%	4.7%	3.4%	8.5%	9.8%
Conservative	Emmanuel	59.2%	10%	1.7%	2.5%	10%	16.7%
	Robert	58.0%	15.1%	4.2%	4.2%	8.3%	10.1%
Labour	Emmanuel	70.2%	10.6%	1.1%	4.3%	1.1%	12.8%
	Robert	59.6%	10.6%	6.4%	3.2%	9.6%	10.6%
	Total (n)	291	57	14	17	34	55

n=468

Source: Original Author Survey 2015

The two constituents received responses of similar lengths, with the average length of responses to the white British constituent being 52 words and the black African constituent 51 words. However, as Table 5-3 shows, this does not mean that they received a similar quality of response to their query. Results are ordered from most useful, directed to a main website (shortest route to registering) to least useful, no information on where to look. The quality of the responses varied greatly and the white British constituent was far more likely to receive a reply directing them to one of the main websites (5% difference). It is concerning that responses to such a simple question should contain no discernible information on how to register, yet this was the case for some of the responses, one of which suggested that the constituent do an internet search for "how to register to vote". Emmanuel was twice as likely as Robert to receive replies such as this, which provided no contact information or contact for someone who could help.

Inevitably some replies asked the sender to confirm that they were a constituent or the email was passed on to someone they felt were better able to help with the question. As discussed in the methods section, these emails were not followed up but, in some cases, the email was responded to later either by the person it had been passed to or by the Member of Parliament

themselves or their office. These were coded separately but they also differed by constituent, following a similar pattern. The white British constituent was more likely to receive this type of response but Table 5-4 shows that the black African constituent was less likely to have these types of email followed up later.

TABLE 5-3 RESPONSE STATISTICS; INFORMATION GIVEN ON WHERE TO REGISTER TO VOTE

	Main website	Telephone or email for local council/ electoral office	Website for local council/ electoral office	No contact information	No response	Total
Emmanuel	58.3%	13.6%	8.5%	4.0%	15.6%	100%
Robert	63.3%	14.0%	9.7%	1.9%	11.1%	100%
Total	60.8%	13.8%	9.1%	3.0%	13.3%	100%
	247	56	37	12	54	406

n=406

Source: Original Author Survey 2015

TABLE 5-4 RESPONSE STATISTICS; INFORMATION GIVEN ON WHERE TO REGISTER TO VOTE

	Passed on/ asked for address with follow up	Passed on/ asked for address without follow up	Total
Emmanuel	25.7%	74.3%	100%
	9	26	35
Robert	29.6%	70.4%	100%
	8	19	27
Total	27.4%	72.6%	100%

n=62

Source: Original Author Survey 2015

Further analyses examined the quality of the responses, analysing the tone of the emails received. Table 5-5 shows the frequency of several common words widely acknowledged to indicate warmth and a welcoming tone. Overall, the black African constituent received more instances of "Thank you" and, although he received slightly less instances of the more informal "Thanks", he was overall thanked more often. However, the white British constituent was almost twice as likely to receive a response welcoming him to the

constituency. Furthermore, the white British constituent was more than twice as likely to receive a response with exclamation marks in it, which are a clear indication of a welcoming and warmer tone of email.

TABLE 5-5 RESPONSE STATISTICS: CORDIALITY MARKERS (PER CENT*)

	Emmanuel	Robert	Total
Thank you	63.1%	62.1%	259
Thanks	11.3%	4.2%	53
Welcome	10.8%	19.9%	64
!	4.9%	11.4%	34

n=468

*Per cent calculated as number of responses which contained a cordial maker divided by total responses

Source: Original Author Survey 2015

Discussion

This study of representation ethnic minorities in the British parliamentary system has several strengths. First, by using a randomised experimental design in which all parameters are kept constant except the identity of the constituent, it provides an unbiased estimate of the extent to which Members of Parliament discriminate between constituents of different ethnicities, thereby providing internal validity. Second, by including all Members of Parliament with an ethnic presence in their constituency, rather than a smaller and more select sample, it achieves a high level of external validity. Third, the collection of a range of other variables enables testing of a series of hypotheses based on electoral incentives and partisan bias. Fourth, it goes beyond response rates to include measures of the quality of the responses. Fifth conducting the study in the lead up to the General Election is important as not only should Members of Parliament be more focused at this time on their constituents who are voting for them but the issue of BME under-registration was particularly salient.

Finally, the high response rate gives confidence in the results. In these ways, this chapter provides new insights into substantive political representation of ethnic minorities in the UK.

There were also a number of limitations. First, although the "black African" name clearly identified the constituent as having that identity, the "white British" may have more nuanced connotations, although care was taken in the selection of names to avoid this and pre-testing suggested that those reading it were unlikely to draw this conclusion. Second, the study, of necessity given the small numbers of BME Members of Parliament, considers the BME population as homogenous. In reality, BME Members of Parliament are drawn from a number of ethnicities and religions and it is possible that some Members of Parliament, both from BME communities and white British, might have responded differently to other names, such as those identifiably Indian (e.g. Patel), Muslin (e.g. Mohamed), or Bangladeshi (e.g. Choudhury). Further research on the effect of other minority aliases is needed.

The main finding is that, while Members of Parliament are willing and able to respond to questions about registration from constituents, a constituent that is identifiably black African received fewer responses, containing useful information, and which were less welcoming and enthusiastic in tone.

I now look at each hypothesis in turn. The first hypothesis is that Members of Parliament are more likely to respond to constituents of the same ethnicity. There is some evidence to support this, in that non-BME Members of Parliament were more likely to respond to the apparently white constituent. However, BME Members of Parliament were not only less likely to respond overall but also were less likely to respond to the black African constituent than the white British constituent. Thus, hypothesis 1 can largely be rejected. The second

hypothesis is that Members of Parliament with a higher proportion of ethnic minority constituents will be more likely to respond to a black African constituent. This hypothesis is also rejected as there is little difference in the predicted response to the black African constituent by ethnic density. However, the analysis does yield an unexpected finding in terms of electoral incentives. The white British constituent was progressively less likely to receive a response as the ethnic density of the constituency increased, even accounting for the party of the Member of Parliament and the safety of the seat, suggesting something akin to a penalty for white constituents in an ethnically diverse constituency. However, the reasons are unclear and this is an issue that requires further investigation. The third hypothesis is that Members of Parliament in marginal seats will be more likely to respond. The analysis yields conflicting results, with the white British constituent more likely to receive a response in safe seats while the black African constituent is more likely to receive a response in a marginal constituency. The fourth hypothesis, based on literature showing that Labour Party Members of Parliament are more likely to substantively represent minorities, looks for evidence of partisan bias. Consistent with the hypothesis, Conservative Members of Parliament were less likely to respond to the black African constituent than the white British constituent but there was little difference in response rates with Labour Members of Parliament.

Considering electoral incentives, the analysis also looked at whether there was evidence that Members of Parliament representing a higher proportion of ethnic minorities would be more responsive. This was also useful because I acknowledge that there is the strong possibility of conflation between the political party of the Member of Parliament and the ethnic density of their seat, as the Conservative Party traditionally represents constituencies which are less ethnically diverse. By comparing the predicted probabilities in a fully adjusted logistic regression, I suggest that political party is a stronger factor in the responsiveness of Members of Parliament to the black African constituent but for the white British constituent

this is different. Instead Members of Parliament who represent predominantly white seats are more likely, overall, to respond, but that where Members of Parliament represent more ethnically diverse seats, the political party becomes a stronger factor. Specifically, they are more likely to get a response from a Conservative Member of Parliament. Interestingly then, there is little evidence for electoral incentives in terms of Members of Parliament rewarding ethnic minorities in seats where they constitute a larger proportion of the population. Instead there is some kind of ethnic penalty for white British constituents in ethnically diverse constituents which needs further analysis. Moreover, contrary to the predictions that those in safe seats are more likely to respond to the constituents over all, the black African constituent is substantially more likely to be responded to by a Member of Parliament in a marginal seat than in a safe seat; the opposite is the case for the white British constituent. Thus, there is conflicting evidence for the influence of electoral incentives on the responsiveness of Members of Parliament to the black African constituent, it is whether the seat is marginal or safe that has a greater impact on the responsiveness than the ethnic density of the constituency they are in.

This study also looks to the quality of the response and provides evidence that ethnic minority constituents do not receive the same level or quality of responsiveness from their Member of Parliament as a white constituent. The black African constituent was more likely to receive a response within the same day and, perhaps intuitively, when only Labour Members of Parliament are included, the distinction is more substantial. This is likely to reflect the greater awareness of Labour Members of Parliament of under-registration of ethnic minorities as well as a reflection of the more ethnically diverse seats that they represent. This is helpful in aiding our understanding of the difference in the responsiveness between political parties. Looking at the quality of the responses, the white constituent's replies contain more useful information and would make it easier for them to register to vote. They were more likely to be directed to the registration website, the most efficient way

to register to vote. In addition, there was evidence of discrimination in the tone of the emails that the black African constituent received compared to those of the white British constituent. The white British constituent was responded to more enthusiastically and the emails were more likely to welcome them into the constituency. However, the black African constituent was thanked, more often in the formal manner, and thus more often overall.

By looking at whether they received a reply, how quickly it was received, the usefulness of the information provided and the tone of the email, this experimental study has made it possible to analyse the whole experience of a constituent and reveal both the obvious and subtle manifestations of ethnic discrimination. It is important to take in to account these different forms of discrimination because, although Members of Parliament may feel compelled to respond to requests, they have far more control over the effort they put into getting useful information and providing it to the constituent and the tone of the response. Discrimination may well appear, as shown, in subtle ways. In practice, this means that the interests and concerns of ethnic minority constituents are less likely to be represented. There is also the potential that, when a constituent does not receive a response or receive a poor quality response they may be less likely to contact their Member of Parliament on other issues in the future.

This is the first study, to my knowledge, to study in this detail the difference in responsiveness of Members of Parliament to their constituents, taking into account response rates, timeliness, quality of response and cordiality as well as looking for evidence of the underlying mechanisms for substantive representation of ethnic minorities. This approach offers us a broad picture of the experiences of ordinary constituents when contacting their Member of Parliament and thus contributes to understanding the substantive representation of ethnic minorities.

Chapter 6.   What Underpins the Link Between Descriptive and Substantive Representation? An Empirical Test of the Theoretical Mechanisms[30]

Many empirical studies have shown a link between substantive and descriptive representation of ethnic minorities (Tate 2003, Saalfeld and Bischof 2013, Broockman 2013). However, our understanding of the mechanisms through which this association may operate comes almost exclusively from normative arguments (for example Mansbridge 2003). This chapter examines three of the proposed mechanisms by which this association may operate. The first is shared experience, which is operationalized as the perception that among ethnic minorities that racial prejudice holds minorities back (Dawson 1995, Heath et al 2013). The second is the notion that minority candidates will have a distinct motivation to represent voters from minority communities. The third is the influence that electoral incentives may have on representatives of ethnically diverse constituencies. Finally, party ideology is considered as a possible confounding or interacting factor. The 2015 Representative Audit of Britain Survey of parliamentary Candidates and the 2015 British Election Study online survey of voters are used to test these mechanisms. Firstly, there is clear evidence for the first two of the proposed mechanisms; minority candidates share minority voters' experiences and feel a greater sense of responsibility to represent minority voters, there are some differences by political party but BME candidates of all parties are more likely to support these two notions than their non-BME counterparts. Secondly, there is weaker support for the electoral incentives theory. Thirdly, I find evidence of an interaction with being a minority candidate and the ethnic make-up of the constituency for both measures. BME candidates therefore are influenced by all three motivations but to different extents, and there is a difference between these candidates of different parties.

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[30] This chapter is from a co-authored paper with Rosie Campbell (Birkbeck) and Maria Sobolewska (University of Manchester)

Introduction

The link between descriptive and substantive representation of ethnic minorities (Pitkin, 1967) is the subject of vigorous discussion among normative scholars and empirical researchers. However, there is still a gap between the theory and the evidence. Whilst empirical studies have confirmed the normatively assumed link between the two, including evidence in this thesis, the theoretical explanations for *why* it might exist and *how* it has worked are rarely tested empirically to the same extent. Thus these mechanisms remain primarily the subject of normative assumptions, rather than empirical investigation (for a rare exception see Broockman, 2013). Our understanding of the link between descriptive and substantive representation often rests on the assumption that descriptively representative legislators are able, or indeed motivated, to act for those individuals who share their politically salient characteristics. However, it must be recognised that minority representatives who advance minority interests are not necessarily doing so because they are *intrinsically* motivated; they may also, for example, understand the electoral benefits of promoting the interests of their ethnic minority constituents. These contrasting *extrinsic and instrumental*, motivations have sometimes been shown to underpin the substantive representation of ethnic minorities. Thus considerations of one's ethnic minority constituents has sometimes influenced those legislators who were not their descriptive representatives, but who nonetheless represented them geographically (Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012). Evidence for these electoral incentives was also presented in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, and to an extent in Chapter 5 although I found that it was white British constituent who faced a penalty in ethnically diverse constituencies. Thus, the characteristics of constituencies influence the incentives that act on representatives. Despite this understanding, the questions of how and why the intrinsic motivation to represent exists, and whether it is robust enough to potentially confound the instrumental link of the ethnic make-up of the representatives constituency, are crucially important questions for those

interested in the way representative institutions function and are designed, and, importantly, how this affects the quality of representation of minorities.

Those who argue for the descriptive representation of politically under-represented groups, otherwise known as the "politics of presence" (Phillips, 1995), and that disadvantaged groups have shared experiences through a shared history of discrimination (Young, 2000), do not necessarily base their arguments on the claim that, for example, women representatives will act 'for' women voters or ethnic minority representatives will act 'for' ethnic minority voters. Instead, some argue that there are "preferable descriptive representatives" (Dovi, 2002). Furthermore for some, an argument based on justice, which puts forward the need for representation proportional to disadvantaged groups, which can overturn discriminatory barriers to participation in institutions, is sufficient to support a case for descriptive representation alone (Phillips, 1995; Young, 2000). However, the theoretical literature does make the case, as does the empirical literature that descriptive representation may in fact lead to an improvement in the substantive representation of historically excluded groups. In the theoretical literature this is said to be through the expression of shared experiences, the understanding of what the group requires, the opportunity to form joint policy proposals and the ability to crystallise interests (Mansbridge, 1999; Phillips, 1995).

The claim that, in certain circumstances, descriptive representation is linked to the substantive representation of historically excluded groups has been subject to empirical testing and generally has been supported. There is evidence from the United States that the personal backgrounds of legislators influences their behaviour (W. E. Miller & Stokes, 1963) and that they intrinsically want to promote the interests of the group or groups they identify with (Burden, 2007; Carnes, 2012). There is an extensive empirical literature that focuses on the link between descriptive and substantive representation of women, comparing the

attitudes of female politicians and women among the general public (Campbell et al., 2010; Lovenduski & Norris, 2003; Wängnerud, 2000), and the impact of female politicians on policy and legislative behaviour (Bratton & Ray, 2002; Celis, 2007; Chaney, 2014; Childs, 2008; Schwindt-Bayer & Mishler, 2005; Swers, 1998, 2002; Thomas & Wilcox, 1998). Overall, the results are mixed, showing that there is no *inevitable* link between the descriptive representation of women and policy that is specifically aligned with women's policy preferences. However in particular policy areas that directly affect women, such as domestic violence, the presence of women representatives is associated with more policy attention.

The literature on ethnic minority representation is much smaller, relatively than that concerning female representation. However, in the United States, David Broockman found that black legislators are more likely to promote interests of black constituents even if they reside outside their district. These constituents generate no electoral incentives for representation[31] (Broockman, 2013) but still enjoy political representation. Broockman (2014) has also found that constituents are more likely to contact their representative if they are co-ethnic. Thus, constituents have an understanding of the link between them and their descriptive representative.

The causal mechanism presumed to link descriptive and substantive representation, which has yet to be empirically tested, rests on the assumption that individuals who are part of a socially significant group will share experiences and understandings of the groups' identity. This is said to provide descriptive representatives with the relevant knowledge and motivation to articulate these experiences in the political arena and to shape policy-making

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[31] Swain (1995) and Tate (2003) also found evidence of the link between descriptive and substantive representation of African Americans in the US.

decisions in a way that more accurately reflects the interests of the under-represented group. However, the contemporary literature does not make a simplistic claim that 'any woman, black or Latino' will do and there is increasing inquiry into how marginalised voices come to be represented in the political process, and which mechanisms underpin this (Dovi, 2002, 2007; Mansbridge, 1999). In the case of ethnic minority representation in the United Kingdom, this putative causal mechanism has not been the subject of empirical investigation; this chapter seeks to rectify this.

What remains then is one crucial question. This is not whether there is a link between descriptive and substantive representation of ethnic minorities, but instead *how* and *why* it exists. In the final chapter of this thesis, this is the question I now seek to answer.

