RELIGIOUS REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT:

EXAMINING THE PARLIAMENTARY BEHAVIOUR OF MPS FROM JEWISH AND MUSLIM BACKGROUNDS, 1997-2012

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Abstract

This research examines the parliamentary representation of Jewish and Muslim minorities. It is assessed drawing upon the behaviour of MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds and their engagement with issues of concern for the respective minority in high- and low-cost parliamentary activities.

The analysis is conducted on the content of 96 votes, 708,429 Parliamentary Questions for written answers (WPQs), and 5,160 Early Day Motions (EDMs). Voting divisions are examined using methods of descriptive statistics and qualitative content analysis, whereas relational, computer-aided, dictionary-based content analysis with time series cross-sectional data analysis is applied to examine the content of EDMs and WPQs.

The analysis demonstrates that coming from a religious minority background has a limited impact on the behaviour of MPs and is largely inferior to the institutional predictors of behaviour, such as legislative role and the party-related predictors. This suggests that MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds do not necessarily act for their minority groups driven by their heritage alone. Instead, MPs' engagement with minority issues depends on their duties, responsibilities and party affiliations, even when the party discipline is loosened.

The findings of the research have significant policy implications. They show that the presence of minority politicians in a legislature does not necessarily lead to better substantive representation of these minority groups through minority MPs' engagement with minority issues. That is because minority parliamentarians are bound by the same constraints as the rest of the House, which reduces their ability to deliver expertise on minority issues.

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Chapter 1

Opening Pandora's Box: Religious Parliamentary Representation

Religious minority parliamentary representation in the United Kingdom is the central topic of this research. It explores whether minority parliamentarians provide insights and expertise on minority issues, and improve the quality of legislation and the awareness of politicians about minority issues. In this event, minority MPs advance the quality of representation of minority interests, as well as represent their minority groups descriptively.

Focusing on politicians from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds, this study examines whether and how minority politicians engage with minority issues in the House of Commons. It explores the behaviour of MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds elected to Parliament from the Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties between 1997 and 2012. The study is based on the content and statistical analysis of original data, including voting records, Parliamentary Questions for written answers (WPQs), and Early Day Motions (EDMs) of minority and a control group of non-minority MPs between the 1997-98 and 2010-12 sessions. The analysis focuses on the difference (if any) in voting and the content of EDMs and WPQs of minority and non-minority parliamentarians. These empirical analyses are the backbone of the thesis; they are supplemented with introductory, theoretical, and methodological chapters that build the rationale for the study, explain its theoretical framework, and introduce the data and methods of the research.

This research argues that although the number of minority, especially Muslim, parliamentarians is gradually increasing, their presence does not

necessarily improve the representation of the interests of their respective minority groups. This is demonstrated by a lack of variation between minority and non-minority MPs in voting on issues of minority concern, including, for instance, the invasion of Iraq, and the irrelevance of a religious minority background as a predictor of the probability and frequency of MPs' engagement with minority-related topics in EDMs and WPQs. In both high and low-cost parliamentary activities alike, institutional predictors (e.g., the party) in voting, the legislative role in sponsoring EDMs, and the party parliamentary status in tabling WPQs, affect MPs' behaviour more strongly than the religious background. As a result, the frequency of raising minority issues depends not on an MP's religious background, but on the extent to which he or she is institutionally constrained. Although it is hardly surprising in voting on whipped votes, which is strictly controlled by the party whips, institutional constraints are as effective when party discipline is loosened – in voting on free votes and tabling EDMs and WPQs.

This suggests that the quality of Jewish and Muslim representation, regarding the issues of concern for these minorities, does not necessarily depend on the presence or the number of minority politicians. Rather, it is affected by the institutional environment and by how appropriate it is to raise minority issues in particular institutional contexts. This supports the argument that the parliamentary presence of minority groups does not necessarily lead to the better representation of minority interests, especially in a rigid institutional environment (e.g., Saalfeld *et al.* 2011; Durose *et al.* 2011). The parliamentary performance of politicians from minority groups regarding their engagement with these groups' interests is the main criterion of the quality of

representation. Such a focus decreases the importance of coming from a religious minority background as a prerequisite for representing minority interests, widens the range of representatives beyond members of a certain minority group, and creates opportunities for political alliances and discussion of minority issues. Furthermore, it paints a more realistic portrait of a minority parliamentary representative by showing that non-minority politicians can effectively represent minority issues, whereas MPs from religious minority backgrounds might be unwilling or incapable of doing so, or might focus on representing their parties and constituents, rather than their minority groups.

This research has academic and political implications. First, it demonstrates the value of assessing parliamentary representation in empirical, rather than normative, terms. The empirical analyses of behaviour focus on MPs' performance as representatives, rather than speculate on what they ought to do. Such analyses explore how parliamentary representation can be realistically improved by enhancing the performance of MPs and considering the constraints of the institutional environment. Second, this research shows that different types of parliamentary behaviour offer opportunities for the improvement of substantive minority representation by providing avenues suitable for discussing minority issues for politicians at different career stages. For instance, MPs in leadership roles are less likely to table EDMs on minority issues, especially compared with backbenchers from either Government or Opposition. However, Opposition frontbenchers actively scrutinise the Executive by asking WPQs on minority issues, whereas being a Government backbencher reduces the probability of asking such questions. Finally, the study suggests widening the scope of minority parliamentary representation

beyond the idea that ‘minorities represent minorities’ by including non-minority politicians. In practice, this is already true – non-minority MPs frequently engage with minority issues and contribute to the representation of minority interests.

Overall, this research shows the benefits of exploring parliamentary representation drawing upon the analysis of MPs’ behaviour. It can be empirically analysed in a wider context of representation, which includes minority and non-minority parliamentarians who contribute to the representation of minority interests. This approach accounts for real-world political constraints and suggests practical solutions for improving minority representation by drawing upon the peculiarities of the political system and institutional context.

This research also has implications for considering how to improve the parliamentary representation of minority groups more generally considering that institutional remedies aimed at increasing the presence of these groups in Parliament, such as minority short lists, are not effective for improving the representation of minority interests by minority Members.

Why does minority representation matter?

Improving the political representation of marginalised groups increases the quality of democracy and contributes to the country’s well-being (Pitkin 1967; Phillips 1995). It is vital for the development of a modern democratic society given the diversity of its population (Saward 2011). Fair political representation, based on the active and inclusive model of democracy, enhances political participation and reduces socio-political exclusion (Phillips 1995; Saward 2011). It ensures the accountability of politicians and improves

awareness of the political elite about society's details and people's views and attitudes (Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou 2011; Whiteley 2012).

With this is mind, the importance of improving the parliamentary representation of ethnic and religious minorities has been accepted by all the main British parties and political institutions. The House of Commons, for instance, regularly publishes reports on the state of ethnic and religious representation in the Chamber, and encourages the parties to facilitate access to Parliament for candidates from minority backgrounds in order to ensure the effectiveness and fairness of the House as a representative body (e.g., House of Commons 2009, 17-21). Responding to the call for wider representation, the main political parties have tried to bring politicians from diverse backgrounds to Parliament. As a result, Labour, the Liberal Democrats and the Conservatives have vocally supported fair representation and encouraged candidates from marginalised groups to stand for Parliament, which is evident from their manifestos:

> 'Labour has the best record of any UK political party in terms of Black and Asian representation… But we're determined see more Black, Asian and Ethnic Minority MPs in after this election. This isn't about doing anyone any 'favours.' It's a democratic imperative and one that this Labour Government takes seriously' (Labour Party 2010, 4);

> 'No group, no minority, will be left behind on the road to a better future. Make no mistake: the Conservative Party has changed. We have

updated our policies, and our candidates better reflect modern Britain' (Conservative Party 2010, 2);

'…the Party needs to reflect the people that it represents, and that is why we are focused on improving the diversity of our MPs in Parliament. The Leadership Programme is a major initiative which provides long-term training, mentoring and intensive support for candidates from under-represented groups' (Liberal Democrat Party undated).

In order to increase the number of minority politicians, the parties have introduced short listing, mentoring and funding schemes in order to support candidates from marginalised groups, such as ethnic minorities and women (House of Commons 2009, 51; Durose *et al.* 2011). Although these measures have been successful in promoting steady growth in the number of minority parliamentarians (Cracknell 2012), it is unclear whether they have improved the representation of minority interests.

It has been argued that the inclusion of all groups of population, including marginalised groups, in political institutions informs the legislative process and policy-making, increasing their effectiveness and responsiveness to the society's needs (Whiteley 2012). However, this depends on the performance of representatives and their ability to account for the interests of all groups of the population, including women, minorities, and other marginalised groups (Bird *et al.* 2011). Facilitating access to Parliament for minority politicians, and increasing the number of minority representatives so

that they could act as role models, and deliver expertise and insights on minority issues, are the main targets of party and parliamentary proposals (House of Commons 2009).

These arguments are widespread and supported among the public and minority groups. In the case of Jewish and Muslim religious minorities, for instance, getting into the political process, and ultimately into Parliament has been perceived as a sign of political recognition and inclusion, as well as a manifestation of trust in those groups to participate in politics at the highest level (Anwar 1991, 58-61; Saggar 2000; Gloger 2008, July 11). The importance of political recognition and acceptance for Jewish and Muslim minorities is obvious from how closely the minority-affiliated media and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) follow the General Elections and Prospective Parliamentary Candidates (e.g., Jewish Chronicle 2010; Muslim Vote 2010). It stems from the long history of marginalisation of these communities in Britain and their discrimination on the grounds of religion. Such troubled heritage explains the disadvantaged status of the British Jewry and Muslims in British politics and their self-perception as marginalised (or oppressed) groups according to the criteria developed by Iris Marion Young.[1]

[1] Young identified five types of oppression, i.e. criteria to identify marginalised groups, including exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence (2004). British Jews and Muslims have experienced all of this. The British Jewry experienced 400 years of expulsion from England and another hundred years of discrimination on the grounds of religion having been limited in economic and political rights (Liedtke and Wendehorst 1999). Although the community is relatively well-established in British politics at present, the history of discrimination and the recent flashbacks of anti-Semitism in Britain suggest that the violence towards the British Jewry has not stopped and neither has cultural imperialism (APPG against Antisemitism 2006). The non-conformity of Jews in their way of life with that of the Christian majority, is still a trigger of the anti-Jewish sentiment (Linehan 2012). Similarly, British Muslims have recently enjoyed some political recognition and success, which does not cancel out the post-1950s history of exploitation and marginalisation. At the time they lacked of access of the Muslim workforce to welfare and in-work protection, were discriminated in workplace, housing and private lives (Ansari 2004; Baxter 2006). At present, the growing Islamophobia and claims that one cannot be Muslim and British at the

In order to improve representation of marginalised minority groups and the quality of parliamentary decision-making by considering for needs and interests of these groups, the three main parties are recruiting politicians from minority backgrounds and providing additional support and funding for them should they stand for Parliament. The high level of attention that minority candidates receive in media coverage of elections overall suggests that the public also associate better minority parliamentary representation with more minority candidates and their electoral success (e.g., BBC 2005, April 19; BBC 2005, May 10; BBC 2010, March 9; Egawhary 2010, May 18; Hirsch 2010, May 7; Paton 2010, May 10).

However, despite the fact that the number of parliamentarians from minority backgrounds has increased, the findings of the Ethnic Minority British Election Study show that minority groups feel as unrepresented by the main parties as they did in 1997 (Heath *et al.* 2013, 95). The research argues that this is a result of general disillusionment with the mainstream politics and a lack of political interest (Heath *et al.* 2013, 96). Their political disengagement contradicts with the expectation that bringing in more minority parliamentarians will necessarily enhance the perceived legitimacy of Parliament among minority groups, and 'rebuild trust and restore a dialogue between Parliament and those whom it represents' (House of Commons 2009, 19-20). Furthermore, minorities not only feel unrepresented by the main political parties, but also more than 20 per cent of ethnic minorities think that until they have their own political party, minority-specific problems will not be

same time suggest that British Muslims remain a target of violence and cultural assimilation (Linehan 2012). Overall, both Jewish and Muslim minority have experienced all five types of oppression historically while the threat of cultural imperialism, violence and marginalisation still exists, which identifies the two communities as marginalised minority groups who lack power and influence on political decision-making.

dealt with effectively (Heath *et al.* 2013, 95). This suggests that although minority parliamentary presence has increased, the quality of representation of minority interests, or at least the public perception of it, remains insufficient. The attempts to improve minority parliamentary representation by targeting minority candidates and increasing the number of minority parliamentarians are, therefore, unsuccessful and require some adjustments.

Rather than evaluating the quality of representation by looking at the number of minority politicians elected form the main parties, this study suggests examining the parliamentary performance of minority MPs and their engagement with the issues of concern for the respective minority. By doing this, the thesis explores the gap between minority parliamentary presence and the representation of minority interests drawing upon the parliamentary behaviour of Jewish and Muslim politicians in the House of Commons between 1997 and 2012. It looks at whether MPs from religious minority backgrounds provide first-hand expertise and insights on minority issues, which improve the quality of minority representation and the effectiveness of policies and legislation aimed at minority groups.

Why focus on minority representation the House of Commons?

Although political representation can be studied in various institutional settings, the House of Commons is the most appropriate institutional setting for this study because of its statutory and practical political significance. The election of religious minority politicians to the House of Commons attests that they are equal in political rights and opportunities with the general population. Furthermore, serving in Parliament is the most effective way to influence national politics and policy-making, because it scrutinises legislative proposals

and policies and ensures the accountability of the Executive. Studies of Parliament are also facilitated by transparency and public availability of parliamentary records.

However, it is necessary to account for institutional constraints based on the peculiarities of the British political and electoral systems that affect the behaviour of MPs. First, parliamentary behaviour is shaped by the dichotomy between the Government and the Opposition that creates a highly adversarial and constrained parliamentary environment with a strict party discipline (Norton 2001). Although the party is the main predictor of parliamentary behaviour (Cowley 2002; Cowley and Stuart 2010), its effect is less significant when party discipline is loosened – in voting on free votes, tabling WPQs and EDMs (e.g., Hibbing and Marsh 1987; Franklin and Tappin 1977). The party role leaves little room for other predictors, such as religious identity, in voting, but non-whipped low-cost parliamentary activities, such as tabling WPQs and EDMs, provide more freedom for political self-expression.

Second, the First-Past-The-Post (FPTP) majoritarian electoral system reduces the chances of minority groups of getting into Parliament. The UK's Jewish and Muslim population is small. Jews constitute only 0.14 per cent of the population in Scotland and 0.47 per cent in England and Wales, whereas the share of Muslims is 0.8 and 4.8 per cent respectively (ONS 2012) As a result, these minorities cannot create a party capable of winning an election, or develop a powerful bloc within the existing parties to determine the electoral outcome and the office holder (Saggar 2000; Anwar 2009).

Although minority candidates have been struggling to get into Parliament under FPTP, bringing a wider range of politicians from different

backgrounds into the House has received cross-party support. Adopting All-Minority Short Lists and A-Lists – alongside creating mentoring and funding schemes for minority candidates – by the three main parties facilitate the shortlisting of PPCs from minority backgrounds and aid their electoral campaigns maximising their chances to be get in Parliament (House of Commons 2009, 50-51; Sobolewska 2011). As a result of the parties' commitment to equality promotion, party recruitment has become more inclusive, and the number of minority MPs has grown.

The main parties largely support visible ethnic minority and women Prospective Parliamentary Candidate (PPCs), rather than religious minority candidates with white ethnic backgrounds (OBV 2008; Muslim Vote 2010). As a result, the number of Muslim parliamentarians has grown from one to nine MPs in only 15 years, between 1997 and 2012. The majority of politicians from Christian and Jewish minority backgrounds, on the other hand, do not enjoy favourable treatment and are not included in minority short lists.[2] It has taken over 150 years for the number of Jewish parliamentarians to reach over 20 MPs, after the first practising Jew entered the House in 1858 (Gloger 2008, July 11).

Overall, the House of Commons is an appropriate institutional setting for the study of minority parliamentary representation because of its importance for policy- and legislation-making, and accessibility of data sources. Focusing on this Chamber and the behaviour of MPs allows the examination of whether the election of religious minority politicians to the House carries more than symbolic significance and impacts on parliamentary

[2] With the exception of female candidates selected via All-Women Short Lists.

decision-making by informing the parliamentary debate on issues of minority concern. Comparing three types of the behaviour of Jewish and Muslim MPs, including voting and the content of EDMs and WPQs, accounts for differences in party and institutional constraints and allows exploring whether Members of Parliament from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds engage with minority issues to a greater extent than MPs with other backgrounds. The House of Commons also provides a wide choice of the original and diverse data, including voting records, motions and questions, which are available from open and reliable sources, such as parliamentary archives. The availability of the data increases the exploratory potential of the study, and allows for the examination of the parliamentary performance of minority politicians, and their engagement with minority issues under high and low institutional pressure.

Selecting research cases: Jewish and Muslim minorities

Jewish and Muslim minorities are telling and comparable research cases. They have many similarities in terms of the history of migration and settlement, as well as their political engagement and areas of interest. Both minorities have also been long involved in British politics.

Origins, structure, and the issues of concern for British Jews and Muslims

Jewish and Muslim minorities historically originate from non-Christian migrant communities from outside of the British Isles. Despite the fact that the timing of mass Jewish and Muslim migrations differ, the logic of their migration and settlement is similar. In both cases, it started from small scale migration for economic reasons and was followed by mass migration that included family members and refugees in the 19-20th centuries.

Although the first Jews were brought in England by William the Conqueror, they were expelled two centuries later by Edward I. The Act of Expulsion outlawed Jewish communities, although a few of them remained in England. The return of Jews to England started with a small colony of Sephardic Jews allowed to stay in London by Oliver Cromwell in the mid-17th century (Roth 1962). In 1851 the Census of Religious Worship officially registered 6,065 Jews in Great Britain for the first time (Currie *et al.* 1977, 217-219). However, the 1880-1890s Jewish migration from Eastern Europe increased that number to more than 50,000 (Lipman 1954). Muslim migration also started with the settlement of small groups of Yemeni and Bengali Muslims in the late 1880s, and in 1951 only 5,000 Muslims were officially registered (Baxter 2006, 165).

The number of Jews steadily grew until the mid-20th century, in the aftermath of the World War I and the Revolution in Russia. It peaked in the 1930-1940s, when thousands of Jewish refugees fled from Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain (Berghahn 1984; Wasserstein 1979). The number of Jews reached record 450,000 in the mid-1950s and dropped by 40,000 in the mid-1960s, reflecting the Jewish return migration to their countries of origin and to Israel. The number of Jews in Britain slowly decreased to 376,000 in 1970 and has remained under 300,000 since the 1980s (Alderman 1983, 10). According to the 2001 and 2011 Censuses, British Jews constituted 257,671 and 261,282 persons, respectively, and account for approximately 0.5 per cent of the population of England and Wales (ONS 2003, ONS 2012). In Scotland, there are 6,448 and 5,887 Jews in 2001 and 2011, respectively, which accounts for 1.2-1.3 per cent of the Scottish population (ONS 2003, ONS 2012).

Similar to the Jewish, Muslim migration started as an economic phenomenon. Favourable migration and naturalisation policy adopted in the 1948 British Nationality Act set Muslim migration from South Asia at approximately 10,000 people a year in the 1950s which multiplied the number of Muslims in Britain fivefold between 1961 and 1971 (British National Act 1948; Nielsen 1999, 39). Since then the number of Muslims in the UK has been growing rapidly. In spite of the legal restrictions on entry and settlement introduced between 1962 and 1983, the number of Muslims rose steeply from 50,000 in 1961 to 950,000 in 1991 reaching 1.86 per cent of the country's population (Gale and Peach 2003, 469-490). Migrant workers of South Asian descent formed the backbone of the Muslim community in the 1950s-1960s (Chad 1984; Kotin 2003). They were joined by family migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers of South Asian, Yemeni, Iranian, Arab, and Turkish origin. The increasing complexity and size of the Muslim minority stimulated social and political changes in the community after the 1970s (Vertovec 1997; Puzzo 2002). The UK's Muslim minority now includes over 2,660,000 Muslims and accounts for more than five per cent of the British population (ONS 2003, ONS 2012).

Although the majority of British Jews and Muslims are now UK-born (Ansari 2004; Sobolev 2004), both minorities are divided on the grounds of ethnicity and spirituality, which affects the way they engage with formal politics. Ordinarily, the largest group in a minority is better represented in formal politics and entitled to speak on behalf of the other parts of the community, despite the legitimacy of such representation being questionable (Woodhead 2013).

The British Jewry first included Sephardi Jews who came to Britain from South Europe and the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages. The second group – Ashkenazi Jews – arrived from Central and Eastern Europe in the 17th-19th centuries and became the most numerous group of the Jewish population. Diversity in cultural backgrounds and countries of origin was accompanied by differences in religious practice. The Movement for Reform Judaism and Liberal Judaism, which appeared in the late-19th century, supplemented the Orthodox congregations, including the Assembly of Masorti Synagogues and Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, and shaped the current religious organisation of the British Jewry that includes more than 400 synagogues and unites 74 per cent of the Jewish population (Graham and Vulkan 2010, 9).

Politically, the majority of the Jewish congregations are represented by the Board of Deputies founded in 1760 to promote the interests of British Jews as a religious community. The Board is commonly recognised as the main representative body for British Jews, regardless of religious denomination (Graham 2012, 93-94). However, Orthodox Jews are better represented on the Board than Jews from the Reformed and Liberal movements. As a result, its position on equality, homosexuality, and inter-faith marriage is rather conservative, which causes occasional disagreements between the Board and more liberal congregations.

The Muslim minority is significantly divided along ethnic and religious lines too. South Asians have been the core of the UK Muslim minority. Being the largest and the most integrated part of the Muslim minority, they are the main target of the political parties and the group most likely to engage with formal political institutions (Heath 2010). Furthermore, the Muslim Council of

Britain (MCB), which is commonly viewed as the main representative body of British Muslims, is largely dominated by Pakistani Muslims, which attracts criticism from other parts of the community, for instance, from Iranians, Kurds, Turks, and Arabs (Woodhead 2013).

The ethnic and religious diversity of the British Jewry and British Muslim has implications for their political engagement. For instance, the Muslim Council of Britain and the Board of Deputies represent the views of the largest groups within Muslim and Jewish communities, but not the opinions shared by all the UK's Muslims and Jews.

There are common points of interest (though not necessarily shared views) for Jewish and Muslim minorities because of similarities in their regions of origin, socio-cultural norms, and the impact of their religious practices on everyday life.

First, both minorities are concerned over the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the Middle East in general (Radcliffe 2004). The Middle Eastern dimension dominates academic and public debate and leads to the 'securitisation' of minority issues, especially regarding Muslims (O'Toole *et al.* 2013). British Muslims and Jews also retain an interest in their countries of origin, or in the case of Israel, the country of their historic origin (Bayfield 2010, 12). Britain's involvement in the Middle East and South Asia, therefore, attracts the interest of Jewish and Muslim minorities, and mobilises them for political action. For instance, the 2003 invasion in Iraq caused strong reaction from a part of the Muslim community, and Israel's treatment of Palestinians in the 2000s led to foundation of the UK-based Independent Jewish Voices movement. The prominence of this external dimension in community activities

also makes the Jewish and Muslim minorities different from other non-Anglican denominations, which originate from the British Isles (for instance, the Irish Roman Catholics).

In domestic policies, the British Jewry and Muslims tend to share traditional social values on same-sex marriage, abortion, and other socially sensitive issues. They also have specific demands to school curricula, food and clothing (Eade and Garbin 2006, 187; Panayi 2012). For instance, both minorities are in favour of separate boys and girls schools and faith-based curricula. They have certain dietary requirements, including specific approaches to the ritual slaughter of animals. Orthodox Jewish and Muslim clothing also differ from British fashion, but are similar to each other (Graham 2012, 89-99; Gilliat-Ray 2012, 110-120).

