

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Parliamentary Affairs

**SUBSTANTIVE RELIGIOUS REPRESENTATION IN UK
PARLIAMENT: EXAMINING PARLIAMENTARY QUESTIONS
FOR WRITTEN ANSWERS, 1997-2012**

Journal:	<i>Parliamentary Affairs</i>
Manuscript ID:	Draft
Manuscript Type:	Original Article
Keywords:	representation, legislative studies, British politics, religion , minority studies

SCHOLARONE™
Manuscripts

Manuscript Only

1
2
3 **SUBSTANTIVE RELIGIOUS REPRESENTATION IN UK PARLIAMENT:**
4
5 **EXAMINING PARLIAMENTARY QUESTIONS FOR WRITTEN ANSWERS,**
6
7 **1997-2012**
8
9

10
11
12 *Abstract*

13
14 The substantive representation of minority groups in national legislatures is a topic of
15 significant normative, theoretical and empirical importance. Addressing this question, this
16 article focuses on what drives Members of the UK House of Commons to raise issues on
17 concern for Jewish and Muslim minority groups in relatively low-cost parliamentary activity,
18 i.e. Parliamentary Questions for written answers (WPQs).
19

20
21 Drawing on the suggested positive relationship between descriptive and substantive minority
22 representation (e.g., Hansard, 2009a), it uses content and statistical analysis to examine if
23 having a Jewish or Muslim background impacts on the frequency and the probability of MPs'
24 engagement with minority issues, and how this effect compares to that from institutional
25 predictors, namely the party parliamentary status and the minority presence in a constituency.
26
27 The findings demonstrate that a religious minority background has a limited impact on MPs'
28 engagement with minority issues in WPQs, being inferior to that of institutional predictors
29 Being in Opposition, in particular, has a consistent, positive influence on the content of
30 WPQs, whereby Opposition MPs table more WPQs on the issues of minority concern than
31 Members from the party of Government.
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48

49 **Keywords:** British politics, minority studies, religion and politics, representation,
50 parliamentary studies
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Improving the political representation of marginalised groups increases the quality of
4
5 democracy and contributes to the well-being of a diverse, modern democracy by enhancing
6
7 political participation and reducing socio-political exclusion (Pitkin, 1967; Saward, 2011).
8

9
10 Better parliamentary representation of under-represented groups such as religious minorities,
11
12 in particular, ensures the accountability of politicians and improves the awareness of the
13
14 political elite about society's details, views and attitudes (Hansard, 2009a).
15

16 This has been a particularly salient issue in the United Kingdom in response to the changing
17
18 structure of the population and the growing influence of minority groups on British politics
19
20 (Heath *et al.*, 2013). The main political institutions have successfully increased the number of
21
22 minority parliamentarians through positive action and incorporated migrant-origin, ethnic and
23
24 religious minorities into the British political system (Hansard, 2009a, 51; Hansard, 2013).
25
26

27 However, it is unclear whether these efforts have improved the substantive representation of
28
29 minority interests, which depends on the performance of minority MPs and their ability to
30
31 deliver expertise and insights on minority issues, rather than simply their presence in the
32
33 Chamber (Dovi, 2007). The 2010 Ethnic Minority British Election Study suggests that
34
35 although minority parliamentary presence has increased, the quality of representation of
36
37 minority interests, or at least the public perception of it, leaves much room for improvement.
38
39 It shows that minority groups feel as unrepresented by the main parties as they did in 1997,
40
41 with more than 20% of respondents suggesting that a minority-specific political party is
42
43 needed to deal with minority-specific problems effectively (Heath *et al.*, 2013, p. 95).
44
45
46

47 In attempting to solve this puzzle and contribute to the political representation literature, this
48
49 article examines the parliamentary performance of minority MPs, namely Members of
50
51 Parliament from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds, and their engagement with the issues of
52
53 concern for their respective minority groups in Parliamentary Questions for written answers
54
55 (WPQs) tabled between 1997 and 2012. It looks at whether MPs from religious minority
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 backgrounds provide first-hand expertise and insights on minority issues and improve the
4
5 quality of substantive minority representation by contributing to the effectiveness of policies
6
7 and legislation aimed at minority groups.
8

9
10 The paper tests the effect from having a religious minority background on the probability and
11
12 frequency of asking Parliamentary Questions on the topic of interest to the respective
13
14 minority groups. It, then, compares this effect to that of institutional predictors, such as being
15
16 in Opposition or representing a constituency with a substantial minority presence. The results
17
18 of the analysis demonstrate that a religious minority background has a limited impact as a
19
20 predictor of asking minority-specific WPQs, whereas institutional predictors, especially being
21
22 in Opposition have a consistently strong, positive effect on raising the issues of minority
23
24 concern in WPQs. This paints tabling WPQs as a partisan activity, which is primarily affected
25
26 by the dichotomy between the Government and the Opposition and that outweighs such
27
28 identity predictors as a religious minority background, despite the relatively low-cost of
29
30 tabling WPQs, for one's career.
31
32
33
34
35

36 *I. Previous research and research design*

37 *1.1 Previous research*

38
39 Previous studies of women and ethnic minority representation use the parliamentary
40
41 behaviour of MPs from these groups to examine the quality of their substantive parliamentary
42
43 representation (e.g., Childs and Withey, 2006; Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou, 2011; Saalfeld
44
45 and Bischof, 2013). This article adds a new research case to this literature and expands the
46
47 scope of representation and parliamentary behaviour studies to religious minority groups.
48
49

50
51 The relevance of studying the impact of religion on parliamentary behaviour and
52
53 representation is supported by previous observations relating to the effects of religion on
54
55 aspects of British political behaviour, such as voter preferences, turnout, and party
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 identification (e.g., McAndrew and Voas, 2010; Voas *et al.*, 2002). However, the impact of
4
5 religious background on parliamentary behaviour and political representation is substantively
6
7 under-researched. This study aims to bridge this gap and examine whether having a certain
8
9 religious background influences the parliamentary behaviour of MPs and their engagement
10
11 with minority issues.
12

13
14 The article focuses on the effect of religious minority background on the behaviour of MPs
15
16 from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds, drawing upon the similarities of their origins and
17
18 common histories of political engagement. The operationalisation of a 'religious minority
19
20 background' is, therefore, based on socio-cultural aspects of religion (not on the spiritual
21
22 beliefs or practices associated with it), namely a socio-cultural code shared and/or
23
24 experienced by politicians from minority backgrounds as a result of their parental heritage
25
26 and/or upbringing (Sinno, 2008). They stem from their long history of discrimination on the
27
28 grounds of religion and struggle for equal political and civil rights in Britain (Liedtke and
29
30 Wendehorst, 1999), as well as the disadvantaged status of the British Jewry and Muslims in
31
32 British politics and their self-perception as marginalised (or oppressed) groups (Young,
33
34 2004). There are also common points of interest (though not necessarily shared views) for
35
36 Jewish and Muslim minorities because of similarities in their regions of origin (i.e. the
37
38 Middle East), socio-cultural norms, and the impact of their religious practices on everyday
39
40 life, especially in the case of orthodox faith communities.
41
42
43
44

45
46 In addition to broadening the scope of representation studies and introducing a new research
47
48 case, the article contributes to the methodology of legislative studies by combining methods
49
50 of relational computer-aided content analysis of publicly available Parliamentary Questions
51
52 for written answers with regression analyses performed on time-series cross-sectional data
53
54 (using a self-constructed dataset including textual and biographical data of MPs). By
55
56 allowing to hypothesise and empirically examine causal relationships between the content of
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 WPQs and other texts produced by MPs and biographical and electoral characteristics of the
4
5 Members, this approach enable future empirical research in the area of legislative studies.
6