The case study in this chapter examines the views of UK parliamentary candidates and voters. It enables empirical testing of some of the main theoretical mechanisms proposed in the literature; mechanisms which are difficult to separate in the USA, due to identification issues, but that are possible to test for in the UK. This is, specifically, the differentiation between *intrinsic* motivation and *extrinsic,* external incentives to represent. Previously, this has been almost impossible to assess for black legislators in the USA using observational data because most of the black legislators represent minority-majority districts (Lublin, 1999), something which is no longer the case in the United Kingdom (See Sobolewska, 2013)[32]. Similarly, although the role of party affiliation and ideology has been suggested in previous literature, and shown in the results from the previous chapters, as a confounding effect on the link between descriptive and substantive representation (Saalfeld, Wüst, & Sanhueza, 2011), this is again difficult to tease out in the US context, as the majority of black

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[32] See Broockman 2013 for an experimental study of this issue that overcomes the identification issues.

legislators are Democrats. Again, in Britain, this is not the case with an almost even split between the two main parties in terms of their ethnic diversity. By using the 2015 candidate survey (Representative Audit of Britain 2015[33]), which contained attitudinal measures, the analysis can differentiate between two possible mechanisms of intrinsic motivation proposed in the theoretical literature; firstly, shared experience or linked fate between ethnic minority candidates and minority voters[34], and secondly, the sense of responsibility that being from an ethnic background might confer on the ethnic minority candidates. There is clear evidence for the first two of the proposed *intrinsic* mechanisms linking descriptive and substantive representation: minority candidates share minority voters' experiences, and feel a greater sense of responsibility to represent minority voters, although there are some differences by political party. There is weaker support for the *extrinsic* electoral incentives explanation of the link, with minority Members of Parliament representing 'white' districts also showing signs of intrinsic motivation.

Theoretical mechanisms for substantive representation

As mentioned previously, the potential mechanisms underlying a link between descriptive and substantive representation are empirically under-researched but not under-theorised. There is a large body of literature seeking to discern these mechanisms. The theoretical mechanisms dominant in the literature are, a sense of shared experience, a motivation to represent and, electoral incentives. These have deep roots in the theoretical literature and imply an intrinsic motivation to represent on the part of the descriptive representatives. The third, electoral incentives can be found in empirical studies of political representation, and, while this mechanism has been confirmed for white representatives, it remains untested for ethnic minority legislators. As already mentioned this is partly because it has been very

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[33] http://parliamentarycandidates.org/project/representative-audit-of-britain/
[34] Voter attitudes taken from the British Election Study 2015 http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/

difficult to operationalize as minority legislators predominantly represent ethnic minority-majority districts in the US, where most of this research has been conducted. However, this is also partly, as I have found in this thesis, because the numbers of elected BME Members of Parliament are still relatively small. In this chapter the use of candidate data with responses from those who are seeking to be elected allows this problem, to some extent, to be overcome.

Shared experience/Linked fate

Linked fate was a concept developed in the USA to account for the sense of common destiny among African Americans of different socio-economic status. Linked fate has been characterised as encompassing more than a sense of group solidarity or identity. It is the understanding that individual opportunities and life chances are intrinsically linked to the group as a whole (Dawson, 1994; C Gay & Tate, 1998). It involves a sense of acute awareness that what happens to the group is also something that affects you as an individual within the group and is explicitly applied to racial and ethnic minorities, usually African Americans in the US, but increasingly to other ethnic minority groups (Junn & Masuoka, 2008) and sometimes also women (Simien, 2005). The concept is applied to these groups because they have a distinct history of discrimination and experiences of prejudice, based on them being a member of that group. It is consistent with some of the aspects of the earlier concept of group consciousness (A. H. Miller, Gurin, Gurin, & Malanchuk, 1981) particularly the sense of injustice at the group's position and systemic explanation, as opposed to individualistic explanations. These two cognitive elements of the concept are crucial, as they enable political mobilisation and expression of distinct interests, something that is necessary for substantive representation. Those descriptive representatives that share this sense of injustice and a particular set of explanations of the injustice will be able to recognise group interests and

form a trust-based relationship with other members of the group; these two mechanisms can enable shared experience to translate into substantive representation.

Shared experience, or linked fate, is the most often quoted theoretical mechanism for why minority representatives would be best placed to represent minority voters. Dovi (2002) argues that some descriptive representatives are more desirable than others, because not all will be motivated to represent. She explains that descriptive representatives who are to be preferred are those who have strong *mutual* relationships with the dispossessed groups. In the USA, there is much research that has examined mutual relations, shared experience, group consciousness, and linked fate; terms that are all used interchangeably in this chapter. However, in the UK, there is less research on this concept. Thus, in the American literature, shared experience is a core mechanism underlying group consciousness, binding members of the disadvantaged group across other divides such as economic or social inequality. Ethnic minorities may have this sense because historically they have been treated as members of a group, which may be one that they self-identify with or one that has been ascribed to them. Historically, the treatment of ethnic minorities has been negative, and these shared experiences are said to include discrimination and prejudice. These have the effect of binding members of the group together through experiences that they all share. Thus, linked fate acts as a heuristic or short cut by which minority representatives are motivated to act for minority constituents. In the empirical literature from the USA this has been measured with questions such as "do you think that what happens to black people generally in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life?" thus capturing the sense that if something happens to some members of the group, then it is likely to happen to all of the group. However, a question such as this is unlikely to work as well in the UK, where there is greater heterogeneity of minority groups. Thus, the question in this chapter instead asks about the respondent's sense that discrimination holds ethnic minorities back. Additionally, this allows a comparison of non-BME and BME candidates to assess if the understanding of

the experiences of ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom is as strong amongst white candidates, who will not have experienced it, as BME candidates.

One of the main issues facing those proponents of the politics of presence is that these theories leave little room for an understanding of the heterogeneity of the marginalised groups. In the UK, especially, the ethnic minority community is diverse, in terms of countries of birth, migration patterns and economic situation both before and after arriving in the UK. In response authors have explained that they do indeed allow for some semblance of group differences, indeed Phillips says "if the presumption is that all women or all black people share the same preferences and goals, this is clearly – and dangerously- erroneous" (Phillips 1995, 157). However, this in itself may be a problem, accepting the diversity of these groups, and thus the diverse interests, may in itself undermine the strength of those shared experiences which are said to underpin the argument in favour of descriptive representation. Dovi (2002)suggests that we accept that not all descriptive representatives will substantively represent but that there are criteria by which we can evaluate *preferable* descriptive representatives, one of which is that they have a mutual relationship. This mutual relationship is understood to be a "reciprocated sense of having a fate linked with that of other members of the group" (p734). Linked fate, therefore, at least partially involves an understanding of the group, which is similar to the understanding of the other members of the group. In this chapter, linked fate is measured by the respondents', both representatives and represented, belief that discrimination holds back non-white people. Thus, it is possible to measure a mutual understanding of what it means to be a member of that group, specifically in the context of historically marginalised ethnic minorities, and the effect of discrimination. Additionally, recognising the heterogeneity of minority groups in the UK, this conceptualisation makes it possible to belong to more than one descriptive group; a question about prejudice is not a zero-sum question, it does not negate other characteristics about a person such as being a woman or LGBT.

Race and ethnicity, as shared characteristics between the members of the electorate and legislative representatives, provides the opportunity for substantive representation as a result of a commonality of experience, resulting in common demands and interests. Shared experience is especially useful in contexts where group interests may be uncrystallised, especially during critical events, when the descriptive representative may be better *able* to provide substantive representation as the shared experience bestows relevant knowledge and understanding of the group's position (Mansbridge, 1999). Another possible way that shared experience might render descriptive representatives more able to substantively represent their group is their unique relationship with their constituents, based on trust and contact. This is particularly relevant in cases where historical circumstances breed distrust between ethnic and racial minorities and the white majority, such as in the USA, but arguably also in other majority white societies with a history of racial discrimination, such as the UK. A representative that has lived through these experiences and, as a result, has a shared history with other members of the group can have, therefore, enjoy a greater feeling of trust from them, than can a representative from the dominant and historically oppressive group. Gay (2002) and Broockman (2014) have shown that African Americans in the United States are more likely to contact their representative if they are also African American, supporting this idea that a sense of shared experience aids a trusting relationship between a constituent and their representative. Moreover, because of the differential contact, they will also be more aware of what can be done to better represent their substantive interests.

In the empirical research to date, this is, however, a contested link. Firstly, experience is not homogenous among under-represented groups, especially among ethnic and racial minorities where it could be argued there are no obvious commonalities such as the realities of childbearing and child rearing shared by many women; but even for women, the assumption of commonality of experience is controversial (Celis, 2012; Celis, Childs, Kantola, & Krook, 2014). To overcome this difficulty, this chapter will not rely on the

assumption of common experience, as is often done, nor attempt to measure those objectively using demographics, or socio-economic status; but instead it will use the perception of commonality of experience, best captured by the notion of linked fate (Burden, 2007; Dawson, 1994; Claudine Gay, 2004; Mansbridge, 1999, 2003; Whitby, 1997).

Using the concept of linked fate to operationalize shared experience may also help resolve an issue of measurement. Since the basis of the concept (Dawson, 1994) rests on a history of racial discrimination as the preferred systemic explanation for group-based injustice, the perception that black people are held back by prejudice and discrimination is used as a measure of shared experience or linked fate. These considerations led to the first hypothesis;

H_1: BME candidates will have a greater understanding of what it is to be from an ethnic minority group; therefore they will have a greater sense of linked fate and this sense will be shared with voters.

Motivation to represent

A second prominent theoretical mechanism in the literature, linking substantive and descriptive representation, is the greater willingness of ethnic minority representatives to represent ethnic minorities. This is somewhat related to the idea of shared experience, and it may well be a direct result of shared experience stimulating feelings of familiarity, solidarity, and commonality among members of that group that fosters a sense of duty to act for the group (Dovi, 2002; Mansbridge, 1999, 2003; Pitkin, 1967). However, it is conceptually distinct, and is perhaps better able to reflect the heterogeneity among ethnic minority in the extent to which they are willing, and feel a responsibility, to pursue substantive representation of their descriptive group.

Dovi (2002) argues that institutions will better support substantive representation if there are the right descriptive representatives, and for the "politics of presence" there is a requirement of political commitment, both from the institutions, and the representatives. This commitment can also be seen as recognition of a responsibility to represent. Dovi explains that a sense of responsibility may require an understanding of the disadvantages of the group that goes beyond just knowing that they are disadvantaged. For example, a Black African representative who went to a public school, was educated at a University such as Oxford or Cambridge with a majority white university population, and joined a profession in which they socialise outside of other members of their ethnic group, may or may not be motivated to represent members of that group through a sense of responsibility. A question that asks candidates about whether they think BME representatives have a responsibility to represent ethnic minorities will capture this motivation and willingness to represent.

Measuring substantive representation is notoriously difficult given that it involves the development of objective measures of the group interests that are to be represented, about which there is no universal agreement (Celis & Childs, 2012). One way to sidestep this issue is to focus on representative claims (Saward, 2006, 2010), rather than making judgements about the quality of substantive representation. This approach shifts the focus on to what claims politicians make about who they think they are representing. Responding to this concept of representative claims avoids the issue of whether the representation offered will in fact reflect the interests of the group, focusing instead on the *intention* of candidates. This also sidesteps another issue of measuring substantive representation, which is the practical limitation of what Members of Parliament can do and say in parliament, their ability to represent, given the constraints imposed by the party whips, party control over resources, and other legislative limitations (for a discussion see Saalfeld et al., 2011). Measuring the intention to represent and a sense of duty and responsibility to do so in parliamentary

candidates, captures the moment before the intervention of such confounding considerations, limitations, and influences.

Dovi (2002) argues that *preferable* descriptive representatives, who will have the largest effect on substantive representation in these institutions, are those who have a sense of shared experience with the disadvantaged group they descriptively represent *and* those who feel a responsibility to represent the disadvantaged group. It is only these representatives that will give the historically disadvantaged group a "stake in politics". However, to date, these intrinsic motivations have not been empirically tested separately. It is not yet known how these mechanisms for motivation are felt by minority representatives or white representatives and we do not yet know whether they transpose onto representatives in different ways, or if representatives feel a sense of shared experience and responsibility equally.

In the past, the motivation to represent has been measured through either qualitative interviews, which may not generalise well, or observable outcomes (Broockman, 2013). Being able to ask about a pre-existing motivation directly is therefore a rare opportunity to see if minority representatives' differential outcomes on representation are backed up by conscious realisation that, as descriptive representatives, they face the responsibility to engage in substantive representation. These considerations lead to the second hypothesis;

H_2: Ethnic minority candidates have a sense of responsibility to represent ethnic minority voters.

Electoral incentives

The third proposed mechanism that might explain the link between descriptive and substantive representation is a rational-choice mechanism, which focuses on the electoral incentives that are assumed to be behind the actions of vote-seeking representatives (Downs, 1957; Mansbridge, 2003; Norris, 2004). From this perspective, Members of Parliament are said to direct their finite resources, including their time and their staff, to activities that they believe will be most likely to appeal to their constituents and thus achieve re-election. Essentially, every goal of an elected representative, whether it is making policy changes or representing their constituency in debates, hinges on them remaining elected. Considering that it can take more than one term for representatives to make these changes, they are almost always seeking re-election. One such consideration which Members of Parliament may consider when looking to please their constituents is the ethnic make-up of their constituency. Those in ethnically diverse seats may see an effective means of being re-elected as representing ethnic minorities, or another minority group present in their constituency in the course of their parliamentary activities. We know that Members of Parliament seek to show that they are responsive to their constituents, as many of them now report their parliamentary activity online on their own websites, listing the questions they have raised and their involvement in debates and committee meetings. Yet, even before the internet, Franklin and Norton reported that 82% of Members of Parliament said they would send reports of their parliamentary activity to the local press (Franklin & Norton, 1993). Thus, Members of Parliament are engaged in behaviour that promotes their activities to their constituents. Saalfeld and Bischof (2012), for example, found in their analysis of Prime Minister's Questions, that Members of Parliament who had a higher proportion of ethnic minorities in their constituencies were more likely to table questions on ethnic minority issues. In this thesis, I have also found evidence that ethnic density has an effect on the actions of Members of Parliament.

The electoral incentive that might drive representatives' behaviour is theorised by Mansbridge (2003) as a form of representation which she terms as "anticipatory". Mansbridge contends that this is prompted by voters' tendencies to engage in 'retrospective voting' at election time, reflecting on what their representative has done for them during their time in office. Therefore, representatives undertake activities and modify their behaviour in a way that they *believe* voters will reward in the future, although in the end they may be mistaken[35]. Consequently, it is expected that, based on electoral considerations, Members of Parliament with a higher proportion of ethnic minorities in their constituency would be more likely to substantively represent ethnic minorities in a legislative arena. Saalfeld and Bischof (2012), looking at parliamentary questions in the House of Commons found that although *all* Members of Parliament were responsive to the ethnic make-up of their constituencies, and those representing more ethnically diverse seats were more likely to table questions relating to ethnic minorities, this did not fully compensate for the Member of Parliament's own ethnicity. In Chapter 3, I found that all bar two Members of Parliament that spoke in the anti-terrorism legislation debates or related Public Bill Committee proceedings represented seats with more than 20% ethnic minorities. And in Chapter 5, although there was no association with the responsiveness to the Black African constituent, responsiveness to the white British constituent was influenced by the ethnic density of the Member's constituency.

This effect has been hard to identify in the USA where the vast majority of research on substantive representation of minorities has been done, as most black Members of Congress

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[35] Although the electoral incentives model has in the past been identified as identical with an extrinsic or instrumental motivation to represent (Broockman 2013), it is worth noting that it may not necessarily be so. The representative with higher concentration of minority voters is more likely to hear a lot from these voters, and the majority of the local district issues that are usually of interest to representatives are simply more likely to involve issues of race and ethnicity- thus again making it likely that the representative will be perceived as more responsive: not out of electoral calculation, but out of preferential access to information about ethnic interests.

represent black majority seats due to the US style of boundary review (Lublin, 1999). However, in the UK this trend has been reversed, in the 2010 election a majority of Conservative Members of Parliament, and almost half of all black and minority ethnic Members of Parliament were elected in seats that can be considered predominantly white, with less than 10 per cent non-white residents (Sobolewska, 2013). Although the majority of minority candidates still contest constituencies of high ethnic density, there is enough variation in the British data to distinguish between the roles that ethnicity of the candidate and the ethnic make-up of the seat they compete for play in their levels of willingness to represent and levels of shared experience. These considerations lead to the third hypothesis;

H_3: Both a sense of linked fate and a responsibility to represent will be stronger among candidates contesting seats with strong ethnic minority presence.

The potential confounder- party ideology

The role of party ideology in political representation has received relatively less attention than the other three mechanisms but in this thesis I find evidence of partisanship or party ideology as a confounding factor in the actions and responsiveness of representatives to ethnic minority constituents. Thus, it deserves attention here.

Party ideology has been found, empirically, to impact on substantive representation of ethnic minorities (Saalfeld et al., 2011), and also on levels of descriptive representation (Kittilson & Tate, 2004). However, discussions of the impact of party ideology on representation have been largely missing from the literature on minority substantive representation. With women's representation, parties of the left have been more likely to support female candidates and have been more closely linked to women's movements because they are more

likely to promote egalitarian ideologies (Beckwith, 1986; Duverger, 1955; Jensen, 1995). Matland and Studlar (1996, 27) have also suggested that parties of the Left might "feel a need to be sensitive to groups traditionally excluded from the circles of power". This is something that will likely extend to ethnic minorities, given that both prevalence of systemic explanations of inequality over individualistic ones, and the sense of responsibility to represent is likely to vary by party ideology along the left right spectrum. Lovenduski and Norris (1993) note that ideology is no longer such a strong influence on women's parliamentary representation; however it appears that it may be an influence on ethnic minority representation. Bearing in mind some of the other findings from this thesis and previous studies, it is worth investigating to what extent political party, in light of the new extension of descriptive representation of ethnic minorities to the right-wing Conservative Party, may impact on the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation.