Finally, for British Jews and Muslims, fighting xenophobia and religious intolerance is the top priority. Jews have suffered most from prosecution on the grounds of religion. The expulsion from England for almost four centuries and flight from the Russian Empire, Germany, Italy, and Spain embedded the fear of anti-Semitism in the collective memory of this minority. Unsurprisingly, any cases of hate speech (e.g., Holocaust denial) cause a strong reaction from across the British Jewry. After the 2005 terrorist attacks British Muslims faced similar problems. As noted by previous research, Islamophobia and anti-Semitism have much in common in how they are justified and manifested (Bleich 2007). They also get similar responses from the respective communities (Linehan 2012). For instance, a service to record anti-Muslim incidents, Tell MAMA, launched in 2012 is modelled on the Jewish Community Security Trust (CST) that records and reports anti-Semitic

incidents. Furthermore, both services make a point of backing the efforts of the other in combating xenophobia and intolerance (Tell MAMA 2014, March 28; Elgot 2009, November 30).

Political engagement of British Muslims and Jews

Jewish and Muslim minorities have been encouraged to and supported in contributing to the political process at the grassroots level for a long time. Nonetheless, it has taken time to overcome legal obstacles and prejudice against their full political inclusion, especially the right to take a parliamentary seat.

The legal obstacles to being elected and taking a seat in the House of Commons, as well as being admitted to municipal offices, were the result of social and political disabilities imposed on non-Anglicans by British law. It came down to swearing the Parliamentary Oath 'on the true faith of a Christian' in order to be admitted to state office (Walker and Wood 2000, 19). The phrasing was unacceptable for practising Jews, Muslims and other non-Christians who could not take a seat in the House of Commons even after winning the election.[3]

Political restrictions imposed on British Jews stretched back to as far as the 1290 Act of Expulsion. After their return to England under Cromwell, they remained politically and socially constrained until the mid-18th century (Katz 1994). In 1753 the Jewish Naturalization Act allowed them to become naturalized by application to Parliament, though they were still banned from holding municipal or state offices. The Emancipation of Roman Catholics from

[3] In the case of non-Anglican Christian minorities, such as the Roman Catholics, the phrasing of the Oath was not a problem. They got full political rights after the elimination of restrictions imposed by the Act of Uniformity, the Test Acts, and the penal laws, which required the Catholics to reject the temporal and spiritual authority of the Pope and transubstantiation (Liedtke and Wendehorst 1999).

all their civil disabilities in 1829 created an opportunity to introduce a similar relief for the British Jewry. Despite the first bill that argued the case being presented to Parliament the following year, it took another 30 years to pass it through the Houses.

Nevertheless, there were several intermediate successes, such as the passing of the Sheriffs' Declaration Act 1835, which allowed Jews to hold the office of sheriff, the Jewish Municipal Relief Bill 1845 and the Religious Opinions Relief Act 1846, which removed their ineligibility to be admitted to municipal offices, but not to Parliament (Liedtke and Wendehorst 1999).

The main obstacle was still the phrasing of the Parliamentary Oath, which was problematic for religious Jews, whereas baptised Jews had taken seats in the House of Commons on several occasions.[4] Additionally, the necessity of having Jewish MPs in the House was either contested or disregarded by large parts of the Jewish community. For instance, Janner and Taylor note that Sir Moses Montefiore, the president of the Board of Deputies at that time, 'was concerned that a Jewish MP might not be able to carry out his religious duties as thoroughly as he had before his election' (Janner and Taylor 2008, 5). Furthermore, the appearance of Jewish politicians in the House could have drawbacks for the community, as their actions could be associated with the position of the entire community whilst disregarding the fact that those men were 'only nominally Jews… Without Jewish feeling, and without Jewish conviction…' (cited in Alderman 1983, 30). These concerns were widely shared by the Orthodox part of the British Jewry, whereas the Liberal Jews

[4] The most notable examples include Benjamin Disraeli (Maidstone in 1837), Samson Gideon (Cambridge in 1770), Sir Menassah Lopes (Romney in 1802), Ralph Bernal (Lincoln in 1818), and David Ricardo (Portarlington in 1819) (Janner and Taylor 2008, 4).

appreciated the benefits of full political inclusion. Unsurprisingly, the first Jewish MPs were representatives of the Liberal Party.

The first Jewish parliamentarian was Lionel de Rothschild who won the City of London seat in 1847, 1849 and 1852, but did not take that seat until 1858. As a practicing Jew, he could not swear the Parliamentary Oath referring to 'a true faith of a Christian' (Walker and Wood 2000, 19). Neither could David Salomons who was elected for Greenwich in 1850. There were several attempts to amend the Oath by omitting the reference to Christianity, but they were persistently rejected by the House of Lords. The situation was resolved by a compromise in 1858, and each House was allowed to admit Jews by resolution, allowing them to change the phrasing of the Oath. As a consequence, de Rothschild swore the Oath in 1858, and was joined by David Salomons who was re-elected for Greenwich in 1859. The first Jewish Lord, Sir Nathaniel de Rothschild, was raised to the House of Lords in 1885 (Janner and Taylor 2008).

Although the first six Jewish parliamentarians were Liberals, the majority of British-born Jews had been Conservative supporters until the late-19th century influx of Eastern European Jews increased the number of Liberals and Socialists (Alderman 1983, 31 and 47). That political divide split Jewish parliamentarians on issues, such as the British mandate for Palestine, the 1905 Aliens Act, and migration legislation in the first half of the 20th century (Perry 1962). The oldest part of the Jewish community distanced themselves from political debate, distinct from the influx of the 19-20th century Jews who urged for active political engagement. The biggest concern of conservative Jews was that coming out into the political arena might endanger the community, as had

been the case throughout the European history. Therefore, they thought that having Jewish Members of Parliament was not in the community's best interests. They also did not support the Zionist movement, assuming that creating a 'home for Jewish people' would raise a question of dual loyalty and disadvantage British Jews. Furthermore, all but one Jewish MP voted for tougher migration regulations under the 1905 Aliens Act, trying to prevent the British Jewry from receiving new intakes of Eastern European Jews (Alderman 1998). The arrival of the latter was seen as a reason for growing anti-Semitism in England, especially after World War I (Holmes 1988; Kershen and Romain 1995; Finestein and Finestein 1999). Unlike British-born Jews, Eastern European Jews largely backed the creation of Israel and liberal migration legislation, for instance.

After centuries of discrimination it seemed reasonable for the British Jewry not to promote their religious identity. Rather, they stressed their individual contributions to British society, highlighting their Englishness, rather than their commitment to representing the interests of their faith community (Roth 1962; Endelman and Kusher 2002; Finestein 2002). The political participation of British Jews and the behaviour of politicians from a Jewish background are also based upon the well-being of British society, with the intention of improving the lives of the British Jewry, as well as the rest of the country (Sacks 2008; Janner and Taylor 2008).

Their political success has been proven by their long and stable presence in the House of Commons. Since 1858 there have been more than 200 Jewish MPs, who have collectively held every office in Government apart from Prime Minister (Gloger 2008, July 11). Although Jewish parliamentarians have

been elected from all the main political parties, they tend to be better represented on the Conservative benches; their ‘love affairs with the Left’ have been temporary successful so far (Alderman, 1983, 108).

The changes made to the Oath in the 1850-1860s opened the way not only to Jewish MPs, but to all non-Christian politicians for taking parliamentary seats. The relevant procedural provisions were confirmed in Section 1 (3) of the Oaths Act 1978 (Oaths Act 1978), which was used as a clause to extend the usage of relevant religious texts from the New and Old Testaments to a Koran and Granth for Muslims and Sikhs, respectively. Although that signifies that the legal status and political rights of British Muslim citizens have not been questioned, their search for political recognition since the early 1960s resembles the struggle of the British Jews.

Following the 1950-1980s migration waves, the proportion of Muslim population in the UK increased. However, during that time Muslims were seen and treated mainly as aliens and subjects to state policies, and rarely engaged with formal political institutions (Werbner 1985; Ansari 2004; Sobolev 2004). Their socio-political exclusion encouraged them to develop mechanisms of communal support (Furnham and Bochner 1986; Anwar 1979). Community-based NGOs provided socio-economic support, legal advice, and were campaigning against socio-political inequality and discrimination in the labour market, housing, and everyday life (Kotin 2003; Werbner 1985; Eade 1989). Since the 1960s this has been the main form of socio-political participation for British Muslims. However, as the communities grew, and the number of British citizens among Muslims increased, they became more politically active, especially after the publication of ‘The Satanic Verses’ written by Salman

Rushdie in 1989. The book was considered offensive because of insulting metaphors and references to Islam and the Prophet, and its publication resulted in mass protests of Muslims in the UK and overseas (Kotin 2003; Kotin 2008). The 'Rushdie affair' also showed the need for cooperation between British Muslims and mainstream political institutions at the local and national level (Peach 2006; Malik 2004; Baxter 2006).

Eventually, British Muslims were given equal political rights as a result of naturalisation and the natural growth of the community. Since the late-1980s British Muslims have been expressing their political views and attitudes via traditional political institutions, such as political parties and community-based NGOs (Guarnizo *et al.* 2003; Vertovec 1997; Bagguley and Hussain 2008). However, Islam was not perceived as the core of their group identity, and the behaviour of British Muslims was interpreted on the basis of race alone (Modood 2002, 118). The importance of Islam for the self-identification of British Muslims has been recognised at the national level. It was manifested in the introduction of the 'religion' question in the 2001 Census and the launching of faith-based multiculturalism (Kahani-Hopkins and Hopkins 2002; Tibi 2005).

After the launch of the Muslim Council of Britain and election of the first Muslim MP in 1997, Muslims became more engaged in formal politics, as shown by the increase in the number of Muslim parliamentarians and PPCs (Modood 2002; Grillo 2007). The first Muslim Member of Parliament who swore an Oath of Allegiance on a Koran, Mohammad Sarwar, was elected in 1997. The number of Muslim parliamentarians doubled in each subsequent General Election: two in 2001, four in 2005, and nine in 2010. Three of the

first four Muslim MPs were re-elected as incumbents, and the 2010 intake also included the first three Conservative Muslim parliamentarians and the first three Muslim women elected from the Labour Party. The latter party has a superior track record of Muslim parliamentary representation, which corresponds to the preferences of the majority of the Muslim voters who consider Labour to be a 'minority-friendly' party (Saggar 2000, 77-79).

Overall, Jewish and Muslim minorities have much in common in terms of political engagement, though their political preferences vary. Both minority groups were initially limited in political and civil rights on the grounds of religion. That stimulated the development of community-based NGOs that provided community support, and mobilised socio-political engagement. Although their engagement with formal political institutions has vastly increased, it is still affected by a long history of prejudice (Saggar 2000; Anwar 2009).

These similarities make Jewish and Muslim minorities comparable and rather distinct from the general population, hence, excellent cases for the study of migrant-origin non-Christian minority representation.

Can a religious minority background influence parliamentary behaviour?

If having more minority parliamentarians improves minority representation, then it is expected that these MPs deliver their expertise and insights on the issues of concern for their minority groups. Such engagement with minority issues inevitably changes the content of their parliamentary contributions in high- and low cost parliamentary activities. Under the influence of their minority backgrounds, the behaviour of Jewish and Muslim MPs should differ from the rest of the Members.

However, until recently, a religious minority background has not been considered to be a significant predictor of political behaviour (Voas *et al.* 2002, McAndrew and Voas 2010), and research has focused on ethnicity instead (Messina 1989; Joly 1989; Anwar 1994). Ethnicity has been considered to be central to a group identity because of its strong connections with social identities (Sobolewska 2005; Sobolewska 2009).

Although British Jews have been recognised as a minority group in Section 3 (1) of the 1976 Race Relations Act (Race Relations Act 1976), their religious beliefs, shared cultural and historical experiences are more distinct than their ethnicity (e.g., Gans 1994). The political mobilisation of the Muslim minority in the early 2000s also suggests that the impact of religious identity on self-identification of British Muslims and their political behaviour are stronger than expected (Blunkett 2004, July 7; Blair 2006; Grillo 2007; Grillo 2010). That has been supported by a number of studies on the influence of religion on political behaviour and attitudes. The majority of them examine the impact of religion on the voting preferences, turnout, and party identification of the UK's minority citizens (Voas *et al.* 2002; McAndrew and Voas 2010; McAndrew 2009). They also evaluate the access of religious (predominantly Muslim) minorities to politics (Sobolewska 2011; Durose *et al.* 2013). However, there is a gap in the literature on whether religious identity impacts on the behaviour of minority MPs and improves the quality of minority representation by stimulating their engagement with minority issues.

However, parliamentarians are often seen as more rational and disciplined beings who are immune to the effects of an individual identity, and determined to enhance their political careers (Searing 1994, 10-12). As a

pursuit of minority interests is, then, unlikely to be as beneficial as following the party line, religious identity becomes a descriptive characteristic, rather than a factor in political decision-making. Second, institutional constraints, such as parliamentary procedure and party discipline, do not give much room for individual self-expression, whereas religious identity is primarily based on personal beliefs and moral judgements.

Finally, it is often claimed that as societies industrialise, religious habits gradually erode, and people, including politicians, become indifferent to spiritual appeals (Norris and Inglehart 2004, 7; Urban 2008). In Britain, religion was a major predictor of political behaviour until the First World War (Wald 1983), though it was then replaced by class as the most significant factor of political mobilisation (Pulzer 1967; Butler and Stokes 1969). As a result, it has become a conventional wisdom that religion is unimportant in British politics (e.g., Heath et al. 1985; Rose and McAllister 1986).

That would, however, make Britain an exceptionally secular state given that empirical analyses confirm that religion has had a major influence on American and European politics (e.g., Leege and Kellstedt 1993; Layman 1997). That would be unlikely considering the historical links between the Conservative Party and the Anglican Church and the Liberal-Labour connections with the dissenting Protestants and Catholics (Bochel and Denver 1970). Although these ties are not as important at present, the Labour Party have been much more successful in attracting non-Christian, migrant-origin, minority voters suggests the importance of religion for political identification as a proxy that signifies the experiences shared by a certain religious group (e.g., Saggar 2000; Kotler-Berkowitz 2001). Furthermore, religion plays a

major role in affecting public views and, therefore, policy attitudes especially on issues relating to equality and such controversial issues as abortion and euthanasia (e.g., Clement 2014).

As a result, religion remains important for the modern British politics, though the magnitude and the form of its impact on political behaviour and attitudes is changing. Religiosity changes in line with the dynamics of religious change, creating new dimensions of religious identity (e.g., McLennan 2010; Davie 1994). This makes the world today '…as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more than ever' (Berger 1999, 2).

A number of sources confirm the change of religious identity and practices without diminishing their societal value (Davie 1994; Woodhead and Catto 2012). These researchers challenge the traditional notion of religious identity and suggest a more flexible definition based on socio-cultural values, rather than religious practices (Beckford 2003, 16). An inclusive approach to defining religion, therefore, accounts for the differing intensity of religious practice and depends upon the particular settings of its application (Bruce 2009, 14; O'Brian and Smith 2009, 730). Although religious practice constitutes one side of religious identity, it is supplemented by shared socio-cultural practices, moral principles, and codes of behaviour, as well as, in many cases, a common ethnic identity. This expands the influence of religion beyond the personal sphere and results in the creation of religious identity groups (Gutmann 2003, 3-4).

In the context of political representation, religious identity is not strictly a question of religion, but rather belonging to a religious minority and sharing a certain cultural background. It is useful to treat religion as a moral code and a

unifying resource, rather than a set of spiritual beliefs and practices. Then, it creates 'the social ties embodied in religious communities [which] are at least as important as religious beliefs' (Putnam, 2000: 67). This is of particular importance for understanding how religious identity might impact on the parliamentary behaviour of minority politicians. A broader interpretation of religious identity accounts for a shared moral and socio-cultural code developed as the result of common upbringing and heritage, yet not necessarily supplemented by religious practice. Focusing upon institutional, social and cultural aspects of identity, rather than spirituality, also allows the inclusion of secular or non-religious politicians who are connected with communities via non-religious practices, but shared socio-economic, cultural values, and a code of behaviour (Lazar *et al.* 2002; Sinno 2008).

Based on these arguments, religious identity is operationalised as a religious minority background for the purpose of this study. The impact of a religious minority background on parliamentary behaviour is examined through MP's engagement with topics of minority concern, which is more measurable than individual religious practice. Estimating the frequency of minority MPs' engagement with minority-related issues in low-cost activities and voting their likelihood to raise these topics shows the impact of a religious minority background on their parliamentary behaviour.

Conclusion

The rationale for this research is driven by the importance of studying religious minority representation in the appropriate institutional setting using relevant research cases. Jewish and Muslim representation in the UK House of

Commons is an excellent opportunity for the study of religious minority representation in British politics.

This is a topic of utmost importance in the age of 'religious renaissance' when the impact of religious identity, re-defined as a shared moral and socio-cultural code, on political behaviour is receiving broader recognition (Woodhead 2012, 24-26). However, studies of the impact of religious beliefs, values, and lifestyles have largely been confined to the general population, rather than political representatives. This research is an attempt to understand whether a religious background influences the parliamentary behaviour of minority politicians, acknowledging that these activities are heavily constrained by political institutions and provide little room for individual political action.

This study seeks to understand whether religious minority MPs raise issues of interest to faith communities, which leads to the question of whether these communities are represented and their concerns are voiced and heard. Furthermore, the evaluation of minority parliamentary representation is essential to informing party and parliamentary strategies for improving the representation of minority groups and their interests.

It is crucial to make a distinction between ethnic and religious minority representation. The focus on race and ethnicity has dominated the UK's academic and political debate on the matter, whereas the importance of religious identity for the self-identification and representation of minority groups has been recognised only since the early 2000s (Grillo 2010).

Focusing on religion instead of ethnicity is especially important to study the parliamentary representation of ethnically diverse faith communities,

such as British Jews and Muslims. The suitability of these cases for the study is determined by their comparability in terms of the history of their political engagement and areas of interest. The research examines the parliamentary behaviour of politicians from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds elected to the House of Commons between 1997 and 2012 that includes the period when both Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians held parliamentary seats.

For the purpose of the research, religious identity is defined as a religious minority background based on shared socio-cultural and moral code, rather than spirituality. Linking religious identity to religious communities and faith-based public bodies allows the inclusion of secular and non-religious politicians who, however, are bound to Jewish and Muslim minorities via community institutions and/or shared socio-cultural heritage. The impact of Jewish and Muslim backgrounds on parliamentary behaviour is tested by drawing upon the content of minority MPs' contribution in high- and low-cost activities. It allows the testing of whether a religious minority background has any impact on the parliamentary behaviour of minority politicians, and an evaluation of the state of Jewish and Muslim parliamentary representation in Britain.

Chapter 2

Studying Parliamentary Representation – from Theory to Numbers

This chapter explains what theoretical and normative assumptions this study is based on and why. It develops a theoretical framework for the research drawing upon the arguments of the grand and middle-range theories of representation suggesting that better parliamentary representation improves the quality of democracy. This chapter considers different types of parliamentary representation and argues for the superiority of substantive over descriptive representation, whereby the quality of representation improves if MPs from disadvantaged groups act for their respective group. The presence of representatives from marginalised groups who stand for these groups but do not engage with their issues of concern, on the other hand, can only improve their descriptive representation. The improvement of the quality of representation is, therefore, understood as a systemic improvement of the political system that ensures the comprehensive representation of territorial and ideological constituents and their interests by MPs.

The theoretical framework of this research is built upon the grand theories of representation developed by Hanna Pitkin (1967), Anthony Birch (1971), and Anne Phillips (1995). It is supplemented with the empirically-informed middle-range approaches that link parliamentary representation to parliamentary behaviour and provide a means of evaluating the quality of women and ethnic minority representation (e.g., Mansbridge 1999, Bird *et al.* 2011; Childs and Krook 2008; Childs and Krook 2009; Saalfeld *et al.* 2011).

Building upon the existing studies, this research focuses on the parliamentary representation of religious – Jewish and Muslim – minority

groups, which is substantively under-researched, especially with regard to migrant-origin non-Christian minorities. It aims to bridge this gap by conducting an empirical analysis of the behaviour of MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds, and evaluating the state of Jewish and Muslim parliamentary representation.

Grand theories of representation

The grand theories of representation link the quality of representation with the quality of democracy (Pitkin 1967; Phillips 1995). A good representative democracy is based on the inclusive model of political participation and the social inclusion of different groups of society. This increases the awareness of the political elite of people's needs and opinions, and improves the quality of governance and the responsiveness of the political system (Phillips, 1995; Whiteley 2012). This makes the quality of representation a dynamic rather than a stable characteristic of a democracy, dependent on political behaviour as well as attitudes and intentions (Pitkin 1967). It evolves and degrades under the influence of not just a particular political environment, but also the behaviour of political actors.

Classic theories of representation mostly focus on formal, especially electoral, representation that means '[substantive] acting in the interest of the represented, in the manner responsive to them' (Pitkin 1967, 209). Although accurate with regard to formal political institutions in a democracy, this definition downplays 'the constitutive dimension of representation'; it limits what may count as legitimate representation and overlooks some modes of representation, including NGOs and public bodies (Saward 2011, 9). Considering this, the recent revisions of the representation theory suggest that

representation need not be elective, but it 'arises simply by reference to a relevant audience accepting a person as [a representative]' (Rehfeld 2006, 2). The 'representative claims' literature added an important new dimension to the study of political representation by expanding the notion of representation beyond elected institutions and including non-elected bodies and community leaders in it. However, this cluster of literature is of limited relevance to this study that focuses on the House of Commons, i.e. the nationally-elected institution at the heart of formal political representation as argued in Chapter 1. With this in mind, this study of religious minority parliamentary representation draws upon classic typologies and notions of representation and is built around formal parliamentary representation; the 'representative claims' of community-based NGOs and faith leaders lie beyond the scope of this study.

As an elected Member of Parliament, one has an explicit mandate to represent his/her constituency of voters, and such representation may be exercised in two modes. This includes (1) 'authorisation', 'accountability', and 'substantive acting for' (a constituent), and (2) 'standing for', i.e. representing a constituent descriptively or symbolically (Pitkin 1967). The first mode involves an activity, while the second one suggests that a representative needs to embody certain characteristics or identities but need not act on them. These modes were then split into four types of representation, including formalistic, symbolic, descriptive and substantive representation (Birch 1971). This typology has been amended, and each type of representation has been specified and contextualised accounting for the developments in the political systems and equality, as well as recent empirical findings (e.g., Young 1990; Phillips 1995; Mansbridge 2003; Gutmann 2004). However, the differences between

different types of representation still come down to what 'good representation' means, and who and how should be represented.

The formalistic approach focuses on the accountability and authorisation of a representative to and by constituents (Pitkin 1967). It implies that by voting for a particular candidate, constituents give him/her a mandate to represent them and pursue a certain policy agenda[5]. If, however, voters are unhappy with the performance of a representative they can withdraw the mandate and vote a politician out of office. Although such a performance-based approach certainly corresponds to the ideal standards of public political engagement and efficacy, it also assumes a remarkable level of cohesion and unity amongst the electorate, which comes in contradiction with the falling levels of political engagement – at least with formal politics – and growing diversity of the modern society (Whiteley 2012). Furthermore, a mandate given by one group of constituents might not be endorsed by the others. Then voting a politician out of office might not be the result of a poor performance, but the outcome of a political and ideological struggle. In this case, the quality of representation cannot be assessed solely based on who has been voted out and who stayed in the office or their performance. With this in mind, it seems unreasonable to use the formalistic type of representation as a strand of representation in its own right. Rather it is more useful to consider its main elements – accountability and authorisation – as the key components of an effective democratic system. Then the effectiveness of these instruments is more telling about the quality of a democracy in general rather than specifically the quality of representation.