7
8 Parliamentary Questions for written answers (WPQs) – alongside the electoral and personal
9
10 characteristics of MPs – are the main source of data and a proxy for measuring the
11
12 substantive representation of Jewish and Muslim minorities in the House of Commons. As a
13
14 low-cost form of parliamentary behaviour, WPQs are tabled under loosened party discipline.
15
16 They are more likely to reflect MPs' individual identities and, therefore, to be affected by
17
18 religious background (Franklin and Norton, 1993; Wiberg, 1995). Furthermore,
19
20 Parliamentary Questions have proven useful for the study of women and ethnic minority
21
22 representation, as they provide MPs from under-represented groups with a means of raising
23
24 issues of concern for their respective group without risking their parliamentary careers (e.g.,
25
26 Bird, 2005; Saalfeld, 2011; Saalfeld and Bischof, 2013; Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou, 2011).
27
28

29
30 In the legislative context, WPQs' main function is to scrutinise the Government's legislation
31
32 and policies (Cabinet Office, 2010; Hansard, 1997; Hansard, 2012a). Parliamentary
33
34 Questions help hold ministers and the Government to account, scrutinise the Government's
35
36 policies and actions, assist in getting hard-to-obtain information, as well as with publicising
37
38 the concerns of backbench MPs and their constituencies (Franklin and Norton, 1993). WPQs
39
40 enable MPs to raise specific issues, including those of concern to religious minorities. In this
41
42 capacity, they are important for interest groups such as faith-based NGOs, religious or
43
44 community bodies. This makes WPQs a useful source of data for examining the
45
46 parliamentary representation of other under-represented groups, and a valuable source of data
47
48 on MPs' engagement with identity issues (e.g., Bird, 2005; Saalfeld, 2011; Saalfeld and
49
50 Bischof, 2013).
51
52

53
54 Unlike previous studies that examine the impacts of gender and ethnicity on WPQs using
55
56 contextual keywords-in-text content analysis (Bird, 2005; Saalfeld and Bischof, 2013;
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou, 2011), this article applies a relational, dictionary-based
4
5 technique of content analysis to identify and count references to minority issues by WPQ.
6
7 This has proven to be more effective in grasping abstract concepts such as ‘faith’, ‘identity’,
8
9 etc. in the context of policy documents and parliamentary speeches, and in maintaining a high
10
11 degree of rigor without losing significant details when operating with large amounts of text
12
13 (Krippendorff, 2004; Laver and Garry, 2000).
14
15

16 17 18 *1.2 Hypotheses* 19

20
21 The primary hypothesis is based on the argument that if the presence of minority MPs in the
22
23 House improves the quality of substantive minority representation, then minority MPs are
24
25 expected to engage with issues of minority concern, at least through activities in which the
26
27 cost of such engagement for one’s political career is relatively low.¹
28

29
30 Therefore, H₁ reads: Members of Parliament from Jewish and/or Muslim minority
31
32 backgrounds are more likely to raise issues of concern for their minority groups in WPQs
33
34 and/or to refer to these issues more frequently than MPs from a different religious
35
36 background.
37

38
39 If this hypothesis is supported, then the statistical coefficients will show a positive
40
41 relationship between having a Jewish or Muslim background and the frequency and/or
42
43 likelihood of referring to issues of concern for the respective minority group in the WPQs
44
45 tabled by Jewish and Muslim MPs. It is also expected that the relationship between having a
46
47 non-minority background and the frequency and/or likelihood of referring to minority issues
48
49 in WPQs will be significantly lower compared with minority Members. If the analyses
50
51 support these expectations, then Jewish and/or Muslim Members are more likely to engage
52
53
54

55
56
57 ¹ See Table 1 for the number of WPQs tabled by MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds.
58
59
60

1
2
3 with the issues of interest for their respective minority groups, or to do so more frequently in
4
5 WPQs, which indicates that religious minority MPs disproportionately represent the concerns
6
7 of their respective minority groups.
8

9
10 If, on the other hand, the analyses do not support this hypothesis, then minority MPs are not
11
12 significantly affected by their religious minority backgrounds in their parliamentary
13
14 behaviour, but could instead be affected by institutional factors stemming from MPs' duties
15
16 and responsibilities, as well as their commitments to their parliamentary constituencies.
17

18
19 The latter is examined by considering for the relationship between the proportions of
20
21 Jewish/Muslim population in MPs' constituencies and the frequency and probability of MPs
22
23 tabling WPQs on the issues of concern for British Muslims and Jews. Given the strong
24
25 constituency focus of British MPs, representing a constituency with a substantial minority
26
27 population could encourage minority MPs to engage with the interests of the respective
28
29 minority group even when his/her religious minority background does not have any effect on
30
31 such engagement (Andre *et al.*, 2014). This argument forms the backbone of H₂:
32
33

34 H₂: MPs who represent constituencies with a significant proportion of Jewish and/or Muslim
35
36 population are more likely to raise issues of concern for, respectively, Jewish and Muslim
37
38 minorities in WPQs and/or to do so more frequently than MPs who represent constituencies
39
40 without a significant presence of these minorities.
41

42
43 If the hypothesis is supported, then there is a positive relationship between representing the
44
45 'minority' type constituency and the frequency and/or the likelihood of referring to minority
46
47 issues in WPQs. Representing a 'non-minority' type constituency, on the other hand, is not
48
49 expected to have statistically significant effects on the frequency and/or likelihood of raising
50
51 minority issues in WPQs.
52

53
54 For the purpose of the analysis, the constituencies represented by the MPs in the sample are
55
56 categorised as 'minority' seats to indicate the areas more densely populated by Jews and
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Muslims compared to the country's average, and 'non-minority' seats. The types of
4
5 constituencies are defined on the basis of the community-affiliated election and media
6
7 campaigns (e.g., The Jewish Chronicle's Election 2010 and the Muslim Council of Britain's
8
9 Muslim Vote) and the proportion of minority population recorded in the 2001 and 2011
10
11 Censuses (ONS 2003; ONS 2012). Overall, the MPs representing 'minority' seats tabled
12
13 16,962 WPQs in 1997-2012, whereas the Members for 'non-minority' constituencies tabled
14
15 37,161 questions (Table 1), which despite of a skew provides enough data and variation to
16
17 test the hypothesis.
18
19

20
21 This study also examines the effects from the institutional predictors stemming from the
22
23 MPs' party affiliation and their parliamentary duties captured by their party parliamentary
24
25 status whilst controlling for their legislative roles.²
26

27
28 The party parliamentary status, in particular, influences the content of WPQs because of the
29
30 nature and purpose of WPQs as a tool for holding the Government to account, and probing
31
32 ministers on the Government's legislation and policies, which is shaped by the dichotomy
33
34 between the Government and the Opposition (Norton, 1993, p. 195). Given that WPQs ensure
35
36 the accountability of the Government and enable MPs to scrutinise its decisions, being in
37
38 Opposition or Government is expected to affect the number and content of WPQs. MPs from
39
40 the Opposition parties, in particular, ask more questions than those on the Government
41
42 benches. This is confirmed by the 1997-2012 'Questions Books' that shows that 38,883 were
43
44

45
46
47
48 ² Although there is evidence that backbenchers tend to engage in low-cost parliamentary activities more than
49
50 MPs in leadership roles, because they have fewer formal duties and responsibilities and are not bound by the
51
52 Ministerial Code of Conduct (Searing, 1994). However, in this case, both backbenchers and MPs in leadership
53
54 roles from the Opposition parties use WPQs to scrutinise the Government's policies and legislation and holding
55
56 the Executive accountable (Franklin and Norton 1993). That is why this study controls for the effect of a
57
58 legislative role, although there is no reason to expect an effect from this predictor on the content of WPQs.
59
60