The effect of party ideology in this context is likely to have been increased by the rise of "new politics". In the last few decades, politics in many countries have shifted somewhat from traditional class cleavages to include new divides on issues such as environment, other types of social equality and minority rights (Dalton 2014). This shift will see these new issues, including race and equality issues, fall differently along the political spectrum and, given the interests of new left parties; it is likely that ethnic minorities will be more closely linked with these parties.

In the United Kingdom, the Conservative Party has historically tended to reject identity politics. For example, they have traditionally been less likely to promote measures to improve the selection and election of women and ethnic minorities than Labour. Although there is an increasing cohort of Conservative Members of Parliament who are feminists, for example, there is generally higher support for this type of identity based political activity

among Labour politicians (Campbell et al., 2010; Childs & Webb, 2012). In the areas of race and ethnicity this is best reflected by the way the Conservative Party campaigns among minority voters. Although the party has sought to win support from some segments of the ethnic minority population, particularly South Asian voters whom they deem more socially and economically conservative, they have historically adopted a colour-blind approach (Sobolewska, 2013). The best example of this has been an electoral poster from the 1980s which proclaimed 'Labour say he's black, Tories say he's British'. While this has not proved popular with these voters, it illustrates the Conservative Party's instincts on this issue: ones that can easily be extended to perceptions of and actual representation. In fact, the first cohort of black Conservative Members of Parliament purposefully avoided making any reference to their skin colour. This includes, for example, Adam Afriyie MP who, in tune with Conservative ideology, has declared his opposition to positive discrimination in favour of meritocracy, stating that "The selection of candidates based on personal characteristics – that are arbitrary or merely in vogue – should not enjoy legal force if we believe in equality of opportunity" (Afriyie, 2010). Although this trend reversed somewhat with the arrival of David Cameron as the Conservative Leader in 2005, whose objective of party modernisation included addressing the issues of race diversity and discrimination more openly (Sobolewska, 2013), it is unlikely that the reversal has been complete in this short period of time, or that it has disseminated throughout the party.

In contrast, the Labour Party has traditionally been the party for ethnic minorities since the advent of post-war race and immigration politics in the UK. To date, all anti-discrimination legislation pertaining to race and ethnicity has been passed by Labour governments and the Labour Party has, until recently, commanded over 90 per cent support rates among ethnic minority voters (Heath et al., 2013). Labour has also been a leader in descriptive representation of minorities for two decades, with the gap between ethnic diversity of the Labour and Conservative parliamentary parties only narrowing significantly in 2010. The

Labour Party has formalised the incorporation of ethnic minority groups into their party through a multicultural route, in which ethnic groups, and not individual voters, have become a basis of the party's engagement with minority communities (Garbaye, 2005). This puts ethnicity, group experience of ethnicity, and group rights at the heart of Labour's approach to racial and ethnic difference. As a result, this party's ideology gives a lot more attention to the awareness of discrimination and systemic solutions to it. It is also expected that, since the Labour Party has championed descriptive representation by electing ethnic minority representatives from the most ethnically diverse seats (Sobolewska, 2013), the sense of motivation to represent will also be greater among Labour minority Members of Parliament. Against this background, the fourth hypothesis is as follows;

H_4: Labour Party candidates and voters will have a stronger sense of linked fate and Labour Party candidates will have a stronger sense of responsibility to represent.

Data and methods

This chapter benefits from the existence of two sources of data, capturing attitudes of both voters and candidates. The first was a postal survey of parliamentary candidates who contested seats in 2015 elections in the UK, the Representative Audit of Britain (RAB). The second is an online wave of a survey of British voters, the British Election Study (BES).

The Representative Audit of Britain [36] included 1,798 candidates who completed the survey out of the 3,174 that stood for election; this gives a response rate of 56.6%. Of these 1,798

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[36] The survey was in the field between March 2015 and March 2016.

respondents 97[37] were from BME backgrounds out of a total of 230 BME candidates who stood in the election (Lamprinakou et al., 2016) giving a response rate for BME candidates of 42.2%. Although, it can be argued that a sample size of 97 is relatively small, the sample contains a variety of minority candidates in terms of seats contested and party affiliation. Of the 97 ethnic minority candidates who responded to the survey, 21 were Conservatives, 20 Labour, 27 Liberal Democrats, 13 UKIP, 15 Green and 1 SNP. Further, 59 were men and 38 women, 5 were incumbent Members of Parliament, and 8 were subsequently elected as Members of Parliament in 2015. Thus, this data offers a reasonable spread, necessary for the purposes of this analysis.

In the RAB survey, all questions were asked to all candidates, regardless of race. This provides the opportunity to compare BME and non-BME candidates. In line with the theoretical literature outlined previously, the analysis includes two questions relevant to shared experience and motivation to represent ethnic minorities. As discussed earlier, the measure of shared experience is derived from the concept of linked fate, conceptualised in the literature as an understanding of group solidarity. In the survey, respondents were asked how far they agreed that '*non-white people are held back by prejudice and discrimination*'. The response categories are on a five-point scale from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. Motivation to represent is measured by an item which asks the respondent how far they agreed that '*being an ethnic minority candidate presents a responsibility to represent minorities*'. This is measured on an 11-point scale, from 0 'it is not a responsibility' to 10 'it is a responsibility'. As discussed previously, electoral incentives have been posited to be an extrinsic motivation for representatives. To capture the electoral incentives for candidates to

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[37] The dataset contains 97 responses from BME candidates but the valid responses for the key variables in the analysis varies

represent minority voters, the proportion of ethnic minority residents in the constituency where each candidate stands has been calculated and included in the analysis.

The second data source is a sample of British voters, taken from the British Election Study online panel of voters. This panel contains 2,049 ethnic minority respondents. The question that will be used to capture linked fate was fielded online in a pre-election wave 4 (March 2015). This question asked respondents the extent to which they agreed with the statement *'Non-White people don't have the same opportunities and chances in life as White people, as they are held back by prejudice and discrimination'*. Although the British Election Study is not the most representative sample of ethnic minorities in the UK, as it over-represents ethnic minorities who voted Conservative in 2015 (Ford et al. 2015), better quality samples are not available for the 2015 election. These data, therefore, may underestimate the proportion of minority voters who share a sense of linked fate, if there is evidence of a party effect, which should be kept in mind when interpreting the results.

Statistical analysis involved basic descriptive analyses, as well as regression to ascertain the association between the various characteristics related to the hypotheses (BME status, ethnic density of constituency, and party allegiance). As the two questions on responsibility to represent and linked fate were measured on an ordinal scale, the association between characteristics were examined using ordered logistic regression, using SPSS. In each case, it was confirmed that this was appropriate by inspecting the model fitting parameters, to ensure that including the variables improved the model fit. The Odds Ratios were calculated by exponentiating the Parameter Estimates (the ordered logit coefficients) in Excel and the significance values were taken from the parameter estimates output. The proportional odds assumption was tested using the test of parallel lines. The correlation was measured using Nagelkerke's r^2.

Results and Discussion

Beginning with basic descriptive statistics on candidates responding to the Representative Audit of Britain Parliamentary Candidates Survey, as Table 6-1 shows, BME candidates in the survey were significantly more likely to be female.

TABLE 6-1 ETHNICITY AND GENDER AMONG CANDIDATES RESPONDING TO THE REPRESENTATIVE AUDIT OF BRITAIN

	Non-BME		BME	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Male	1230	72.3%	59	60.8%
Female	471	27.7%	38	39.2%

Chi-squared=5.965, p=0.012

n:1798

Source: Representative Audit of Britain Survey 2015 http://parliamentarycandidates.org/data/

BME candidates were also more likely to be members of the Conservative Party and less likely to be members of the Green Party, but the differences in party allegiance did not reach statistical significance (Table 6-2).

TABLE 6-2 ETHNICITY AND PARTY ALLEGIANCE AMONG CANDIDATES RESPONDING TO THE REPRESENTATIVE AUDIT OF BRITAIN

	Non-BME		BME	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Conservative Party	207	12.2%	21	21.6%
Green Party	384	22.6%	15	15.5%
Labour Party	337	19.8%	20	20.6%
Liberal Democrats	421	24.8%	27	27.8%
Plaid Cymru	31	1.8%	0	0.0%
Scottish Green Party	22	1.3%	0	0.0%
Scottish Nationalist Party	41	2.4%	1	1.0%
UK Independence Party	258	15.2%	13	13.4%

Chi-squared=12.935, p=0.074

n:1798

Source: Representative Audit of Britain Survey 2015 http://parliamentarycandidates.org/data/

In terms of education, there was no significant difference in the likelihood of attending University but BME candidates were significantly less likely to have attended Oxbridge (Table 6-3), although caution is required in interpreting this finding as the numbers in the BME group are low.

TABLE 6-3 ETHNICITY AND EDUCATION AMONG CANDIDATES RESPONDING TO THE REPRESENTATIVE AUDIT OF BRITAIN

	Attended University		Attended Oxbridge	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Non-BME	1205 (80.9%)	285 (19.1%)	153 (9%)	1548 (91%)
BME	65 (85.5%)	11 (14.5%)	3 (3.1%)	94 (96.9%)
	Chi-squared=1.022, p=0.312		*Chi-squared=4.034, p=0.045*	

n:1798

Source: Representative Audit of Britain Survey 2015 http://parliamentarycandidates.org/data/

In the British Election Study[38] data in Wave 4 of the online panel only ethnic minority respondents were asked the question which is used in this chapter as a measure of linked fate with candidates. The descriptive statistics of this sample are displayed below. Table 6-4 shows the different ethnic groups of the respondents, the largest ethnic group in the sample is Asian; Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi or other, followed by black; Caribbean, African or other. The smallest group in the sample is Chinese. For those from an Asian, Chinese or "other" ethnic background males are slightly over represented, but for those from a black, or missed ethnic background the opposite is the case.

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[38] *Fieldhouse, E., J. Green., G. Evans., H. Schmitt, and C. van der Eijk (2015) British Election Study Internet Panel Wave 4.*

	Male		Female	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Asian (Indian Pakistani Bangladeshi other)	528	61%	337	39%
Black (Caribbean African other)	223	40.9%	322	59.1%
Mixed ethnic background	163	47%	184	53%
Other ethnic background	106	67.5%	51	32.5%
Chinese	77	56.6%	59	43.4%

Chi –squared= 73.325, p<0.001

n:2050

Source British Election Study 2015 Online Wave 4 http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/data-objects/panel-study-data/page/2/

Table 6-5 shows the party identification of the main political parties, (including UKIP because it is used later on as a measure with the Conservative Party as a right-wing party). Amongst the Asian; Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi or other respondents there is the greatest support for Labour (56.2%), this is also the case for those black; Caribbean, African or other respondents, of whom almost 75% support Labour. The majority of those from a mixed ethnic background also support Labour (45%), whilst for those from an "other" ethnic background or Chinese respondents; the support is split between the Conservative and Labour parties.

TABLE 6-5 PARTY IDENTIFICATION BY ETHNIC GROUP IN THE BRITISH ELECTION STUDY 2015 ONLINE PANEL WAVE 4

Ethnic Group	Party Identification			
	Conservative	Labour	Lib Dem	UKIP
Asian (Indian Pakistani Bangladeshi other)	114 (15.9%)	404 (56.2%)	52 (7.2%)	30 (4.2%)
Black (Caribbean African other)	45 (10.2%)	347 (78.5%)	16 (3.6%)	6 (1.4%)
Mixed ethnic background	66 (23.6%)	126 (45%)	36 (12.9%)	10 (3.6%)
Other ethnic background	27 (23.1%)	28 (23.9%)	11 (9.4%)	10 (8.5%)
Chinese	36 (40.4%)	29 (32.6%)	12 (13.5%)	0 (0%)

Chi-squared= 359.529 p<0.001

n:1405

Source British Election Study 2015 Online Wave 4 http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/data-objects/panel-study-data/page/2/

Looking to the education of the respondents of the BES, the majority of the sample, in line with the United Kingdom population, did not attend university (56.6%). Amongst these respondents those from a mixed or other ethnic background were most likely to have attended university (Mixed ethnic background, 51.1%; Other ethnic background, 51.1%) whilst those from a black; Caribbean, African or other background were not (39.3% attended University).

TABLE 6-6 UNIVERSITY ATTENDANCE BY ETHNIC GROUP RESPONDENTS IN THE BRITISH ELECTION STUDY 2015 ONLINE PANEL WAVE 4

| Ethnic Group | Attended University | | | |
| | Yes | | No | |
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Asian (Indian Pakistani Bangladeshi other)	356	44.8%	439	55.2%
Black (Caribbean African other)	193	39.3%	298	60.7%
Mixed ethnic background	171	51.5%	161	48.5%
Other ethnic background	72	51.1%	69	48.9%
Chinese	27	21.4%	99	78.6%
Total	819	43.4%	1066	56.6%

Chi-squared 40.065 p<0.001

n:1885

Source British Election Study 2015 Online Wave 4 http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/data-objects/panel-study-data/page/2/

I now turn to a discussion of the respondents, both BME and non-BME candidates, and their attitudes towards measures to encourage representation by those from the BME community and from other disadvantaged groups. First, do BME candidates support affirmative action for candidates from disadvantaged groups and does this differ compared to their non-BME counterparts? Second, to the extent that there is a difference, is this concern solely for those from ethnic minorities or does their concern extend to other disadvantaged groups? As the

data are non-normally distributed, differences in the distribution of responses are tested for significance using the Kruskal Wallis test[39].

 The results are shown in Table 6-7. BME and non-BME candidates were asked their views on a range of measures designed to benefit particular groups, including compulsory minimum numbers of different groups on shortlists, and shortlists containing only members of these groups. These questions were asked in respect of BME and LGBT candidates and candidates with disabilities.

In all cases where there is a statistically significant difference, BME candidates are more likely to agree strongly with measures to improve the representation of these disadvantaged groups. BME candidates are more likely to be strongly in favour of minimum numbers of candidates on shortlists for BME candidates (BME Candidates 40.9%; non-BME Candidates 12.8%), working class candidates (BME Candidates 22.7%; non-BME Candidates 7.7%) and candidates with disabilities (BME Candidates 22.7%; non-BME Candidates 9.5%). Therefore, there is both an understanding that there is a problem of representation of all these groups that merits policy responses, and, importantly, there is an appetite for change amongst BME candidates.

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[39] A non-parametric test to compare how closely independent variables are related when not normally distributed

TABLE 6-7 DO YOU AGREE OR DISAGREE WITH MEASURES FOR INCREASING NUMBERS OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT; BME, WORKING CLASS, WITH DISABILITIES, LGBT

		Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	Significance (p value)
Minimum number of BME candidates on shortlist *	non-BME	12.8%	29.8%	34.2%	23.3%	0.017
	BME	40.9%	27.3%	9.1%	22.7%	
All BME shortlists	non-BME	7.9%	14.4%	47.2%	30.5%	0.061
	BME	28.6%	14.3%	33.3%	23.8%	
Minimum number of working class candidates on shortlist *	non-BME	7.7%	14.6%	48.4%	29.2%	0.014
	BME	22.7%	31.8%	22.7%	22.7%	
All working class shortlists *	non-BME	4.7%	9.1%	52.2%	34.0%	0.029
	BME	22.7%	18.2%	31.8%	27.3%	
Minimum number of candidates with disabilities on shortlist*	non-BME	9.5%	19.1%	44.5%	26.9%	0.025
	BME	22.7%	31.8%	27.3%	18.2%	
All disabilities shortlists	non-BME	6.2%	8.5%	53.3%	32.1%	0.065
	BME	18.2%	27.3%	22.7%	31.8%	
Minimum number of LGBT candidates on shortlist	non-BME	9.0%	15.8%	46.2%	29.0%	0.233
	BME	8.7%	34.8%	30.4%	26.1%	
All LGBT shortlists	non-BME	5.3%	8.3%	52.0%	34.3%	0.230
	BME	4.3%	26.1%	39.1%	30.4%	

Note: p<0.05 in bold

Source: Representative Audit of Britain Survey 2015 http://parliamentarycandidates.org/data/

This reveals that BME candidates are *also* more supportive of greater efforts and formal measures to increase the descriptive representation of other marginalised groups, with the exception of LGBT representatives. Non-BME candidates however are not, and are more likely, on every item, to disapprove of such measures, although they are slightly more supportive of measures to improve BME representation, with minimum numbers on

shortlists, than for any other group (BME shortlist 12.8% strongly approve, working class shortlist 7.7%, disabilities shortlist 9.5%).

I now turn to H_1: Ethnic minority candidates have a greater sense of shared experience than non-BME candidates and are more 'in tune' with minority voters as a result. Table 6-8 presents results from a three-way comparison of whether candidates think that non-white people are held back by prejudice and discrimination, the measure of linked fate, or shared experience. Ethnic minority candidates have the strongest sense of this out of the three groups, with more than double the proportion of BME candidates strongly agreeing with this statement than non-BME candidates and BME voters. In fact, non-BME candidates were, in this respect, more in tune with ethnic minority voters (non-BME candidates, 20.1%; BME voters 18.1%) as the BME candidates agreed a lot more strongly that group-level discrimination was holding minorities back than the voters did (42.3%). This finding rejects the second part of H_1 that BME voters and candidates would be in tune with each other by virtue of a *mutual relationship*. In fact, all candidates, both BME and non-BME, were more likely to agree with this statement than voters, which could suggest two things. Firstly, it is possible that for candidates this is a very strongly self-policed issue, which is perceived as socially (and politically) desirable. In other words, political correctness is, to an extent, responsible for this consensus among candidates. A second possibility is that candidates are more likely to be drawn from society's elite, and in particular they are more likely to be university educated (Lamprinakou et al., 2016). In this sample 77.5% of respondents, who answered the question (n = 1,798) attended university compared with 27% of the UK population[40]. It is likely then, that their racial attitudes will be more liberal (Storm, Sobolewska, & Ford, 2017) and thus they may be more sensitive to sociotropic racial

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[40] Census 2011
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20160105160709/http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census-analysis/local-area-analysis-of-qualifications-across-england-and-wales/sty-qualification-levels.html

discrimination than the voters, even those voters who may experience discrimination personally.