[5] Manbridge (2003) also refers to a 'promissory' type of representation that require representatives to keep their campaign promises.

Although originally Pitkin referred to a type of representation that allowed certain groups to feel represented as 'symbolic' (Pitkin 1967), the notion of symbolic representation has now widened. Birch suggests that it can be achieved by bringing in politicians from certain social groups who serve as a concrete embodiment of those groups, though the number of such politicians does not necessarily correspond to their group size (Birch 1971). This means that a handful of minority politicians, for instance, can symbolically represent hundreds of thousands of minority citizens. They can even make those groups feel better represented, especially if such symbolic representatives are elected following a period of socio-political exclusion for these groups. Symbolic representatives are, however, an exception rather than a result of routine political recruitment. For instance, the elections of the first Jewish MPs in 1858 and of the first Muslim MP in 1997 were events of great symbolic value and signs of political recognition for both faith groups.

Descriptive, or 'microcosmic' (Norris and Lovenduski 1995), representation aims to achieve fairer representation by replicating the structure of the population in a legislature, which then becomes a miniature version of the country. For instance, if the proportion of women and minority MPs corresponds to the share of women and minorities in the country overall, the election of women and minority representatives becomes a normal political practice, which guarantees their stable, visible presence in politics (Cantle 2009, January). In Britain, for instance, as the diversity of society and the number of politicians from disadvantaged groups grows, the representation of women and ethnic minorities in Parliament increases, and their descriptive

representation improves but does not yet match the size of these groups in the country (Bird *et al.* 2011: 4-7).

The inclusion of women and minority MPs aims to increase the legitimacy of the House, create symbolic role models and empower marginalised groups, as well as change society's perceptions of these groups and their role in politics (Phillips, 1998; Mansbridge 1999). However, neither of these implies that the representatives necessarily represent the interests of their identity groups. That could limit an MP's representative potential to a certain part of the community, with whom he/she has a personal connection, and undermine the ability of an MP to represent a wider territorial and ideological constituency of voters.

Nonetheless, the group representation literature makes a valid argument about the importance of politicians from marginalised groups acting for these groups, which suggests that the quality of parliamentary representation depends on whether the presence of women and minority MPs goes hand-in-hand with them promoting the interests of their respective groups. They become spokespersons on behalf of different constituencies of voters, including religious minority groups, fully reflecting the interests and concerns existing in a society (Norris and Lovenduski 1995). This is the core of the notion of substantive representation (Pitkin 1967; Birch 1971; Mansbridge 2003).

Ann Phillips (1998) and Suzanne Dovi (2006) identify several arguments for why women and minority politicians must not only be present in a legislature, but must act on behalf of their respective identity groups. In particular, they put forward the 'transformative' and the 'overlooked interests' arguments, stressing the benefits of the presence of female representatives,

though the logic is transferrable to other marginalised/oppressed groups. The 'transformative' argument suggests that a more diverse and inclusive legislature would better match democratic ideals. It assumes that representatives from previously oppressed groups will make more effort to combat political and social inequalities drawing upon the experience of their respective groups, which would benefit those groups. Secondly, the 'overlooked interests' argument suggests that the political discourse and policy agenda would benefit from having MPs from different backgrounds who would articulate particular concerns and the views of their respective groups in a legislature and political debate (Childs 2006; Dovi 2007).

Finally, it is important to think 'beyond usual suspects' in the analysis of substantive representation of disadvantaged groups (Bird *et al.* 2011; Celis and Erzeel 2015). The argument is based on the distinction between 'standing for' and 'acting for' a certain group or person. In the first case, one has to share the distinct characteristics of that group and embody its experiences, while the second case entails acting on behalf of a group or a person and in the 'best interests' of the represented (Pitkin 1967). Drawing upon the representation of women, Silvia Erzeel argues that the latter can be achieved by 'unusual actors', i.e. male politicians who do not share the gender identity of the represented, though can effectively deliver 'representation by deliberation' (Erzeel 2012). Then the substantive representation of women and other disadvantaged groups can be improved by accounting for the behaviour of MPs who do not belong to these groups but are willing and capable of representing their interests and concerns. This suggests that 'both usual and unusual actors have a crucial role

to play in women's substantive representation' (Celis and Erzeel 2015). This logic can be extended to minority groups as well (Bird *et al*. 2011).

Overall, this study endorses the main normative arguments made by the grand theories of representation about the importance of better representation of oppressed groups, i.e. groups that have experienced violence, powerlessness, exploitation, cultural imperialism, and/or marginalisation (Young 1990). This includes British Muslims and Jews who are the main focus of the study. As the research centres upon the parliamentary behaviour of religious minority representatives, it is grounded in the classic approaches to political representation (e.g., Pitkin 1967; Birch 1971; Phillips 1995). It focuses on formal politics in appreciation of the importance of the House of Commons for the British democracy and political decision-making as argued in Chapter 1. There are however, limitations to such an approach, as it excludes other strands of representation (Saward 2011). In particular, the study does not examine religious minority representation at the constituency, community, or NGO levels. It does not explore how minority issues are addressed outside of Westminster and makes no claims regarding Jewish and Muslim representation in local politics and civic society. Instead, it provides a comprehensive account of the state of the substantive representation of these minority groups in the House of Commons.

The study assesses the quality of religious minority parliamentary representation by examining how effective minority MPs are as representatives who are 'acting for' their respective groups rather than 'standing for' them. Drawing upon the 'transformative' and 'overlooked interests' argument, it examines whether Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians engage with minority

issues in Parliament and deliver expertise and insights for their respective groups. If they do not act for their respective minority groups, then Jewish and Muslim representation is considered descriptive.[6] The study also compares the behaviour of minority MPs to that of non-minority parliamentarians, accounting for the 'unusual suspects' among parliamentarians who substantively represent British Muslims and Jews (Celis and Erzeel 2015).

Middle-range theories:

Women and ethnic minority parliamentary representation

The grand theories give a better understanding of what constitutes good political representation, and what criteria might be helpful in evaluating it. However, the means and techniques to operationalize this concept emerge from the empirical group representation literature, especially studies on women and ethnic minority representation. The most relevant group representation literature for this study examines the behaviour of women and minority elected representatives, and explores the effects of different identities and institutional environments on the parliamentary behaviour of such representatives to examine the quality of the parliamentary representation of these groups (e.g., Childs and Whitey 2004; Bird *et al.* 2011; Saalfeld *et al.* 2011).

They challenge the earlier idea of improving representation by only increasing the number of decision-makers from marginalised groups, known as the 'critical mass' theory that was particularly dominant in the studies of women's political representation (Dahlerup 1988; Bystydenski 1992). It suggests that, when represented in greater numbers (30 per cent being a

[6] The term 'descriptive' is preferred to 'symbolic' representation to avoid confusion. The latter term can either indicate when members of a certain group feel represented (Pitkin 1967), or that few MPs from marginalised groups can be token representatives of these groups (Birth 1971).

classical ‘cut-off’ point), women start acting on behalf of women, as opposed to being token representatives in a legislature, because of the changes in the internal group dynamic and political environment (Dahlerup 1988; Bystydenski 1992).

Still being firmly in favour of improving descriptive representation for women, recent studies stress that to simply ‘count bodies’ in a legislature is not enough to represent women better, or to encourage female representatives to act for the group (Weldon 2002). Instead, they argue that the quality of representation depends on factors beyond numbers, including the characteristics of the working environment, political culture, the willingness and ability of women to promote ‘women’s interests’, as well as their capability to create alliances with men (Norris and Lovenduski 2001; Childs and Krook 2008). Therefore, they give up on the ‘critical mass’ theory and the idea that one can arbitrarily identify the number or proportion of women that will result in the better representation of women (Childs 2006). Instead, they support better descriptive representation of women and support the efforts to bring more women in Parliament whilst focusing on their behaviour in addition to their gender. Then, ‘as more women come into the Commons, the culture will change, the agenda of politics will broaden, and the institution itself will be transformed’ (Clare Short cited in Norris and Lovenduski 2001, 3).

There are examples of female legislators acting for women and promoting ‘women’s issues’, which demonstrates that descriptive representation (i.e. increasing the gender diversity of the House) can lead to better descriptive and substantive representation of women (Childs and Krook 2009, 126). For instance, there is evidence of successful campaigning for

‘women’s issues’ in low-cost parliamentary activities, such as signing EDMs, whereas differences in the behaviour of men and women are negligible in voting (Childs and Krook 2009; Childs and Withey 2004; Childs and Withey 2006). If anything, women appear to be more cohesive compared to other members of their parliamentary parties (e.g., Cowley and Childs 2003). Signing EDMs, by contrast, has been an effective instrument for women MPs in campaigning against domestic violence, for the right to breastfeed in the House of Commons, and to reduce Valued Added Tax (VAT) on sanitary products (Childs and Withey 2004; Childs and Withey 2006).

Importantly, these studies focus on the individual behaviour of women MPs as ‘critical actors’ but not on the behaviour of female parliamentarians as a group (Childs and Krook 2008; Childs and Krook 2009). However, if women politicians are selected using All-Women Short Lists as ‘women’s representatives’ based on their gender as a group characteristic, then their parliamentary behaviour should be assessed as group rather than individual behaviour. That would average the effect of women MPs who ‘act for’ and ‘stand for’ women and, respectively, represent women substantively and descriptively in a legislature, and so produce a more accurate analysis focusing on typical rather than extreme cases. This is the approach adopted by previous studies of the parliamentary behaviour of minority MPs and endorsed by this study.

Similarly to the studies of women’s parliamentary representation, the empirical analyses of the parliamentary behaviour of minority MPs demonstrate little or no effect from ethnicity or religion on voting (e.g., Bird *et al.* 2011; Saalfeld *et al.* 2011), with the exception of free votes on such socially

controversial topics as abortion, euthanasia, or embryo research that triggers some reaction from Catholic MPs (e.g., Marsh and Hibbing 1987; Baughman 2004; Cowley and Stuart 2010). Low-cost parliamentary activities such as tabling WPQs, on the other hand, are an avenue for some ethnic minority MPs to reflect and campaign on minority issues (Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou 2011; Saalfeld and Bischof 2013).

Overall, the empirical research on the behaviour of both women and minority MPs suggest that whilst voting on whipped votes does not encourage parliamentarians to reflect on their individual identities, low-cost activities and voting on free division provide suitable avenues for them to act for their respective groups. They adopt an institution-centred approach, controlling for the impact of the electoral system, political parties, and parliamentary procedure, as well as the influence of the political culture and environment (Koopmans and Statham 1999; Norton 2001; Bird *et al.* 2011).

This study adopts a similar empirical approach. It accounts for the institutional contexts and constraints of the parliamentary environment that might enable or limit MPs' self-expression. Drawing upon the results of the previous studies, this enquiry focuses on the analysis of voting and low-cost parliamentary behaviour, including tabling EDMs and WPQs, to examine the parliamentary behaviour of Jewish and Muslim MPs as representatives of minority interests. It adapts the research techniques used for the analysis of women and ethnic minority MPs to examine a religious minority background as a predictor of behaviour and explore Jewish and Muslim parliamentary representation. The adjustments made to the empirical approaches used in previous studies aim to produce a comprehensive inquiry into the engagement

of Jewish and Muslim MPs with their respective minority issues in high- and low-cost parliamentary activities and, therefore, the substantive parliamentary representation of these groups. These changes also account for the differences in how religious identity manifests itself compared to gender and ethnicity examined in previous studies.

The importance of religious identity as a predictor of political behaviour has been explored in Chapter 1, however, it is useful to re-iterate why it matters in the context of minority representation and the analysis of parliamentary behaviour of minority MPs. As argued by Amy Gutmann, religious identity does not necessarily 'entail belief in God or an ethical power of the universe outside of persons themselves' (Gutmann 2003, 169). Religion is, therefore, important in democratic politics because of its significance in the public acknowledgement and endorsement of what is good and bad and setting up an appropriate ethical standard that affects the behaviour of political decision-makers (Gutmann 2003, 153-154), as well as its contribution to the public good (Woodhead 2012). Manifestations of religious identity are also not limited to belief in divine order or religious practice, but they imply a distinct socio-cultural background and a set of values often displayed in a particular lifestyle and in the socio-political attitudes of the members of a certain group (Lazar *et al.* 2002).

This has been proven to be true in the case of the religious minority – Jewish and Muslim – population (e.g., Hayes 1995). However, such an enquiry has not been launched with regard to their political representatives. This study aims to address this gap in the literature by examining if a religious background has a potential to stimulate religious minority MPs, including those

from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds, to engage with ‘Jewish’ and ‘Muslim’ issues. Given that minority MPs share socio-cultural backgrounds with their respective minority groups and are more aware of the concerns, interests and attitudes of these groups, they might be compelled to speak out on the issues that interest British Muslims or Jews. Then, similar to gender and ethnicity, a religious minority background would encourage collective action and urge minority politicians to represent minority issues and ‘act for’ their respective groups.

That said, unlike gender and ethnicity, religious identity is not a visible, anthropological characteristic. Because of its subtlety, it has often been considered to be weaker than visible characteristics, which has led to religious identity being overlooked as a predictor of political behaviour, or using religion and ethnicity interchangeably despite the differences in the nature of ethnicity and religion and their manifestations in political behaviour (e.g., Webber 1997; Leighley and Vedlitz 1999; O’Malley and Walsh 2013).

In the analysis of political elites and parliamentary behaviour, in particular, there has been a widespread belief that even visible, individual identities such as ethnicity and gender are outweighed by institutional predictors (Bird *et al.* 2011; Saalfeld *et al.* 2011). Then, the subtlety of a religious identity would imply that it matters even less. However, the influence of gender and ethnicity on low-cost parliamentary activities has been supported by previous empirical analyses, which suggest that individual characteristics affect parliamentary behaviour when the party discipline is loosened, and opens a possibility for an enquiry into the impact of a religious identity on parliamentary behaviour.

Furthermore, as much as the subtlety of religious identity might reduce its effect on political behaviour, it can also mitigate the role-trapping of religious minority politicians. Stigmatising Jewish parliamentarians, in particular, would hardly be possible because the majority of the public do not know that they have a Jewish ancestry (Bale 2015, January 22). Both women and ethnic minority, including Muslim, MPs, on the other hand, can be – and have been – reduced to being 'single issue' politicians (Adolino, 1998; Michon 2010; Durose *et al.* 2011).

Overall, a religious identity is, certainly, a facet of an individual identity distinct from an ethnic identity. Accounting only for an ethnic identity would not address the research questions of this study either, as it would make it impossible to understand the difference between white Christian and white Jewish MPs, and non-white Muslim and non-white Christian or Hindu politicians, for instance. Therefore, it is crucial to explore the effect of religious identity as a predictor of behaviour different from ethnicity.

Drawing upon the importance of religious identity as a socio-cultural and ethical code, its links with the history of British Muslims and Jews, and its role for the international Jewish and Muslim communities, it has the potential to affect the behaviour of MPs from these religious backgrounds (Vertovec 2009; Hudson 2010). However, this facet of identity might be manifested differently from gender and ethnicity in parliamentary behaviour, which is why the theoretical and methodological approaches used to examine women and ethnic minority representation require adjustments for the study of religious minority parliamentary representation.

First, it is important to remember that engagement with minority issues is not limited to MPs from a religious minority background, and non-minority parliamentarians might be more able and willing to raise minority-related topics. Drawing upon the example of Israel's lobby in the US Congress since the mid-1980s, Christian Zionists have been far more successful and persistent in promoting the Zionist cause than Jews have (Tivnan 1987, 181; Bennis and Mansour 1998; Mearsheimer and Walt 2006). If a politician promotes a minority-related issue, but does not belong to a respective minority, it strengthens the campaign. In this case his/her arguments are seen as unbiased and evidence-based, rather than emotionally motivated. In the case of migrant-origin religious minorities, such as Jews and Muslims, it also rules out a 'dual loyalty' argument which has been most bluntly voiced by Andrew Faulds during a Commons debate on the Middle East in December 1972: 'It is time for our colleagues on both sides of the House forgot their dual loyalty and another Parliament. They are representatives here and not in the Knesset' (cited in Alderman 1980, 2). Though quite an extreme example, the quote summarises how a religious minority background might be used to discredit Jewish politicians supporting Israel and/or Muslim MPs promoting the UK-Arab cooperation. As a result, non-minority politicians can be more engaged in representing minority interests than politicians from certain religious minority backgrounds, as demonstrated by the example of the Labour Party supporting the 'Jewish National Home' in Palestine in 1944 (Kelemen 2012, 36-37).

An accurate analysis, therefore, requires accounting for non-minority MPs' engagement with minority interests and including a control group of non-minority MPs in the study. This gives a reference line to assess the level of

involvement of Members from Jewish and Muslim minority backgrounds in discussing topics of minority concern, compared to the rest of the House, and ensures the validity of the findings.

Second, it is important to consider the difference in group sizes of women and religious minorities, on which the case for descriptive representation is based. Increasing the number of religious minority MPs to reach the 30 per cent of the House, i.e. the 'critical mass' point (Dahlerup 1988), would not match the proportions of the UK Jewish and Muslim population. That would mean electing nearly 200 Members of Parliament from each minority, which does not seem realistic or sensible in terms of their group size (House of Commons 2009).[7] Furthermore, the British Jewry is already over-represented in Parliament, having returned more than 20 Jewish MPs in each General Election since 1997 (Littlewood 2008). The case for descriptive representation of Jewish and Muslim minorities, therefore, is neither based on constituting the 'critical mass' in the Chamber, nor on mirroring the proportion of Muslims and Jews in the UK. Instead, it rests on the importance of increasing the visible presence of minority groups in the House until the level of satisfaction of both groups with the quality of representation is improved (Heath *et al.* 2013). However, it is unclear what the cut-off point would be. That is an additional reason for why assessing the quality of Jewish and Muslim representation on the basis of minority MPs contributions to representing minority issues is preferable to doing that by just counting the number of minority parliamentarians in the Chamber.

[7] 30 per cent of the House of Commons that currently constitutes 650 Members equals approximately 195 Members.

The representation of minority interests, i.e. substantive representation, can be improved by the regular engagement of minority parliamentarians with issues of minority concern in high- and low-cost parliamentary activities. Such engagement is anticipated to be stronger in low-cost activities, such as tabling EDMs and WPQs, as opposed to voting. In that case, the institutional constraints of the House of Commons provide little room for minorities' bloc voting, for instance. Being driven by political rationale and constrained by rules, minority MPs must balance between institutional constraints and individual preferences, opting for safe ways of self-expression. For instance, an MP could table an EDM or a WPQ on a minority issue that reflects his/her personal opinion, but would not contradict the party position if such an issue is voted in the House (Strom 1997, 158).

The analysis of the three forms of parliamentary behaviour allows for the testing of whether Jewish and Muslim MPs are affected by their minority backgrounds, and whether their behaviour differs from other MPs. If it does, then they engage with minority issues to a disproportionate extent and act for their minority groups, which indicates that Jewish and/or Muslim minority groups are substantively represented in the UK House of Commons.

The institutional approach to examining parliamentary representation

Grand theories of representation and previous empirical research flag the necessity of appropriate institutional provisions to improve the quality of political representation (e.g., Young 1990; Durose *et al.* 2011). At the party recruitment stage, they vary from measures that guarantee equality to positive action strategies that favour particular disadvantaged groups (e.g., Norris and Lovenduski 1995; House of Commons 2009). When politicians from these

groups take their seats in the House of Commons, the incentives for their behaviour change with the change of the institutional context (Durose *et al.* 2011). From now on MPs are accountable to their parliamentary party and the party leadership, who can boost or slow down their political career, and to their constituents who are able to vote them out of the Chamber in the following General Election. As this research focuses on the analysis of parliamentary behaviour, it centres upon the institutional factors that affect the behaviour of MP after they enter the Chamber, and omits the literature on the party recruitment and pathways to Parliament.

Instead, it focuses on parliamentary contexts and relevant constraints, including the party and its parliamentary status, some aspects of parliamentary procedure (such as the effect of holding a certain legislative role), as well as the impact of representing a constituency with a significant proportion of Jewish/Muslim population. This approach reflects the multilayer nature of parliamentary representation, whereby an MP simultaneously represents a certain territory (as a constituency MP), ideology (as a member of a political party), and a political club (as a Member of Parliament) at the same time (Warren and Castiglione 2004).

The selected factors are the most significant predictors of political behaviour, in accordance with the rational choice theory of office seeking that paints parliamentarians as utility maximisers who seek opportunities to enhance their political careers and avoid unnecessary political risks (Schlesinger 1991; Saalfeld 1995; Strom 1997). In Parliament, the rational behaviour of MPs is manifested in their conformity with the party in voting and their support for the party rhetoric – alongside reflection on their personal

convictions, including those stemming from a certain minority background, and the needs of their parliamentary constituents – in EDMs and WPQs. With this in mind, the study adopts an institution-centred research approach that appreciates the adversarial nature of the British political system and the importance of the party and constituency links as the main key avenues of representation – alongside the representation of Jewish and Muslims minorities as extra-parliamentary constituencies.

By examining three types of parliamentary behaviour (voting, EDMs, and WPQs), this study accounts for the impact of party discipline and other elements of the parliamentary procedure on their engagement with minority issues. The argument is that parliamentary constraints, including party discipline and parliamentary procedure, impact on the parliamentary behaviour of minority politicians, and the way they engage with minority issues, thus, affecting the substantive representation of Jewish and Muslims minorities. Because the research on the relationships between institutional and identity-based predictors has been largely limited to women and ethnic minority MPs, this exploratory study does not make assumptions about the effect the inclusion of institutional predictors in the analytic model will have on the effect of a religious background on the MPs' engagement with minority issues.

These factors influence voting behaviour the most, whereas the institutional pressures on low-cost activities, namely the content of EDMs and WPQs, are less significant (Doring 1995; House of Commons 2010; House of Commons 2010a).[8] Therefore, MPs' engagement with minority issues in voting

[8] Members of Parliament who hold ministerial positions are required to notify the Chief Whip to table an EDM or WPQ, but it is a formality, rather than a substantial factor in decision-making (House of Commons 2010; House of Commons 2010a).

is not expected to be particularly intensive because of its potentially high cost for one's political career. On the other hand, minority MPs might be more willing and capable of raising minority issues in EDMs and WPQs, where the cost of self-expression is lower. The latter argument is supported by previous studies of the parliamentary behaviour of women and ethnic minority MPs (e.g., Childs and Withey 2004; Childs and Withey 2006; Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou 2011; Saalfeld and Bischof 2013). Using the three types of parliamentary behaviour, therefore, allows for an examination of minority MPs' engagement with minority issues in different parliamentary contexts and under different pressures.

High-cost activities: voting

The analysis of voting behaviour is more conclusive when conducted in a flexible political environment based on multi-party competition and weak party discipline (Christoph 1958). The British political system, on the other hand, is quite rigid, and has strong roles for political parties and party discipline. However, voting remains the most important form of parliamentary behaviour and a crucial part of the legislative process.

Previous research focuses on what constitutes and determines voting, whilst accounting for institutional limitations and constraints (Berrington 1968; Norton 1978; Norton 2001). Drawing upon institutional rational choice approaches, previous studies test the impact of different identities on voting, including a socio-economic background (Norton 1978; Franklin *et al.* 1986), age (Franklin *et al.* 1986), gender (Cowley 2002; Cowley and Childs 2003), and religion (Marsh and Hibbing 1987; Baughman 2004; Cowley and Stuart 2010).