1
2
3 tabled by Opposition MPs compared to 15,240 questions tabled by Members from the party
4
5 of Government (Table 1).
6

7
8 The prominence of the Iraq war, immigration and community cohesion in the public and
9
10 political discourse affected the content of parliamentary debates and the pressure on the
11
12 Labour Governments in the early 2000s (e.g., Ipsos Mori, 2005; Migration Observatory,
13
14 2011). This encouraged members of the Opposition parties to be more vocal on these issues
15
16 that triggered strong reaction from British Jewish and Muslim communities. That is why
17
18 Members of the Opposition parties table more WPQs, especially between 2001 and 2010
19
20 when much of the debate focused on UK's involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan, immigration
21
22 and multiculturalism policies and regulations and counter-terrorism following the London
23
24 bombing in July 2005. Conversely, the Government tries to maintain the integrity of the party
25
26 and refrain from interrogating the ministers on sensitive topics, including minority issues.
27
28

29
30 This is expressed in H₃:

31
32 H₃: Opposition MPs are more likely to raise issues of concern for Jewish and Muslim
33
34 minorities in WPQs and/or to do so more frequently than MPs from the party of Government.
35

36
37 If the hypothesis is supported by the analysis, then there is a positive relationship between
38
39 being in Opposition and the frequency and/or likelihood of MPs' referring to minority issues
40
41 in WPQs. In this event, being in Opposition stimulates Members to interrogate the
42
43 Government ministers on policies and legislation in general, and so stimulates the discussion
44
45 of minority issues as well. MPs from the Government party, with the exception of some
46
47 backbenchers, avoid the discussion of sensitive topics that can undermine party integrity and
48
49 the Government's work.
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1.3 Data

1
2
3
4
5 WPQs are collected from the publicly available ‘Question Books’ (Hansard, 1998-2012). As
6
7 the questions are stored in html format by sitting day, the G3 Split software is used to split
8
9 them into separate questions, each saved as a separate text file suitable for reading in content
10
11 analysis software (G3 Split, undated). In total, 708,429 WPQs tabled during the 1997-98 and
12
13 2010-12 sessions are coded for the study (Table 1). However, the analysis is conducted only
14
15 on the questions tabled by the MPs in the sample. The WPQs tabled by the MPs are identified
16
17 and isolated using the QDA Miner content analysis software by the forename and surname of
18
19 an MP (Provalis Research, undated).
20
21

22
23 The sample includes all 38 Jewish and 11 Muslim politicians elected to the House of
24
25 Commons between 1997 and 2012, who are identified on the basis of their self-perception,
26
27 upbringing and parental heritage (Janner and Taylor, 2008; Hansard, 2013). Additionally, a
28
29 control group of 25 non-minority MPs is selected using stratified random sampling. It
30
31 includes the following characteristics of MPs: (1) white ethnic background, (2) Christian or
32
33 secular religious background, (3) representing ‘minority’ and ‘non-minority’, and (4) being
34
35 elected from the Labour, Conservative or Liberal Democrat parties between 1997 and 2012.
36
37 In order to mirror the structure of the minority MPs sample, the control group includes a
38
39 proportional number of parliamentarians elected from the main parties, including 13 Labour,
40
41 ten Conservative, and two Liberal Democrat non-minority MPs.
42
43

44
45 Overall, 54,123 WPQs are used for the analysis. This includes 39,877 WPQs tabled by MPs
46
47 from a Jewish background and 2,398 by Members from a Muslim background, along with
48
49 11,848 questions asked by the control group of non-minority MPs (Table 1).
50

51
52 The WPQs data is merged with the biographical and political characteristics of the MPs in the
53
54 sample collected from Parliament’s profiles. The data include such political characteristics of
55
56 Jewish and Muslim MPs as their party affiliation, types of seats and candidacies by election,
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 as well as their personal characteristics, including age, gender, ethnicity, country of origin,
4
5 pre-parliamentary political experience, and educational and socio-economic backgrounds.
6
7 The biographical and political characteristics of the Members are used to enrich the
8
9 exploratory potential of the study and to extend its explanatory scope, although not only the
10
11 most relevant ones are included in formal statistical models.
12
13

14 15 16 *1.4 Methods of analysis* 17

18 The analysis is conducted in two stages. First, a relational computer-aided dictionary-based
19
20 content analysis is performed on the selected Parliamentary Questions. This research
21
22 considers only WPQs because the majority of questions are tabled for written answers, and
23
24 even oral questions are usually given written answers because of time constraints (Blackburn
25
26 *et al.*, 2003, p. 374; Hansard, 2010a). Using WPQs, therefore, increases the number of data
27
28 units and allows for higher variation between them. Secondly, WPQs are longer and more
29
30 detailed than questions for oral answers. This makes them more useful for quantitative
31
32 content analysis and the qualitative, exploratory study, which helps to contextualise the
33
34 findings (Saalfeld, 2011). The limitations of the data stem from the relative brevity of WPQs
35
36 compared to other types of parliamentary contributions and their conformity with ‘the
37
38 existing parliamentary conventions regarding courteous language’ (Hansard, 2010a, p. 3).
39
40 However, their brevity is compensated for by their high frequency that allows for robust
41
42 topical analysis and shifts of interest to particular issues among MPs.
43
44

45
46 The WPQs are tested against the keywords that operationalise the notion of ‘minority issues’,
47
48 including community issues (British Jewry and British Muslims), foreign affairs (South Asia
49
50 and the Middle East), and immigration, using the Yoshikoder content analysis software.³
51
52

53
54
55 ³ Over 1,100 indicators are used to operationalise and test for the presence of Jewish and Muslim minority-
56
57 specific issues in WPQs that are grouped into the following categories: ‘British Jewry’, ‘Middle East’, ‘British
58
59
60

1
2
3 The output of the quantitative computer-aided content analysis provides values for
4 continuous and dichotomised dependent variables – ‘British Jewry’, ‘British Muslims’,
5 ‘Immigration’, ‘Middle East’, and ‘South Asia’. They are merged with the personal
6 characteristics of MPs (x) – a religious background, party parliamentary status and a
7 constituency type, whereas a legislative role is used as a control. Explanatory variables are
8 dichotomised for the statistical analysis. The dataset is declared to be time series cross-
9 sectional (TSCS) data.
10
11

12
13
14 Secondly, a series of Prais-Winsten regression models with standard errors search and cluster
15 robust inference examine how religious background, types of constituency (minority or non-
16 minority) and party parliamentary status affect the frequency of references to minority issues
17 in WPQs.⁴ The models are identity-centred and account for the effect of having a certain
18 religious background on the frequency of raising minority issues, alongside the most relevant
19 institutional predictors. They exclude less relevant characteristics, including party
20 identification, electoral characteristics, gender, and ethnicity. The last two are omitted from
21 the analysis because of collinearity and a lack of ethnic variation within each of the religious
22 groups (i.e. Jewish parliamentarians are predominantly White, and Muslim MPs have South
23 Asian ethnic backgrounds).
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39

40 Finally, the study tests the impact of a religious minority background, constituency type and
41 party parliamentary status – whilst controlling for the effect of legislative role – on the
42
43
44
45

46
47
48 Muslims’, ‘Middle East,’ ‘South Asia’, and ‘Immigration’. The indicators are compiled from the materials
49 collected from the Government-funded institutions, such as the Commission for Equality and Human Rights,
50 non-governmental organisations and faith communities.
51

52
53
54 ⁴ The *prais* command uses the Prais-Winsten estimator and iterates until the parameter estimates converge. The
55 Durbin-Watson test is reported for both the original and the transformed models, which suits the data due its
56 nonscalar residual variance matrices (Beckett, 2013).
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 likelihood of referring to minority issues in WPQs in a series of random-effect logistic
4 (Gaussian) models conducted on dichotomised dependent and independent variables. The
5 hypotheses are tested using a series of random-effect logistic models. Random effects models
6 are preferred to fixed effects models, because the unobserved effect is uncorrelated with each
7 explanatory variable. Additionally, the main explanatory variables – a religious minority
8 background and the party parliamentary status – are either constant over time or change
9 infrequently. Finally, a random effects model is preferred to fixed effects and is more
10 efficient in the pooled logistic regression, which is used in this analysis (Woodridge, 2013).