TABLE 6-8 SENSE OF LINKED FATE: ARE NON-WHITE PEOPLE HELD BACK BY PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total
BME voters [†]	5.2%	13.8%	27.8%	35.1%	18.1%	100%
BME candidates*	0%	8.5%	12.7%	36.6%	42.3%	100%
Non-BME candidates *	5.8%	12.7%	15.4%	46%	20.1%	100%

Note: White voters were not asked in BES

[†] British Election Study 2015 Online Panel Wave 4 n:1835

http://www.britishelectionstudy.com/data-objects/panel-study-data/page/2/

* Representative Audit of Britain Survey 2015 n: BME 71 Non BME 1431 Total 1502

http://parliamentarycandidates.org/data/

Next, I turn to the candidates' sense of responsibility to represent ethnic minorities as a motivation for representation, also expressed in H_2 as ethnic minority candidates have a sense of responsibility to represent minorities. Again, all candidates were asked whether they thought that being of ethnic minority origin presents a special responsibility to represent this group. Figure 6-1 shows that, similarly to the findings of a sense of shared experience, BME candidates felt far more strongly than non-BME candidates that ethnicity gave them a special responsibility to represent minority voters. At the most extreme point of agreement with the statement, 10/10 agreement, that being of minority origin is indeed a responsibility, there is an almost 10 percentage point gap in the proportion BME and non-BME candidates who agreed with this (BME candidates 12.5%; non-BME candidates 3.9%). This is in line with findings from the literature in the United States that black legislators are also more intrinsically motivated to provide representation to their in-group (Broockman, 2013). The

majority of BME candidates do indeed feel that they, and BME representatives generally, in the role as political representatives, have a special responsibility to represent ethnic minorities.
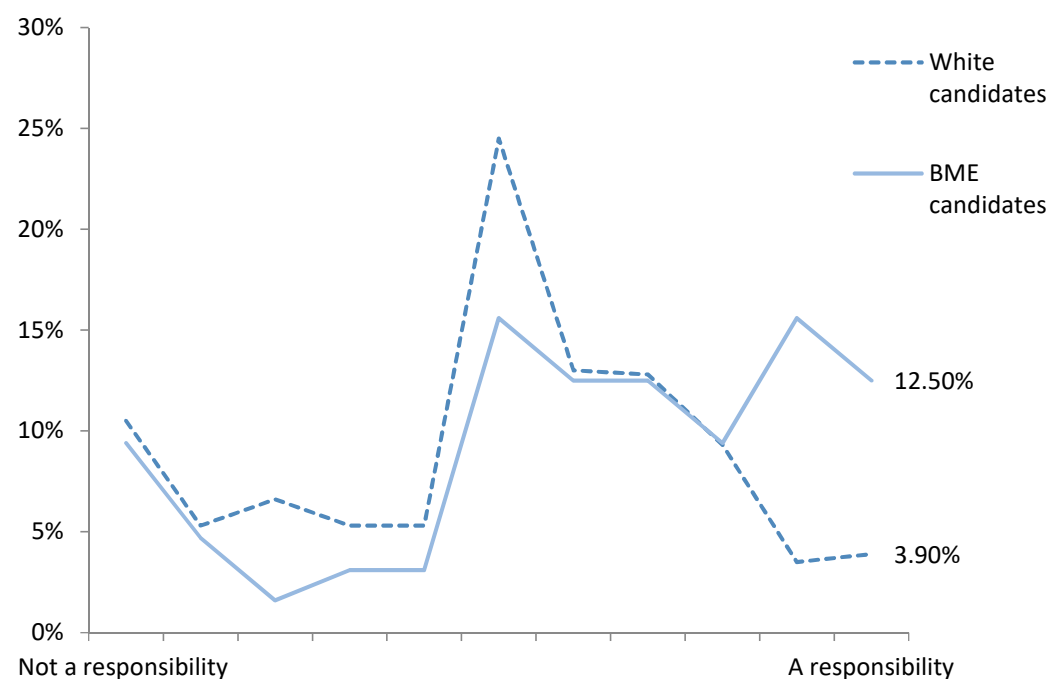
Chi Squared 63.772 P<0.001

n: BME 57, White 1136

Representative audit of Britain survey 2015 http://parliamentarycandidates.org/data/

FIGURE 6-1 A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY TO REPRESENT; BME AND WHITE CANDIDATES

I now turn to H_3, hypothesising that both a sense of linked fate and responsibility to represent will be stronger among candidates contesting seats with strong ethnic minority presence and H_4, that both measures will be stronger amongst Labour voters and candidates. The results below are from ordinal logistic regressions looking at factors associated with views on shared experience (Table 6-9) and responsibility to represent (Table 6-10). Table 6-9 shows the odds ratios for moving one point on a five point scale, from Strongly Disagree to

Strongly Agree, with the statement that "Non-white people don't have the same opportunities and chances in life as white people, as they are held back by prejudice and discrimination".

Table 6-10 shows the odds ratios for moving one point on al 11-point scale (0-10) from disagreeing to agreeing with the statement "Being of ethnic minority origin does present special responsibilities for ethnic minority Members of Parliament". In each case, the odds ratios are calculated for three sets of categorical variables, candidate is BME compared to not BME, candidate is from a right wing (Conservative or UKIP) party, and candidate is standing for a constituency that is ethnically diverse (>20% ethnic minorities versus less than 20%). The directions of the associations are intuitive, although perhaps the size of some of the associations are surprising large. Thus, BME candidates are more likely to agree with both statements (Linked fate Odds Ratio (OR) = 4.98 p>0.001; Responsibility OR = 4.97 p<0.001) and those from right wing parties are much less likely to agree (linked fate OR = 0.04 p<0.001; Responsibility OR = 0.042 p<0.001). Because the size of the Odds Ratios for Right Wing parties was so low, I undertook further analyses, substituting two alternative party variables, Conservatives versus all others and UKIP versus all others (Appendix table D-3 and Appendix table D-4). In both cases, the odds of agreeing with the statements were still very low, although with linked fate to a much greater extent for UKIP candidates.

TABLE 6-9 "NON-WHITE PEOPLE DON'T HAVE THE SAME OPPORTUNITIES AND CHANCES IN LIFE AS WHITE PEOPLE, AS THEY ARE HELD BACK BY PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION"

	BME	Ethnic density	Right wing	All variables included	All variables with interaction	All variables with interaction
			Linked Fate			
BME candidate	2.59***			4.98***	3.33***	3.15***
Constituency 20% non-white		1.11*		1.17	1.09	1.16
Right wing party			0.047***	0.04***	0.04***	0.04***
BME*Constituency >20%					2.89*	
BME*Right wing party						3.10*
Nagelkerke r^2	0.012	0	0.355	0.377	0.379	0.379
n 1502						

*$p <0.05$, ** $p< 0.01$, ***$p<0.001$

Reference- Strongly agree

Source: Representative audit of Britain survey 2015 http://parliamentarycandidates.org/data/

TABLE 6-10 RESPONSIBILITY TO REPRESENT; BEING OF ETHNIC MINORITY ORIGIN DOES PRESENT SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES FOR ETHNIC MINORITY MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

| | Responsibility to represent | | | | |
	BME	Ethnic density	Right wing	All variables included	All variables with interaction [41]
BME candidate	4.39***			4.97***	2.73**
Constituency 20% non-white		1.14		1.07	0.97
Right wing party			0.44***	0.42***	0.41***
BME*Constituency					3.56**
Nagelkerke r^2	0.027	0.001	0.038	0.069	0.074
n 1193					

*p <0.05, ** p< 0.01, ***p<0.001

Source: Representative audit of Britain survey 2015 http://parliamentarycandidates.org/data/

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[41] An interaction with BME candidate and Right Wing party was run but was not significant

Turning to the hypotheses, the findings show that where the non-white population makes up 20% or more of the total population in a candidate's constituency, there is a statistically significant and positive association in terms of shared experience, but this is not seen with responsibility to represent. This is evidence to support part of H_3. There is an electoral incentive effect that is associated with greater sense of shared experience. Thus, candidates seeking election to seats with a substantial ethnic presence are more likely to agree that non-white people are held back by prejudice and discrimination, although this is no longer significant when other variables are included. For BME candidates the ethnic density of the constituency is a good predictor of their sense of shared experience and responsibility to represent. There is, however, a need for caution about interpreting the association as causal as candidates who hold these views, white or minority may be more likely to seek out, or be already resident in, ethnically diverse constituencies, there is more discussion of this in the conclusion.

These tables also provide evidence in support of H_4. As noted above, Table 6-9 shows that candidates who are standing for right wing parties are far less likely to agree that non-white people are held back than candidates standing for other parties (OR = 0.04 p<0.001). Thus, there is evidence of a party effect on the notion of linked fate. Agreement with this notion is found more strongly amongst candidates of non-right wing parties, among which Labour is the main one. There is also evidence in support of H_4 in terms of candidate's sense of responsibility to represent. Those in right wing parties are significantly less likely to see a responsibility for minority candidates to represent ethnic minorities (OR = 0.42 p<0.001) for both statements this holds even when controlling for the other variables. For the measure of linked fate, being a BME candidate is associated with the outcome, and this is influenced little by the introduction of other variables. However, what is interesting is the impact that being a candidate for a right-wing party has. These candidates are significantly very much

less likely to support either of the statements, although for linked fate, as the interaction with BME candidate shows this is predominantly lead by the non-BME candidate responses.

The interaction term in Table 6-10 shows that for the sense of responsibility to represent, candidates who are both from a BME background *and* represent seats with an ethnic presence are most likely to feel that being an ethnic minority representative confers a special responsibility to represent these groups (OR = 3.56 p<0.01). For linked fate (Table 6-9) this interaction is also statistically significant (OR = 2.89 p<0.05) but it does not have the same effect on improving the odds ratio as it does for the sense of a responsibility to represent.

The results of the regressions show that party allegiance does matter, consistent with H_4. However, as this issue is still relatively understudied, the next section looks in more detail at the role of party. Table 6-9 and Table 6-10 both indicate that right wing parties (Conservative and UKIP) are significantly less supportive of both shared experience and the responsibility to represent. Looking in more detail, Table 6-11 demonstrates that there is considerable variation by party in terms of support for the two statements. Labour candidates are by far the most likely to support the idea of shared experience, that ethnic minorities are held back by discrimination and prejudice (88% of Labour candidates). Furthermore, Labour candidates are the only group whose mean score on the sense of responsibility measure is above 5 (the neutral value). On average then, it is Labour candidates who feel that there is a responsibility to represent ethnic minorities, a view shared by both BME and non-BME candidates, thereby supporting the hypothesis.

TABLE 6-11 CANDIDATES AND VOTERS SENSE OF LINKED FATE (5 POINT SCALE) AND CANDIDATES SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY TO REPRESENT (11 POINT SCALE, 0-10)

	Sense of linked fate "Non-white people don't have the same opportunities and chances in life as white people, as they are held back by prejudice and discrimination"			Responsibility to represent
	Disagree/Strongly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree/Strongly agree	Mean score on 0-10 scale agreeing it is a responsibility
Labour voters	13.7%	31.0%	55.3%	-
Labour BME Candidates	0%	0%	100%	7.00
Labour non-BME Candidates	3.5%	9.1%	87.5%	5.55
All Labour Candidates	3.2%	8.7%	88.0%	5.57
Lib-Dem voters	26.3%	36.4%	37.3%	-
Lib-Dem BME Candidates	0%	11.1%	88.9%	6.47
Lib-Dem non-BME Candidates	8.7%	18.3%	73%	4.76
All Lib-Dem candidates	8.3%	17.4%	74.3%	4.83
Conservative voters	29.0%	27.9%	38.0%	-
Conservative BME Candidates	27.8%	27.8%	44.5%	6.50
Conservative non-BME Candidates	50%	25%	25%	4.18
All Conservative candidates	47.0%	25.6%	27.3%	4.45
UKIP voters	42.3%	12.0%	36.2%	-
UKIP BME Candidates	8.3%	27.8%	44.5%	5.80
UKIP non-BME Candidates	66.2%	21.1%	12.7%	3.71
All UKIP Candidates	62.9%	21.0%	16.1%	3.8

Source: representative audit of Britain survey 2015 http://parliamentarycandidates.org/data/

Liberal Democrat candidates closely follow Labour candidates in their support for the sense of linked fate (74.3%). With a mean of 4.83, they also are the next most supportive candidates of the responsibility of BME representatives to represent ethnic minorities. Conservative candidates are split very evenly between the neutral and positive responses to the concept of linked fate, 47% of candidates disagreed with the statement. Along with UKIP candidates, who are the most hostile to the concept of linked fate (62.9%), Conservatives are also the only other candidates to have a majority of respondents disagree with this statement. UKIP candidates' also have the lowest mean score when asked whether BME candidates have a responsibility to represent ethnic minorities.

Looking again at Table 6-11, comparing BME and non-BME candidates' support for these statements, in all parties it is the BME Candidates who are *most* supportive of both linked fate and responsibility to represent. Support for responsibility to represent amongst BME candidates of all parties is above the neutral value (5). For BME Conservative and Liberal Democrat candidates, the mean score is almost identical (Conservative 6.50, Liberal Democrat 6.47). The difference between BME and non-BME candidates within parties is most stark with candidates in right-wing parties as non-BME Liberal Democrat and Labour candidates are very supportive anyway. Indeed, amongst UKIP candidates there is almost a reversal in terms of support for linked fate (BME strongly agree 44.5%, non-BME strongly agree 12.7%; BME strongly disagree 8.3%, non-BME strongly disagree 66.2%). Thus, BME candidates are always *more* supportive of linked fate and responsibility to represent than non-BME candidates from within their own party, even if they are less supportive than average candidates from other parties.

To look in more detail at the potential role of ideology in this mechanism, Table 6-12 looks at other measures of candidate's attitudes, this can be considered to be closely tied to party

ideology. This shows different measures of conservative and liberal ideology, both economic and social, as well as candidates own self perception of themselves on a left right scale. Candidates representing parties of the left are more socially and economically liberal. Conservative and UKIP candidates are more in favour of harsher sentences, and more opposed to redistribution of income and the notion of inequality. They were also less likely to believe that immigration enriches culture in Britain than were Labour or Liberal Democrat candidates. These measures show that the parties are quite distinct on the left-right axis of ideology, especially on measures of equality and redistribution. This provides support for the idea that party ideology may be a strong factor in why candidates of parties of the left, including Labour, are more likely to be receptive to notions of linked fate and the responsibility of BME representatives to represent ethnic minorities.

TABLE 6-12 PROXY MEASURES OF CONSERVATIVE LIBERAL IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONING (MEAN SCORES)

	Labour	Lib Dem	Conservative	UKIP
Self-perceived left-right positioning (1 left, 10 right)	2.97	4.17	6.70	5.67
Immigration enriches culture in Britain (1-7)*	5.86	5.89	4.41	2.47
Government should redistribute income (1-5)**	4.57	4.15	2.75	2.66
Ordinary working people do not get their fair share of the nation's wealth (1-5)**	4.51	3.8	2.79	3.62
People who break the law should be given tougher sentences (1-5)**	2.84	2.69	3.24	3.41

7 Immigration enriches, 1 Immigration undermines

**1 Strongly disagree-, 3 Neutral, 5 Strongly Agree*

Source: representative audit of Britain survey 2015 http://parliamentarycandidates.org/data/

Additionally, looking at support for specific measures to improve the descriptive representation of ethnic minorities (see Appendix table D-1 and Appendix Table D-2) Conservative (65.3%) and UKIP (75%) candidates are most likely to strongly disapprove of measures to bring in legislative quotas for BME candidates. Whilst none of the largest parties overwhelmingly support this, only 16.7% Labour candidates strongly disapprove. Conservative and UKIP candidates are also the most likely to disapprove of measures to increase financial support for BME candidates, thus indicating candidates from these parties are more likely to disagree with measures to address the under-representation of ethnic minorities in Parliament.

Conclusion

This chapter used a unique combination of survey data from ethnic minority voters and BME and non-BME candidates at the 2015 General Election in the United Kingdom to test empirically three of the most frequently proposed theoretical mechanisms for why there is an expected link between descriptive and substantive representation of ethnic minorities. The three mechanisms tested were (1) that ethnic minority candidates and voters had a sense of shared fate as a non-white minority group (*intrinsic*), (2) that ethnic minority candidates felt motivated because of a responsibility to represent ethnic minority interests in parliament (*intrinsic*), and (3) that candidates are guided by electoral incentives and therefore those representing seats with an ethnic presence would be more likely to support both (*extrinsic*). Finally, H_4, that political party would have an effect, was tested, specifically asking whether Labour candidates would be more likely to respond positively to both items versus candidates of right-wing parties. It was hypothesised that Labour candidates are both more aware of issues relating to ethnic minorities, such as discrimination compared to candidates of right-wing parties, and the party has traditionally been more open to minority candidates and voters.