The party is proven to be the main predictor of voting that outweighs the rest (Norton 2001; Cowley 2002). Nevertheless, these studies indicate that, when party discipline is loosened or deactivated, other identities influence voting behaviour too. For instance, when a free vote is given, Catholic MPs adopt a pro-life stance on abortion (Marsh and Hibbing 1987; Baughman 2004; Cowley and Stuart 2010), and women vote to support women issues, such as child care (Cowley and Childs 2003). These instances, however, are exceptional and usually happen when a free vote is given on such issues as gay marriage, embryo research, euthanasia, and capital punishment (House of Commons 2013).[9] The party remains the main predictor of voting on whipped votes, confirming the 'steady conformity … on obscure clauses and complex amendments which is the more important for the day-to-day working of government' (Berrington 1968, 339).

Although it is feasible that the voting of politicians from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds follows the same pattern as the rest of Members on whipped votes, it is unclear whether they are cohesive with the party on free votes as well. Choosing voting with the party vote as a baseline for analysis,[10] this study evaluates the impact of a religious minority background on voting behaviour whilst accounting for the party discipline and institutional constraints.

If politicians are driven by reason and political ambitions (Strom 1997), then they act within particular institutional structures and are affected by the structures more than by their individual identities (e.g., gender, ethnicity,

[9] On free votes, MPs, in theory, vote with their conscience. Although they are not briefed by the whips, the party usually remains the main predictor of voting (Norton 2001).
[10] The party vote is defined by the overwhelming majority – 80 to 90 per cent – of MPs who voted on the same side of the question (Lowell cited in Berrington 1968, 340; Christoph 1958).

religion). Voting behaviour is, therefore, shaped by the party and the institutional environment, especially when a vote is important in the context of the Government-Opposition struggle (Berrington 1968; Norton 2001).

The party that holds a majority of seats in Parliament forms the Government. It controls business in the Commons by proposing and passing legislation and timetabling. The Opposition parties oppose the Government, ensuring accountability and scrutiny of its legislation and policies (Berrington 1968). The adversarial nature of British politics results in a lack of cross-party voting on the floor of the House. As a result, in order to pass their legislative proposals and deliver the policies they pledged, the Government must ensure the cohesiveness of party votes. Cohesiveness within the Opposition parties, on the other hand, increases their chances of defeating the Government and undermines the Government's ability to deliver policies and legislation (Norton 1978; Schwarz 1980). In either case, the cohesiveness of the party ensured by party discipline increases chances for electoral success.

Being implemented by the party whips, party discipline ensures cohesion in voting. The party whips brief Members on the party position on both whipped and free votes, though voting against the party line on free divisions is the least important type of dissent (Hibbing and Marsh, 1987, Cowley and Stuart, 2010, November 8). The most severe violation of party discipline – a rebellion – by contrast, implies defying the party whip on whipped votes (Cowley 2002, 12). It is based on political tradition and the rational concerns of MPs, whereby compliant voting advances a parliamentary career, especially if an MP seeks a ministerial promotion; regular dissent could, in theory, result in de-selection or resignation (Saalfeld 1995; Norton 2001).

These rationales are embedded in the political culture (Crossman 1963, 43). However, these considerations are often insufficient for Members who are not afraid of an electoral penalty, the Lords, or those who have little chance for promotion (Norton 2003; Benedetto and Hix 2007). As a result, dissent in the Commons is unusual but not uncommon. Dissent almost disappeared between 1883 and 1903 (Berrington 1968, 349), and then occurred rarely until the 1960s (Norton 1975). Since then, however, dissent has intensified, especially when the party leadership was weak, and its integrity insufficient (Norton 1978; Cowley and Stuart 2007; Cowley and Stuart 2010, November 8).

Dissent in voting is more telling than compliance. Because of the potential costs of dissent, MPs do not rebel randomly. Rather, it becomes a reflection on a profound disagreement between politicians and their parties. Following this logic, if a Jewish or Muslim MP votes differently from the majority of the party on a minority-related issue, it might indicate a clash between the position of the party and the respective faith minority. Cohesive voting, on the other hand, does not hold as much explanatory potential, because the pressure of party discipline makes compliance in voting the default position of an MP.

It is, however, unlikely that the voting behaviour of minority and non-minority MPs on minority-related issues differs because of the institutional constraints and pressures of party discipline. Previous research on the voting behaviour of women and ethnic minority MPs suggests that the party is the main predictor of parliamentary voting, whereas individual characteristics, such as gender and ethnicity, are largely irrelevant. There is no reason to suggest that a religious minority background is stronger than gender and/or

ethnicity. However, it is important to explore such a possibility empirically by examining the voting of Jewish and Muslim MPs on whipped and free votes on topics of minority concern before moving onto the analysis of more promising, low-cost types of parliamentary behaviour.

Low-cost parliamentary activities

Previous research indicates a greater possibility of variance in the behaviour of minority and non-minority MPs in low-cost parliamentary activities, such as the content of WPQs and EDMs. They provide more freedom of political expression for MPs from historically marginalised groups, such as women and ethnic minorities (Childs and Withey 2004; Childs and Withey 2006; Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou 2011; Saalfeld and Bischof 2013). Loosened party discipline increases the representative potential of minority MPs without risking their parliamentary careers. Unimportant for passing legislation, EDMs and WPQs matter as political manifestos and legislative initiatives, and enable MPs to raise minor and more specific issues, including those of concern to religious minorities. Making the preferences and opinions of MPs more obvious, they are also particularly significant for lobbyists, be it faith-based NGOs, religious or community bodies.

Unlike voting, the party has little effect on the sponsoring and signing of EDMs and the tabling of WPQs. Instead, these activities are proven to be affected by MPs' duties and responsibilities, as well as their commitments to their parliamentary and extra-parliamentary constituents. The first is captured by accounting for MPs' legislative roles and the status of their parliamentary parties, while the second is captured by considering for proportions of

Jewish/Muslim population in MPs' constituencies and religious backgrounds of the Members.

Although the strength of the effect from a legislative role and a party parliamentary status largely depends on the types of low-cost activity as discussed in the following sections, representing a constituency with a significant proportion of Jewish and/or Muslim population is expected to have similar effect on both activities. That is because EDMs and WPQs are equally used by parliamentarians to raise the concerns of their constituents and to campaign on constituency-related matters (House of Commons undated; House of Commons 2007). Previous research also point out the importance of EDMs and WPQs as means of communication between British MPs and their constituency and rank constituency-related matters as one of their most frequent and popular topics (Franklin and Norton 1993; Kellermann 2013). Therefore, it is feasible to expect that if the proportion of minority population in a constituency is significant, then MPs would be compelled to raise issues of concern for those groups more often. This scenario would be even more likely if an MP shares a certain minority background with many of his/her constituents because that would allow such a Member to reflect on personal convictions as well as represent constituents better.

The importance of the constituency strand of representation for British MPs is well-documented in the literature. Although Donald Searing identifies the constituency role, i.e. promoting interests of and dealing with requests from their parliamentary constituencies, as a preference role, which an MP can fill or not (Searing 1994, 124), the majority of parliamentarians see constituency representation as an unavoidable aspect of their work (Norton and Wood

1993). Furthermore, the role of the ‘good constituency member’ who makes representations on behalf of the constituents’ individual needs and collective interests is being constantly revitalised and expanded (Searing 1985). Previous research identifies several reasons for a relatively high constituency focus of British MPs (Jenny *et al.* 2014, February), including factors relating to the political system, to a legislator’s party, and to his/her individual characteristics (Norris 1997; Andre *et al*. 2014).

First of all, being directly accountable to their constituents who can vote them out of office, British parliamentarians maximise their electoral advantage, i.e. ‘incumbency effect’, and build a ‘personal vote’ by investing time and effort into constituency casework and service (Cain *et al.* 1984; Wood and Young 1997). The growing uncertainty in the General Election outcomes and a steady increase in the number of marginal seats, as well as the number of political parties capable of making it to the Commons, increase the importance of such investment and advantage ‘good constituency MPs’, as suggested by the studies of incumbency effects for the three main parties (e.g., Smith 2013).

The second factor stemming from the structure of the political system draws upon the absence of a significant tier of government below the national level such as a regional assembly in England (Andre *et al.* 2014). As a result, this increases the workload of MPs representing English constituencies in particular who deal with multiple requests of assistance from their constituents and voice their concerns on the floor of the House (House of Commons undated).

Additionally, constituency-focused activities such as casework and district visits are a significant part of the MPs’ job description (House of

Commons undated; Heitshusen *et al.* 2005). As a result, an MP can choose how much time to devote to constituency service, though it would hardly be possible to ignore it completely, especially for those elected from marginal seats. Constituency service can also be incentivised by the party's ideological position. For instance, left-wing parties in the United States, Britain and continental Europe have been noticed to put more effort into constituency service compared to representatives from right-wing parties (Cain *et al.* 1987; Andre *et al.* 2014).

Finally and most importantly for the purpose of this study, the intensity of an MP's constituency service can be affected by some individual characteristics, including his/her socio-economic background and personal attachment to the constituency, as well as the stage of his/her parliamentary career (Norris 1997; Heitshusen *et al*. 2005). Previous studies also demonstrate the increasing demand for local parliamentary candidates and MPs 'born and raised' in the constituency, or at least those who live locally (Campbell and Cowley 2013; Campbell and Cowley 2014). This suggests that voters prefer candidates that can relate to their locality and better understand issues specific to their constituency, though it is unclear whether MPs live up to these expectations. By this logic, if an MP represents a constituency with a significant proportion of Jewish or Muslim population, his/her minority constituents expect such an MP to engage with the issues of minority concern. This expectation might be higher for an MP from a Jewish or Muslim background who can personally relate to minority issues.

Overall, previous research argues the growing importance of the constituency focus in the work of British MPs that increases the popularity of

the Members and can be translated into an electoral advantage for them and their parties. However, this study is concerned with the behaviour of minority MPs and their performance as the representatives of British Muslims and Jews rather than their electoral performance in general. That is why it focuses on the importance of individual characteristics and links between an MP and his/her constituency. It considers the effect from representing a certain type of constituency on the parliamentary activities that most suitable for campaigning on local and constituency issues rather than matters of national politics. The analysis of low-cost parliamentary activities is used to examine if a Jewish or Muslim presence in constituencies makes MPs more engaged with the issues of concern for British Jews and Muslims in EDMs and WPQs.

Early Day Motions

Sponsoring an EDM is considered to be a less significant parliamentary activity than voting and committee work because an EDM is not a legislative proposal, nor does it directly affect adopting a policy or piece of legislation (Norton 2001). Being a personal political statement, an EDM can be supported by fellow MPs by co-sponsoring or signing it (House of Commons 2010). This does not necessarily imply its further debating on the floor of the Commons, but draws the attention of the House to issues missing from the formal debate. If an EDM gets sufficient support, it might be scheduled for debate on the floor of the House. In a few instances, EDMs have resulted in successful legislative proposals (Childs and Withey 2006). Overall, an EDM can be an effective campaigning and policy-making tool that informs parliamentary debates, and reflects the views and attitudes of MPs on certain issues (Childs and Withey 2004, 554).

Previous research has shown the study of EDMs to be important for studying backbencher opinion (Finer *et al.* 1961) and identity-driven behaviour (Childs and Withey, 2004; Childs and Withey 2006). Statistical analyses of EDMs have focused on the analysis of the group bias of Members, and their ability to get support for their causes. It accounts for the number of motions tabled and signed by MPs, rather than their content (e.g., Finer *et al.* 1961; Berrington 1973; Leece and Berrington 1977; Franklin and Tappin 1977, Nason 2001). These techniques are less useful to examine the level of engagement of Jewish and Muslim MPs with minority issues because of their inability to identify minority-related motions. By contrast, content analysis of the EDMs tabled by religious minority Members allows the identification of relevant motions and the estimation of the frequency and likelihood of them raising minority issues.

This study does not evaluate the level of support that Jewish and Muslim Members might get for minority-related causes. Rather, it is interested in the examination of how willing and eager they are to sponsor motions that correspond to issues of minority concern. The frequency and likelihood of raising minority issues in the motions sponsored by minority and non-minority MPs, therefore, indicates their probability and level of engagement with minority issues in EDMs, which would be indicative of whether they are willing to raise topics of minority concern when party discipline is loosened and the cost of self-expression is relatively low. Additionally, sponsoring motions better reflects the commitments of MPs and their interest in certain issues, as it is more demanding in terms of time and effort.

Parliamentary Questions for written answers

Similar to the EDMs, tabling WPQs provides Members with an opportunity to raise issues they feel passionately about (Childs and Krook 2009). In addition to expressing views and attitudes, WPQs also enable MPs to interrogate the Government's policies and legislation (House of Commons 2010a). Being a low-cost-parliamentary activity, WPQs are loosely controlled by the party and, as previous research shows, can be an effective means of representing the interests of women and ethnic minorities without risking parliamentary careers (e.g., Bird 2005; Saalfeld 2011; Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou 2011; Saalfeld and Bischof 2013). Assuming that this experience is transferable to religious minorities, WPQs are a useful source of data on the parliamentary representation of Jewish and Muslim minorities.

The importance of WPQs for the study of Jewish and Muslim parliamentary representation is not undermined by the low cost of this activity. In Parliament, WPQs help to hold ministers and the Government accountable, scrutinise and influence the Government's policies and actions, evaluate parliamentary performance, and assist in getting hard-to-obtain information and publicising the concerns of backbench MPs and their constituents, for instance (Franklin and Norton 1993, 106-107). Furthermore, their reliability is ensured by the House of Commons resolutions, the Ministerial Code, and the Cabinet Office guidance that 'require Ministers to give accurate and truthful information to Parliament' (Sandford 2012, 8; HC Debate 1996-97, 1047; Cabinet Office 2011). Consequently, WPQs are worthy of a parliamentarian's time and a researcher's attention as a valuable source of data on MPs' engagement with minority issues (e.g., Saalfeld and Bischof, 2013).

This study relies on previous studies on parliamentary representation that examine the effects of gender and ethnicity on low-cost parliamentary activities, including WPQs and EDMs (e.g., Bird 2005; Childs and Withey 2004; Childs and Withey 2006; Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou 2011; Saalfeld and Bischof 2013). Similar to previous research, this study employs methods of quantitative content and statistical analysis. It maps the distribution of minority-related questions and motions, examines the frequency and likelihood of raising minority issues by MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds in EDMs and WPQs, and compares the effect from a minority background on MPs' engagement with minority issues to that of non-minority MPs and the impact of institutional predictors.

Finally, this study accounts for the effect of electoral systems on minority parliamentary representation. Given that the analysis is centred upon the UK House of Commons, it is impossible to account for the difference that electoral system make for the modes and quality of minority parliamentary representation in the empirical analysis. However, the electoral systems literature is used to interpret and contextualise the findings, especially referring to the difference in how the representation of disadvantaged groups is shaped by the majority (or plurality), proportional representation (PR) and mixed electoral systems.

Manon Tremblay argues that the three main types conceptualise representation differently (Tremblay 2006). Proportional representation is based on legislatures being a mirror reflection of the society and groups within it, which resembles Pitkin's definition of descriptive representation. Majority systems, on the other hand, rely on the delegated type of representation, which

is delivered by representatives elected from single-seat constituencies acting for and in the best interests of the represented, which corresponds to the notion of substantive representation. In mixed systems, representatives also act for and on behalf of their constituents, though it is combined with the diversity and proportionality of the PR with multi-seat constituencies.

The studies of women parliamentary representation confirm that of the three systems, proportional representation generates the highest proportion of women in a legislature, compared to mixed and especially majority systems (e.g., Welch and Studlar 1990; Norris 2004, 179-208), 'women proved almost twice as likely to be elected under proportional as under majoritarian electoral systems' (Norris 2006, 201). Drawing on these findings, there is little doubt that PR systems are more effective in increasing the number of female legislators and, therefore, improving the descriptive representation of women. Although this logic can be transferred to ethnic and religious minority groups in theory, there has not been a large-scale comparative research to confirm that PR improves their descriptive representation in the same way.

The effect of electoral systems on substantive representation, which is the focus of this study, is also unclear (Matland and Taylor 1997). The empirical research on whether female politicians feel compelled to represent women's needs and interests gave equally positive results in countries with different electoral systems (Tremblay 2006, 504). This does not provide empirical support for the argument that a type of electoral system affects the substantive representation of disadvantaged groups. In theory, however, Marian Sawer argues that under PR, especially if electoral districts are nation-wide and representational functions are detached from a particular locality,

provides a better opportunity to champion the interests of women and minorities (Sawer 1998, 52). Additionally, an absence of territorial constituencies might encourage women and minority candidates to widen the scope of representation and develop a wider political agenda that would also benefit the substantive representation of disadvantaged groups (e.g., Norris 2004).

However, these theoretical arguments have not been supported by empirical research yet. They also assume that women (or minority) legislators act for their identity groups and that their engagement with the issues of concern for those groups increases as their proportion in a legislature grows. However, the presence of women in politics, or even their 'critical mass', 'does not in any way guarantee substantive representation for women' (Tremblay 2006, 508).

However, when thinking beyond the mechanical effects of electoral systems on the number of representatives, previous studies explored the effects of electoral systems on the behaviour of legislators (e.g., Heitshusen *et al.* 2005; Pilet *et al.* 2012; Andre *et al.* 2014a). In particular, they consider the effects from a variety of 'open-list' and 'closed-list' systems[11] on the relative value of personal and party vote, which determines the vote-seeking strategy and parliamentary behaviour of legislators (Andre *et al.* 2014a). For instance, in non-preferential systems individual electoral success is strongly linked to that of a political party through a 'closed-list' PR or a single-member majority system such as the UK (Carey and Shugart 1995). This encourages politicians to strengthen the party reputation as in such systems a vote for a candidate

[11] The PARTIREP study identifies four types of such systems, including non-preferential, mixed-member, weak preferential and strong preferential systems (Andre *et al.* 2014, 89-90).

cannot be separated from a vote for the party (Karvonen 2004). Strong preferential systems, including single-transferable vote and 'open-list' PR systems, by contrast create incentives for individualised electoral campaigns as voters can cast one or more preference votes that determine who enters a legislature (Karvonen 2004). Finally, in weak preferential and mixed-member systems seats are allocated by the number of preference votes cast for a candidate and his/her position on a party list and by proportional representation from the party lists, respectively (Norris 2006).

The comparative analysis of national and sub-state legislatures in 15 countries (PARTIREP) demonstrates that electoral systems affect the behaviour of legislators as they adjust their electoral strategies to the requirements of a particular system (Andre *et al.* 2014a). Unsurprisingly, non-preferential system stimulate politicians to be party-centred on the campaign trail and in parliament, while they tend to run individualised campaigns in preferential systems, though not in the systems with the high district magnitude. Preferential systems also incentivise MPs to invest more time and effort into constituency casework and increase their potential to deviate from the party line to concur with the preferences of his/her constituents (Andre *et al.* 2014a).

Drawing upon these findings preferential, single-member systems have a potential to stimulate MPs' engagement with the issues of concern for their constituents, including women and minority groups, which could improve the representation of their interests. That would be the result of the increased personal accountability and a stronger representative relationship (e.g., Norris 2006). Finally, by encouraging individualised rather than party-centred

parliamentary behaviour preferential systems change the institutional climate from adversarial to more consensual where the variety of opinions is a norm rather than exception (Norris and Inglehart 2001).

Overall, preferential PR systems strengthen the representative link between MPs and their constituents and increase their personal accountability (Carey and Shugart 1995; Andre *et al.* 2014a). However, previous studies do not provide empirical evidence of the effect of electoral systems on the quality of religious minority parliamentary representation, though some theoretical research supports such a possibility (Rule and Zimmerman 1994). Although this study does not account for the impact of electoral systems on parliamentary behaviour in empirical analysis, it uses the arguments put forward by previous studies to enrich the discussion of the research findings and provide an additional explanatory model suggesting the avenues for future research.

Conclusion

This study endorses the normative arguments made by the grand theories of representation and re-iterates the importance of better representation of disadvantaged groups to improve the quality of democracy by increasing the legitimacy of the political system, the effectiveness of governance and legislation, and the inclusion of disadvantaged groups (Pitkin 1967; Mansbridge 2003). It especially focuses on examining the parliamentary representation of marginalised religious groups such as British Muslims and Jews, which have experienced a long history of discrimination and violence that is repeated in the recent flashbacks of Islamophobia and anti-Semitism (Young 1990; Young 2004). Given that parliamentary representation is the

primary concern of the research, it does not consider the representative claims of those communities at the local and community level, limiting the study to Jewish and Muslim representation at the national level and in formal politics (Saward 2011).

Although the research appreciates the importance of different types of parliamentary representation, it particularly focuses on the substantive representation of minority interests. It examines how Jewish and Muslims parliamentarians 'act for' rather than 'stand for' their respective groups in high- and low-cost parliamentary activities. The focus of the research corresponds to the recent developments in the group representation literature that argues the importance of representing interests of certain disadvantaged groups and the performance of representatives – whether they belong to these groups or not – as opposed to solely the number of such representatives (e.g., Childs 2006; Dovi 2007; Celis and Erzeel 2015).

In doing so, the study relies on the empirical research on women and ethnic minority parliamentary representation that explores identity-driven differences in voting (e.g., Childs and Cowley 2003; Cowley and Stuart 2010) and such low-cost activities as EDMs (e.g., Childs and Withey 2004; Childs and Withey 2006) and WPQs (e.g., Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou 2011; Saalfeld and Bischof 2013). However, the research appreciates the differences between gender and ethnicity, which are visible, anthropological characteristics, and a religious identity that is more subtle. That does not mean that religion is a less powerful predictor of political attitudes or behaviour, and examples from Europe and the US strongly argue in support of this claim (e.g., Gutmann 2003). However, given the specific relationships between politics and religion

in the UK, as well as a conscious effort of the British political elite not to 'do God' (Brown 2003, May 4), this might affect the way a religious identity manifests itself in the parliamentary behaviour of minority MPs.

To account for that this study conducts a comprehensive analysis of the impact of a religious background on high- and low-cost activities of Jewish, Muslim and a control group of non-minority MPs. Relying on the previous studies of Parliament, it also identifies the key predictors of behaviour for each type of activity. This includes the party in voting (e.g., Norton 2001; Cowley 2002) and the composition of the constituency (e.g., Norris 2007; Andre *et al.* 2014), legislative role (e.g., Finer *et al.* 1961; Searing 1994), and the party parliamentary status (e.g., Franklin and Norton 1993) in low-cost activities. Such a comprehensive approach allows for different forms of behaviour to be explored, and whether and how a religious identity manifests itself in any of them to be determined.

Finally, the study draws upon the electoral systems literature to contextualise and interpret the research findings (e.g., Rule and Zimmerman 1994; Tremblay 2006; Norris 2001; Andre *et al.* 2014a). The recent comparative studies such as PARTIREP demonstrate that preferential PR systems strengthen the representative link between MPs and their constituents, increase their personal accountability, and stimulate individualised rather than party-centred parliamentary behaviour. This can potentially improve minority MPs' engagement with minority issues by reducing the constraints of party discipline, although a large-scale comparative study is required to explore this possibility.

Chapter 3

Measuring Religious Parliamentary Representation: Data and Methods

This chapter discusses the design and methodology of the research, introducing the data and methods of analysis. It especially focuses on exploring the data, including reflections on the sampling of the minority and non-minority MPs and their socio-economic and political profiles, as well as their perceptions of religious identity and connections with faith communities. The chapter explains the differences between the various types of parliamentary data used in the study, including voting records, EDMs, and WPQs. It considers their strengths and weaknesses, and the issues relating to their coding for content analysis. Then, the chapter explains how minority issues are operationalised for content analysis, and reflects on the drawbacks and benefits of using quantitative dictionary-based relational content analysis for the purpose of this study. Finally, the chapter introduces the research hypotheses and explains how they are tested.

Research design

The research examines how MPs from minority backgrounds engage with minority issues in Parliament. Engagement at the local and constituency level is beyond the scope of the study. Although MPs' constituency work and local activities are important elements of being an MP, they are irrelevant for assessing the quality of minority representation on the floor of the House. The latter is evaluated by analysing Westminster-based high- and low-cost activities, including the voting behaviour of and the content of EDMs and WPQs tabled by minority and non-minority parliamentarians.