11 The models are similar to the Prais-Winsten models, but the dependent variables are
12 dichotomised for the purpose of the analysis. The dichotomised technique is used to
13 compensate for the unbalanced nature of the panel, which is the result of the uneven length of
14 parliamentary presence of the MPs in the House. Using logistic regressions allows estimating
15 the likelihood of raising minority issues, rather than the intensity with which it is done.
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33

34 *II. Results*

35 *2.1 Do minority MPs ask disproportionately more WPQs on minority issues?*

36 The regression analyses demonstrate that Members of Parliament from minority backgrounds
37 do not refer to the issues of concern for the respective minority more frequently than MPs
38 from a different background and show no statistically significant impact from having a
39 religious minority background on the frequency of raising minority issues in WPQs. In fact,
40 the only results significant in statistical terms are a negative relationship between having a
41 Muslim minority background and the frequency of referring to the issues of concern for
42 British Jews, and a negative relationship between not having a minority background and the
43 frequency of referring to British Muslims and immigration (Figure 1).
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Figure 1 about here⁵

Although the coefficient is rather weak (-0.150), it demonstrates that Muslim parliamentarians rarely ask questions relevant to the Jewish community, whereas MPs with a Jewish background and non-minority Members occasionally refer to issues relating to anti-Semitism and the Holocaust,⁶ though the frequency of references when regressed against a religious background is not significant. WPQs tabled by Muslim and Jewish parliamentarians on issues of concern to British Muslims occur as rarely, though cover a wider range of topics, including Islamic clothing and dietary requirements,⁷ religious tolerance and the alleged radicalisation of the UK's Muslim communities.⁸ However, neither Jewish nor Muslim politicians raise issues of concern to a respective minority group disproportionately more frequently, compared with MPs with a different background.

⁵ Figure 1 shows 15 coefficients from Prais-Winsten AR(1) regressions conducted on dichotomised IVs – Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds – and continuous DVs – British Jewry, British Muslims, Immigration, Middle East and South Asia. The coefficients – dots – show average effects of having a Jewish, Muslim or non-minority background on the number of references to these minority issues. The farther the dot is placed from the line through zero, the stronger the effect is. If the dot is on the right side of the line, the effect is positive, and it is negative if it is on its left side. If the line for the 95% confidence intervals crosses the line through zero the effect is not statistically significant.

⁶ E.g., 134527 in Hansard 2000; 38664 in Hansard 2006.

⁷ E.g., 130949 in Hansard 2000.

⁸ For instance, Dr Julian Lewis made requests about the Islamic Society of Britain and its alleged links with Muslim extremist organisations, especially those involved in anti-Zionist activity (14781, 14843 in Hansard 2002). A number of individual cases, such as the detention of a Palestinian activist Sheikh Raed Salah in 2011, grasped the attention of Members too (65761, 65762, 65763, 65764 in Hansard 2012).

1
2
3 However, despite the absence of positive, statistically significant effects from Jewish and
4
5 Muslim backgrounds on the frequency of referring to issues of concern for their respective
6
7 minority groups, the analysis also shows that non-minority MPs are raising topics relating to
8
9 British Muslims and immigration disproportionately less frequently. This can be the result of
10
11 their genuine lack of interest and/or expertise on these minority issues.
12

13
14 The analyses also show that the proportion of minority population in a constituency does not
15
16 affect MPs' frequency of asking minority-specific WPQs. It is not to be expected that an MP
17
18 who represents a constituency with a high proportion of religious minority population will
19
20 necessarily engage with the interests of those minorities on the floor of the House.
21
22 Furthermore, the absence of a statistically significant relationship between the frequency of
23
24 engagement with minority issues of MPs representing constituencies with minority and non-
25
26 minority populations might signify that there is no variation at all. This indicates either a lack
27
28 of MPs' engagement with minority issues, or the consistency of MPs' interest regardless of
29
30 the minority presence in their constituencies.
31
32

33
34 There are, however, significant differences between the frequency with which Members of
35
36 the Government and Opposition parliamentary parties table WPQs on the issues of minority
37
38 concern. This is illustrated in Figure 2, which shows a series of regression coefficients that
39
40 demonstrates how the party parliamentary status influences the frequency of raising minority
41
42 issues in WPQs. In particular, it shows consistently strong, positive, statistically significant
43
44 effects from being in Opposition on the frequency of references to immigration and British
45
46 Muslims in WPQs by MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds.
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Figure 2 about here⁹

The high frequency of references to immigration in Parliamentary Questions is a reflection of the growing concern over the issue among the public (Migration Observatory, 2011; YouGov, 2013). It also echoes the parliamentary debate and the scrutiny of such legislative proposals as the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Bill, the Asylum and Immigration Bill, the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Bill, and the UK Borders Bill. The results suggest that non-minority and Jewish parliamentarians have made a substantial contribution to these debates, whereas Muslim politicians engage with these issues less frequently.

Furthermore, Figure 2 demonstrates moderately strong, positive, statistically significant effects from being in Opposition on the probability of referring to British Muslims (0.913, 0.941, and 0.918 for Jewish, Muslims and non-minority MPs, respectively). The thematic analysis of WPQs shows that issues raised in WPQs in relation to British Muslims and immigration often overlap and speak to each other. In particular, both debates address multicultural policies and the problem of socio-political inclusion of migrant-origin groups, including British Muslims.

Overall, being in Opposition gives positive and statistically significant results for the frequency of referring to British Muslims and immigration by MPs from all identity groups. On the other hand, with the only exception of the British Jewry, there is no observable effect from a religious minority background on the frequency of referring to minority issues in WPQs. This suggests that the partisan nature of Parliamentary Questions and their

⁹ Figure 2 shows 15 coefficients from Prais-Winsten AR(1) regressions conducted on dichotomised IVs – being in Opposition/Government – and continuous DVs – British Jewry, British Muslims, Immigration, Middle East, and South Asia. The coefficients – represented as black circles – show average effects of being in Opposition on the number of references to these minority issues.

1
2
3 parliamentary functions outweighs religious background as a predictor of behaviour, even
4
5 when the party discipline is loosened.
6
7

8 9 10 2.2 Are minority MPs more likely to raise minority issues in WPQs at all?