There is empirical support for *both* intrinsic mechanisms that would make ethnic minority candidates willing, or able, to represent ethnic minorities in parliament. Minority candidates felt a sense of shared experience, or linked fate with other non-white people in Britain, and they also felt that they and other political representatives had a responsibility to represent ethnic minority voters. Interestingly, non-BME candidates from all mainstream parties also shared the perception that racial prejudice holds minorities back, which is the selected measure of linked fate. This shared perspective between non-BME and BME candidates may help explain why the gap in levels of substantive representation from minority and non-BME parliamentarians in Britain has previously been found to be very small (Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012). However, in the case of non-BME candidates, this may be a reflection of the sense that denying prejudice and discrimination may be politically incorrect, or it may reflect the general liberalism of university educated political elites.

There is some empirical support for the third, extrinsic mechanism linking descriptive and substantive representation, in keeping with other literature (Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012). While candidates who seek to represent constituencies with 20 or more per cent of ethnic minority residents had a greater sense of linked fate, as measured by their perception that non-white people are held back by prejudice and discrimination, there no significant associations between the ethnic presence in the constituency and the candidate's motivations to represent once other variables are taken into account. The effect of the ethnic presence in a candidate's constituency also has a much smaller impact on the candidates' sense of linked fate, than did being of minority origin and their party affiliation. However, for the sense of responsibility to represent, being both a BME candidate *and* seeking to represent a seat with an ethnic presence (>20% ethnic minorities) was a stronger predictor than being a BME candidate alone.

Finally, there is persuasive evidence of the impact of party ideology. Candidates from parties of the left were more likely to support the notion that members of ethnic minority communities share the experience of being held back by prejudice and discrimination, whilst the reverse was true of candidates from parties of the right. Findings also showed that the sense of responsibility also varied by party. Only Labour Party candidates actively supported the idea of responsibility (with a mean score above the neutral value of 5). Thus, amongst candidates overall there is a general consensus that although members of minority communities share common experiences, there was not much support for the view that it is necessarily a responsibility of ethnic minority Members of Parliament to represent minority communities specifically. However, this changes when looking at the ethnicity of these candidates. BME candidates of all parties were more likely to be supportive of both statements than their non-BME counterparts, even if BME candidates from right-wing parties are, on average, less supportive than BME candidates from left wing parties.

The relationship between support for linked fate and party is complex. Labour and Liberal Democrat candidates were considerably more supportive of the notion than Labour and Liberal Democrat voters but the reverse was true of Conservative and UKIP candidates and voters. It is likely that this variation is linked to ideological constraint, with candidates exhibiting more clearly defined ideological positions on the issue than voters. However, when looking at BME candidates and voters from ethnic minorities included in the BES, they are more closely tied in their responses.

This chapter seeks to flesh out, empirically, the discussion of the causal mechanisms behind the link between descriptive and substantive representation. This chapter shows that descriptive representation does matter, BME candidates of all parties responded to the intrinsic motivations of linked fate and responsibility, more than non-BME members of their

party. For the sense that being a descriptive representative brings a responsibility to represent, it mattered that the candidate was BME and that they were seeking to represent seats with an ethnic presence. Finally, the importance of party should be highlighted. Those candidates for parties on the right were very strongly opposed to both measures to improve descriptive representation but they were also less likely to respond to the intrinsic motivations. The size of these differences was surprising, however this might be accounted for by the fact that these respondents are indeed candidates, many of whom will be new to Parliament and new to the levels of social desirability or constraint that come with the role of a Member of Parliament in a party of the House of Commons.

This chapter makes an important contribution to the discussion of motivations and the mechanisms behind substantive representation by contributing a more focused understanding of the intrinsic motivation behind descriptive representatives' willingness and ability to represent. Specifically, it distinguishes two separate, but usually poorly differentiated mechanisms: shared experience and explicit motivation to represent. The sense that these two should be conceptually distinct is confirmed by the empirical finding that the ethnic make-up of the constituency correlates with one (sense of shared experience), but not the other (conscious motivation to represent). This could also indicate the complex nature of what is often assumed to be extrinsic and electoral incentives motivations to represent. Finally, given the relationship between ethnic presence in a constituency and shared experience, but not other representational attitudes, it is possible that apart from the obvious electoral advantages of representing ethnic minority voters well when they form a significant proportion of one's electorate. Another advantage that candidates who stand in ethnically diverse seats have is a greater opportunity to learn and appreciate the role that racial discrimination plays in their minority voters' lives. This is something that has been a theme throughout the thesis and warrants further research.

Chapter 7.   Conclusions

The research question and its origins

The research in this thesis is designed to ask how ethnic minorities are substantively represented in the British parliamentary system. Recognising that the substantive representation of ethnic minorities is crucially important, for the sake of justice, the promotion of group interests and for the legitimacy of our legislatures, I have taken existing theories and new data to research in depth how ethnic minorities are substantively represented in Parliament.

Whether there can be said to be a link between the descriptive and substantive representation of ethnic minorities in the UK Parliament matters for several reasons. First, although the 2010 election saw a record 27 BME Members of Parliament elected to parliament, as 4.2% of the House of Commons this was still below the almost 13% of ethnic minorities in the population. Second, concerns about the under-representation of ethnic minorities have been growing because of increasing reports of anti-immigration sentiment and prejudice in the news media. Yet the concept of political representation of ethnic minorities had been severely under researched, despite some empirically important work (Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012).

This thesis was therefore also conceived in response to the relative gap in the literature on ethnic minority representation in the UK, and also in light of the wealth of underused data on parliamentary activity, including debates. In the context of the increase in BME Members of Parliament the Parliament of the UK now provided an opportunity to test more robustly some of the key theories of political representation.

Findings and contribution to the field of political representation

I have taken a holistic approach to the complex concept of representation. This has been inspired by a desire to look at this issue from different angles, using various methods, with new sources of data. This approach has allowed me to show how, why, and when representation takes place.

How and why

I have been able to identify several direct mechanisms through which representation takes place in the UK Parliament. The first, is through descriptive representatives, as revealed in the studies of substantive representation in parliamentary speech presented in Chapters 3 and 4. In Chapter 3 I show that there are important differences in how BME and non-BME Members of Parliament speak about ethnic minority communities in debates on anti-terrorism legislation. Amongst those who speak in these debates, it is the BME Members of Parliament who are far more likely to focus on ethnic minority communities and the impact that the legislation has on them. There is clear evidence that descriptive and non-descriptive representatives differ in how they operate in this context.

Another way that representation takes place is through critical actors. This builds on Chapter 3, which shows that not all BME Members of Parliament were motivated to speak during critical events. Thus, I broaden the scope of the analysis to include non-BME Members of Parliament in Chapter 4, asking where I can find *critical actors* in the UK Parliament. The concept of critical actors has previously attracted attention, being posited as a way of moving on from the unhelpful concept of critical mass, which is relatively unsupported by empirical evidence (Childs & Krook, 2006, 2009). Yet, so far, the concept of critical actors has been under-researched, with uncertainty about how best to operationalize the concept and select

appropriate methods for its study. Consequently, this chapter takes a different approach from the previous one, attempting to draw some broader conclusions about the potential motivations of critical actors and how this concept might be operationalized in empirical research, thus moving this field of study forward. This chapter speaks to the main research question by showing how substantive representation happens, offering an alternative narrative for the relationship between the descriptive and substantive representation of ethnic minorities.

I find that the concept of critical actors does, to an extent, explain how representation happens. BME and non-BME Members of Parliament are both speaking about ethnic minorities, but they are concentrated among those who are Labour and represent ethnically dense constituencies. Thus substantive representation is most likely when critical actors are motivated by something else. In this chapter I show that they are motivated by electoral incentives or party allegiance. In the UK there is some conflation between these two mechanisms as Labour Members of Parliament are more likely than those from other parties to be elected into urban, and ethnically diverse seats.

In Chapter 5 I look at another aspect of how substantive representation happens by testing the responsiveness of Members of Parliament to an ethnic minority constituent. This reflects my belief that to undertake an in-depth study of political representation one must explore the multiple points at which political representation can occur. That led me to look at how responsive Members of Parliament are to their constituents and whether ethnic minority constituents might face barriers when contacting their Member of Parliament. This is, I argue, an integral part of the process of representation.

The outcome of this study was double edged; in one sense the differences in the response rates are not overly large, which is good, because it means in the UK any discrimination against ethnic minority constituents is not very great. However, there are differences, and consistently in the way that one might expect, according to several measures including response rate, the usefulness of the response and the cordiality of the response all favour the white British constituent. Thus, in thinking about how substantive representation happens, Members of Parliament are less responsive to a constituent of minority origin, although the small differences and the relatively low n for BME Members of Parliament limit the ability to draw inferences about what is happening. The detailed results are especially interesting. Not only was the Black African constituent less likely to receive a response, but this pattern persists when looking at how friendly or welcoming the email was, and crucially how useful was the information that was provided. Ethnic minorities are therefore disadvantaged at this level of representation, which will have an impact on the representation of their issues and concerns in Parliament.

Finally, I have identified direct mechanisms through which substantive representation takes place. I examine some of these mechanisms in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 but in Chapter 6 I explicitly examine intrinsic and extrinsic motivations. I show that there are both *intrinsic;* shared experience and responsibility to rep*resent* and *extrinsic* mechanisms; political party and electoral incentives. In the final empirical chapter, based on a paper co-authored with Maria Sobolewska and Rosie Campbell who assisted me in collecting the necessary public opinion and candidate survey data, I test these mechanisms explicitly. This chapter speaks to the overarching research question by looking at *why* substantive representation happens, specifically the motivations that underlie it. These are a sense of shared experience and the sense of a responsibility to represent as well as electoral incentives and political allegiance. Although these first two mechanisms are potentially related, they are also conceptually distinct. The sense of responsibility, for example, takes account of the heterogeneity of ethnic

minorities and the relatively high threshold for action in the legislature. There is clear evidence to support intrinsic motivations. Minority Members of Parliament do feel a sense of shared experience and a responsibility to represent. However, there is less clear evidence for extrinsic motivation. There is also evidence linking these intrinsic motivations with parties of the left, which is consistent with the evidence in Chapter 3 where it was shown that only one of the BME Members of Parliament who spoke in the anti-terrorism debates was Conservative, and the evidence in Chapter 5 that the difference in the response rates from Conservative Members of Parliament was far greater than that among Labour Members of Parliament. This evidence points towards a distinct ideological influence, which sees Labour representatives take these positions. As shown in Chapter 6, these are often stronger ideological positions than those of their voters.

When

This thesis also tells us about when substantive representation happens and, thus, under which circumstances we are most likely to observe this taking place. In Chapter 3 I look at the question of whether BME Members of Parliament are more likely to speak on behalf of ethnic minorities in Parliament. To do this I draw on Jane Mansbridge's work, which explains that, in answer to criticisms of descriptive representation, descriptive representatives may not be motivated to substantively represent those they share characteristics with at all times but will be motivated, and best placed, to represent their interests under specific circumstances or in particular contexts. This chapter looks at one of these, and explores the substantive representation of ethnic minorities in the context of critical events. The rationale for this is that with so few BME Members of Parliament and with a relatively high threshold for action in terms of availability and motivation to be able to participate in debates, critical events will be when we are most likely to see this happen. This

does, if you will, provide a magnifying glass through which to look at the behaviour of Members of Parliament, and especially BME Members of Parliaments' speech.

The results of this chapter are very insightful. Comparing the speech of non-BME and BME Members of Parliament, which to the best of my knowledge is the first time this has been done, provides stark results. This chapter provides some evidence that substantive representation happens during critical events, to a greater extent than I find in Chapter 4, during general debates in Parliament. Those BME Members of Parliament who are able and motivated to speak in the anti-terrorism debates are consistently talking only about ethnic minority communities and the effect of the legislation on them. But perhaps more interesting, because these nuanced findings are revealed through Corpus Linguistic Analysis, is the framing of the Muslim community in these debates. Comparing the speech of non-BME and BME Members of Parliament shows that, amongst the former, these communities are framed as separate from the rest, of society and in often dichotic relation to the state and the police, which serves only to "other" these communities. This is in contrast to the speech of BME Members of Parliament, which consistently frames these communities within society and as part of a wider society which serves to both bolster the idea that they are a larger group that should be heard and also that they are not so distinct from the rest of society and so should not be treated as such in the legislation. This has important implications for how we understand the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation, providing evidence to add to the existing literature that these other underlying mechanisms have an important influence of the motivations of Members of Parliament to represent (Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012).

In summary, the empirical findings show that there is some support for a link between the descriptive and substantive representation, in certain contexts and sheds light on how, when and where the substantive representation of ethnic minorities occurs.

Contribution to the field of substantive representation

Throughout this thesis, I have brought together the theoretical concepts from normative scholars, across the field of substantive representation and tested them using new data and methods to understand the substantive representation of ethnic minorities in the UK. I look at substantive representation from several perspectives. These include contexts where we expect ethnic minority concerns to be more salient, the responsiveness of Members of Parliament to their minority constituents, and the mechanisms and motivation for substantive representation by BME representatives. In doing so, this body of research contributes to the existing literature and knowledge in three key ways; theory, supporting transposition of some theories of female representation; empirical findings, supporting existing literature and adding new findings; and methods, adopting methods less frequently used in the social sciences.

I have addressed the core issue of substantive representation by exploring specific contexts and mechanisms which are outlined in the normative literature. These are critical events, critical actors, responsiveness, and motivation. These mechanisms have either never been tested before or have not been tested to this extent, or in the UK context. Thus, the thesis benefits from not only exploring the core concept but asking how and why substantive representation occurs in a way that has not been done before.

In this thesis, I have shown the benefits we can draw from using existing theoretical models, some originally designed for women's substantive representation. There are some clear parallels that scholars of ethnic minority representation should be aware of. We can draw on the extensive literature from what is a longer standing field of research to help inform and guide our own studies. However, there are also key areas where our understanding of the substantive representation of these two groups separates. For example, I have shown, as has previous research, that electoral incentives and the make-up of the constituency can influence substantive representation, although their strength varies in different contexts. This will have an effect on any policy implications we want to draw from this evidence. It may be, for example, a concern for substantive representation considering the Conservative Party strategy of placing ethnic minority candidates in predominantly white seats.

In the course of testing empirically these different theories, concepts and mechanisms of substantive representation, this thesis has employed different methodological approaches. Corpus Linguistics Analysis (CLA) proved to be a very useful way of getting at the concept of representation by looking at parliamentary speech, Corpus Linguistics has been used previously to analyse Hansard records, although with a different focus, Paul Baker (2004b) compared the speech of members of the House of Lords during debates on laws relating to homosexuality. However, this thesis has shown the benefits of using these methods. It is a relatively new and underused method, but which holds a lot of potential, especially in relation to the question of representation, what our representatives say, and how they frame different groups in the debates, which this thesis has shown. Moreover, this thesis has shown that experimental methods using email can be used successfully in the UK, despite the many concerns around parliamentary protocol and contacting Members of Parliament. There are many innovative experimental studies from the USA, which we can look to develop for the UK context.

Notably, especially in the light of the conclusions of this thesis, ethnic minority constituents in the UK do not have the sense that a BME Member of Parliament would be more likely to reply to them because of their shared ethnic background. This is despite the findings here that minority representatives themselves feel a sense of responsibility and linked fate. A question tabled on the Online British Election Study panel survey asked the BME respondents "If you were to write to your Member of Parliament with a problem, how likely do you think they would be to help?" Surprisingly, it showed that, despite all the literature on the *politics of presence*, the evidence in this thesis of a link between descriptive and substantive representation (Chapter 3) and the greater motivation of ethnic minority Members of Parliament (Chapter 6), ethnic minority constituents do not necessarily recognise this link with their descriptive representatives. Instead, as Figure 7-1 shows, those ethnic minority respondents represented by a BME Member of Parliament are less likely than those represented by a non-BME Member of Parliament to think their Member of Parliament will be responsive to them.