It adopts a comparative research design to explore the parliamentary behaviour of MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds (i.e. units of analysis) in the same institutional context. The analysis is conducted on the behaviour of all the Jewish and Muslim MPs elected to the House of Commons from the Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties between 1997 and 2012. A control group of non-minority MPs is used to validate the findings and to provide a comparative baseline.

The analysis reflects on differences and similarities in how MPs from these Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds engage with minority issues across 14 parliamentary sessions starting from the 1997-98 session. Although the first Jewish MP took his seat in the Commons in 1858, a comparison of the two minorities is possible only after the 1997 General Election when the first Muslim politician entered the Chamber. The research covers the period until the 2010-12 session, which is the last complete session at the time of data collection. This includes the New Labour period between 1997 and 2010, followed by the hung Parliament led by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition in 2010.

The research is identity-centred; it compares the engagement of minority – Jewish and Muslim – MPs with minority issues, measuring it against the likelihood and the level of interest expressed by the control group of non-minority politicians. The party is proven to be the most significant predictor of voting (Norton 2001). By including MPs elected from the Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties in the analysis, therefore, it accounts for the impact of differential party discipline, and its role in influencing parliamentary behaviour and MPs' engagement with minority

issues. It also accounts for differences in the nature of party discipline depending on whether the party is in Government or Opposition. The analysis also considers for other institutional predictors of low-cost activities, such as the legislative role of MPs and the party parliamentary status, that affect the content of EDMs and WPQs.

Previous studies suggest that different types of parliamentary behaviour are influenced by such factors as political parties (e.g., Norton 2001; Cowley 2002), legislative roles (e.g., Searing 1994), the interests of constituents, and the party parliamentary status (e.g., Norton 1993). It is important to use different types of data and suitable explanatory variables to examine if and how much minority MPs engage with minority issues. Each empirical chapter is based on a certain type of data and devoted to a certain type of parliamentary behaviour – voting behaviour, the sponsorship of EDMs, and the tabling of WPQs – to account for the differential impact of the party discipline and parliamentary procedure on each. Methodological appendices provide detailed technical information, including the list of minority and non-minority MPs used for the study, the details of the content analysis analytic tool (conceptual dictionary), voting divisions that witnessed dissent by minority MPs, and the specifications of the time series cross-sectional (TSCS) data analysis.

Ethics comes first

Identity-centred research is often ethically sensitive because of its potential to harm participants and/or a researcher. Despite this study examining political elites, the ethical concerns are largely irrelevant, as it is based on the analysis of publicly available statistical data and parliamentary records, as opposed to face-to-face contacts with the participants. In this case, standardised

practices, such as ensuring maximum anonymity and using trustworthy data sources, are sufficient to guarantee that the research is conducted ethically.

Although the small sample of MPs analysed makes them potentially traceable, their maximum anonymity is ensured by allocating letter-numerical codes to each Member at the early stages of the data coding. Some MPs, however, remain easy to trace because of their uniqueness, such as the first and the only Muslim MP in the 1997 Parliament (Mohammad Sarwar) and the only Liberal Democrat MP with a Jewish background elected to the 1997 and 2001 Parliaments (Dr Evan Harris). Even in this case this study does not cause any career or reputational damage to either of the participants (or a researcher), because it examines the data from reliable sources that are publicly available and designed to ensure the accountability of Members of Parliament. MPs' biographical data is collected from Parliament's profiles, and their parliamentary records from Hansard. The use of these data in academic research, therefore, is in compliance with the purpose of the data being collected, and the reasons it is open to the public, as 'a truly authoritative account of Parliament's proceedings' that ensures the scrutiny and accountability of the elected representatives (House of Commons 2010a, 2).

The rest of the data do not contain direct links to individuals and, therefore, are not a matter of ethical concern. The data are obtained from such reliable sources as the Office for National Statistics, the Runnymede Trust, the Muslim Council of Britain, and the Board of Deputies.

Presenting data

The data selection is driven by the research problem, as reflected in the research questions: Are MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds

disproportionately more likely to engage with the issues of concern for their respective minority in the House of Commons than MPs from a different religious background, and/or do they do so more frequently?

Answering these research questions requires the analysis of the parliamentary behaviour of MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds and a control group of non-minority MPs. Therefore, first, these MPs need to be selected and explored. Second, the study needs to consider their parliamentary records, with regard to the relationship between MPs' religious minority backgrounds, and the probability and frequency of their engagement with minority issues. Therefore, Members of Parliament are the primary points of entry, their parliamentary behaviour provides units of analysis, and votes, EDMs, and WPQs are coding units. Finally, these findings are contextualised using the Census data and community statistics compiled by faith-based and community-based NGOs, the academic literature and secondary sources, to link their behaviour with the religious make-up of their constituents.

Making sense of the sample

The first step of data collection is the sampling of Members of Parliament. A sample ideally is 'a miniature version of the population of which it is a part – just like it, only smaller' (Fink 2003, 1). The sample of Members from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds is actually the population, because it includes all Jewish and Muslim politicians elected to the House of Commons between 1997 and 2012. These MPs in the sample are defined by: (1) a Jewish or Muslim background, and (2) being elected to Parliament from the Labour, Conservative, or the Liberal Democrat party between 1997 and 2012. These 38

Jewish and 11 Muslim politicians are the main focus of the study (see Appendix 1).

Whilst identifying politicians from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds, it is important to consider that their views of and relationships with religion vary. Few of them practice religion (NSS 2010), but many retain cultural and social connections with faith communities and/or an interest in faith community issues. For instance, Lynn Featherstone says she 'hasn't practised the religion for years', though 'I have affection for the traditions I grew up with' (cited in Janner and Taylor 2008, 180), and Barbara Roche stresses '…I feel British. What I bring to my Britishness is my Jewish background, just like other people bring their bits' (Barbara Roche cited in Ashley 2000). Even the most secular of them characterize themselves as culturally Jewish: 'I consider myself Jewish culturally, but I do not have Jewish belief' (Dr Evan Harris cited in Janner and Taylor 2008, 175).

Similar to Jewish parliamentarians, Muslim MPs stress the importance of cultural memory, rather than religious practice: 'My own family's heritage is Muslim. Myself and my four brothers were brought up to believe in God, but I do not practice any religion' (Sajid Javid cited in Village 2010, April 22), and 'If you are going to settle in this country, as my parents did, then by definition you must like something about that country. Therefore it can only be right that you attempt to integrate, not necessarily by acting against your own religious or cultural beliefs' (Nadhim Zahawi cited in Yusuf 2012, May 2). In this sense, a religious minority background could play a part in MPs' political socialisation and the formation of their views at early age, even when it is not manifested in spiritual practice and/or lifestyle.

Although both Jewish and Muslim MPs might come across as or indeed become more secular in a tight parliamentary environment (e.g., Janner and Taylor 2008; NSS 2010), it does not mean that religious practice is eliminated from their lives. This is reflected in references to Allah, according to the Muslim tradition, when swearing the Parliamentary Oath, for instance: 'I start in the name of Allah, who is the most beneficent and the most merciful. I have taken the opportunity to prefix my maiden speech in the traditional Muslim custom by starting in the name of God' (Mohammad Sarwar cited in HC Debate 1998-99, 415). It is also apparent in their reflections on religious observance, such as praying, fasting, and attending religious ceremonies. For example, Shabana Mahmood says, 'I do wear a headscarf when I pray and when I read from the Koran and when I visit the mosque or other religious functions' (cited in BBC Birmingham 2010, July 28), and Sadiq Khan states that 'If during Ramadan I'm fasting, people get it, but when you're the only one, you do sort of stand out' (cited in Philby 2013, April 7).

Although the balance between faith and political career might not be easy to maintain, observant Muslim and Jewish politicians stress the importance of their upbringing and backgrounds for doing a good job as members of Parliament. For instance, Sadiq Khan points out that 'There is no problem with Islam in Britain being British. We are all both Muslim and British… It's a source of pride to us. Our faith gives us the strength to be better and stronger citizens' (cited in GPU 2008), whereas Robert Halfon suggests that 'Being Jewish helps you to be an MP because of the Jewish tradition of tzedakah, meaning charity and service to others. That is exactly what being an MP is, and a large part of why Jews have been successful in political life'

(cited in Gloger 2008, July 11). Furthermore, a few of them refer to their particular commitment to addressing the issues of concern for Jewish and Muslim minorities without disregarding their parties and constituents. For instance, Fabian Hamilton points out 'My loyalty is to my home in Leeds and to the Jewish community' (cited in Janner and Taylor 2008, 175).

The argument that a religious minority background is not limited to religious belief and spiritual practices lies at the heart of operationalising religious identity as an institutional and socio-cultural, rather than spiritual, phenomenon (Sinno 2008). It links minority MPs with their respective minority groups through institutional, social and cultural aspects of identity that are developed as a result of common upbringing and heritage (Lazar *et al.* 2002; Sinno 2008). Janner and Taylor, for instance, suggest that many Jewish MPs have been 'Jews by birth, but had little connection with the community. Rather, the Jewish strain which often remained within them became a commitment to Jewish ideals' (Janner and Taylor 2008, 7). This strengthens the case for the performance-based assessment of the parliamentary behaviour of Jewish and Muslim MPs regarding their engagement with the issues of concern for Jewish and Muslim minority groups.

To summarise, the identification of Members from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds is based on their Jewish and Muslim ancestry, parental backgrounds and/or upbringing, rather than solely on their religious practice (Janner and Taylor 2008, 4). MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds are identified by community-based think tanks and NGOs such the Muslim Council of Britain (e.g., Muslim Vote 2010); academics, such as Geoffrey Alderman (Alderman 1983) and Lord Greville Janner (Janner and Taylor

2008); Parliament's researchers (House of Commons 2009; Cracknell 2012); as well as through the self-reflection of politicians in debates and interviews (e.g., Khan 2010; Village 2010, April 22; HC Debate 2010-12). This helps to broadly identify MPs' religious minority background, though lacks details on their particular denomination.

The analysis also includes a control group of non-minority MPs to explore the difference (if any) in minority and non-minority MPs' engagement with minority issues and so ensure internal validity. The contrast group consists of 25 Members selected using purposive sampling with elements of randomisation (Lynch 2012, February; Appendix 1). Although the suitability of this technique is questionable with regard to the general population, it is useful for researching elites, where the number of participants is limited, and there is a need to account for the specific characteristics of MPs. The purpose of the control group is to examine how much the behaviour of minority MPs deviates from the behaviour of politicians from non-minority backgrounds on the basis of differences in religious identity alone. Therefore, other characteristics, including their party identification, ethnic homogeneity, and the proportion of minority population in the constituencies they represent, must replicate the structure of the 'minority' part of the sample, which cannot be guaranteed by random sampling. The purposive sampling technique with elements of randomisation, on the other hand, allows for the hand-picking a control group of politicians who are distinct from Jewish and Muslim politicians in terms of religious identity, but replicate their electoral and personal characteristics. Random selection of the control group has been used on certain characteristics when minority MPs do not stand out from the rest of the House, for instance, in

terms of their socio-economic or educational backgrounds, and pre-parliamentary political experience.

MPs in the control group are from white Christian backgrounds. It distinguishes them from Jewish and Muslim politicians and allows for the testing of differences in their parliamentary behaviour on the main explanatory variable – a religious minority background. The study does not account for the particular religious denominations within Judaism and Islam, nor the religious practice of minority MPs; their religious minority background is identified in terms of their socio-cultural ancestry. That is why the control group of Christian MPs includes observant and non-observant (or cultural) Christians, including Anglicans, Roman Catholics, and Evangelical Christians. This way the diversity within the control group in terms MPs' Christian denominations and religious practice echoes the diversity among MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds.

The selection of non-minority MPs with white backgrounds ensures the homogeneity of the control group and mirrors the ethnic homogeneity within each group of minority parliamentarians. It distinguishes non-minority politicians from Muslim MPs who are South Asians, with the exception Nadhim Zahawi who is an Iraqi Kurd (Hirsch 2010, May 7; Yusuf 2012, May 2). Jewish MPs, on the other hand, are predominantly white, with the exception of Oona King who has a mixed ethnicity (Cracknell 2012). Finally, the selection of the 'all-white' control group reflects on the ethnic composition of the House and the UK population in general, which is also predominantly white (Durose *et al.* 2011).

In addition to Christian religious and white minority backgrounds, the sampling criteria for the control group include two main electoral characteristics that have the most significant effect on parliamentary behaviour: party affiliations, and constituency religious composition (e.g., Norton 2001; Sobolewska 2011).

The control group, therefore, roughly replicates the distribution of religious minority MPs across the parties, as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 MPs by religious background and party, 1997-2012, frequency

	Religious background			
Party	Jewish	Muslim	Non-minority	Total
Labour	18	8	13	39
Conservative	16	3	10	29
Liberal Democrat	4	0	2	6
Total	38	11	25	74

Note: See Appendix 1 for the full list of MPs in the sample.

The table demonstrates that of 38 MPs from a Jewish background, who have served in the House between 1997 and 2012, 18 have been elected from the Labour Party, 16 from the Conservatives, and four are Liberal Democrats. Labour Muslim parliamentarians are also the most numerous; eight Labour Muslim MPs have been elected, compared with only three Conservative, and none from the Liberal Democrat Party.

The distribution of minority parliamentarians, particularly Muslim ones, across the main parties reflects the success of minority candidate recruitment schemes, their overall party performance at General Elections, and

their access to winnable seats. For instance, Labour have been particularly successful in targeting visible ethnic minorities, and has increased its number of Muslim MPs in each subsequent Parliament – from one parliamentarian elected in the 1997 General Election to six MPs elected in May 2010. On the other hand, only a handful of Conservative Muslim parliamentarians were first elected in 2010, whereas no Muslim Liberal Democrats have been present in the Chamber so far (Cracknell 2012). As noted before, the recent changes to the candidate recruitment procedure favour ethnic minority Muslim candidates, rather than predominantly white Jewish politicians.[12] However, the presence of the latter in the Commons has been relatively high compared to the proportion of the Jewish population in Britain (Littlewood 2008). Initially, the majority were from the Labour Party; 15 of 22 Jewish politicians elected in 1997 were Labour. That was a high peak for the Labour Jewish representation, followed by a turn to the right and a growing number of Conservative and Liberal Democrat Jewish politicians after 2005 (Janner and Taylor 2008). Currently more than half of MPs from a Jewish background – 14 of 26 – are elected from the Conservative Party, whereas ten and two, respectively, were elected from Labour and Liberal Democrats (Jewish Chronicle 2010).

In order to mirror the structure of the minority MPs sample, the control group includes a proportional number of parliamentarians elected from the main parties, including 13 Labour, ten Conservative, and two Liberal Democrat non-minority MPs. This increases the number of parliamentarians analysed in

[12] Despite Jews were recognised as a minority group – on the grounds of 'nationality or ethnic or national origins' – in Section 3 (4) of the 1976 Race Relations Act (Race Relations Act 1976), it has not been sufficient for a candidate to become eligible for positive action introduced by parties, similar to other non-British white backgrounds, Polish, for instance. As a result, two only parliamentarians with Jewish roots eligible for shortlisting and additional support were Oona King and Luciana Berger - both on the grounds of gender and, in the first case, mixed ethnicity.

the study to 74, including 39 Labour, 29 Conservatives, and six Liberal Democrats.

Finally, the sampling criteria for the control group accounts for the proportion of Jewish and Muslim population in the constituencies held by non-minority MPs. The selection of this criterion is based on findings from the series of interviews with MPs conducted as part of the IntUne project, which found that most MPs (60%) consider representing their constituency to be their main Parliamentary responsibility (Jenny et al 2013; February 21-22) Undoubtedly, this is not the sole focus of parliamentary representation, however these responses show that representing constituencies carries a certain weight and complements the MPs' representation of the party and country's interests. With this in mind, the ethno-religious composition of constituencies could affect the behaviour of MPs. Representing a constituency with a significant proportion of Jewish or Muslim population, for example, could stimulate an MP to raise minority issues even if the MP does not come from a Jewish or Muslim background.

The control group, therefore, includes parliamentarians who represent three types of constituencies with regard to the proportion of minority population – 'Jewish', 'Muslim', and 'White'. They are defined on the basis of community watch-lists and the proportion of minority population recorded in the 2001 and 2011 Censuses. First, the interest of Jewish and Muslim minorities in certain constituencies is noted in community-affiliated election campaigns, such as The Jewish Chronicle's Election 2010 (Jewish Chronicle 2010), and the Muslim Council of Britain's Muslim Vote (Muslim Vote 2010). Therefore, the interest of faith-based NGOs in certain areas is an important

criteria to identify ‘minority’ constituencies. Second, Jewish and Muslim presence in a constituency is considered significant if it is twice as large as the average proportion of minority population across the country – 1.5 per cent or more Jews and 10 per cent or more Muslims for England, and 0.6 per cent of Jews and 2 per cent of Muslims for Scotland (ONS 2012). Although the latter criterion to defining a ‘minority’ constituency is arbitrary, it indicates the areas densely populated by British Jews and Muslims in relation to the country’s average without narrowing the pool of seats down too much. Constituencies that include a significant proportion of both Jewish and Muslim minorities are counted twice, as both ‘Jewish’ and ‘Muslim’ constituencies.

As shown in Table 3.2, both Jewish and non-minority MPs represent different types of constituencies with regard to minority population.

Table 3.2 MPs by constituency type and religious background, frequency

	Religious background		
Constituency type	Jewish	Muslim	Non-minority
Jewish	8	0	10
Muslim	7	8	11
White	26	3	9

Note: ‘Minority’ constituencies have been identified on the basis of the ONS statistics (ONS 2003; ONS 2012) and faith-based NGOs watch-lists (e.g., Jewish Chronicle 2010; Muslim Vote 2010).

Parliamentarians with a Jewish background, for instance, hold seven seats with more than ten per cent of Muslims and eight seats with a small yet noticeable Jewish population. They are almost twice more likely to represent ‘white’ constituencies than ‘minority’ ones. Muslim parliamentarians, on the

other hand, rarely stand for 'white' seats, but hold constituencies with significant Muslim populations. As shown in Table 3.3, the proportion of the Muslim population in the English constituencies held by Labour Muslim MPs varies between 10.7 per cent in Tooting and 35.4 per cent in Bethnal Green and Bow. It constitutes 23 per cent on average, which is well above the five per cent country average of Muslim population per constituency in England and Wales (ONS 2012). In Scotland, Glasgow Central includes 3.7 per cent of Muslims, which is significant given that Scottish Muslims do not exceed 0.5 per cent of the Scottish population (ONS 2012).

Table 3.3 Muslim population in the constituencies represented by MPs from a Muslim background

Member of Parliament	Constituency	Muslim population, per cent
Ali, Rushanara	Benthal Green and Bow	35.4
Khan, Sadiq	Tooting	10.7
Mahmood, Khalid	Birmingham Perry Bar	22.7
Mahmood, Shabana	Birmingham Ladywood	35.2
Malik, Shahid	Dewsbury	18.5
Qureshi, Yasmin	Bolton South East	18.6
Sarwar, Anas Sarwar, Mohammad	Glasgow Central	3.7

Source: ONS 2012

As the Conservative Party lacks support in Muslim-populated areas, all the Tory Muslim MPs are elected from predominantly 'non-minority' constituencies, including Bromsgrove, Stratford-on-Avon, and Gillingham and

Rainham, with the proportion of Muslim population being 0.5, 0.3, and 2.2 per cent, respectively (ONS 2012). Two of these seats – very safe Conservative strongholds with a majority of more than 20 per cent – have returned Conservative Members of Parliaments for several decades: Bromsgrove – since it split with Redditch in 1983, and Stratford-on-Avon – since its creation in 1950 (Arnold 2012). The extremely strong party vote, certainly, helped to elect the first Muslim MPs representing 'White' constituencies – Sajid Javid and Nadhim Zahawi – in the House of Commons. Although there is a track record of Muslim politicians representing Muslim and non-minority constituencies, there has not been a Muslim MP representing a constituency with a high share of Jewish population so far.

The control group includes MPs representing non-minority and minority constituencies (see Table 3.2 and Appendix 1). Overall, MPs in the sample represent ten 'Jewish' constituencies with more than 1.5 per cent of Jewish population, 18 'Muslim' seats with more than ten per cent of Muslims, eight constituencies with a significant presence of both minority groups, and 38 'white' seats without significant minority presence. This is an accurate representation of the UK population and its distribution across constituencies, which should also give an impression of whether a minority presence in the constituency has any impact on MPs' parliamentary behaviour and their engagement with minority issues.

Accounting for the effect of party and the proportion of minority population in the constituency allows for other electoral characteristics to be omitted from the analysis so as to avoid over-controlling. Although these characteristics are proven important for political careers, they are largely

predicted by the party label. In particular, their party's access to winnable seats, its overall performance, and the candidate recruitment procedure determine the structure of political opportunities within the party. It enhances candidates' electoral chances by being selected for winnable seats and/or standing as an inheritor. Therefore, seat marginality and candidacy type are of limited importance for this study, and can be represented by including the party as an explanatory variable.

For instance, between 1997 and 2010 the Labour Party held the majority of parliamentary seats, yet their advantage was decreasing after each subsequent election, whilst the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats increased their seat share (Rallings and Thrasher 2012). Unsurprisingly, the majority of Conservative and Lib Dem Jewish politicians elected during that period were challengers contesting very marginal and fairly marginal seats with the highest chances of success. In 2005 a Tory PPC, Brooks Newmark, won Braintree, and the 2010 intake of new Conservative Jewish MPs included high-prospect challengers, such as Zac Goldsmith (Richmond Park), Michael Ellis (Northampton North), Robert Halfon (Harlow), Richard Harrington (Watford), and Karl McCartney (Lincoln). The share of challengers among the Tory PPCs with a Jewish background significantly increased after the 2005 General Election, reflecting the consequences of introducing A-lists intended to facilitate the election of more Tory MPs from historically marginalised groups. They decreased the number of safe seats available for Conservative Jewish candidates as there were no women or ethnic minorities among them.

Three of four Lib Dem MPs from a Jewish background elected between 1997 and 2010 also contested marginal constituencies. With the exception of

the 2010 General Election, when Dr Evan Harris and Susan Kramer lost their seats, Liberal Democrat MPs from Jewish backgrounds increased their majority in each subsequent election. These MPs built their advantage on a constituency focus and reflect the high incumbency effect for Lib Dem parliamentarians (Smith 2013).[13]

By contrast, neither of the Labour Jewish MPs challenged a marginal seat between the 2001 and 2010 General Elections. Some of the 1997 intake, including Fabian Hamilton, Ivor Caplin, and Peter Bradley, successfully contested marginal constituencies, and were returned as incumbents thereafter. However, the majority of incumbents found their majorities substantially reduced as dissatisfaction with the Labour Governments grew.[14] Nonetheless, the majority of the Labour Jewish MPs elected between 2001 and 2010 managed to hold on to the seats. Although Labour applied both All-Women and All-Minority Short Lists, a greater number of safe seats available to the party made it easier for Labour Jewish MPs to get selected for a winnable constituency, even if they were ineligible for shortlisting as women and ethnic minority candidates. However, a few Labour Jewish PPCs, such as Oona King and Luciana Berger, were included in Labour's Short Lists.

In addition to having the leading role in the candidate selection, the main parties choose to promote minority candidates who match the characteristics of an 'archetypical' candidate of the party (Durose *et al.* 2011; Durose *et al.* 2013). In particular, they consider socio-economic and

[13] For instance, Lynne Featherstone increased her majority from 5 to 12.5 per cent between 2005 and 2010; Dr Evan Harris, elected in 1997 with a 10.2 per cent majority, raised it to 17.8 and 14.6 per cent in 2001 and 2005, but lost his seat by 176 votes in the 2010 General Election (Rallings and Thrasher 2012).