11
12 The logistic regressions on TSCS data demonstrate the effect of having a religious minority
13
14 background on the likelihood of asking a minority-specific Parliamentary Question, whilst
15
16 accounting for other institutional predictors. The results largely confirm those of the
17
18 frequency analysis and suggest the superiority of the institutional, rather than identity-
19
20 centred, explanations. Figure 3 summarises a series of logistic regression coefficients that
21
22 demonstrate the effects of having a Jewish, Muslim and non-minority background on the
23
24 likelihood of referring to minority issues in WPQs.
25
26

27
28
29 Figure 3 about here¹⁰
30
31

32
33
34 It shows relatively strong, positive, statistically significant effects from a Muslim background
35
36 on the likelihood of referring to Muslim-related foreign affairs, including South Asia and the
37
38 Middle East, in WPQs. Muslim MPs are twice as likely as those from a non-Muslim
39
40 background to table WPQs on these issues. The strength of their interest in foreign, rather
41
42 than internal community, topics speaks to the argument of the ‘securitisation’ of minority
43
44 issues (DeHanas *et al.*, 2010). Then, Muslim MPs are expected to engage with security issues
45
46 and reflect on various aspects of minority operations in WPQs. Instead, the qualitative
47
48

49
50
51 ¹⁰ Figure 3 represents 15 coefficients from the random-effects logistic (Gaussian) regressions conducted on
52
53 dichotomised DVs – British Jewry, British Muslims, Immigration, Middle East, and South Asia – and IVs –
54
55 having a Jewish, Muslim or non-minority background. The coefficients – circles – show average effects of
56
57 having a Jewish, Muslim or non-minority background on the probability of referring to these minority issues.
58
59

1
2
3 analysis of the questions suggests that Muslim MPs mostly focus on development and
4 humanitarian cooperation with South Asian countries, cultural issues and the human rights
5 situation in the area rather than the UK's military presence in the Middle East.¹¹
6
7

8
9 Occasionally, however, they reflect on the post-war reconstruction and humanitarian situation
10 in the region,¹² as well as the treatment of UK citizens in the Middle East.¹³
11

12
13 Overall, the impact of having a religious minority background on the likelihood of raising
14 minority issues in WPQs is limited to Muslim parliamentarians asking WPQs on foreign
15 affairs, which partially supports H₁. The effect from having a Jewish background, on the
16 other hand, is irrelevant as a predictor of MPs' engagement with minority issues, as well as
17 having a Muslim background that does not influence the likelihood of MPs referring to the
18 UK's domestic communities, immigration, and the inter-faith dialogue.
19
20

21
22 Although representing a constituency with a significant minority population is expected to
23 increase the likelihood of MPs' engagement with the issues of minority concern, the analyses
24 does not give any positive results. This rejects H₂ and suggests that the partisan nature of
25 WPQs could outweigh the effect of representing a seat with a significant minority presence.
26
27 This is supported by the results of testing H₃, whereby being a member of an Opposition
28 party, are the strongest predictors of the likelihood of engagement with minority issues in
29 WPQs. The analyses that support H₃ are illustrated in Figure 4.
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45

46 Figure 4 about here¹⁴
47

48
49 ¹¹ E.g., 19875 in Hansard 2012.

50
51 ¹² E.g., 87792 in Hansard 2012.

52
53 ¹³ E.g., 100895 in Hansard 2012.

54
55 ¹⁴ Figure 4 represents 15 coefficients from the random-effects logistic (Gaussian) regressions conducted on
56 dichotomised DVs – British Jewry, British Muslims, Immigration, Middle East, and South Asia – and IVs –
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5 Figure 4 shows consistently strong, positive, statistically significant effects from being in
6
7 Opposition on the likelihood of referring to British Muslims, immigration and foreign affairs,
8
9 including the Middle East and South Asia, in the WPQs by MPs from Jewish, Muslim and
10
11 non-minority backgrounds. Being in Opposition is statistically significant not only for the
12
13 likelihood of MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds referring to the
14
15 British Jewry in WPQs.¹⁵ In all the cases the effects are strong, positive and comparable
16
17 across Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs. This means that being in Opposition
18
19 significantly increases the likelihood of asking questions in relation to the Muslim minority,
20
21 immigration, the Middle East and South Asia. This interest has been consistent throughout
22
23 the period of the study, and the increase in references after the invasion of Iraq and the
24
25 London bombings are not significant. This suggests that those questions were not an ad-hoc
26
27 reaction to certain events, but rather the routine scrutiny of relevant policies and legislation.

28
29
30 Immigration, as the most partisan of the minority issues, illustrates the strength and
31
32 consistency of the effect of being in Opposition on the frequency and the likelihood of tabling
33
34 Parliamentary Questions on the issue by minority and non-minority MPs. The qualitative
35
36 analysis of the content of these questions also reflects on immigration. For instance, MPs
37
38
39

40
41
42 being in Opposition/Government. The coefficients – circles – show average effects of being in Opposition on
43
44 the probability of referring to these minority issues.

45
46 ¹⁵ The likelihood of referring to the British Jewry is not significantly affected by MPs being in Opposition or
47
48 Government, whereas holding a leadership role has a negative, statistically significant effect on the probability
49
50 of referring to issues relating to the British Jewry in WPQs tabled by MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-
51
52 minority backgrounds. This is likely to be the result of the sensitivity and narrowness of the topic, which is too
53
54 specialised to attract the attention of frontbenchers who usually engage with broader issues (Searing, 1994, p.
55
56 371), as well as the cross-party consensus on combating anti-Semitism that reduces the differences in the
57
58 content of WPQs tabled by the MPs from the Opposition and the Government parties.
59
60

1
2
3 regularly question the efficiency and responsiveness of the Home Office and the other
4 migration authorities and evaluate their performance,¹⁶ as well as the costs of the
5 administrative and legal support, the police and detention services, and the welfare systems.¹⁷
6
7 They frequently express concerns over potential flaws in immigration regulations,¹⁸ and
8 loopholes for the discrimination of migrants – especially in the context of the stop-and-search
9 police operations and access to work and the welfare system.¹⁹ Additionally, politicians use
10 Parliamentary Questions for requesting statistical data, including the number of refugees and
11 asylum seekers, labour migrants, dependants, family members and foreign nationals, who had
12 leave to remain as well as updates on illegal immigration and statistics on migrants detained,
13 deported and those who appealed their cases.²⁰
14
15 The strength and consistency of the effects also highlights the partisan nature of WPQs.
16 Tabling WPQs is considered to be a low-cost parliamentary activity that can hardly damage
17 one's career or prospects for promotion. However, it is highly instrumental in both holding
18 the Executive to account and promoting the party's agenda. This makes WPQs more visible
19 to the general public and more partisan. In this study, the effect of the dichotomy between the
20 Government and the Opposition clearly outweighs the impact of having a religious minority
21 background. As a result, the likelihood of asking minority-specific WPQs by Jewish, Muslim
22 and non-minority MPs is rather similar. A lack of variation across MPs from Jewish, Muslim
23 and non-minority backgrounds suggests the strong Government/Opposition bias affecting the
24 content of the questions.
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47

48
49 ¹⁶ E.g., 72081 in Hansard 2012.

50
51 ¹⁷ E.g., 72823 in Hansard 2012.

52
53 ¹⁸ E.g., 5280 in Hansard 2002.

54
55 ¹⁹ E.g., 28291 in Hansard 1997-98; 73336 in Hansard 2005-06.

56
57 ²⁰ E.g., 130841 in Hansard 1999-00; 239060 in Hansard 2008-09.