Note: n=1568; Weighted
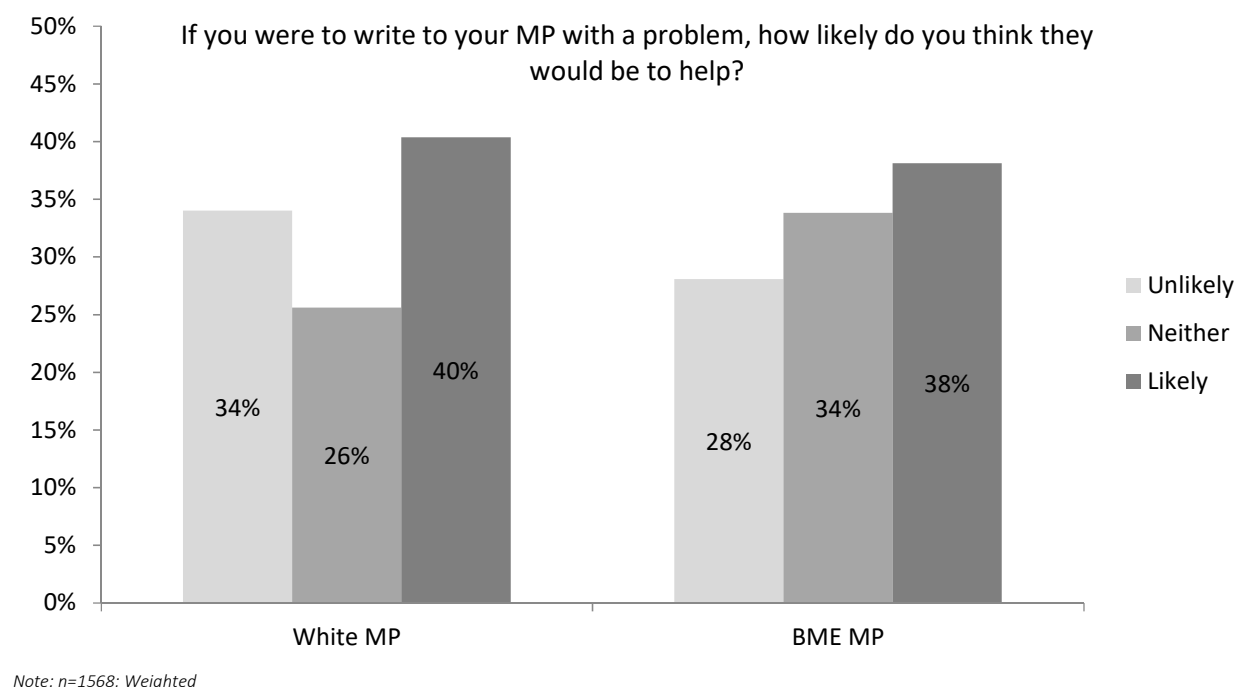
FIGURE 7-1 ETHNIC MINORITY PERCEPTIONS OF THE RESPONSIVENESS OF THEIR MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

Further to this, ethnic minority respondents were asked specifically if they think that if the Member of Parliament was from the same ethnic background as them, whether this would make the Member of Parliament more likely to help them. Here the results are equally surprising (Figure 7-2), the majority of respondents said that having a Member of Parliament from the same ethnic background as them would make no difference to the likeliness of the Member of Parliament to help them. Amongst the ethnic minority respondents, those from a mixed ethnic background or other ethnic background were most likely to think that it would make no difference and amongst Black African and Caribbean respondents 58% of them thought that having a Member of Parliament from the same ethnic background as them would have no effect. These results are surprising, given what we know already and what this thesis has revealed in relation to substantive representation, especially given the evidence from Chapter 5, which shows that non-BME Members of Parliament were less likely to respond to the Black African respondent and that the content was less useful, thus they were less likely to help the constituent.
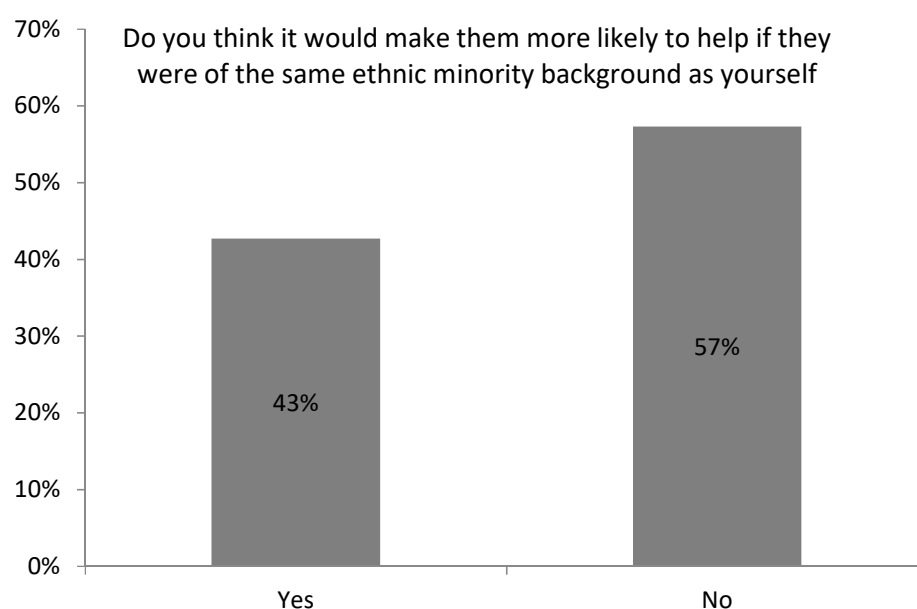
Note: n= 1323; Weighted

FIGURE 7-2 ETHNIC MINORITY PERCEPTIONS OF RESPONSIVENESS BY A CO-ETHNIC MEMBER OF
PARLIAMENT

Limitations

The research described in the empirical chapters has a number of limitations, each of which is addressed within those chapters. However, there are some broader limitations to the research that will be considered below.

The weakest findings in the thesis are those in the Critical Actors chapter although the reasoning and justification for such a study are theoretically sound and well developed. The aim of this study was, firstly, to understand some of the motivational mechanisms behind why particular actors in Parliament would choose to act on behalf of BME constituents or the BME population. Secondly, I wanted to expand the scope of this study to look at those who are not of BME origin but who substantively represent ethnic minorities. However, whilst it provides some evidence for electoral incentives, adding to the accumulating support for this mechanism throughout the thesis, the evidence is not as robust as we might hope. This is likely due to having chosen a general corpus of debates, or choosing debates in general. Drawing on the evidence from the Critical Events Chapter, Chapter 3, it is likely that where we might see evidence of "critical actors" is actually in the context of critical events, or during debates and instances where the threshold for action is relatively low and motivation is relatively high, for example during debates on equality, or more specific debates on religious dress in school and reunification migration of families to the UK.

Questions for future research will inevitably include what a critical event is or when are these critical moments when the motivation is high enough to act on behalf of ethnic minority groups? I strongly believe that the analysis of the anti-terrorism legislation is an excellent example of a series of critical events. However, I recognise the limitations of these particular critical events to fully get at the substantive representation of other ethnic minority groups,

given how the anti-terrorism rhetoric has been aimed increasingly at Muslims in the past decade.

A final point of caution is about electoral incentives, a key concept which emerges throughout the thesis. Normatively we understand why, rationally, representatives are more likely to represent those in their constituencies (Mansbridge, 2003; Norris, 2004). And the empirical evidence shows support for this as well (Broockman, 2013; Saalfeld & Bischof, 2012). In this thesis, I find mixed support for this mechanism and in the final chapter where we explicitly test representatives' motivations; finding that electoral incentives correlate with the sense of shared experience but not the conscious motivation to represent. These findings and the mixed support in the other chapters lead me to question what lies behind this motivation. It could be linked to the anticipatory nature of elections, particularly in single member district electoral systems such as the UK, and the representatives' goal for re-election. Or is it something else such as representatives in diverse seats will have more opportunity to learn about their constituents and understand better the impact of racial discrimination on them? The electoral incentives model is often and indeed in this thesis, applied rather bluntly, because we know that theoretically and empirically it is a sound concept. However, because of the mixed results and especially the different ways it interplays with representatives motivations to act we need to better understand how it works and why.

Another issue is the heterogeneity of ethnic minorities in the UK. Although the data and the methods do not always allow for a nuanced study of the different ethnic minority groups I have tried as far as possible to address this in my chapters and in the conclusions that I draw. It is still difficult with quantitative methods to study the smaller sub groups or communities under the umbrella term of "ethnic minorities" in the UK, even if we do recognise the importance of doing so. This is something that will become easier to do as the numbers of

ethnic minorities in the UK grows and the number of BME Members of Parliament in Parliament increase. However, I do think that there are other questions that future research will have to deal with. This is the fact that the ethnic minority population in the UK is changing, it is diversifying because we have new migrants from different countries, backgrounds and who are migrating for different reasons. However, at the same time, some ethnic minority communities are undergoing considerable assimilation. As the second and third generations intermarry, it will become not only harder to identify these groups but it will also reveal what I believe will be interesting questions about changing identities, and how people identify in different contexts.

Implications

Whilst the research was being undertaken the subject of the representation of ethnic minorities became even more important, for three reasons. Firstly, the last few years has seen a surge in far-right parties and politicians across Europe and, recently, in the USA. The rise in anti-immigrant and ethnic prejudice rhetoric in the media, but now also in mainstream politics, raises huge concerns for ethnic minorities in these countries and emphasises the importance of their substantive representation in legislatures. The professionalization of these far-right politicians, or far-right with a "friendly face" such as Nigel Farage the figurehead, if not always leader, of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) serves to legitimise, for some, this rhetoric. This damaging rhetoric has possibly not been heard at this level since the infamous interview with Margaret Thatcher in 1978 when she discussed the UK as being "swamped" by migrants at a time when the National Front were gaining popularity in the country. During the past few years there has also been the introduction of further anti-terrorism legislation, in response to the so called "Trojan horse" schools scandal and several young Muslims from the UK travelling to Syria to join ISIS. This legislation and the debates surrounding it seem to increase further concerns amongst

minority communities, and commentators such as Liberty, about the effects, intended or otherwise, of the legislation on minority communities. These changes encapsulate certain "critical events", times when we might expect those with a shared background and understanding of discrimination to act on behalf of and voice the concerns of minority groups in the UK. This then prompted the study comparing the speech of BME and non-BME Members of Parliament speech during critical events which is in Chapter 3.

Secondly, there have been other challenges affecting ethnic minorities and their representation in the years since I started this thesis. The change in the way we are required to register to vote in the UK was changed prior to the 2015 General Election to Individual Electoral Registration (IER). Commentators expressed great concern for those already under-represented on the electoral register, including a majority of ethnic minorities who live in urban areas and dubbed the "missing millions". The changes meant that those already marginalised from politics or political activities are more likely to fall further off the radar, as there is now a further barrier to registration. Further to this, the on-going boundary review, which is set to change the voting constituencies in the UK from 2020, is based on this electoral register, so those people are going to be further adversely affected as the review does not take them into account. This prompted me to look at something that I was already interested in, the responsiveness of Members of Parliament to registration of ethnic minorities in the UK, a particularly salient issue at the time, as set out in Chapter 5.

A final reason why this research question became even more important was the results of the General Election in 2015. In May 41 BME Members of Parliament were returned or newly elected to office. This record number means that, for those of us researching ethnic minority representation, there are now more BME Members of Parliament than ever before. This strengthens our ability to research this area. The results were also interesting because the

rise in Conservative BME Members of Parliament meant that BME Members of Parliament are now more equally spread across the two main parties, Labour and Conservative. The rise in Conservative BME Members of Parliament and the parties' strategies for increasing BME representation raise interesting questions about the mechanisms behind the substantive representation of ethnic minorities amongst Members of Parliament who share more similar backgrounds with non-BME Members of Parliament than the majority of ethnic minorities in the population and who, amongst Conservative Members of Parliament, also represent 'white seats' where the proportion of ethnic minority constituents is extremely low. The mechanisms behind substantive representation are explored throughout this thesis but are particularly scrutinised in Chapter 6.

Throughout this thesis, I have discovered some interesting and important findings, some which support the existing literature as I have highlighted but also, as I shall explain below, findings which have implications for both policy and future research.

Policy implications

This thesis provides some evidence in favour of increasing descriptive representation. Consequently, one policy implication must be for supply side initiatives for BME candidates (Hampshire, 2012). Since 2005, there has been increasing attention paid by the three largest parties in Britain to the low number of BME Members of Parliament. The Labour Party has tried to increase the proportion of BME Members of Parliament with new approaches to selection of their candidates. However it is the Conservative Party that, in the last election, really improved on this by selecting 15.6% of BME candidates into retirement seats, compared with Labour's selection of 2.9% BME candidates into these, usually regarded as the safest election seats (Krooks & Nugent, 2016). Despite this, the number of BME Members of Parliament remains far below the proportion of the BME electorate, and despite

the relative success of All Women Shortlists (AWS) in Labour candidate selections in the UK, All BME Shortlists (ABS) have never been introduced. This is partly down to the uncertainty over the legality of ABS in relation to the Race Relations Act (Krooks & Nugent, 2016), but despite being briefly debated in 1993 (Norris, 1997), they have never been introduced officially, and the 2010 Equality Act despite extending AWS to 2030 does not allow for ABS or disability shortlists, although parties can reserve places on lists for certain protected groups (Kelly & White, 2016). This thesis does, however, provide some support for the introduction of ABS.

However, although not explored in the thesis, there needs to be some attention given to the intersectionality of race and gender, a concept inspired by the experiences of minority women (Crenshaw, 1991) and the understanding that the formal and informal rules, practices and norms of candidate selection are gendered and raced. Krooks and Nugent (2016) provide evidence for the potential of "tandem quotas", those which account for female and BME candidate, to result in positive outcomes for minority women.

The changes, mentioned above, in party practices for selecting BME candidates, including the more recent initiatives of the Conservative Party (Sobolewska, 2013), may on their own increase the numbers of descriptive representatives. However, this is shaped by each party's strategy, which for the Conservatives means placing BME candidates in safe, predominantly white, seats. Given what this thesis reveals about the importance of electoral incentives, and the existing gulf in the representation of Conservative and Labour Members of Parliament, this is unlikely to yield greater substantive representation for ethnic minorities.

A second policy message from this thesis is the need for more colour blinding in applications and correspondence. This links to evidence from this thesis but also evidence from other

areas where correspondence testing shows us that ethnic minorities face a disadvantage. David Cameron's Conservative Party speech in 2015 shows that there is already an appetite for this sort of change in government, with Cameron calling for UCAS university applications to made anonymous (Burns, 2015). However, the extent to which Theresa May's administration will pick up on this is yet to be seen. Although these types of changes will not directly affect the responsiveness of Members of Parliament to ethnic minority constituents, increasing the salience of this issue by bringing it into government policy coupled with diversity training for Members of Parliament and their staff will likely have an indirect effect.

Further to this, this thesis raises concerns about the recent electoral boundary changes in the UK. These changes were based on the register as of December 2015. This was the IER register which, as I have discussed previously, raised serious concerns for the under-registration of many groups but particular ethnic minorities in the UK. Crucially this does not take account of the upsurge in registration prior to the EU referendum. The Boundary Commission was instructed to undertake this review to ensure that there is fair and proportional representation across the UK, with boundaries being changed to account for changes in population. However, the low levels of registration in urban and relatively deprived areas means that these areas will be under represented whilst more affluent, predominantly white rural areas will likely have disproportionate representation in Parliament. Considering what this thesis and other research shows about the role of electoral incentives (setting aside for now the questions about the nuance of this motivation) it is particularly concerning that these boundary changes will likely see under representation of relatively deprived, urban inner city constituents where the majority of ethnic minority constituents live. If we also take account of the evidence of lower responsiveness to Black African constituents in Chapter 5 this raises further future concerns. Whilst some attention has been paid to the impact on these "missing millions" (Brett, 2016; Electoral Reform

Society, 2016b) there needs to be further high profile and in depth discussion of the impact of this boundary review on those who already have the smallest voice in politics.

A final potential implication for Westminster is on the funding and transparency of All Party Parliamentary Groups (APPG). I tried to use the membership lists as part of the analysis for Chapter 4 see Appendix B. These cross-party groups, of which there are currently 579,[42] cover a broad range of issues from Vascular Disease to Abused and Neglected Children and Betting and Gambling. APPGs can have an important impact on charities and organisations operating in these fields of interests. The APPG on Race and Community, for whom the Runnymede Trust provides the secretariat, has in the past published reports on race and sport, and the impact of welfare cuts on race and disability. These reports are important and the interaction with public and charity organisations is crucial, as both Members of Parliament and these organisations are representing these communities. However, a recent change in policy by the Government means that membership lists of these groups are no longer public. This was an issue for me as I wanted to find out which Members of Parliament were especially interested in the issues of Race and Community. Despite numerous emails to David Lammy's office (the chair of the APPG on Race and Community) I was told that no list would be provided. Further, with the debates around the anti-lobbying legislation, there is clearly less appetite in government for public and charitable organisations to lobby Members of Parliament, leaving their fate open to the interests of the private sector. This is also concerning for people interested in finding out what their Members of Parliament interests are, particularly when we look at some of the other APPG interests. Examples include Betting and Gambling, Beer, and Soft Drinks groups who receive funding from industry lobby groups and corporations. Although the funding information is transparent, the membership lists of the Members of Parliament (bar the chair and co-chairs) is not listed, and as I discovered,

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[42] Correct as of 24th November 2016

can be difficult to find out, this is something that clearly needs to be addressed in Parliament.

Research implications and future research

There are also implications for future research. Firstly, this thesis has benefited from using Hansard records to discover what Members of Parliament are saying in Parliament, as a measure of substantive representation. One issue is that the Hansard records are published online in a format that makes it difficult to scrape large amounts of text data from their website. The website They Work For You (TWFY), which is set up to make the records more accessible is helpful but there some inaccuracies in the text when compared directly with the original Hansard text. Additionally, it is not possible to search TWFY for specific legislation debates or committees.

For this thesis, I was able to have a computer program written for me that could scrape the data needed from the Hansard website. An implication therefore is that researchers must collaborate more effectively across disciplines in the future, with the use of big data and online content we will need to find better ways of pooling resources. Additionally, the Hansard office should do more to make the speech data more accessible to the public, allowing us to download text files of the speech and prepare a guide for the public and academics on how to effectively access and use the Hansard records online. These records should be in a more accessible format, to improve both the transparency and accountability of Members of Parliament.

This thesis has contributed to developing ways of analysing the Hansard records, shown the merits of using experimental studies with Members of Parliament and tested the underlying

mechanisms of substantive representation with survey data. It is important that these types of analyses should be carried out with clear and focused attention to methodological detail.

