

## Further particulars

### Studentship topic

In accordance with ESRC's guidelines on recruiting Project Students the student will need to develop their PhD on the following topic related to the PATHWAYS project: **“Beyond numbers: do immigrant-origin MPs speak for immigrant-origin minorities in the UK Parliament?”**

Substantive representation of immigrants and citizens of immigrant origin (CIOs) is arguably more important than their descriptive representation. Yet, because of the difficulties in conceptualising, measuring and therefore studying this kind of representation, research in this area is sparse. The few existing studies focus on the CIOs representatives' actions and words, thus to a large extent ignoring a large portion of the substantive representation of CIOs that is done by other (non-CIO) elected representatives. Also, what counts as substantive representation is often arbitrarily decided by the researcher themselves: for example policies are pre-coded as CIO friendly or not, or it is assumed that simply mentioning CIOs in parliament constitutes representing their interests.

This project will go beyond this usual approach by looking at the match between CIOs political interests and attitudes and the activities of an array of representatives: those who are CIOs themselves and those representing CIO electors. This approach to studying substantive representation has been pioneered by Miller and Stokes (1963) and is used to great success in the US. The UK now boasts at least two in-depth surveys of CIOs political attitudes: the 1997 and 2010 Ethnic Minority British Election Studies. This data, in combination with the wealth of Hansard data on parliamentarians' written and oral activities, as well as voting record - including instances of rebellion against the party whip - will form the main basis for the empirical analysis of this PS2.

The data on CIOs' political preferences is especially scarce in most European countries and in this respect the UK is an outlier. The two critical elections of 1997 and 2010 were monitored with special boost samples of minorities (in 1997) and a separate survey of minorities (in 2010), which not only provide in depth measurements of CIOs preferences, but also the possibility to compare those with the general population. The analysis of these sources will be matched by an analysis of a sample of MPs behaviour for signs of match on policy preferences and reflection of interests. The analysis of parliamentary debates, work in Select Committees, voting patterns and parliamentary questions for written answers is the most feasible way to measure substantive representation over such a long period of time, but also their accessibility through an online, searchable database make it the best source of data for a doctoral student. The student will be helped by the fact that the data for the last full legislative term 2005-2010 will be collected as part of the main project.

This form of representation may then, depending on the student's interests, be compared with other, more generally studied forms of representation, such as mentions of policies deemed to be immigrant and minority friendly (Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou 2011) or mentions of ethnicity (Bird 2011), to establish whether all forms of representation go together (accumulate) or whether different MPs, or different parties, show a distinctive preference for some forms of representation (Mansbridge 1999, 2003).

This will be primarily a quantitative project involving matching the policy preferences of representatives and minority electorate (including secondary analysis of existing sources on minority political attitudes). However, if the student expresses a wish to do so, some qualitative interviews with minority-origin MPs may be viable in the course of the project. The North West DTC and, particularly, the School of Social Sciences at the University of Manchester are very well equipped in the methods training required for this project to be viable.

#### REFERENCES CITED:

- Bird, Karen (2011) Patterns of substantive representation among visible minority MPs: Evidence from Canada's House of Commons' in Karen Bird, Thomas Saalfeld, Andreas M. Wüst (eds.), *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, Parties and Parliaments in Liberal Democracies*. Abington, New York: Routledge, ECPR, 109-27.
- Mansbridge, Jane J. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent "Yes"." *Journal of Politics* 61(3): 628-57
- Mansbridge, J (2003). 'Rethinking Representation.' *American Political Science Review* 97(4): 515-528.
- Miller, WE and Stokes, DE (1963). 'Constituency Influence in Congress.' *American Political Science Review*, 57(1): 45-56.
- Saalfeld, T and K Kyriakopoulou (2011). 'Presence and behaviour: black and minority ethnic MPs in the British House of Commons.' In: K Bird, T Saalfeld and AM Wüst (eds.): *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, parties and parliaments in liberal democracies*. London: Routledge, 230-249.