1
2
3 The analyses of maximum likelihood support and strengthen the evidence from the regression
4 analyses and suggest that institutional factors, especially being in the Government/Opposition
5 party, are stronger and more consistent predictors of engagement with minority issues than an
6 MP's religious minority background and the proportion of a minority population in his/her
7 constituency. However, Muslim parliamentarians have been more likely to engage with
8 foreign affairs, which supports the argument regarding the securitisation of minority issues in
9 UK political debate (DeHanas *et al.*, 2010).
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19

20 21 *III. Conclusion*

22 The analyses show that Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians do not table disproportionately
23 more questions on issues of concern to respective minorities than MPs with a different
24 religious background (Figure 1). Neither Jewish nor Muslim background affects the
25 likelihood of raising questions of internal community concern and, in the case of a Jewish
26 background, the likelihood of engagement with all minority issues. Muslim MPs, on the other
27 hand, are more likely to table questions about South Asia and the Middle East (Figure 3).
28 Their interest in foreign affairs speaks to the argument of the securitisation of minority issues
29 (DeHanas *et al.*, 2010), though the content of the WPQs tabled by Muslim parliamentarians
30 hints that they are more interested in human rights and development than in security issues.
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42

43 Overall, a religious minority background as a predictor of MPs' engagement with minority
44 issues is inferior to institutional factors, especially being a member of the Opposition party.
45 Being in Opposition has a strong and consistent effect on the frequency of raising
46 immigration-related issues in WPQs and the likelihood of asking minority-specific
47 Parliamentary Questions by MPs from minority and non-minority backgrounds (Figures 2
48 and 4). The strength and consistency of the relationship between being in Opposition and
49 asking questions on British Muslims, immigration and foreign affairs reflects the partisan
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 nature of Parliamentary Questions driven by the dichotomy between the Government and the
4
5 Opposition and the adversarial nature of inter-party relations.
6

7
8 The results of the content and statistical analyses also paint immigration as one of the most
9
10 referred to and partisan topics in WPQs. A strong, positive, significant effect from being in
11
12 Opposition on the frequency and the likelihood of asking questions on immigration by MPs
13
14 from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds suggest that WPQs on immigration are
15
16 used to interrogate and scrutinise relevant Government's policies rather than reflect
17
18 individual identities (Figures 2 and 4). Being in Opposition also increases the likelihood of
19
20 MPs asking WPQs about British Muslims, South Asia and the Middle East. The first topic is
21
22 a reflection of the multiculturalism and community cohesion debate, whereas their interest in
23
24 foreign affairs demonstrates their engagement with debates and inquiries into the campaigns
25
26 in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the Israeli-Palestinian peace negotiations (Figure 4).
27
28

29
30 To summarise, the high impact of being in Opposition on the frequency and the likelihood of
31
32 referring to minority issues in WPQs reflects on functions of Parliamentary Questions, which
33
34 aim at probing and scrutinising the Government (Hansard, 2010a; Hansard, 2012a). Unlike
35
36 these institutional factors, having a Jewish and Muslim background is largely irrelevant as a
37
38 predictor of raising minority issues. The consistent dominance of institutional factors
39
40 suggests that Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians are not more likely to engage with
41
42 minority issues in Parliamentary Questions, or do so more frequently than politicians with a
43
44 different minority background, despite relatively low risks for their political careers and
45
46 fewer institutional constraints on WPQs compared to whipped parliamentary activities.
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Table 1 Number of WPQs tabled by MPs by Members' religious background, type of constituency, party parliamentary status

	1997-01	2001-05	2005-10	2010-12	Total
Religious background					
Jewish MPs	5,378	16,039	13,880	4,580	39,877
Muslim MPs	185	95	246	1,872	2,398
Non-minority MPs	4,101	2,844	2,791	2,112	11,848
Constituency type					
Minority	2,771	3,781	5,893	4,517	16,962
Non-minority	6,893	15,197	11,024	4,047	37,161
Party parliamentary status					
Government	3,876	4,163	4,133	3,068	15,240
Opposition	5,788	14,815	12,784	5,496	38,883

Source: Hansard 1998-2012

List of figures

Figure 1 Effect of religious background on the frequency of raising minority issues in WPQs

Figure 2 Effect of being in Opposition on the frequency of raising minority issues in WPQs

Figure 3 Effect of religious background on the likelihood of raising minority issues in WPQs

Figure 4 Effect of being in Opposition on the likelihood of raising minority issues in WPQs

References

Andre, A., Gallagher, M. and Sandri, G. (2014) 'Legislators' Constituency Orientation' In: Deschouwer, K. and Depauw, S. (eds) *Representing the People: A Survey Among Members of Statewide and Substate Parliaments*, Oxford, Oxford University Press pp. 166-187.

1
2
3 Beckett, S. (2013) 'Introduction to Time Series Using Stata', College Station, A Stata Press
4 Publication StataCorp LP.

5
6
7 Bird, K. (2005) 'Gendering parliamentary questions', *The British Journal of Politics &*
8
9
10 *International Relations*, 7, 353-370.

11
12 Blackburn, R., Kennon, A., Wheeler-Booth, M., Griffith, J. and Ryle, M. (2003) 'Parliament:
13
14 Functions, Practice and Procedures', London, Sweet and Maxwell.

15
16 Cabinet Office (2010) 'The Cabinet Manual: A guide to laws, conventions and rules on the
17
18 operation of government', accessed at [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/60641/cabinet-manual.pdf)
19
20 [uploads/attachment_data/file/60641/cabinet-manual.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/60641/cabinet-manual.pdf) on 26 June 2013.

21
22
23 Childs, S and Withey, J. (2006) 'The Substantive Representation of Women: The Case of the
24
25 Reduction of VAT on Sanitary Products', *Parliamentary Affairs*, 59, 10-23.

26
27 DeHanas, D., O'Toole, T., Modood, T. and Meer, N. (2010) 'Muslim Participation in
28
29 Contemporary Governance. A Brief Introduction', accessed at [http://www.bris.ac.uk/](http://www.bris.ac.uk/ethnicity/projects/muslimparticipation/documents/workingpaper1.pdf)
30
31 [ethnicity/projects/muslimparticipation/documents/workingpaper1.pdf](http://www.bris.ac.uk/ethnicity/projects/muslimparticipation/documents/workingpaper1.pdf) on 2 February 2013.

32
33
34 Dovi, S. (2007) 'Theorizing women's representation in the United States', *Politics &*
35
36 *Gender*, 3, 297-319.

37
38
39 Franklin, M. and Norton, P. (1993) 'Questions and Members' In: Franklin, M. and Norton, P.
40
41 *Parliamentary Questions*, Oxford, Clarendon pp. 104-122.

42
43 G3 Split (undated) 'G3 Split text analysis software', accessed at [http://www.gdgsoft.com/](http://www.gdgsoft.com/gsplit)
44
45 [gsplit](http://www.gdgsoft.com/gsplit) on 10 February 2012.

46
47 Hansard (1997) 'House of Commons Debate. March 19', London, House of Commons
48
49 Information Centre.

50
51
52 Hansard (1998-2012) 'Question Book', accessed at [http://www.publications.parliament.uk/](http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm/cmordbk.htm)
53
54 [pa/cm/cmordbk.htm](http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm/cmordbk.htm) on 22 October 2012.

1
2
3 Hansard (2009a) 'Speaker's Conference (on Parliamentary Representation): Final Report',
4
5 London, The Stationery Office Limited.

6
7 Hansard (2010a) 'Parliamentary Questions', London, House of Commons Information
8
9 Office.

10
11 Hansard (2012a) 'Parliamentary Questions: recent issues', London, House of Commons
12
13 Parliament and Constitution Centre.

14
15 Hansard (2013) 'Ethnic Minorities in Politics, Government and Public Life', London, House
16
17 of Commons Library.

18
19 Heath, A., Fisher, S., Rosenblatt, G., Sanders, D. and Sobolewska, M. (2013) 'The Political
20
21 Integration of Ethnic Minorities in Britain', Oxford, Oxford University Press.