While this research goes beyond the existing literature, it also raises many other questions. Following the success of the email experiment among the Members of Parliament, there is a strong case for conducting a similar, experiment with local councillors. The greater number of local councillors will help to alleviate some of the limitations of the present study, and will extend to non-parliamentary avenues of representation at local level. This study would involve a far greater number of email recipients, allowing the researcher to use a wider variation of aliases to test for example, responses to other ethnic minority groups, such as Pakistani and Chinese, for example.

Appendix A. Corpus Linguistics terms and Chapter 3

Corpus Linguistic methods

In both Chapters 3 and 4 I undertake analysis of parliamentary speech text collected from the Hansard records. To analyse the texts, in both chapters, I make use of Corpus linguistics methods to explore and reveal evidence of substantive representation in the speech of Members of Parliament. Corpus Linguistics is a systematised means of studying language as used in the real world; it has been used for a range of purposes, including studies of the evolution of language and its geographical variations. Here it is used to compare the language used by speakers with different characteristics. In Chapter 3 this is done by comparing BME and non-BME Members of Parliament, and in Chapter 4 I do this by comparing Members of Parliament with ethnically diverse constituencies to all others and Labour Members of Parliament to all others. Although this type of analysis used to be done by hand, with the creation of new and increasingly efficient technology text is now most often analysed automatically using bespoke software, which allows me in this thesis to analysis millions of words of parliamentary speech. To do this I use a set of specific analytical methods with a specific set of terms, these are described in the next section.

Corpus Linguistic methods are increasingly being used in social science research which I discovered after completing a summer school course and a research visit to the Centre for Corpus Approaches to Social Science (CASS) at the University of Lancaster. Members of staff at this institute include Tony McEnery and Paul Baker who have written on, amongst other topics, the news media discourse patterns of migrants, Islam and comparing groups of Members of the House of Lords and their parliamentary speech. This prompted me to look at

using these methods to analyse the parliamentary speech as a way of exploring the substantive representation of ethnic minorities in this way, which has never been done before.

Glossary of Corpus Linguistic terms

Corpora/Corpus

A corpus (plural: Corpora) is a collection or body of text used for linguistic analysis. In corpus linguistic analysis this is usually stored in an electronic database to enable the corpus to be entered into the software. Corpus texts commonly consist of millions of words; the British National Corpus, which is a comprehensive collection of written and spoken general English, is made up of 100 million words. These corpora are compiled so as to provide a representative example of the language. This can take many forms. Thus, it can be spoken or written text, journalistic prose or academic writing, or it may be representative of a theme, such as articles on climate change or online forums discussing cancer treatment. Corpus analysis seeks to "objectively identify widespread patterns of naturally occurring language and rare instances, both of which may be over-looked in a small-scale analysis". For this reason it has been advocated as a useful method for the study of political speech (Paul Baker, 2004a, 346). There have been many different corpora compiled for different types of analysis and, in recent years, the approach has attracted growing attention in the social sciences, in areas such as sociolinguistics and discourse analysis of political debates(Paul Baker, 2009) .

In this thesis I use a specifically designed corpus, otherwise known as a specialist corpus, which has been designed to answer a specific question whilst still being a representative example of language. In Chapter 3 this is a sample of *all* debates and committee meetings from the progress of the anti-terrorism legislation from 2001-2015. In Chapter 4 I have a more general sample of parliamentary speech, taken from a random sample of sitting days in

Parliament between May 2015 and May 2016, one year after the 2015 General Election. Once the corpus or corpora have been chosen there are various different ways one can analyse the text. The following sections introduce the analytical tools used in this study and provide an introduction to the methods that will be used in this chapter.

Chapter 3; WordSmith Tools

For both Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 I used to different software packages. The reasons for this were both pragmatic; the two packages have different analytical strengths and because I wanted to, during the course of this thesis learn appropriate new skills including using multiple types of software to prepare myself as a future researcher. In Chapter 3 the analysis was undertaken using the software package WordSmith tools (Scott, 2016). This is one of the most commonly used software for corpus linguistic analysis, especially for beginners. This software allows the researcher to enter their own corpora and has been used previously in studies of political discourse (Ayers, 2013; Paul Baker, 2009; P Baker et al., 2008; Conoscenti, 2011).

WordSmith has three functions for analysis of corpora: word lists, concordances and keywords that make it possible to analyse large text files. I undertook training with WordSmith tools when I attended the Corpus Linguistics summer school at the University of Lancaster in July 2015. In Chapter 3 I use WordSmith tools to create word lists that can be used to analyse the frequency of the words and compare them to determine whether there are any differences at this initial stage. Secondly, I used keyword analysis to compare the two sets of wordlists with each other. At this stage I am comparing the text of interest (here the speech of BME Members of Parliament) and comparing it with a larger reference text (here, the speech of other Members of Parliament). This analysis identifies keywords, a keyword is a "statistically significant word characterizing a document, text or corpus"

(Rayson, 2012 1) in other words a keyword is defined as a word occurring more often than would be expected by chance.

WordSmith compiles keyword lists by taking account of the size of each sub-text and the word frequencies within them. So you need to create wordlists before you can conduct keyword analysis. The frequencies of each word in the two texts are then tested statistically, giving each one a probability (p) value that indicates the confidence that the researcher can have that this word is statistically more likely to appear in one text than the other (Rayson, 2012). In the output, positive keywords are those that are overused in the text of study, this means they are more likely to appear, while negative keywords are those that are underused in the corpus of study. Below is a discussion of the different tools which I have used in WordSmith.

Wordlists

Word lists, or frequency lists, are the starting point of a corpus linguistic analysis. These provide a complete list of the words used in the corpus being studied and are arranged from highest to lowest frequency. Words lists are also used to prepare for keyword analysis therefore I used these in my analysis for Chapter 3. Word lists include a token count, which is the number of words, and a type count, which is the number of unique words. To illustrate, in this quote by Winston Churchill "Success is not final, failure is not fatal: it is the courage to continue that counts" there are 16 tokens and 13 types. As wordlists are a list of the raw frequency of words in a given corpus, they usually include many grammatical (function) words, such as a, the and is, as is the nature of the English language. This can be useful for researchers who are looking specifically at the use of these words but are not useful for my analysis, thus these words have been filtered out before presenting the results in Chapter 3.

Keywords

Keywords are words that are significant in a text, and provide an idea of the "aboutness" of the text. This method is used to compare two or more corpora, either to compare two types of similar text or compare one text to a much broader general language corpus such as the BNC. In Chapter 3 I use this method to compare two similar texts, which have been created because I wanted to look specifically at the differences between BME and non-BME Members of Parliament. The benefit of comparing these two texts together rather than comparing both to a general corpus is that by comparing them to each other I immediately eliminate the bloat of words which are specific to parliamentary speech. As these will be used relatively equally by both sets of speakers and are not the focus of this analysis this is a useful way of gauging what is different about these two texts without confusing the analysis with parliamentary terminology.

In Corpus Linguistics, keywords are derived objectively using a specific statistical process (Scott, 2016) whereby two or more word lists entered into a corpus linguistics software package can be compared to produce a list of keywords. As Baker explains "a word is key if … its frequency in the text when compared with its frequency in a reference corpus is such that its statistical probability as computed by an appropriate procedure is smaller or equal to a p value specified by a user". Keywords, therefore, are words that are statistically more likely to appear in one corpus than in another. As corpora are often different sizes this is not just a direct comparison of frequencies. Instead, this procedure identifies words that are more salient in one text than in another and therefore allows us to compare two texts of different sizes as I do in Chapter 3.

A key issue is the choice of text to use as a reference. The software cannot determine whether the chosen reference corpus is appropriate or not. This decision has to be made by the

researcher, taking account of the research question, the representativeness of the text, and the objectivity of the researcher (Scott, 2009). For this study, the corpus of interest and the reference corpus are dictated largely by the research question. As outlined above, this study is comparing the speech of BME and non-BME Members of Parliament so as to determine whether descriptive representation, in other words being from an ethnic minority background, has an impact on the substantive representation of ethnic minorities. Thus I have chosen to compare a corpus of BME and non-BME speech.

This analysis produces a keyword list, much like a word list, instead ordered by keyness (the statistical measure) not frequency. Those words with a + score are positive words that are key in the corpus of interest (speech of BME Members of Parliament, in this case). The software also produces a small list of negative keywords, defined by a − score. These are words that are key in the reference corpus (speech of non-BME Members of Parliament). An examination of keywords should reveal the most significant lexical differences between two texts and will form the basis of this analysis. One way of investigating how keywords are being used by the writers or speakers in a text is by investigating collocates of the words, described below.

Collocates

Collocates are words which are found nearby or are "co-located" with other words more than would be expected by chance. The significance of their association is calculated by the software. Collocations are often hard to define by intuition, hence the value of formal statistical testing, especially as these are words which, when put together, often make phrases with a meaning that goes beyond the meaning of the words on their own. For example, ethnic and community can appear separately in a word list but a study of the collocates of ethnic may find that community is the top collocate. In these cases, the meaning

of "ethnic" is different; it is being used to identify or mark a community rather than individuals, food or culture, words which ethnic may also be collocated with. Collocations are especially useful in revealing patterns of language that would not have been noticed when reading through the whole text. The software calculates the strength of the relationship and, therefore, can rank collocates in order. Using the software, the researcher can define the terms of collocations. This means that they can specify how many words left and right of the word the software should look at for collocates. The minimum threshold for including collocates, by frequency, can also be specified.

The preceding sections summarise the quantitative approaches to corpus linguistic methods that will be used in this chapter. The next section describes the use of concordances, which offer a qualitative approach to corpus linguistics.

Concordance

A concordance or concordances are also known as "key words in context" (KWIC) and should not be confused with the keywords mentioned above. As Chapter 3 is predominantly concerns with keywords I will not refer to them as KWIC but only as concordances. A concordance is a line of text from a corpus that can be viewed in the corpus linguistics software. A more detailed definition from Sinclair is that "A concordance is a collection of the occurrences of a word-form, each in its own textual environment. In its simplest form it is an index. Each word-form is indexed and a reference is given to the place of occurrence in a text." Each concordance includes the target or search word of interest; the rest of the line is the context in which this word appears. An example of a concordance line is shown below.

s somebody who talks to young people all the time and deals

As there are often hundreds of concordance lines for a given target word, these are sorted by the words on the left or right of the target word. In the above example, the word "people" is the target word and the concordance lines are sorted by the first word on the left (L1) then by the second and third words on the left (L2, L3). This makes it easier for the researcher to find patterns of word use. In the WordSmith software it is possible to click on the concordance line to reveal the whole sentence in the context of the text. This helps the researcher to decide whether these words or phrases do in fact mean what they initially appear to or if the context changes this meaning. As words are not used in isolation, the context can be an important indication of their use. So as background to my analysis I have to check each concordance in detail to see if the word is being used the way the software or I think it is. Additionally, one can search for the route word, for example terrorism has a root of terror, one could use a wildcard search of terror* to search for words including terrorism, terrorist, terrorists, all of which are linked.

This is intended as a detailed, but not exhaustive introduction to the terminology used in corpus linguistics, which I will be referring to in the rest of the chapter. Ultimately these are tools for analysing text but the interpretation of these results and what they might mean for the research question are ultimately down to the researcher, which is why openness and objectivity are encouraged. I aim to be as open as possible throughout these chapters about the tools used and their limitations, so as to retain as much objectification in this exploratory analysis of the corpora as is possible.

Appendix B.   Chapter 4

Critical actors methods

Below is a table outlining the sitting days of Parliament which were randomly selected for the corpus for Chapter 4. Firstly, I went through the parliamentary website to discern which days Members of Parliament sat in the House of Commons, secondly randomly chose 50 days and then I collected the text using the data scraping computer program written by Andrew Hardie for me when I was on my research visit to CASS. This text was then thoroughly cleaned and extensively checked for any issues before being processed and analysis using the Sketch Engine software.

APPENDIX TABLE B-1   RANDOMLY SELECTED 50 SITTING DAYS IN PARLIAMENT MAY 2015-MAY 2016

27th May 2015	4th November 2015
3rd June 2015	6th November 2015
4th June 2015	10th November 2015
11th June 2015	16th November 2015
15th June 2015	17th November 2015
18th June 2015	18th November 2015
23rd June 2015	23rd November 2015
25th June 2015	25th November 2015
30th June 2015	26th November 2015
6th July 2015	30th November 2015
7th July 2015	4th December 2015
13th July 2015	7th December 2015
15th July 2015	9th December 2015
10th September 2015	14th December 2015
14th October 2015	17th December 2015
16th October 2015	5th January 2016
20th October 2015	12th January 2016
21st October 2015	4th February 2016
22nd October 2015	5th February 2016
23rd October 2015	23rd February 2016
26th October 2015	24th February 2016
27th October 2015	26th February 2016
30th October 2015	2nd March 2016
2nd November 2015	14th March 2016
3rd November 2015	24th March 2016

Cleaning the data

Once the text was collected from the Hansard website it needed to be cleaned to be able to use it with the software. This included ensuring the text is saved to .txt file and saved with UTF8 encoding. Cleaning the data meant firstly, removing any in text references, when a Member of the House mentions a specific debate which happened previously then the Hansard team insert a reference to this debate for cross referencing purposes. Secondly, I removed all instances where "several members" spoke, Hansard transcribes not only speech but also actions so when several members or specific members rise this is noted and has to be removed as does when several members shout out in this is not recorded as speech but as an interruption and must be removed. Finally I removed instances when the speaker or deputy speakers spoke in the debates because they do not, in this context, represent their constituents and are for procedural purposes therefore their text would skew the group that they were in. These measures were implemented to keep the data as true as possible to the original speech that took place in the House of Commons and so that the analysis would not be skewed accidentally by these anomalies. Thus, the measures undertaken are much like the data cleaning measures conducted with survey data and other types of quantitative data which must be assessed before it can be used.

Software; Sketch Engine

WordSketch

In Chapter 4, where I analyse a more general corpora of parliamentary speech I used different software, Sketch Engine which makes use of an exploratory method of analysis called Word Sketch. Sketch Engine's main analysis tool is WordSketch, which allows the researcher to search for the grammatical use of words in the corpus. Searching for a term requires the use of lemmas, or root words, thus when I looked at instances of ethnic minorities being spoken about I searched for "ethnic*" this produces all the ways in which

the terms ethnic, ethnicity, ethnic minority etc. are used in the corpus and thus gives a detailed insight into how this term of interest is being used. By looking at the WordSketch results I am able to see in what context ethnic minorities are being spoken about. In Chapter 4 I separate the texts by party and by the ethnic density of the Member of Parliament's seat, thus I am able to compare the speech of different Members of Parliament to see if the contexts in which they speak about ethnic minorities differ. This type of analysis lends itself to the study in Chapter 4 as it is a general text I would not be able to conduct a keyword analysis. As the discussion of ethnic minorities makes up such a small part of the speech of Members of Parliament in general the power of the analysis of this type of speech is less than for a specific corpus for example the one I use in Chapter 3. Below are the results of a keyword analysis conducted to compare the appropriateness of both software packages when conducting this analysis. It shows that what we see is words associated with deprived areas and specifically in relating to housing and rent, additionally there are several references to urban areas including London, which is representative of the types of seats that Labour and Members of Parliament in ethnically dense areas represent. Thus although it reveals something it tells us much less about how Members of Parliament in these groups are speaking about ethnic minorities.

APPENDIX TABLE B-2 KEYWORDS OF LABOUR AND MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT REPRESENTING ETHNICALLY DIVERSE CONSTITUENCIES IN THE CRITICAL ACTORS CORPORA

N	>20% ethnic density keywords	Freq.	Labour Party keywords	Freq.
1	LONDON	881	CUTS	909
2	HOUSING	828	HOUSING	1191
3	DETENTION	175	CUT	512
4	LONDONERS	79	AFFORDABLE	319
5	EALING	78	RENTED	169
6	CRISIS	267	RENT	202
7	TFL	95	EALING	82
8	AZHIR	39	HIT	180
9	GALLERY	73	SHEFFIELD	139
10	RENTED	119	PROPERTY	214
11	PROPERTY	157	PROPERTIES	168
12	LANDLORD	62	WORSE	187
13	LANDLORDS	130	TORY	158
14	HARROW	52	TFL	103
15	CYPRUS	77	AZHIR	39
16	HEATHROW	150	TENANTS	165
17	FAMAGUSTA	40	MERSEYSIDE	51
18	DETAINED	72	TORIES	104
19	RIOTS	95	HAUGHTON	37
20	TENANTS	121	WAKEFIELD	42

The mechanism of prior knowledge or interest

In Chapter 4 I looked at whether Members of Parliament, who represented ethnically diverse seats or were Labour Members of Parliament, would be more likely to be critical actors in terms of substantively representing ethnic minorities. I had also originally decided to look at a third reason as to why we might expect Members of Parliament to be motivated to substantively represent ethnic minorities, this was, what I termed, prior knowledge or interest. Below is a discussion of these mechanism and some of the results. Because the

results were not robust enough this was omitted from the chapter, however I felt it warranted some discussion in the appendix of this thesis.