[14] For example, Louise Ellman's advantage dropped from 57.1 to 36.6 per cent between 1997 and 2010, whereas David Winnick's majority plummeted from 29.1 to 2.7 per cent during the same period (Rallings and Thrasher 2012).

educational backgrounds, and the political experience of the candidates, that are considered vital to political success. As a result, MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds are identical to non-minority politicians in everything but their religious ancestry.

'Acceptably different': Personal characteristics of minority MPs

A lack of variation between minority and non-minority MPs makes personal characteristics irrelevant as explanatory variables and criteria for the sampling of the control group. A brief detour to explore personal characteristics of Jewish and Muslim MPs, such as gender, age, socio-economic background, education, and pre-parliamentary political experience, helps to make sense of the data and adds depth to the analysis nonetheless.

The number of female Jewish and Muslim MPs has been high, but the gender balance in the Labour and Liberal Democrat parties has been more even, compared to the Conservative Party. Despite changes in the candidate selection procedure, the Conservative Party is male-dominated, and struggling to attract female voters and prospective candidates (Childs and Webb 2012). As a result, all the Conservative politicians from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds elected between 1997 and 2012 were men. By contrast, one third of the Labour Jewish politicians of the 1997 intake were women. By 2010, following the defeats of Oona King, Gillian Merron, and Barbara Roche, three of ten women remained on the Labour benches. However, the 2010 General Election also witnessed the first three Muslim women elected to the Commons from the Labour Party. They constituted half of the Labour Muslim MPs in the Chamber, and one third of all parliamentarians with a Muslim background. It is problematic to generalise the 1:1 men to women ratio of Liberal Democrat

Jewish MPs, because there have been only four of them – two men and two women, namely Dr Evan Harris, Dr Julian Huppert, Lynne Featherstone, and Susan Kramer.

In terms of age, the majority of both minority and non-minority MPs have been middle-aged. Muslim politicians, on the contrary, tend to be slightly younger than MPs from Jewish and non-minority backgrounds (Criddle 2010, 321-322); they were born between 1960 and 1980, with the exception of Muhammad Sarwar. This reflects the fact that Muslim MPs have only recently entered Parliament. In 1997, when the first Muslim MP was elected, 11 MPs from a Jewish background were already been in the Chamber.[15] Five of them, including two of the oldest Jewish MPs, 83-year-old Sir Gerald Kaufman and 80-year-old David Winnick, are still serving in Parliament. By contrast, the oldest currently serving Muslim MP is 52-year-old Khalid Mahmood.

Although there are slight variations in age between MPs from Muslim backgrounds and other Members, as well as differences in the levels of gender diversity across the parties, the educational and socio-economic backgrounds of minority and non-minority MPs across the main parties are similar. Simply put, all parliamentarians with Jewish and Muslim backgrounds hold University degrees and come from middle class backgrounds. This resembles general trends across all MPs. For instance, nine of ten MPs from the 2010 intake have attended University (Sutton Trust 2010), and the number of politicians from professional backgrounds has increased after the drop in manual employment backgrounds (Criddle 2010). Almost half of Jewish politicians elected between

[15] Michael Fabricant, Margaret Hodge, David Winnick, Sir Malcolm Rifkind and Sir Gerald Kaufman (currently in office); Peter Mandelson (stood down in 2004); Barbara Roche (lost in 2005); Gerry Steinberg (stood down in 2005); Harry Cohen, Michael Howard, and Anthony Steen (stood down in 2010).

1997 and 2012 have received degrees from the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge,[16] compared to just under a third of MPs overall (Sutton Trust 2010). The educational background of Muslim politicians have been less prominent compared with Jewish MPs.[17] Nonetheless, two of the 2010 intake also hold degrees in Law from the University of Oxford (Rushanara Ali and Shabana Mahmood). Degrees in Law and Social Sciences, such as Politics, Economics, and Public Administration, are the most common among minority and non-minority politicians (Durose *et al.* 2011). These areas of study are considered 'politics-facilitating', and essential for building skills and networks for career politicians (Cairney 2007).

Finally, pre-parliamentary political experiences differ substantially across the parties. These experiences include the activities that can potentially enhance one's political career, including holding a formal political role or electoral office, trade union membership, unsuccessfully standing in a previous election, and engaging with NGOs and public bodies (Cairney 2007). Involvement in local politics and civic activism, in particular, are traditional 'stepping stones' to Westminster (Durose *et al.* 2011).[18] Many parliamentarians, especially from the Conservative and Liberal Democrat

[16] Michael Fabricant, Fabian Hamilton, Richard Harrington, Dr Evan Harris, Sir Gerald Kaufman, Susan Kramer, Dr Julian Lewis, David Miliband, Ed Miliband, Brooks Newmark, Barbara Roche, and Peter Mandelson received at least one of their degrees from the University of Oxford. Zac Goldsmith, Michael Howard, Dr. Julian Huppert, Oliver Letwin – from the University of Cambridge.

[17] For instance, Mohammad Sarwar obtained his degree abroad. The UK universities attended by Muslim politicians are ranked lower than universities attended by Jewish MPs. Finally, they usually hold BA degrees and professional qualifications, rather than Masters or higher.

[18] Two thirds of Labour minority MPs were elected as local councillors before Parliament, as well as one third of the Conservatives and half of Lib Dem minority politicians. The vast majority of minority Members also have an extensive experience of civic activism. For example, Sadiq Khan was chair of the pressure group 'Liberty'; Shahid Malik was Group Chief Executive of the Pakistan Muslim Centre in Sheffield; Yasmin Qureshi was chair of the working group at the Association of Muslim Lawyers; Nadhim Zahawi is a fundraiser for Jeffrey Archer's 'Simple Truth' campaign, and Luciana Berger was a director of Labour Friends of Israel.

parties, have also unsuccessfully contested seats as challengers who have gradually built up to victory, or before being selected for a winnable seat (Norris and Lovenduski 1995, 161-162).[19] Trade unionism is also an important pathway to politics for the Labour Party members (Hackett and Hunter 2010), but it does not offer much help to Conservative candidates (Norris and Lovenduski 1995). While pre-parliamentary political experiences differ across parties, they barely do so across religious backgrounds. There is little difference between such experiences that Jewish and Muslim MPs from the same parties have had before Parliament.

To summarise, minority and non-minority parliamentarians from the same party do not differ much in terms of their personal characteristics, educational and pre-parliamentary backgrounds, as well as their electoral histories, with the exception of Muslim parliamentarians who are eligible for short listing and are slightly younger on average than MPs with different backgrounds. The differences between them are explained by the party affiliation. The variation between the seat and candidacy types of minority and non-minority politicians are determined by the parties' access to winnable seats and their electoral performance.

Introducing primary data

The data includes the MPs' biographical data, voting records, and the EDMs and WPQs tabled by them. All of the data are obtained from publicly available and reliable sources, including Hansard and Public Whip records

[19] For instance, Rehman Chishti unsuccessfully stood for Parliament as a Labour Party candidate in 2005. Robert Halfon won Harlow at the third attempt after coming second in this constituency in 2001 and 2005. Sir Malcolm Rifkind lost Edinburgh South West in 1997 and unsuccessfully contested it in 2001 before returning as an MP for Kensington and Chelsea in 2005. Lib Dem MPs, including Lynne Featherstone and Dr Julian Huppert, also unsuccessfully contested seats held by other parties whilst building a local profile (Smith 2013).

profiles. Parliamentary records, namely voting divisions, EDMs, and WPQs, reflect an engagement of the selected MPs with minority issues, whereas biographical data reflect their personal characteristics and political backgrounds, in order to increase the explanatory potential of the study.

Voting records

The voting records of the MPs in the sample extend back to the May 1997 General Election and cover the period up to the 2010-12 session. They are obtained from the Public Whip and Hansard archives. All the records are organised thematically to reflect the effect of MPs' religious minority backgrounds on voting.

In voting, the difference in the behaviour of minority and non-minority Members is traceable through dissent by minority parliamentarians on topics of minority concern, such as the invasion in Iraq and the provision of religious education in schools. The cases of dissent are divided into whipped and free votes to account for variations in party discipline (Walpole and Kelly 2008; House of Commons 2013). The party vote – or vote of the majority of the party – is a baseline for the analysis. Voting differently from the majority of the party on minority issues reflects on disagreement of minority MPs with the party on that issue.

Furthermore, if by voting against the majority of the party a minority MP aligns with the position of the respective faith community, then it indicates that the MP acts on the issues of concern for that minority group. The positions of the Jewish and Muslim faith communities are identified using the community documents and publications of the faith-based bodies, such as the Muslim Council of Britain and the Board of Deputies of British Jews. These

instances reflect on the performance on minority MPs on minority issues in voting.

Dissent is, however, rare as voting is heavily regulated and constrained by the party whips (Cowley 2002). Of 4,297 divisions voted between 1997 and 2012, only 96 divisions that witnessed dissent by Jewish or Muslim MPs have been selected for the analysis (Appendix 3). 33 of them focus on the issues of concern for religious minorities and are the focus of this study, and 63 votes occurred on issues of general concern and are used for comparison.

The major limitation of the data is the small sample size of minority MPs. As the number of minority MPs between 1997 and 2012 did not exceed five per cent of the House, their impact on the outcome of the votes was insignificant. Nonetheless, the analysis of voting records indicate whether minority Members agree with the party on minority issues, or are willing to defy the party whip if the position of the party clashes with that of the Jewish or Muslim community. The research focus on whether minority MPs act on minority issues in voting, rather than what effect it might have on the outcome of the vote, allows for the effect of MPs' minority backgrounds on parliamentary voting to be assessed. It deals with the problem of the small sample size by stressing the importance of the content of votes, rather than their results.

The study accounts for party status – in Government or Opposition – in the House, which affects the cost of dissent for MPs, and considers for the type of the vote – whipped or free – and its content in the analysis. The type of vote determines how party discipline is enforced. On whipped votes, the party whips brief MPs on the party vote and ensure MPs' adherence to that line,

especially if a three-line whip is introduced (Walpole and Kelly 2008). On the other hand, if a free vote is given, parliamentarians are allowed to vote guided by their own consciences, though the party often remains a predictor of voting nonetheless (Pattie 1998). A lower cost of dissent on free votes, compared to whipped divisions, affects the frequency with which MPs vote differently to the majority of the party.

This study employs qualitative content analysis to identify minority-related divisions and to cross-reference them with the positions of religious minorities on the matter whilst accounting for the phrasing of the votes.[20] The study is focused on divisions relating to minority issues that saw dissent by minority MPs. These are the most obvious cases used to explore whether a religious minority background impacts on voting. Particular attention is paid to votes that cause a split among religious minority MPs, especially on free votes.

The thematic scope of voting divisions is broader than that of EDMs and WPQs. Although legislation in such areas as anti-terrorism and immigration can be considered to relate to issues of minority concern, its focus is much broader than those of EDMs and WPQs on these issues, and better suited for dealing with the issues of concern to the general population. Votes relating to the Iraq War, for instance, could demonstrate the impact of a Jewish or Muslim background on the voting behaviour of MPs. However, divisions relating to minority issues have rarely occurred between 1997 and 2012. As a result, they provide limited opportunities for analysis.

[20] For instance, rebellion (voting 'aye') on 'the case for war in Iraq is unproven' on February 26, 2003 had more severe policy implications than urging for the second UN Security Council resolution ('aye') on November 25, 2002. On the other hand, voting 'Aye', 'No', or abstention does not mean that an MP accepts, rejects, or is neutral about an issue, rather it depends on the wording of the question, whereby 'Aye' might imply agreeing to reject a motion, and 'No', by contrast, – carrying it on if a proposal is phrased in negative terms.

In order to compensate for the relatively small number of voting divisions and to further explore an impact of a religious minority background on voting, the study of voting behaviour includes free votes on socially controversial issues, such as same-sex marriage, abortion, and euthanasia, which often cause divisions between Catholic MPs and the rest of the House, for instance (March and Hibbing 1987; Cowley and Stuart 2009). It is possible to apply a similar logic to Jewish and Muslim minority MPs. Voting on abortion, embryo research, and euthanasia, for example, could highlight differences between minority and non-minority MPs, especially when party discipline is loosened, and the cost of dissent is lower than on whipped votes.

These topics are used for exploratory purposes only. Using socially sensitive issues aims to compensate for a lack of minority-related votes and their uneven distribution across parliamentary sessions. The selection of EDMs and WPQs on socially sensitive topics for quantitative content analysis using the dictionary-based approach is not sufficiently robust, because the keywords that indicate these concepts in the text have multiple meanings and, therefore, give many false positives.

In the case of EDMs and WPQs, minority issues are easily identifiable and occur more regularly because of these being low-cost parliamentary activities, providing more opportunities for political self-expression and being unlikely to damage political careers. Both motions and questions are rather concise, which requires a strict clarity of focus and so facilitates content analysis. EDMs are largely used for campaigning and the probing of the MPs' attitudes, but rarely become law (Childs and Withey 2004). WPQs ensure the accountability of the Government by scrutinising their policies and legislation,

but are not legislative proposals (Norton 1993a). However, they allow for the making of a political point or the drawing of attention to a certain issue. For minority MPs, they are a perfect avenue for engagement with minority-related issues, once again through a means in which the party discipline is loosened and career costs are low. Content analysis of EDMs and WPQs tabled by Jewish and Muslim MPs identifies how likely they are to engage with minority issues, and how often they do so.

Early Day Motions

Sponsoring a motion implies a stronger commitment to its cause then signing it (House of Commons 2010).[21] Given that proposing an EDM and getting support for it is more labour intensive, an MP's investment of time and effort in sponsoring an EDM shows a strong desire to draw the attention of the House to a certain issue. Therefore, if MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds sponsor motions on topics of minority concern, it reflects their commitment to engage with these issues better than when they sign minority-related EDMs but do not sponsor them. This makes the analysis of the motions sponsored by Jewish and Muslim MPs more relevant to answering the research questions.

The data include 5,160 EDMs sponsored by Jewish, Muslim and the control group of non-minority MPs between 1997 and 2012, including 1,862 EDMs sponsored by non-minority MPs, 3,102 and 196 by MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds, respectively. The motions are collected from Parliament's database (Hansard 1997-2012a). Each EDM constitutes a coding

[21] There is no difference in whether to refer to the proposal of an EDM as 'to sponsor' or 'to table'; these terms are used interchangeably.

unit. It is tested against the keywords that indicate the presence of minority issues in the text.

According to parliamentary procedure, each Member has a right to propose a motion that must be co-sponsored by another MP and can be supported by other Members of the House. The 2010 Ministerial Code states that ministers should consult the whips before sponsoring or signing a motion to ensure that it does not conflict with the ministerial code of conduct (Cabinet Office 2011). The Labour Party introduced the same rule for all Labour Members regardless of their status in the Chamber, but it is rarely enforced. Furthermore, the Speaker and Deputy Speakers do not sponsor or sign EDMs, because they cannot be affiliated with any parliamentary groups and must remain impartial (House of Commons 2010, 4-5). These rules ensure the cohesiveness of ministers whilst limiting their freedom of self-expression. They also impact on the levels of engagement of Jewish and Muslim MPs with minority issues, because many of them have held ministerial roles at some point in their parliamentary career.[22] This explains the uneven distribution of motions across sessions and identity groups in Table 3.4 Throughout the period of analysis the intensity of tabling EDMs grew across MPs from Jewish, Muslims and non-minority backgrounds, which, in the case of Muslim parliamentarians, was a result of their growing number – from one in the 1997 to nine in the 2010 Parliament. The growing number of EDMs also shows a variety of individual opinions of MPs on different policies and political events.

[22] For instance, seven of 11 Muslim Members held leadership roles as Private Parliamentary Secretaries, Junior and Senior Ministers between 1997 and 2012 (Kolpinskaya 2014).

Table 3.4 EDMs sponsored by the MPs in the sample, frequency

Religious background	1997-01	2001-05	2005-10	2010-12	Total
Jewish	244	273	1943	643	3103
Muslim	7	16	117	56	196
Non-minority	96	111	1366	289	1862

Source: Hansard 1997-2012a

The number of motions sponsored by Jewish MPs was relatively stable in the 1997 and 2001 Parliaments (244 and 273, respectively), but increased by eight times, reaching 1,943, between 2005 and 2010. It remained high in the first session of the 2010 Parliament, reaching a third of the 2005 Parliament's rate – 643 motions – within a year and a half. Non-minority parliamentarians from the control group and Muslim members tabled EDMs at a similar rate. The number of EDMs sponsored by MPs from the control group grew from 96 motions tabled during the 1997 Parliament to 111 in the 2001 Parliament. It drastically increased by more than ten times to 1,366 EDMs tabled during the 2005 Parliament. It was followed by a decreasing number of motions in the 2010 Parliament. Finally, Muslims politicians are the least active in sponsoring EDMs, although the dynamic of tabling motions is comparable to the other two groups, whereby it more than doubled from just seven in the 1997 Parliament to 16 in the 2001 Parliament, and increased by nine times to 117 between 2005 and 2010, then falling to 56 during the 2010-12 session. Whilst considering the uneven distribution of the motions across parliamentary session, it is also crucial to keep in mind the differences in the number of EDMs tabled by each identity group – 3,103, 196, and 1,862 motions sponsored by Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs, respectively. The small number of EDMs tabled by

MPs from a Muslim background, in particular, limits the opportunity for generalisation to Muslim or minority parliamentarians, but still holds enough exploratory potential.

For content analysis, the wording of a motion is of primary importance. EDMs are expressed in the form of a resolution, formed of a single sentence not longer than 250 words. Although it is a clear statement, it cannot criticise other Members, Peers, judges or members of the Royal family, nor use unparliamentary language or irony (House of Commons 2010, 2). EDMs are neutral documents, which makes their sentimental (attitudinal) content analysis rather complicated. It particular, this means the analysis must be based on sentence construction to compensate for neutral wording (Laver and Garry 2000; Laver *et al.* 2003). Nonetheless, EDMs map MPs' areas of interest individually and as groups, because their topics often overlap, and it is possible to co-sponsor the motions.

Parliamentary Questions for written answers

WPQs are collected from the publicly available 'Question Books' (Hansard 1997-2012). As the questions being initially stored in html format by sitting day, the G3Split software is used to split them into separate questions, each saved as a separate text file suitable for reading in content analysis software (G3Split undated). In total, 708,429 WPQs tabled during the 1997-98 and 2010-12 sessions are coded for the study. However, the analysis is conducted only on the questions tabled by the MPs in the sample. The WPQs tabled by the MPs are identified and isolated using the QDA Miner content analysis software by the forename and surname of an MP (Provalis Research 2013). Overall, 54,123 questions are used for the analysis. This includes 39,877

WPQs tabled by MPs from a Jewish background and 2,398 by politicians from a Muslim background, along with 11,848 questions asked by the control group of non-minority MPs (Table 3.5).

Table 3.5 WPQs asked by MPs in the sample, frequency

Religious background	1997-01	2001-05	2005-10	2010-12	Total
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

Source: Hansard 1997-2012

Similar to EDMs, WPQs are unevenly distributed across parliamentary sessions and minorities. Table 3.5 shows that the number of WPQs tabled by Jewish parliamentarians between 1997 and 2012, for instance, exceeds the number of those asked by non-minority and Muslim MPs more than three and ten times, respectively. The number of questions also varies across sessions. In the case of Jewish parliamentarians, the numbers of WPQs tripled in the 2001 Parliament, compared with the previous sessions, and have gradually decreased since then. Muslim MPs, by contrast, tabled half as many questions in the 2001 Parliament, compared to the 1997 Parliament. However, the number of WPQs tripled in the 2005 Parliament and rocketed more than seven times in the 2010-12 session. The latter is likely to be the result of the increasing number of Muslim parliamentarians in the Chamber – from four elected in 2005 to nine who took their seats in 2010 – as well as the Labour party's move to the Opposition benches, which increased the intensity of interrogation of the Coalition Government's policies and legislation by the six Labour Muslim

parliamentarians. Finally, the number of WPQs tabled by the control group of MPs dropped by 1.5 in the 2001 Parliament, and remained relatively stable between 2001 and 2012.

This research considers only WPQs because the majority of questions are tabled for written answers, and even oral questions are usually given written answers because of time constraints (Blackburn and Kennon 2003, 374; House of Commons 2010a). Using WPQs, therefore, increases the number of data units, which allows for higher variation among them to compensate for the relatively small sample of MPs in the study. Secondly, WPQs are more detailed than questions for oral answers. This makes them more useful for quantitative content analysis and the qualitative, exploratory study, which helps to contextualise the findings (Saalfeld *et al.* 2011). Finally, the size of WPQs is bigger than that of oral questions, which makes them more comparable with EDMs.

Despite WPQs being usually drafted more concisely than EDMs, they compensate for brevity with frequency (House of Commons 2010a, 3). On occasion, over 1,000 questions are tabled per sitting day, and this number rarely drops below 200 (Sandford 2012, 17). Unlike EDMs, WPQs cannot be co-sponsored and co-signed by other Members (House of Commons 2010a, 3). They can, however, overlap and refer to each other, being partisan in nature and aim 'at the prompting of party colleagues' (Norton 1993a, 195). Similar to EDMs, WPQs 'conform to the existing parliamentary conventions regarding courteous language' (House of Commons 2010a, 3), which makes it harder to identify the attitudes of MPs. Overall, the form and functions of WPQs are rather different from EDMs, which requires an adjustment of the analytic

strategy used in the previous chapter through applying a different coding procedure and controls.

Biographical data

Patterns of voting and tabling EDMs and WPQs on minority issues are explained by drawing upon the biographical and political characteristics of the MPs in the sample. They are collected from Parliament's and The Times Guide to the House of Commons' profiles (Austin 1997; Austin and Hames 2001; Hames and Passmore 2005; The Times 2010). They are contrasted with the data on non-minority, ethnic minority and women parliamentarians obtained from previous research and parliamentary reports (e.g., Riddell 2003; Defries 2004; Cairney 2007; House of Commons 2009; Sutton Trust 2010; Cracknell 2012; Durose *et al.* 2013) and Census data (ONS 2003; ONS 2012). The electoral histories of MPs are examined by drawing upon the typologies of seats and candidacies suggested by Pippa Norris, Joni Lovenduski, and Ivor Crewe (Norris and Lovenduski 1995; Norris and Crewe 1997).

Overall, the data include the political characteristics of Jewish and Muslim MPs, including their party affiliation, types of seats and candidacies by election, as well as their personal characteristics, including age, gender, ethnicity, country of origin, pre-parliamentary political experience, and educational and socio-economic backgrounds. The biographical and political characteristics of the Members are used to enrich the exploratory potential of the study and to extend its explanatory scope. The textual data are coded for quantitative computer-aided content analysis, and the relevant biographical data are re-coded in STATA and declared to be time series cross-sectional (TSCS) data, as well as the content analysis output. Although only the most

suitable characteristics are used in statistical models, the rest of the biographical data are used to inform the qualitative part of the analysis.

Operationalization and measurement

The study employs descriptive statistical analysis and qualitative content analysis to examine voting behaviour, as the small sample of voting divisions related to minority issues does not allow for robust and more sophisticated quantitative analyses. The contents of the EDMs and WPQs are analysed using relational, computer-aided content analysis, as their sample sizes are sufficient for quantitative analysis. The output of the content analysis is merged with quantified biographic characteristics, and analysed as time series cross-sectional (TSCS) data for the frequency and the likelihood of the raising of Jewish and Muslim minority issues by MPs with minority and non-minority religious backgrounds between the 1997 and 2010 parliamentary sessions.

Using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods of text analysis – alongside the statistical analysis of the content analysis output – tackles the research question, and increases the generalizability and explanatory potential of the study (Bruce 2009, 7-28). It uses secondary data and previous research on political engagement and the history of Jewish and Muslim minorities in the UK (e.g., Heath *et al.* 2013; Anwar 2009), as well as interview-based studies of political elites (e.g., Janner and Taylor 2008), and MPs' parliamentary profiles and interviews in the media to contextualise and interpret the research findings.

The quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis inform and supplement each other at all stages of the research. In particular, the

combination of manual and automatic computer-aided coding merges biographical and textual data together, and adapts it for statistical analysis by making it readable in content and statistical analysis packages. Using mixed methods also allows for the construction of a time series cross-sectional (TSCS) dataset that pools together parliamentary records, electoral history, and biographical information, as well as the content analysis output, for further statistical analysis. The content of the voting divisions that address minority issues is also analysed qualitatively, while methods of descriptive statistical analysis are used to examine the voting behaviour of MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds in general.

Triangulation using the appropriate qualitative and quantitative methods, alongside the trustworthiness of the data sources (e.g., Hansard, ONS), and the consistency and replicability of the analysis, all ensure the reliability and validity of this study (Woodhead 2013, February). The validity of the findings is also based on empirical evidence derived from appropriate methodological approaches.

Methods of analysis

The study employs qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection, coding and analysis. Their selection varies by chapter, and is determined by the nature and the sample size of the original data examined in each chapter. This includes dissent on the divisions of voting attended by Jewish and Muslim MPs, as well as the content of EDMs and WPQs tabled by parliamentarians with Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds.

The analysis of voting behaviour is based on the publicly accessible voting records of 38 Jewish and 11 Muslim Members elected between 1997

and 2012, and is focused on the divisions relating to minority issues that saw Jewish and Muslim MPs voting against the party. Taking into consideration the impact of party discipline, they are divided into whipped and free votes (House of Commons 2013).

The analysis is two-fold. First, it examines the level of minority MPs' dissent on whipped and free votes between 1997 and 2012 using descriptive statistics to calculate the proportion of votes on which they voted differently from the majority of the party of all the divisions they attended. The number of votes that witnessed dissent by Jewish and Muslim Members, calculated overall and separately on whipped and free votes, are summarised by identity group and parliamentary session. Dissent is defined as the number of occasions upon which one or more minority MPs voted differently from their party, whereby the vote of the majority of the party is the baseline for the analysis (Norton 1978). The overall level of dissent by party and parliamentary session is based upon the analysis of the voting records of MPs in the control group and previous research (e.g., Cowley 2002; Revolt undated). Second, the study applies thematic qualitative content analysis to identify which minority-related votes caused dissent by minority MPs. Such votes are defined on the basis of Jewish and Muslim community sources, such as the Chief Rabbinate and the Muslim Council of Britain, and previous research. This study explores those that caused the most dissent amongst minority MPs by analysing their content and the type of vote, as well as positions of the Jewish and Muslim minorities on those topics (e.g., the Iraq War, abortion and other life-death choices).

The analysis of low-cost parliamentary activities, including the content of EDMs and WPQs, aims to examine whether and how minority MPs engage

with minority issues in parliamentary behaviour when party discipline is loosened, and the cost of self-expression is lower. As the party whips are mostly disengaged, other factors besides party predictors of parliamentary behaviour, including a religious minority background, might influence the content of questions and motions. Therefore, MPs' biographical records, including their religious backgrounds, legislative roles, constituency types, and party identification and their status in Parliament, are quantified and merged with the content analysis outputs in a TSCS dataset as independent variables for the TSCS data analysis. This increases the explanatory potential of the analyses, and makes it possible to control for the institutional and identity predictors of parliamentary behaviour.

The analysis is focused on the content of the questions and motions in connection to minority interests, rather than the support they receive amongst Members. The notions of 'minority issues' and 'identity' are complex and cannot be reliably defined in a few keywords. That is why relational content analysis, rather than a simple keyword-in-context, is used. It is a mixed method technique that counts keyword frequency and sums them up by topic, which enables the operationalization of complex phenomena, testing them against large amounts of data and producing outputs suitable for statistical analysis. This increases the reliability and the explanatory potential of the analysis.

The relational computer-aided content analysis examines the frequency of references to the concepts (i.e. minority issues) in the EDMs and WPQs tabled by minority and non-minority MPs. The frequency of references to minority issues is defined by the number of hits with minority-related concepts in the motions and questions tabled by the MPs. This measure shows how often

Jewish and Muslim MPs raise minority issues in low-cost parliamentary activities.

It has been suggested that the number of references in such material should be correlated with the number of words in total to ensure construct validity (Krippendorff 2004). This approach cannot be used in this study because EDMs and WPQs follow a certain template that necessitates a fixed word count (House of Commons 2010; House of Commons 2010a). Furthermore, in documents as concise as EDMs and WPQs, a single reference to a minority issue is usually enough to establish the presence such issue in this text unit. Therefore, the trustworthiness of the data and method ensures the reliability of this measure, and testing it against the number of references in the EDMs and WPQs tabled by the control group of MPs improves its validity.

In total, 5,160 EDMs and 408,429 WPQs are coded for content analysis using manual and automatic coding. As the EDMs in the Parliamentary archive are stored in html format, and only one EDM is shown per Member at a time, automatic coding is impossible. EDMs are therefore coded manually by number and date tabled and saved as txt. files that are suitable for reading in content analysis software. Each file includes the EDM body text, information about its main sponsors and the total number of signatures. The EDMs are saved by MP for statistical analysis. The EDMs that are sponsored by more than one MP in the sample are counted for each MP.

WPQs are obtained from Parliament's 'Question Books' (Hansard 1997-2012). Like EDMs, WPQs are initially unsuitable for reading in the content analysis software and require additional coding. This process is more challenging because of the large amount of data and the way it is organised.

Differently from the motions, WPQs are merged in one 'Question Book' per sitting day. This does not allow for the selection of the questions tabled by an MP through any means other than by reading through all of the WPQs tabled per day. This makes manual coding impossible, and adds additional steps to the automatic coding procedure.

The desirable output of the WPQ coding is to have each question asked by the MPs in the sample saved in a txt. file, which includes the number, author and text of the question. First, all 'Question Books', one per sitting day, are saved as txt. files and pooled together to create one txt. file per session. Subsequently, texts in the files are unwrapped to ensure that each question takes three lines only (author, text, and number). Using the GSplit3 software, each file is split on every third line, which is the gap between the questions. Each question is saved in a separate txt. file. The 2001-02 and 2002-03 'Question Books', however, are split on the fourth line because of an extra gap between the author and the text of the question. The WPQs tabled by the MPs in the sample are sorted out by MPs' names, using the QDA Miner content analysis software, and saved by MP per session (Provalis Research 2013). As a result, the WPQ data is organised in the same way as the EDMs, thus making the analysis more consistent and reliable.

The main analytic tool for the relational content analysis is a conceptual dictionary that includes key concepts and indicators (keywords).[23] The

[23] Terms 'concepts' and 'indicators' are a part of the jargon of text analysis. They are not used for the sake of it, but rather to ensure that the terms that appear in the software interface are the same as those used in the study. This is to avoid confusion and to ensure replicability of the research.

dictionary is informed by community-based public bodies and think tanks, religious organisations and academic research.[24]

Six concepts defined by 1,287 indicators are selected (Appendix 2):

- 'British Jewry' – 232 indicators;
- 'British Muslims' – 307 indicators;
- 'Middle East' – 384 indicators;
- 'South Asia' – 159 indicators;
- 'Immigration' – 115 indicators;
- 'Inter-Faith Dialogue' – 90 indicators.

The indicators each reflect both Jewish and Muslim minority-specific and general concerns, and capture the roots of words in order to consider variation in spelling and grammar forms. In practice 1,287 indicators point to several times more words and phrases used in the analysis.

'British Jewry' and 'British Muslims' focus on internal community development, and their needs and interests, as well as their history, socio-economic position and relationship with British society. The indicators are compiled from community sources and previous research.[25] The MCB and the Chief Rabbinate publications provide key terms and facts related to the everyday life of the Jewish and Muslim communities, whereas previous research gives a broader reflection on these minority groups and demonstrates how religious and ethnic terms are used in the British academic and political context. They are defined by several groups of indicators:

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[24] E.g., Holmes 1978; Kosmin and Levy 1983; Alderman 1983; Alderman 1998; Linehan 2000; Endelman 2002; Werbner 2005; Baxter 2006; Field 2007; Modood 2007; Bunzl 2007; Hopkins and Gale 2009; Field 2009; Radcliffe 2004; Bleich 2011; Abbas 2011; Linehan 2012; Woodhead and Catto 2012.

[25] E.g., Kosmin and Levy 1983; Alderman 1983; Alderman 1998; Endelman 2002; Field 2009; Woodhead and Catto 2012, Baxter 2006; Modood 2007; Hopkins and Gale 2009; Abbas 2011.

- Definitions given to religious minorities and their variations (e.g, *Jew*,[26] *Semit*, *Zion* for 'British Jewry' and *Muslim*, *Islam* for 'British Muslims').
- Religion and religious practice related terms (e.g., Torah*, Talmud*, synagogue* for 'British Jewry' and mosque*, Imam*, hijab* for 'British Muslims').
- Ethnicity-related terminology (e.g., Sephardi*, Hasid*, Hebrew for 'British Jewry' and Ahmadiyya, Arab*, Shia*, for 'British Muslims').
- Prominent members of the community (e.g., Montefiore*, Tabachnik* for 'British Jewry' and Maliki*, Sacranie* for 'British Muslims').
- Prominent events and phenomena in Jewish and Muslim minority history in Britain (e.g., Battle of Cable Street for 'British Jewry' and Trinitarian Act* for 'British Muslims').
- Faith-based minority organisations (e.g., Community Security Trust, Union of Orthodox Congregation* for 'British Jewry' and Dawat-e-Islami, MCB* for 'British Muslims').
- 'Anti-Semitism' and 'Islamophobia' related concepts and terms (e.g., Judenhass for 'British Jewry' and Islamophob* for 'British Muslims').[27]

[26] Using asterisk (*) in coding allows searching to all the derivatives from the word. Therefore, primarily roots of the words are coded as indicators. For example, an indicator coded as *Jew* initiates searching for 'Jew', 'Jewish', 'Jews', 'anti-Jewish', or 'pro-Jewish'. Asterisks are not applied when it can cause a misinterpretation of a term. For instance, 'Five Pillars' means 'Five Pillars of Islam', whereas coding it as 'five pillar*' is not an indicator for an Islam-related concept.

[27] E.g., Runnymede Trust 1997; Lambert and Githens-Mazer 2010; Githens-Mazer and Lambert 2010; Holmes 1978; Alderman 1998; Werbner 2005; Modood 2007; Bunzl 2007; Bleich 2011; Linehan 2012.

- Historical events, policies, political leaders and organisations (e.g., Holocaust, pogrom* for 'British Jewry' and *7/7, Hizb-ut-Tahrir* for 'British Muslims').
- People, policies and campaigns targeted to combat discrimination on the grounds of religion (e.g., Emancipation of Jew* for 'British Jewry' and Commission* for Racial Equality for 'British Muslims').

'Middle East' and 'South Asia' draw on the engagement of British Jews and Muslims with their countries of origin. The argument that both minorities are interested in Israel, the Middle East and South Asia is based on their migrant origin and supported by previous research and community leaders' statements.[28] It is based on the concept of transnational migration, which claims that alongside integration in the host society, migrants maintain relationships with their countries of origin (Vertovec 2009). Importantly, the selected indicators do not grasp internal policies, societal structures, and the everyday life of these countries. They focus on foreign affairs and policies, and are Britain-centred, because they aim to reflect issues that enhance the political engagement of Jews and Muslims in Britain rather than in their home countries. The indicators are, therefore, connected with the role of Britain, such as the names of British diplomats, military bases, agreements and protocols sponsored by the UK. The indicators comprise the following areas:

- Geographical terms and landmarks (e.g., Jerusalem, Shatt al-Arab* for 'Middle East' and Kashmir*, Helmand*, Kabul for 'South Asia').
- Terms associated with the South Asian and Middle Eastern countries, such as currency, political bodies, social movements, and legislation

[28] E.g., Weston *et al.* 2003, February; Galchinsky 2008; Galchinsky 2009; Radcliffe 2004; Bunglawala 2005; Sacks 2012; Hudson 2010.

(e.g., Knesset*, *Ba'ath* for 'Middle East' and 055 Brigade, Resolution 1373 for 'South Asia').

- Prominent political and public figures (e.g., Ariel Sharon*, Yasser Arafat*, Saddam Hussein*, Gaddafi* for 'Middle East' and Indira Gandhi*, Karzai*, Pervez Musharraf* for 'South Asia').
- Historical events, political terms and policies associated with the areas (e.g., Camp David*, Gulf War*, oil-for-food for 'Middle East' and Great Game*, Operation Enduring Freedom for 'South Asia').

The concepts of general concern include 'Immigration' and 'Inter-Faith Dialogue'. Both concepts are state-centred and focus upon the legislation, institutions and actors involved, rather than historical and policy issues. The concepts are defined by the following of indicators compiled from academic and community research:[29]

- Immigration and citizenship related terminology (e.g., *EEA national*, asylum claim*, visiting religious worker* for 'Immigration' and Abrahamic faith*, chaplaincy-support for 'Inter-Faith Dialogue').
- Legislation and policies (e.g., Nationality Act*, zero migrat* for 'Immigration' and Community Cohesion, freedom of religious expression, for 'Inter-Faith Dialogue').
- Governmental and non-governmental actors (e.g., National Asylum Support Service*, United Kingdom Border Agenc* for 'Immigration' and Council of Christians and Jews, Christian-Muslim Forum*, Three Faiths* for 'Inter-Faith Dialogue').

[29] E.g., Cantle 2001 and 2008; Woodhead and Catto 2012; Grillo 2010.

This is the rationale behind constructing a conceptual dictionary. It includes words and phrases (indicators) that point at the issues of concern for Jewish and Muslim population (concepts). The dictionary is a tool to check whether these concepts appear on the floor of the Commons and whether these debates are initiated by politicians from minority backgrounds. Using the EDMs and WPQs tabled by MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds as proxies, therefore, allows for broader conclusions regarding whether minority MPs represent minorities at the parliamentary level to be reached.

The dictionary concepts and indicators are tested on samples of the EDM data to ensure that the indicators are relevant and point at one of the six concepts. Altering the dictionary is essential because of the technical differences in the language used by politicians, researchers and activists on minority-related issues which are often sensitive. This is also to account for spelling variations caused by the transliteration of words from Arabic, Yiddish and Hebrew, and discreet styles of parliamentary language. Pilot studies have been conducted on EDMs tabled during the 2002-03 parliamentary debates on the invasion in Iraq, following the 7/7 bombings, and on the EDMs tabled by randomly chosen MPs, including Robert Halfon, Sadiq Khan, and Glenda Jackson. The pilot tests have been very useful and eliminated several concepts, such as 'Crusade', which is used differently by politicians and community leaders. Apparently, in the EDMs context it indicates 'a national crusade for good parenting' (EDM 391 1997-98). On the other hand, some indicators, such as 'Palestin*', work incredibly well (e.g., EDM 304 2010-12). Successful pilot testing shows that the dictionary effectively grasps the notion of 'minority issues' and operationalises them for content analysis.

The relational computer-aided content analysis examines the frequency of references to the concepts (i.e. minority issues) in the EDMs and WPQs tabled by the minority MPs. The frequency of references to minority issues is defined by the number of hits of minority-related concepts in the motions and questions tabled by minority MPs, which shows the level of their engagement with minority issues. The analysis is based on the testing of EDMs and WPQs by MP against the dictionary concepts. The output includes the number of references to each category in each EDM and WPQ. It is saved as an xml. file. The output is recoded as a matrix to reflect the presence/absence of hits with the dictionary for each EDM and WPQ and each concept (0 – no reference; 1 – reference). The values are summed up by MP for the analysis of the frequency of references to minority issues, and then coded as a binary variable for the analysis of maximum likelihood.

The analysis is computer-aided and conducted using the Yoshikoder software (WCFIA 2013). It is a cross-platform multilingual content analysis program developed as part of the Identity Project at Harvard's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. The software is able to load documents, construct and apply content analysis dictionaries, examine keywords-in-context, and perform basic content analyses in different languages including Arabic, Yiddish, and Hebrew. The Yoshikoder works with text documents in various encodings, including Unicode which is used for this study (WCFIA 2013). A significant advantage of the software is that, aside from constructing content analysis dictionaries and conducting the basic content analysis, it produces non-proprietary and human readable xml. and csv. outputs. This

makes the output data suitable for reading in statistical packages, such as SPSS and STATA, which widens exploratory opportunities.

The data is declared to be time series cross-sectional data (TSCS) data to account for the uneven distribution of WPQs and EDMs across sessions.[30] The small sample of 74 MPs (observations) repeated over 14 time periods between 1997 and 2012 gives 621 valid observations.[31] The time variable *t*, defined as a parliamentary session, is identified qualitatively and accounts for the way EDMs and WPQs are stored – by parliamentary session, rather than by calendar year.

The trustworthiness of the data and method ensure the reliability of this measure, while testing it against the number of references in the EDMs and WPQs tabled by the control group assures its validity.

There is no sentimental (attitudinal) element in the analysis. It examines whether minority MPs engage with minority-related issues at all, rather than their attitudes towards them. This limitation is because of the data specifications. The language of the motions tends to be less emotional than that of speeches, or manifestos (Laver *et al.* 2003; Lowe *et al.* 2011). Furthermore, avoiding unparliamentary language is one of the rules for tabling a WPQ and an EDM (House of Commons 2010 and 2010a). The attitudes of MPs, therefore, are poorly articulated in the words which are the main instruments for content analysis. Further research, however, might open up the possibility of analysing the attitudes of MPs through drawing upon the syntax and sentence construction of these texts.

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[30] See Appendix 5 for the STATA command sequence.

[31] There should have been 1,036 observations. However, 415 observations are missing because the TSCS dataset includes only the cases when MP are present in the Commons; some of them have lost their seats or have stood down between 1997 and 2012 (Appendix 1).

Research hypotheses

The analysis argues that if an MP engages with minority issues, it improves the parliamentary representation of their minority group by improving the awareness of the House about minority issues (House of Commons 2009). This argument speaks to group representation literature, implying that a greater number of minority MPs eventually improves the quality of both descriptive and substantive minority representation (e.g., Phillips 1994; Mansbridge 1999). In accordance with the 'transformative' and 'overlooked interests' arguments, MPs from under-represented groups change the institutional environment in order to address and accommodate the issues of concern for their respective groups and normalise MPs' engagement with these issues through leading by example (Phillips 1998; Dovi 2007). This argument is supported by the previous studies that demonstrate the occasional engagement of women and ethnic minority MPs with the topics of interest for women and ethnic minorities in voting (Cowley and Childs 2003; Cowley and Stuart 2010), EDMs (Childs and Withey 2004; Childs and Withey 2006), and WPQs (Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou 2011; Saalfeld and Bischof 2013).

This underlines the primary hypothesis of the study, suggesting that minority parliamentarians are more likely to engage with the issues of concern for their minority group and/or to do so more frequently than MPs from different backgrounds. This hypothesis is tested using the voting records and the content of EDMs and WPQs tabled by minority and a control group of non-minority MPs. If this hypothesis is supported, then MPs from a Jewish or Muslim background are disproportionately more likely to raise the topics of interest for British Jews or Muslims, respectively, in EDMs and WPQs, as well

as to vote on minority-related divisions guided by the positions of their respective minority groups.

If the analyses do not support the primary hypothesis, then minority MPs are not affected by their religious minority backgrounds, which means that the probability, frequency, and mode of their engagement with minority issues does not differ from that of Members from other religious backgrounds. Then, the behaviour of British MPs might be affected by institutional rather than identity predictors, including the effects from party discipline and its parliamentary status, legislative role, and the proportion of minority population in the constituency. The importance of these predictors is supported by previous research, although their relevance varies depending on the parliamentary activity as outlined in Chapter 2.[32]

In particular, party discipline is the main predictor of voting behaviour (Norton 2001; Cowley 2002). Although the previous studies do not demonstrate significant effects from identity predictors on voting on whipped votes, personal views and convictions informed by individual backgrounds are shown to influence voting when free votes are given on such issues as equal rights for homosexuals, euthanasia, and abortion (Marsh and Hibbing 1987; Cowley and Stuart 2010). Drawing upon this evidence, the analysis of voting behaviour expects to find little or no difference in general patterns of cohesion and rebellion among minority and non-minority MPs, because of the infrequency of voting on minority-specific issues and the tightness of party discipline (Marsh and Hibbing 1987; Cowley 2002). However, Jewish and Muslim MPs are expected to vote against the party line on issues of minority

[32] The statistical hypotheses are outlined in Chapters 5 and 6.

concern, especially in free votes, when the party position contradicts the socio-cultural views of their respective faith communities (Bochel and Denver 1970; Clement 2014).

Being the most important predictor of voting, party is, however, less relevant in low-cost activities such as tabling EDMs and WPQs.[33] The latter are mostly affected by MPs' legislative duties and their constituency responsibilities. Drawing upon the previous studies of parliamentary behaviour, these effects are operationalised as a legislative role (Searing 1994), party parliamentary status (Saalfeld 2011), and representing a constituency with a significant minority presence (e.g., Franklin and Norton 1993; Andre *et al.* 2014). The institutional predictors form the backbone of the rival hypotheses.

Given the strong constituency focus of British MPs (Jenny *et al.* 2014, February), representing a constituency with a minority population could encourage minority MPs to engage with the interests of the respective minority group even when his/her religious minority background does not have any effect on such engagement. The analysis, then, expects to find that MPs who represent constituencies with a significant proportion of Jews and/or Muslims are more likely to raise issues of concern for these minority groups in EDMs and WPQs than MPs who represent constituencies without a significant presence of Muslims and Jews. If the hypothesis is supported, then there is a positive relationship between representing a 'minority' type constituency and the likelihood and/or frequency of referring to minority issues in EDMs and

[33] In addition to the evidence from the previous studies (e.g., Saalfeld and Bischof 2013), this has been supported by the early stages of this study. Including the party in the model for the analysis of EDMs and WPQs harms the model fit and make the results of the analysis inconclusive. That is why the model includes the institutional predictors that have been proven more relevant for low-cost parliamentary activities such as a legislative role, the proportion of religious minority groups, and the party parliamentary status.

WPQs. Representing a ‘non-minority’ type constituency, by contrast, is not expected to positively affect the probability of raising minority issues in motions.

The impact of legislative roles on MPs’ engagement with minority issues reflects party and self-control, as well as time constraints on MPs who hold ministerial positions (House of Commons 2010; Kolpinskaya 2015). The term ‘leadership’ (and ‘ministerial’) role refers to well-defined positions that specify the principal goals and behaviour of MPs linking them to a particular set of duties and responsibilities as Ministers, Junior Ministers, Whips, and Parliamentary Private Secretaries (PPSs) (Searing 1994, 199). The Members who do not hold leadership positions are considered backbenchers. Given the time pressure and the constraints of leadership roles, backbenchers are proven to be more active in low-cost activities, especially EDMs (Franklin and Tappin 1977; Nason 2001).

Furthermore, previous studies suggest that low-cost forms of parliamentary behaviour provide avenues for women and ethnic minority MPs to engage with the issues of concern for women and ethnic minority groups respectively (e.g., Childs and Withey 2004; Saalfeld and Bischof 2013). This study expects to find similar patterns in the behaviour of Jewish and Muslims parliamentarians, whereby MPs in leadership positions are less likely to raise issues of minority concern in low-cost activities than backbench Members. If the hypothesis is supported, then there is a negative relationship between holding a ministerial position and the likelihood of raising minority issues in EDMs and WPQs. In this event, the least constrained MPs are more engaged in discussing minority issues than those who hold leadership roles.