22
23 Ipsos MORI (2005) 'Attitudes of British Muslims', accessed at [http://www.ipsos-mori.com/
24
25 researchpublications/researcharchive/548/Attitudes-of-British-Muslims.aspx](http://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/548/Attitudes-of-British-Muslims.aspx) on 18 March
26
27 2013.

28
29 Janner, G. and Taylor, D. (2008) 'Jewish Parliamentarians', London, Mitchell Vallentine and
30
31 Company.

32
33 Krippendorff, K. (2004) 'Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology', Thousand
34
35 Oaks, Sage.

36
37 Laver, M. and Garry, J. (2000) 'Estimating Policy Positions from Political Texts', *American
38
39 Journal of Political Science*, **44**, 619–634.

40
41 Liedtke, R. and Wendehorst, S. (eds) (1999) 'The Emancipation of Catholics, Jews and
42
43 Protestants: Minorities and the Nation-State in Nineteenth-Century Europe', Manchester,
44
45 Manchester University Press.

46
47 McAndrew, S. and Voas, D. (2010) 'British religion in numbers: Making religion count',
48
49 Edinburgh, University of Edinburgh.

1
2
3 Migration Observatory (2011) 'Thinking behind the Numbers: Understanding Public Opinion
4 on Immigration in Britain', accessed at <http://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/understanding-uk-public-opinion/executive-summary> on 15 December 2013.

9
10 Norton, P. (1993) 'Questions and the Role of Parliament' In Franklin, M. and Norton, P.
11 (eds) *Parliamentary Questions*, Oxford, Clarendon Press pp. 174-207.

14
15 ONS (2003) 'Religion in Britain', accessed at [www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id = 293](http://www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=293)
16 on 13 February 2013.

18
19 ONS (2012) 'Religion in Britain', accessed at <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/key-statistics-for-local-authorities-in-england-and-wales/rpt-religion.html> on 21
20
21
22 January 2013.

25
26 Pitkin, H. (1967) 'The Concept of Representation', Berkeley, University of California Press.

27
28 Provalis Research (undated) 'QDA Miner data analysis software', accessed at <http://provalisresearch.com/products/qualitative-data-analysis-software/> on 15 July 2013.

31
32 Rozenberg, O. and Martin, S. (2011) 'Questioning parliamentary questions', *The Journal of*
33
34 *Legislative Studies*, **17**, 394-404.

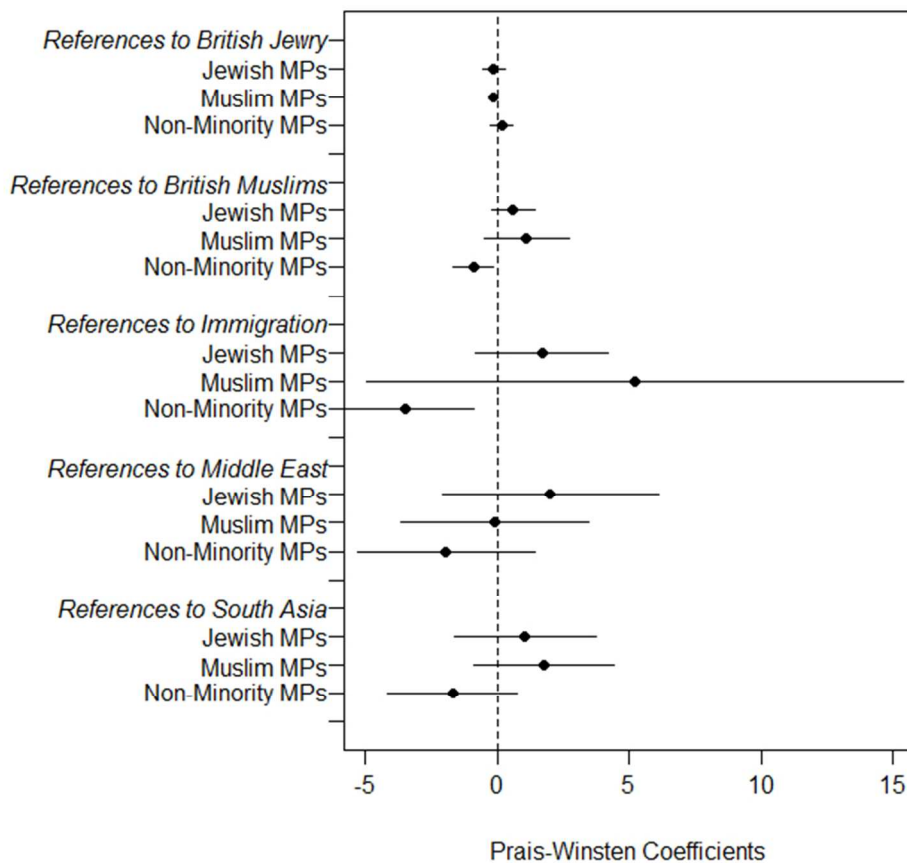
36
37 Saalfeld, T. and Bischof, D. (2013) 'Minority-Ethnic MPs and the Substantive Representation
38 of Minority Interests in the House of Commons, 2005-2011', *Parliamentary Affairs*, **66**, 305-
39
40
41 328.

42
43 Saalfeld, T. and Kyriakopoulou, K. (2011) 'Presence and Behaviour: Black and Minority
44 Ethnic MPs in the British House of Commons' In Bird, K., Saalfeld, T. and Wust, A. (eds)
45
46
47 *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities. Voters, parties and parliaments*
48
49
50 *in liberal democracies*, Abingdon, Routledge pp. 230-249.

51
52 Saalfeld, T. (2011) 'Parliamentary questions as instruments of substantive representation:
53 visible minorities in the UK House of Commons, 2005-10', *The Journal of Legislative*
54
55
56
57
58
59
60 *Studies*, **17**, 271-289.

- 1
2
3 Saward, M. (2011) 'The Representative Claim', Oxford, Oxford University Press.
4
5 Searing, D. (1994) 'Westminster's world: understanding political roles', Cambridge, Harvard
6
7 University Press.
8
9
10 Sinno, A. (2008) 'An Institutional Approach to the Politics of Western Muslim Minorities' In
11
12 Sinno, A. (ed.) *Muslims in Western Politics*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana
13
14 University Press pp. 1-12.
15
16 Voas, D., Olson, D. and Crockett, A. (2002) 'Religious pluralism and participation: Why
17
18 previous research is wrong', *American Sociological Review*, **67**, 212-230.
19
20
21 Weatherhead Center for International Affairs (WCFIA) (2013) 'Yoshikoder software',
22
23 accessed at [http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/weatherhead_initiative/01_identity_variable/](http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/weatherhead_initiative/01_identity_variable/software)
24
25 software on 20 March 2013.
26
27
28 Whiteley, P. (2012) 'Political Participation in Britain: The Decline and Revival of Civic
29
30 Culture', Basingstoke, Palgrave.
31
32 Wiberg, M. (1995) 'Parliamentary questioning: control by communication?' In Doring, H.
33
34 (ed.) *Parliaments and majority rule in Western Europe*, Frankfurt aM, Campus pp. 179-222.
35
36
37 Wooldridge, J. (2013) 'Introductory Econometrics: A Modern Approach', South-Western,
38
39 Cengage Learning.
40
41 YouGov (2013) 'Immigration concern hits three-year high', accessed at [http://yougov.co.uk/](http://yougov.co.uk/news/2013/05/08/immigration-concern-hits-three-year-high/)
42
43 [news/2013/05/08/immigration-concern-hits-three-year-high/](http://yougov.co.uk/news/2013/05/08/immigration-concern-hits-three-year-high/) on 30 January 2014.
44
45
46 Young, I. M. (2004) 'Five Faces of Oppression' In Heldke, L. and O'Connor, P. (eds)
47
48 *Oppression, Privilege and Resistance: Theoretical perspectives on racism, sexism, and*
49
50 *heterosexism*, Boston, McGraw Hill pp. 37-63.
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