For the present purposes, prior interest is signified by the decision to join a group of parliamentarians with an explicit interest in issues affecting minority ethnic populations. In theory, there could be a number of ways of identifying this group, for example by means of a survey of legislators view on specific issues or voting history. I did explore a wide range of options. One example was the Parliamentary Candidates Survey, but this does not include any attitudinal survey questions and Members of Parliament past voting behaviour, however this has specific problems in the UK with the use of Party whips. I also emailed two independent think tanks, Bright Blue a liberal conservative group and Runnymede which campaigns for race equality to ask them which Members of Parliament they had worked with in the past. None of these avenues proved fruitful and I was unable to gather a large enough sample, or a sample that seemed representative of the different extents to which a Member of Parliament might be involved in promoting minority issues. Finally I considered looking at those Members of Parliament that had chosen to be a member of an All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) which looked at minority issues and inequalities. Initially I approached the APPG for Race and Community which are funded by Runnymede, during the 2010-2015 Parliament they had 13 Member of Parliament members, some of whom are no longer serving Members of Parliament, however due to changes in the parliamentary rules governing APPGs they no longer have to publish membership lists and despite numerous attempts to contact the office David Lammy Member of Parliament (the Chair of the APPG on Race and Community) they could not provide me with an up to date membership list for 2015 onwards. Consequently, I went on to look at the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG)

on Social Integration, a cross party group created to address ethnic and economic inequalities[43] chaired by Chuka Umunna Member of Parliament.

APPGs have no formal status but provide a forum for parliamentarians to explore issues of common interest often calling experts to give evidence and publish reports. This particular APPG is funded by The Challenge, a charity whose goal is to reduce ethnic and income inequalities in the UK. At the time of writing, the APPG is undertaking an inquiry into integration and immigration. Chuka Umunna, the chair of the APPG has said about this inquiry that "we need to look at these issues differently and find solutions to bring communities together where they are living parallel and completely separate lives" (Umunna, 2016). Members of Parliament who are members of this APPG come from a wide range of backgrounds, including human rights, the public and private sectors, and law. The members of the APPG are listed in Appendix table B-3, along with their own ethnic background and characteristics of their constituencies. As can be seen, there is considerable diversity in both of these parameters. We would expect those Members of Parliament who have expressed this interest in being a member of a group such as this to be more in tune with specific minority issues and make positive interventions on behalf of ethnic minorities in parliamentary debates. I hypothesise that Members of Parliament that have chosen to be a member of the APPG on Social Integration will be more likely to raise issues for ethnic minorities.

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[43] http://www.socialintegrationappg.org.uk/

APPENDIX TABLE B-3   MEMBERS OF THE APPG ON SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Party	BME background	Constituency	Ethnic minority density
Labour	Yes	Leicester East	68.56%
Labour	Yes	Bradford West	62.92%
Labour	Yes	Bethnal Green & Bow	53.06%
Labour	Yes	Tottenham	49.91%
Labour	Yes	Streatham	41.81%
Labour	Yes	Hampstead & Kilburn	34.48%
Labour	No	Oldham West & Royton	29.93%
Conservative	No	Kingston & Surbiton	25.07%
Labour	No	Oldham East & Saddleworth	18.62%
Labour	No	Halifax	17.33%
SNP	No	Glasgow South	11.23%
Labour	No	Stoke-on-Trent North	9.98%
Conservative	Yes	Fareham	3.41%
Conservative	No	Haltemprice & Howden	2.82%
Conservative	No	Boston & Skegness	2.75%
Conservative	Yes	Wealden	2.70%
DUP	No	Belfast East	2.55%
SDLP	No	Foyle	1.69%

Based on the mechanism of prior socialisation or interest I developed a further hypothesis; Members of Parliament who become members of this group will have a prior interest in these issues and will be more likely to raise them in debates.

APPENDIX TABLE B-4   MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT IN THE SAMPLED TEXT AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS BY CHARACTERISTICS

	Freq. of MPs in text	Freq. MPs in House of Commons
Ethnicity		
BME	41	41
White	577	609
Electoral incentives (ethnic density)		
>20%	122	125
<20%	496	525
Prior Interest		
APPG	18	19
Political Party		
Conservative	312	331
Labour	224	232
SNP	55	56
Lib Dem	8	8
DUP	8	8
Sinn Féin	0	4
Plaid Cymru	3	3
SDLP	3	3
UUP	2	2
UKIP	1	1
Green	1	1
Independent	1	1
Total MPs	618	650

APPENDIX TABLE B-5   TEXT FILES FOR KEYWORD ANALYSIS, TEXT OF INTEREST AND REFERENCE TEXT

	Text of interest	Reference text
	All Labour MPs	All other MPs
No. of words	890,808 words	2,287,674 words
% of words	39%	61%
	Members of the APPG Social Integration	All other MPs
No. of words	94,400	3,094,645
% of words	3%	97%
	MPs representing >20% ethnic minorities in their constituency	All other MPs
No. of words	539,463	2,648,703
% of words	20%	80%

APPENDIX TABLE B-6   FREQUENCY OF WORDS RELEVANT TO ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE TEXT

	Member of the APPG	Not member of the APPG	Labour	All other parties	>20% ethnic density	<20% ethnic density
Ethnic*	3	55	22	29	19	31
% of text	0.003	0.002	0.003	0.001	0.004	0.001
Non-relevant [†]	0	11	1	10	0	12
BME/BAME	1	8	3	6	3	6
% of text	0.001	0.0004	0.0001	0.0003	0.0006	0.0002
Non-relevant	0	0	0	0	0	0

*Included ethnic minority/ethnic minorities/ethnic/multi-ethnic

†Non relevant items include those in reference to ethnic minorities abroad e.g ethnic genocide

Members of Parliament who were also members of the APPG were slightly more likely to speak about ethnic minorities and BME or BAME people or communities in their speech in the sample. However being either a Labour Member of Parliament, or representing an ethnically diverse constituency were stronger predictors of this.

Appendix C.   Chapter 5

Below is a table outlining the descriptive characteristics of the Members of Parliament who received the different treatments in the experiment; Robert Davies, white British, or Emmanuel Kwambe, black African.

APPENDIX TABLE C-1 CHARACTERISTICS OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT WHO RECIEVIED EMAILS BY TREATMENT

Treatment	Mean constituency BME density	Conservative MPs	Labour MPs	Lib Dem MPs	Other [44]	Male	Female
Treatment 1 (Robert Davies)	14.89%	119	94	17	4	168	66
Treatment 2 (Emmanuel Kwambe)	16.28%	120	94	17	3	187	47

Ethical issues

There are different advantages and disadvantages to this approach and several ethical issues needed to be considered when planning this study Firstly the amount of their time this study would take up. These are public officials who have a responsibility to their constituents who have real and pressing issues and we cannot make an undue commitment of the Members of Parliament time for a study such as this, therefore it was important that the question asked in the email would not require someone to spend a lot of time researching an answer. Related to this it was decided that the emails would be sent before the main election

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[44] SNP, UKIP, Green, Plaid Cymru

campaign was under way, both practically, because we wanted to make sure the rate of response was representative of their time in office but also ethically so that we were not taking up time when they would be campaigning for the election, and their job. Finally and importantly was the use of aliases and deception when contacting the Members of Parliament. This was an issue which is important to the study as we are testing Members of Parliament responses to ethnic markers; the best way to do this is by name. However we do not have access to actual constituents in the 468 constituencies, additionally this would have brought in further ethical and practical complications; using a real person who might want to contact them in the future or who will unwillingly be recorded by the Members of Parliament office and perhaps placed on mailing lists, additionally it would be impractical to get real constituents to pass the information about replies on to us. Therefore we decided to use emails to contact Members of Parliament.

Similar issues have been considered in other studies using this type of correspondence testing (Ahmed & Hammarstedt, 2008; Butler & Broockman, 2011; Weichselbaumer, 2003), therefore it was decided that from the point of view of the constituents and the Member of Parliament it was in the best interests to create an alias, additionally this means we can keep the treatment names constant throughout the survey.

Choosing the constituent's aliases

Here I explain rationale for choosing the name of the constituent that would be used to measure responses to an ethnic minority constituent. Initially I settled on choosing a name which represented both a constituent from an African country because Black Africans in the United Kingdom are the least likely to be registered to vote for elections and in light of the changes to registering this was something I really wanted to look at. Importantly, because they were asking about registering to vote, it needed to be someone from a Commonwealth

African country so that it was most plausible that the constituent had the right to vote in the General Election. I looked at African commonwealth countries that had the largest proportions of migrants to the United Kingdom, again to retain the plausibility of this being a constituent in the United Kingdom. Outside of South Africa, which has a largely mixed ethnic background, Nigeria is the African Commonwealth, which sees the highest migration to the UK and was therefore chosen. The name was chosen by looking at the Nigerian national football team, discounting those not from Nigeria or specifically Muslim names, so as not to conflate the results with potential discrimination towards Islam, I then randomly sampled the first and last names of members of the team, choosing the top two names resulted in Emmanuel Kwambe.

The name Robert Davies was chosen to represent a white British Male. This was chosen more simply, by selecting several names and conducting a quick survey of other PhD students to see which name they thought sounded most plausibly to be a white British Male. Further to this I did a Google search for the names to check that there was no link with already particular famous or notorious people.

Further results

APPENDIX TABLE C-2   VARIABLES IN THE ANALYSIS

Variable name	Label	Number	Corresponding label
Treatment	The constituent/ sender	0	Black African
		1	White British
Party	Political party of MP	1	Other (Labour, Liberal Democrats, SNP, Plaid Cymru, UKIP)
		2	Conservative
Ethnic	Ethnicity of MP	0	White MP
		1	BME MP
EthnicDen	Ethnic density of the constituency	Continuous	
daysrep	Days it took to receive a response	Continuous	
marg_safe	Marginality of the seat	0	Safe
		1	Marginal
resp_type	Information in the response	1	Main website
		2	Telephone or email of local council/electoral office
		3	Website for local council or electoral office
		4	No contact information
		5	Passed on or asked for address with follow up
		6	Passed on or asked for address without follow up
		99	No response

APPENDIX TABLE C-3   LOGISTIC REGRESSION RESULTS – RESPONSES TO WHITE BRITISH AND BLACK AFRICAN CONSTITUENTS

Independent variables	Model 1		Model2		Model 3		Model 4	
	B	se	B	se	b	se	b	se
Treatment								
Robert	0.337	0.293	0.334	0.293	0.329	0.293	0.329	0.293
Political party								
Conservative	-0.374	0.294	-0.400	0.312	-0.402	0.311	-0.403	0.439
Constituency								
Ethnic density			-0.002	0.010	-0.003	0.010	-0.003	0.012
Marginality								
Marginal					-0.147	0.292	-0.148	0.297
Party*Ethnic density							0.0001	0.0218
Constant	2.084	0.258	2.138	0.337	2.211	0.368	2.212	0.406
Pseudo R2	0.0089		0.0091		0.0099		0.0099	

n = 468

Note the dependent variable in this model is Response from the Member of Parliament 0 did not reply; 1 replied

APPENDIX TABLE C-4   PREDICTED PROBABILITIES FROM FULLY ADJUSTED LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODEL – WHITE BRITISH AND BLACK AFRICAN

	Predicted probability	se
Treatment		
Black African	0.870	0.022
White British	0.903	0.019
Political Party		
Conservative	0.866	0.023
Other	0.906	0.020
Ethnic Density		
5%	0.890	0.018
15%	0.887	0.015
25%	0.885	0.018
35%	0.882	0.025
45%	0.879	0.034
55%	0.876	0.045
65%	0.873	0.056
Seat Category		
Safe	0.894	0.019
Marginal	0.879	0.023

The predicted probabilities reported in the chapter were calculated from the logistic regressions that were computed for Emmanuel and Robert separately, these are presented below.

APPENDIX TABLE C-5   LOGISTIC REGRESSION FOR RESPONSES TO EMMANUEL (BLACK AFRICAN)

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	b	se	p	b	se	p	b	se	p
Political Party									
Conservative	-0.627	0.401	0.117	-0.642	0.428	0.134	-0.649	0.434	0.135
Constituency									
Ethnic Density				-0.001	0.013	0.923	-0.001	0.013	0.935
Seat category									
Safe seat							0.441	0.403	0.274
Constant	2.237	0.317	0.000	2.265	0.433	0.000	2.087	0.463	0.000
Pseudo R^2	0.0139			0.0139			0.0207		

n=234

Note the dependent variable in this model is Response from the Member of Parliament (0 did not reply; 1 replied)

APPENDIX TABLE C-6   PREDICTED PROBABILITIES FOR RESPONSE TO EMMANUEL (BLACK AFRICAN)

	Predicted probability	se
Political Party		
Conservative	0.834	0.0283
Other	0.906	0.0357
Ethnic Density		
5%	0.875	0.0278
15%	0.874	0.0224
25%	0.873	0.0256
35%	0.871	0.0354
45%	0.870	0.0481
55%	0.869	0.0621
65%	0.868	0.0789
Seat Category		
Safe	0.850	0.0316
Marginal	0.898	0.0297

n=234

APPENDIX TABLE C-7   LOGISTIC REGRESSION FOR RESPONSES TO ROBERT (WHITE BRITISH)

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	beta	se	p	beta	se	p	b	se	p
Political Party									
Conservative	-0.059	0.440	0.894	-0.104	0.461	0.822	-0.133	0.461	0.772
Constituency									
Ethnic Density				-0.005	0.015	0.736	-0.009	0.015	0.547
Seat category									
Seat safety							-0.912	0.456	0.046
Constant	2.246	0.317	0.000	2.345	0.438	0.000	2.885	0.542	0.000
Pseudo R^2	0.0001			0.0009			0.0283		

n=234. Note the dependent variable in this model is Response from the Member of Parliament 0 did not reply; 1 replied

APPENDIX TABLE C-8   PREDICTED PROBABILITIES FOR RESPONSE TO ROBERT (WHITE BRITISH)

	Predicted probability	se
Political Party		
Conservative	0.903	0.027
Other	0.914	0.028
Ethnic Density		
5%	0.916	0.022
15%	0.909	0.020
25%	0.901	0.024
35%	0.892	0.036
45%	0.883	0.052
55%	0.873	0.071
65%	0.862	0.093
Seat Category		
Safe	0.936	0.021
Marginal	0.854	0.361

n=234

Appendix D.   Chapter 6

The following two tables show the results of two questions from the Representative Audit of Britain (RAB) survey of candidates. They show the

responses to candidates attitudes towards measures to improve both financial support (Appendix table D-1) and legislative quotas (

Appendix Table D-2) designed to increase the numbers of BME Members of Parliament.

APPENDIX TABLE D-1 CANDIDATES ATTITUDES TOWARDS FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR BME CANDIDATES, BY PARTY. RAB

Do you approve or disapprove of the following proposals for increasing the number of BME MPs? Financial support for BME candidates?

	Conservative Party	Labour Party	Liberal Democrats	Green Party	UKIP	SNP	Plaid Cymru	Scottish Green Party	Total
Strongly approve	10.4%	28.7%	27.7%	23.7%	5.2%	11.1%	20%	50%	21.8%
	5	31	48	32	5	1	1	4	127
Approve	22.9%	31.5%	41.0%	42.2%	8.3%	22.2%	60.0%	12.5%	32.1%
	11	34	71	57	8	2	3	1	187
Disapprove	35.4%	33.3%	24.9%	29.6%	26%	66.7%	20%	37.5%	29.4%
	17	36	43	40	25	6	1	3	171
Strongly disapprove	31.3%	6.5%	6.4%	4.4%	60.4%	0%	0%	0%	16.7%
	15	7	11	6	58	0	0	0	97
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	48	108	173	135	96	9	5	8	582

N 582

APPENDIX TABLE D-2   CANDIDATES ATTITUDES TOWARDS LEGISLATIVE QUOTAS FOR BME CANDIDATES, BY PARTY. RAB

Do you approve or disapprove of the following proposals for increasing the number of BME MPs? Legislative quotas or compulsory minimum numbers of BME candidates on shortlists

	Conservative Party	Labour Party	Liberal Democrats	Green Party	UKIP	Plaid Cymru	Scottish Green Party	SNP	Total
Strongly approve	2%	14.8%	8.1%	14.4%	3.1%	0%	37.5%	0%	9.7%
	1	16	14	20	3	0	3	0	57
Approve	0%	16.7%	9.8%	29.5%	2.1%	40%	37.5%	44.4%	14.8%
	0	18	17	41	2	2	3	4	87
Disapprove	32.7%	51.9%	54.3%	41.7%	19.8%	60%	25%	55.6%	43.1%
	16	56	94	58	19	3	2	5	253
Strongly disapprove	65.3%	16.7%	27.7%	14.4%	75%	0%	0%	0%	32.4%
	32	18	48	20	72	0	0	0	190
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	49	108	173	139	96	5	8	9	587

N 587

Chi-Square 195.199 p<0.000

APPENDIX TABLE D-3 LINKED FATE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CONSERVATIVE AND UKIP CANDIDATES, ORDINAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION

	Conservative	UKIP
BME	3.36***	3.01***
Ethnic density	1.04	1.14
Conservative	5.98***	
UKIP		15.62***
Nagelkerke r2	0.112	0.238

*p <0.05, ** p< 0.01, ***p<0.001

APPENDIX TABLE D-4 RESPONSIBILITY TO REPRESENT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CONSERVATIVE AND UKIP CANDIDATES, ORDINAL LOGISTIC REGRESSION

	Conservative	UKIP
BME	1.61***	4.55***
Ethnic density	1.02	1.05
Conservative	4.60**	
UKIP		2.63***
Nagelkerke r2	0.034	0.06

*p <0.05, ** p< 0.01, ***p<0.001

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