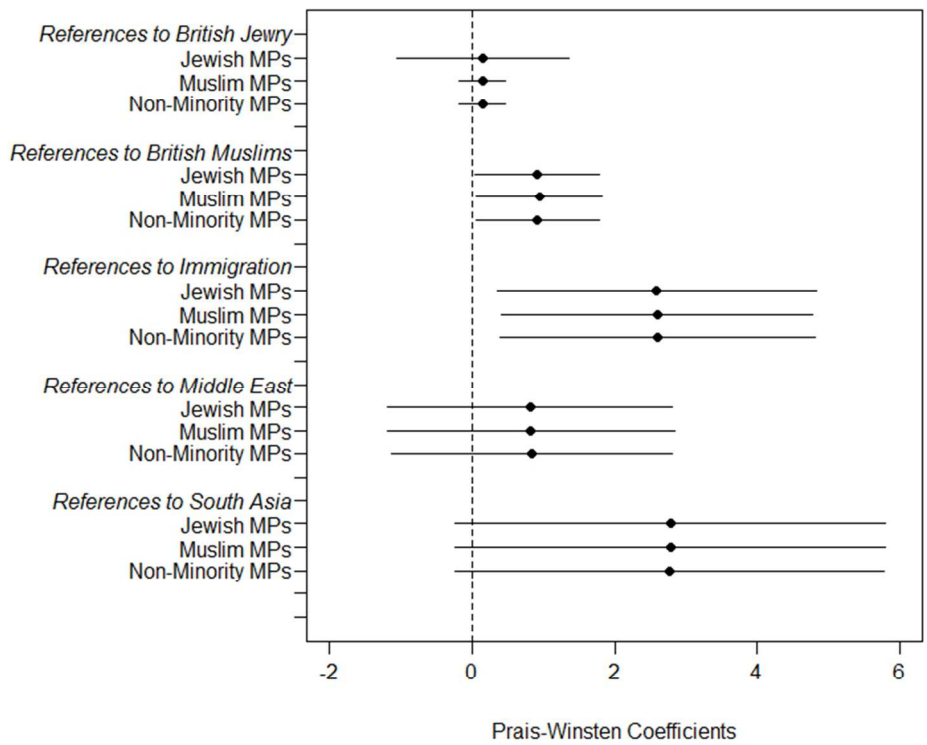
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60



177x177mm (96 x 96 DPI)



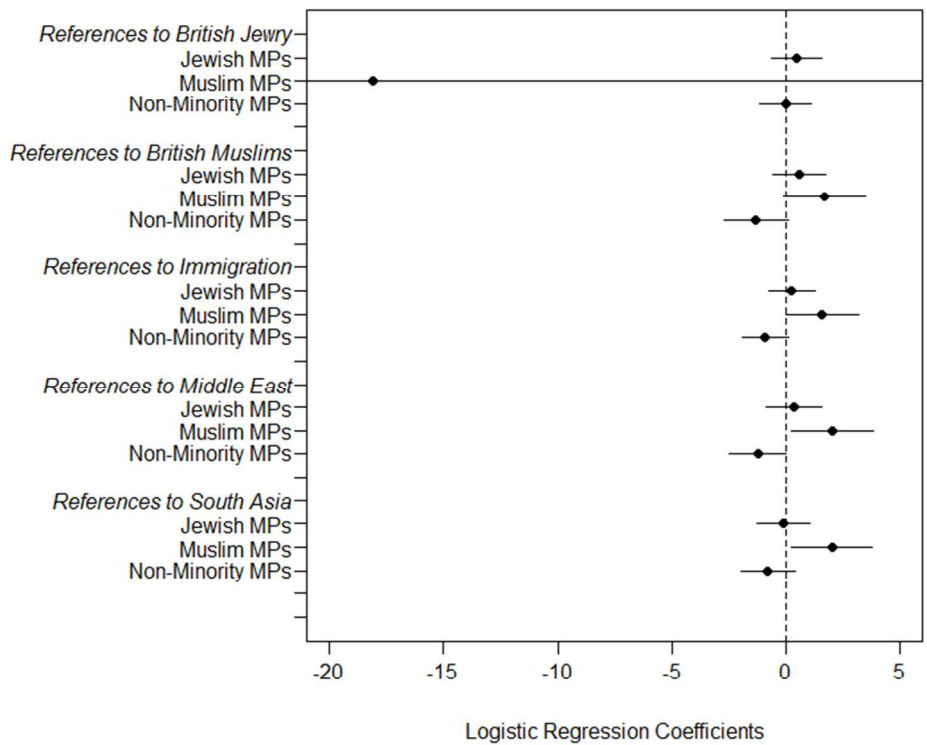
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60



199x172mm (96 x 96 DPI)

Only

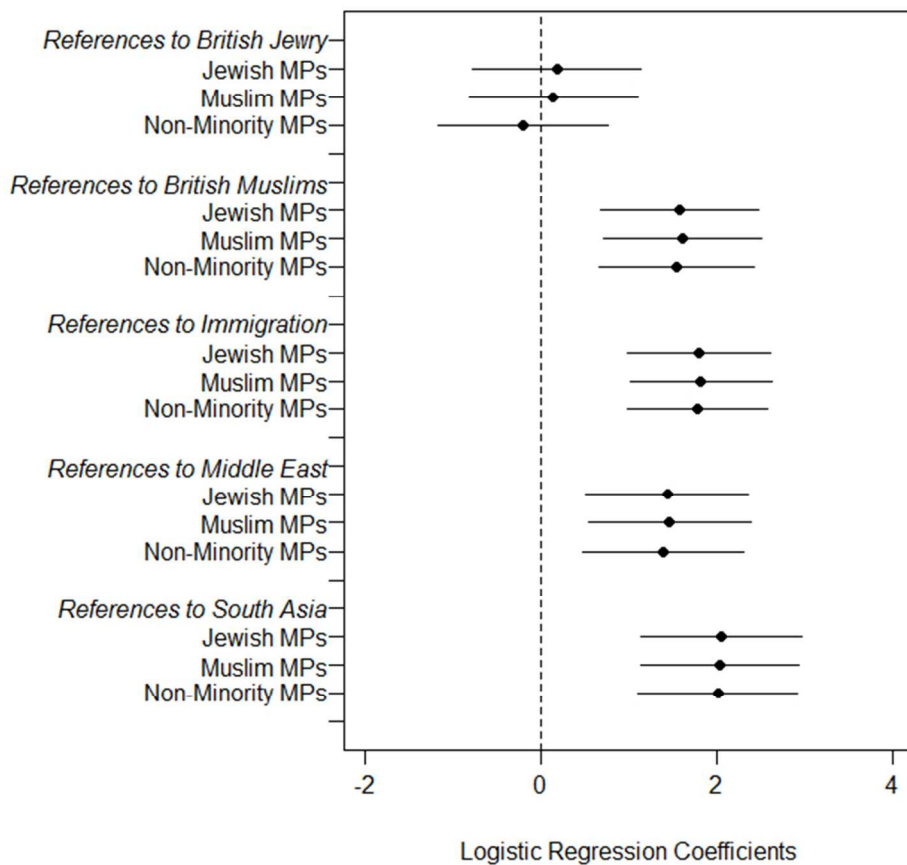
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60



199x172mm (96 x 96 DPI)

Only

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60



177x177mm (96 x 96 DPI)