Finally, previous studies suggest that low-cost parliamentary activities, especially the content of a WPQ tabled by an MP, can be influenced by whether or not that MP is a member of the Opposition party or the party of Government. This argument is based on the nature and purpose of WPQs as a tool for holding the Government accountable and probing ministers on the Government's legislation and policies, which is shaped by the dichotomy between the Government and the Opposition (Norton 1993, 195). Given that WPQs ensure the accountability of the Government and scrutinise its decisions, being in Opposition or Government is expected to affect the number and content of Parliamentary Questions; MPs from the Opposition parties are likely to ask more questions than those on the Government benches. Furthermore, given the prominence of the Iraq war, immigration and community cohesion in the parliamentary debates, they are also more likely to ask minority-related questions, whereas the Government might want to maintain the integrity of the party and refrain from interrogating the Ministers on sensitive topics, including minority issues.

The final hypothesis of the study, therefore, suggests that MPs from the Opposition parties are more likely to raise issues of concern for Jewish and Muslim minorities in the Parliamentary Questions for written answers and/or do so more frequently than Members from the party of Government. If the hypothesis is supported, then there is a positive relationship between being in Opposition and the frequency and/or likelihood of MPs' referring to minority issues in WPQs. In this event, being in Opposition stimulates Members to interrogate the Government ministers on policies and legislation in general, consequently stimulating the discussion of minority issues. MPs from the

Government party, with the exception of some backbenchers, avoid discussion of sensitive topics that can undermine party integrity and the Government's work.

In summary, if the primary hypothesis of the study is supported, then MPs from a religious minority background 'act for' their respective groups on the floor of the House by substantively engaging with the issues of minority concern in high- and/or low-cost parliamentary behavior. If, however, there is no evidence that a religious minority background influences MPs' behaviour, then having a certain religious background is an insufficient stimulus for a minority MP to raise minority issues in Parliament. If institutional predictors, by contrast, impact on parliamentary behaviour, it demonstrates the superiority of institutional over identity-driven predictors.

Hypotheses testing

The statistical hypotheses outlined in Chapters 5 and 6 are tested using Prais-Winsten regression analysis for analysing the frequency of references to minority issues, and the analysis of maximum likelihood (random-effect (Gaussian) logistic regression) to examine the likelihood of MPs raising these issues in EDMs and WPQs.

The specifications of the data, their dynamics, and heteroscedasticity favour the use of Prais-Winsten regression with standard error search and clustering to analyse whether the frequency of raising minority issues in EDMs and WPQs is affected by having a certain background or legislative role, representing a 'minority' constituency, or being in Opposition (Wooldridge 2013; Beck and Katz 2004, July). The analysis is conducted on ordinal dependent and dichotomised independent variables. It is based on the

generalized least-squares method to estimate the parameters in a series of regression models, in which the errors are serially correlated (panel-corrected standard error method as in Beck and Katz 1995; Beck and Katz 2004, July).

The analysis of maximum likelihood is conducted on dichotomised dependent and independent variables in a series of regression models. This analysis examines whether having a certain religious background, holding a certain legislative role, representing a constituency with a significant minority population and, in the case of WPQs, being in Opposition, make an MP more likely to raise issues of minority concern (Becketti 2013).

Finally, the distribution of references to minority issues in WPQs and EDMs tabled by MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds across parliamentary session is presented graphically. Mean averages, rather than the absolute number of references, are used to account for the uneven distribution of motions and questions across sessions and identity groups, as well as the uneven number of MPs in each group. The results are interpreted by drawing upon the qualitative analysis of the EDMs and WPQs and contextualised using secondary data and previous research.[34]

Conclusion

Setting up the grounds for the empirical element of the thesis, this chapter gives an outline of the data and methodology to be used and links them to the research questions. It outlines the criteria for sampling Jewish, Muslim and a control group of non-minority MPs, and explores the personal

[34] For details of the detailed description of statistical analysis see Chapter 5 and 6.

characteristics of Members of Parliament from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds.

The chapter introduces the data and methodology of the research introducing the voting records, EDMs, WPQs and the biographical characteristics of the MPs as the main types of data. Overall, the content of 96 voting divisions, 5,160 EDMs and 408,729 WPQs is tested against the personal characteristics of the MPs in the sample obtained from Parliament's web-site.

The methods of analysis are selected with regard to the specifications of the data. Because of a relatively small sample size of minority-related voting divisions, they are examined using qualitative content analysis supplemented with the descriptive statistical analysis of minority MPs' voting behaviour.

Low-cost parliamentary activities, including EDMs and WPQs, are examined using relational dictionary-based, computer-aided content analysis. The content analysis output is merged with the biographical characteristics of MPs and declared to be TSCS data. The numbers of references to minority issues are tested against having a certain background and legislative role, as well as being in Opposition and representing a constituency with a significant proportion of minority population. The series of Prais-Winsten regressions with panel-correlated standard errors have been used to test for the frequency of references to minority issues, and random-effects logistic regressions have been applied to examine the likelihood of such engagement.

The results of the voting behaviour analysis and the analysis of low-cost parliamentary activities are explained by drawing upon secondary sources and previous research. They are illustrated with the relevant examples from the voting records, motions and questions.

Chapter 4

Examining the Effect of Religious Background on High-Cost Activities: Voting Behaviour

The empirical part of this research examines whether and how minority MPs represent minority interests, by exploring the engagement of Jewish and Muslim MPs with minority issues and comparing their behaviour to the behaviour of a control group of non-minority parliamentarians. As outlined in the previous chapter, this study focuses on the analysis of voting behaviour and the content of EDMs and WPQs.

Of these three, voting is the most prominent in terms of the public attention it receives (e.g., media and live coverage of votes, expert features), its importance for public policy, and, therefore, understanding the behaviour of MPs. Although there are many steps to the legislative process, and each proposal goes through various preparation stages, voting opens the way for it to become a law and a part of public policy. The straightforward link between parliamentary voting and policy-making puts voting behaviour in the spotlight of academic and public interest whilst re-asserting the policy impact of Parliament (Russell and Benton 2009). Political parties, in turn, appreciate its significance and aim to maintain the integrity of the party by voting with tight party discipline, using it as a public manifestation of party unity, as well as a means to pass or oppose legislation. Despite the party constraints on voting, occasionally MPs defy the party whips. Such unusual behaviour is revealing with regard to the policy preferences of legislators, and the topics that attract their interest, as well as the cohesiveness of the party (Spirling and Quinn

2010). Altogether this informs the understanding of parliamentary behaviour, its predictors, and their impact on parliamentary representation in general.

Commencing the empirical analysis of MPs' engagement with minority issues from voting – the most disciplined form of parliamentary behaviour – allows an exploration of whether and to what extent minority MPs engage with minority issues when the cost of self-expression is highest. The analysis is based on the argument that Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians engage with the issues of concern for their respective minorities, though the level of such engagement is affected by party and parliamentary constraints. Given that voting is tightly constrained by party discipline, it is expected that the level of engagement of minority MPs with minority issues will be the lowest in voting, but higher in EDMs and WPQs. Therefore, the empirical analysis moves from the lowest to higher levels of engagement with minority issues, starting from the study of voting behaviour and moving on to the analysis of low-cost parliamentary activities.

Focusing on the voting records of MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds and a control group of non-minority politicians between 1997 and 2012, this chapter examines the cohesiveness of minority and non-minority MPs in general and when voting on minority issues.

The study is largely focused on cases when minority MPs voted differently from the majority of the party, which could be a traceable manifestation of their beliefs driven by their religious minority backgrounds and views of their minority groups. It is especially significant if these opinions are so strong that they lead to minority MPs voting against the majority of the party. Using a Jewish or Muslim background to explain dissent on minority-

related divisions (e.g., motions on immigration legislation, the invasion in Iraq, abortion) reveals the impact that a religious minority background has on voting.[35] Religious identity-centred explanations of voting are common, and have proven to be useful. For instance, previous research has established that Catholic parliamentarians take a more socially conservative position when voting on abortion (Cowley and Stuart 2010; Baughman 2004). This argument and identity-centred explanations can also be applied to explain the voting behaviour of Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians on minority issues.

There is no reason to expect differences in the cohesiveness of minority and non-minority parliamentarians in general, because of the infrequency of voting on minority-specific issues and the tightness of party discipline. However, this chapter proceeds on the expectation that Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians vote against the party line on issues of minority concern, especially in free votes, when the party position clashes with the socio-cultural values and views of the Jewish and/or Muslim faith communities. In this case minority MPs' dissent is a reflection of the protest of religious minorities against proposed legislation expressed in a notable and politically meaningful way. If these arguments are supported by the analysis, then minority MPs are shown to perform for their minority groups in voting.

The results of the voting behaviour analysis support the first part of the argument; the levels of cohesiveness of politicians from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds are comparable to those of non-minority MPs. They rarely rebel and almost never vote against the party line on whipped divisions relating to

[35] A 'division' refers to an occasion that divides the House, hence, voting on a motion, whereby some of MPs vote 'aye' (yes), and others vote 'no' (against the motion). If an MP casts votes in both lobbies, it qualifies as abstention in practice because his/her 'aye' and 'no' votes cancel each other out. However, in theory MPs are not allowed to abstain. In the chapter a 'division' and a 'vote' are used interchangeably.

minority issues. On free votes, the level of dissent is higher because the party whips are disengaged, and MPs are supposed to vote guided by their own reason and conscience. Additionally, the topics of such votes encourage more independent behaviour, for instance including voting on life-death choices.

In these cases, minority MPs tend to take more liberal positions than their minority groups, and at times their parties, suggest. The analysis demonstrates that parliamentarians from Jewish or Muslim backgrounds do not consistently represent the positions of their respective faith communities on minority issues, and do not oppose the party line when it is inconsistent with those views. Instead, MPs from minority backgrounds largely conform to the party on minority-related votes, and when they vote against the majority of the party (such as in relation to euthanasia or embryo research), they vote for a more liberal stance on such issues, than that supported either by the party or their minority group.

Data and methods

The analysis of minority MPs voting behaviour is based on the publicly available voting records of 38 Jewish, 11 Muslim, and 25 non-minority (control group) parliamentarians collected from Public Whip and the House of Commons. It is focused on 96 divisions that witnessed dissent by one or more Jewish or Muslim MPs that are divided into 67 whipped and 29 free divisions (Appendix 3).

An MP's decision to vote against the majority of the party is affected by the strength of their personal motivation and the consequences for their political careers. Whereas personal motivations can be affected by religious minority backgrounds, the consequences of non-conformity with the party line

are determined by the party discipline and its reinforcement. It differs for whipped and free votes.

Although it is essential to identify which votes are free, it is not always easy. Answering Alice Mahon's question, on whether a free vote can be given on amendments dealing with religious hatred and blasphemy by the Labour Party, for instance, Michael Martin – the Speaker at a time – stated that 'As far as the Speaker is concerned, all votes are free' (HC Deb 2004-05, 1200). In practice, the party members are instructed – or whipped – to vote in a certain way by the party whips on some divisions, whereas in some instances they are allowed to vote as they wish and are not controlled by the parties' whips (Walpole and Kelly 2008). Therefore, the difference between whipped and free votes is in the level of party control, and the consequences for voting against the party line (or against the majority of the party on free votes). The party whips ensure party cohesion on whipped votes by briefing MPs on the party position (Walpole and Kelly 2008). This makes a rebellion a serious violation of party discipline, which implies defying the party whip (Cowley 2002, 12). Rebellion on whipped votes significantly worsens an MP's promotion prospects and could result in limitations on their rights to participate in parliamentary activities. This might eventually lead to the withdrawal of the party whip (removing them from membership of the parliamentary party) and even threaten an MP's re-election prospects. The severity of penalty for defying the party whip depends on an MP's position and career stage, as well as the topic of the voting (e.g., the penalties for backbench Tories voting against the Budget are much more severe than for those voting against welfare

reform). Party discipline and the effectiveness of its enforcement are crucial for maintaining party unity in voting.

Free votes, on the other hand, are given by the party managers to allow MPs to vote according to their beliefs and conscience on sensitive topics, such as voting rights for prisoners, abortion, or euthanasia (Pattie et al. 1998). Although discipline is loosened, parties usually maintain their integrity in voting. This reflects on the similar ideological positions among Members of the same party; Liberal Democrats, for instance, reflect their libertarian views, and Conservatives take more socially conservative positions even when the party whips are disengaged. Keeping in mind party ideology, therefore, helps to identify the party position and explain why MPs often remain loyal to the party ideology even when they have a right to disagree (Norton 2001).

Despite there being a relatively clear definition of a free vote, it is not obvious on which divisions it is given, as the weekly whip sent to Members of Parliament is confidential (House of Commons 2013). Parties, however, often make it clear when a free vote is given by either informing Hansard clerks in the Commons, or publishing the whip on the party web-site (Public Whip undated). In this chapter, free votes are identified on the basis of the Parliamentary Information List that contains known free votes for Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat Members in the Commons since November 1997 (House of Commons 2013). It is important to keep in mind that some of the votes counted as whipped could be regulated by the whips loosely, for instance, the Gender Recognition Bill on 25 May 2004, the Protection of Freedom of Expression (sexual orientation) on 9 January 2008, or the Termination of Pregnancy (Counselling and Miscellaneous Provisions) on

5 June 2007. They fit the definition of a conscience (free) vote, yet are not listed in the Parliamentary Information List (House of Commons 2013). That is why, although there is some margin for error, these votes are defined as whipped on the basis of reliable parliamentary documentation.

This rather conservative approach could lead to an under-estimation of the number of free votes and counting some of them as whipped. However, it minimises the possibility of falsely counting whipped votes as free, whilst adhering to the use of official parliamentary documents to ensure the reliability and consistency of the data and data sources. Falsely counting whipped votes as free would be a more severe mistake to make, as it could potentially give far more significance to an MP's dissent on such votes than is warranted. Finally, whipped votes are not listed in parliamentary records, while there is a Parliamentary Information List that includes all the known free votes and is the main source of data to identify votes of conscience. Simply put, this approach is not flawless, but it is the best available given a lack of publicly available and reliable data regarding the party whip.

Using both whipped and free votes in the analysis accounts for differences between the two types of voting, and shows whether the effect on non-party predictors, including a religious minority background, becomes stronger when party discipline is loosened.

Despite whipped votes being held on the most important legislative proposals and policy issues, free votes are often allowed on issues of particular concern for religious minorities, on which they differ from the general population, including euthanasia, abortion, and gay rights. Divisions of minority concern are identified by drawing upon Jewish and Muslim minority

sources and previous research (e.g., Bunglawala 2005; MCB 2008; Sacks 2008; Alderman 1983; Alderman 1998; Anwar 1998; Anwar and Werbner 1991; Clements 2014).

The operationalization of minority issues for the analysis is based on the same sources and techniques used for creating the conceptual dictionary for content analysis (see Chapter 3 and Appendix 2). Minority issues include community-related concepts, such as the British Jewry and British Muslims, areas of foreign affairs relating to the Middle East and South Asia, and the issues of concern for religious minorities and the general public, including immigration and the inter-faith dialogue.

These concepts are used to identify minority related voting divisions. For instance, MPs' engagement with the Middle East is examined by drawing upon the analysis of the Iraq-related votes, such as voting on the UN Security Council Resolution 1441 on 25 November 2002, 'Case for war is unproven' on 26 February 2003, 'Support for the Government' on 26 February 2003, 'Case for war not established' on 18 March 2003, and the Declaration of War on 18 March 2003. Community cohesion, especially on Muslim-related issues, on the other hand, is closely connected with voting on anti-terrorism and extremism prevention legislation, such as the Terrorism Act 2006 (Disapplication of Section 25) Order 2010 on 14 July 2010, the Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Bill on 21 November 2001, the Prevention of Terrorism Bill on 28 February 2005, the Terrorism Bill on 2 November 2005 and 9 November 2005, and the Counter-Terrorism Bill on 11 June 2008. That is because of the growing 'securitisation' of minority, especially Muslim-related, issues in public and political debate after the start of the anti-terrorist operation in

Afghanistan, the invasion of Iraq and the July 2005 London bombings (DeHanas *et al.* 2010; O'Toole *et al.* 2013). Finally, MPs' engagement with the issues of concern for the general public and religious minorities, such as immigration, is reflected in voting on the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Bill on 5 November 2002, and the Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants, Etc.) Bill on 1 March 2004, for example.

In addition to community-related issues and foreign affairs, the analysis includes free votes on socially controversial topics, such as homosexual rights, abortion, embryo research, and euthanasia.[36] The reason for examining free votes on socially controversial issues is two-fold. First, under loosened party discipline, MPs are allowed to vote according to their personal beliefs and reasons. The analysis of free votes on homosexual rights and life-death choices are more telling about the personal voting preferences of MPs, and how representative these voting choices are of the respective minority groups. Voting against the party line on free votes is less damaging for their political careers than rebelling on whipped votes, which can make them more likely to reflect their religious minority backgrounds or respond to the views of faith communities. Second, previous research suggests that there are differences in voting between Catholic parliamentarians and the rest of the House on abortion, even when differences on other votes are negligible (Baughman 2004). The same logic can be applied to politicians from Jewish and Muslim religious backgrounds, bearing in mind that positions of the Chief Rabbinate

[36] These topics are not covered in the analysis of low-cost parliamentary activities as the vagueness and multiple contextual meanings of the key indicators (such as 'life', 'abort', and 'marriage') can lead to false positives, making the results of the quantitative content analysis unreliable. However, using a qualitative technique of textual analysis of these voting divisions contributes to the analysis of voting behaviour because of the relatively small number of votes under analysis, compared to the sample sizes of EDMs and WPQs

and Muslim religious leaders on these issues are usually as conservative as those of the Holy See (Schenker 2000). As a result, it is likely that the voting of Jewish and Muslim MPs – especially practicing Muslims and Jews – on life-death choices clashed with the views of the majority of their parties whilst echoing the concerns of faith communities.

In the cases of whipped and free minority-related divisions, it is important to keep in mind that their topics and target audiences are much broader than those of EDMs and WPQs, and nether of the divisions is tailored specifically to address the issues of Jewish and Muslim concern, rather than the broader political issues relevant to the whole country. However, the analysis of the divisions that are linked to minority issues, such as combating prejudice and xenophobia, immigration, and the UK's involvement in regions of historical origin for Jewish and Muslim minorities, as well as voting by minority MPs on these divisions, demonstrates the level of their engagement in debates relating to these topics on the floor of the House. Furthermore, the analysis focuses on the dissent, rather than the cohesion, of MPs and so allows for an exploration of whether MPs' disagreement with the party has been in any way connected to their religious minority backgrounds and the positions of their respective minority groups.

Finally, in order to account for the differences in the voting behaviour of minority parliamentarians on the issues of concern for religious minorities and for the population in general, the study divides the 96 divisions into 'minority-related' and 'general' whilst keeping the whipped-free votes divide. Overall, the chapter examines 21 whipped and 12 free minority-related divisions – alongside 46 whipped and 17 free divisions on issues of general

concern – that witnessed dissent by MPs from Jewish and/or Muslim backgrounds (Appendix 3).

It is important to account for the specifications and limitations of the data and the analysis. First and foremost, the chapter examines how MPs vote on minority-related divisions, and whether their behaviour differs from those of non-minority politicians. However, the analysis does not account for the success of rebellions. The outcome of the vote is not the focus of the study; it aims to explore how minority MPs' engage with minority issues in voting, rather than to test their success in promoting minority interests. That is why the frequency of minority MPs' dissent and the content of the divisions that witnessed their dissent, rather than outcome of those votes, are of primary interest to this chapter.

Secondly, the analysis accounts for the status of an MP's parliamentary party. Being a member of the Government or the Opposition party affects the cost of dissent, which is much higher for a rebel in the Government party as it is more visible and open to criticism. Maintaining party unity in voting whilst in Opposition is simpler – the Opposition is unified in their desire to defeat the Government and stay united in the eyes of the voters. The Labour Party was in Government for the most of the research period – between 1997 and 2010, and was replaced by the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition Government after the 2010 General Election.

Finally, the identification of dissent, its severity and the effect of a religious minority background on voting is greatly dependent upon the phrasing of votes. For instance, rebellion ('aye') on 'Case for war in Iraq is unproven' on February 26, 2003 had more severe policy implication than

urging for the second UN Security Council resolution (‘aye’) on November 25, 2002. Furthermore, voting ‘Aye’, ‘No’, or abstention does not necessarily mean that an MP accepts, rejects, or is neutral about an issue, rather it depends on the wording of the question. ‘Aye’ might imply agreeing to reject a motion, and ‘No’, by contrast, to accepting it if a proposal is phrased in negative terms.

Particular attention is paid in the analysis to votes that cause a split among religious minority MPs, especially on free votes regarding socially controversial issues, such as gay marriage, abortion, or euthanasia (Marsh and Hibbing 1987; Cowley and Stuart 2010). These cases reflect the impact of an MP’s religious minority background on voting when party discipline is loosened, and the cost of dissent is much lower than on whipped votes.

The analysis of whether and how MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds engage with minority issues in voting is conducted in two stages.

First, the study examines the frequency of the dissent by Jewish and Muslim MPs overall, and on whipped and free votes, compared with the control group of non-minority MPs. There is no reason to believe that religious minority parliamentarians are less cohesive in voting than non-minority ones, considering that they are under the same pressures of party discipline. However, it is important to empirically prove and demonstrate this before moving on to the content analysis of the votes.

The analysis uses descriptive statistics to find the proportion of votes when MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds voted against the majority of the party between 1997 and 2012, and to compare their voting records to the control group. The frequency of dissent is defined as the number of occasions on which an MP voted differently from the majority of the party (Norton

1978). It is calculated as the proportion of such votes cast out of the total divisions attended by each identity group, including Jewish, Muslim and non-minority, and further broken down by party and Parliament (Table 4.1).

After estimating the overall frequency, the frequencies of dissent for whipped and free votes are presented separately in Table 4.2 to reflect differences in the two types of voting (Pattie *et al.* 1998; Walpole and Kelly 2008; House of Commons 2013). The data are presented by actual number, as the small number of cases would make using percentages misleading, and explained using the ratios of whipped to free votes that witnessed dissent by minority and non-minority MPs in each Parliament. The analysis is linked to the content of the following sections that examine the content of whipped and free divisions. The results are contextualised using previous research on parliamentary voting and rebellion (e.g., Cowley 2002; Revolt undated).

Minority MPs' dissent reflects how cohesive they are in voting and how often they disagree with the majority of the party. The analysis accounts for the types of votes (whipped or free), but does not weight votes against the majority of the party regarding their potential to defeat the Government, or the stage of the bill for which the motion is put forward. The first part of the analysis aims to understand how often minority MPs publically disagree with the majority of the party overall, and on whipped and free votes, and whether the levels of dissent differ from the frequency of dissent by the control group.

The second part of the analysis focuses specifically on minority issues that caused dissent by minority parliamentarians. It explores which minority-related divisions caused dissent among Jewish and/or Muslim parliamentarians, and links them to minority issues by drawing upon the content analysis of the

divisions that witnessed Jewish and/or Muslim MPs rebelling in some way. Owing to the small number of minority-related divisions in the sample – 21 whipped and 12 free – the content analysis is conducted qualitatively. Sections on whipped and free minority-related divisions examine the content of the vote, the meaning of the dissent, and the positions of both the party and the respective minority group on the matter. The party vote, defined as the vote of the majority of the party, is a baseline for the analysis, and deviations from it are considered to be an act of dissent. The positions of faith communities are identified on the basis of official community sources and reports produced by recognised faith-based bodies (e.g., the Muslim Council of Britain, the Chief Rabbinate, and the Board of Deputies).

The chapter considers whether or not Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians vote against the majority of the party on minority-related issues, driven by their personal beliefs and encouraged by the positions of the Jewish and/or Muslim faith-based NGOs. Personal motivation is expected to encourage minority MPs' engagement with minority issues on free votes when the party discipline is loosened, whereas strong party discipline will most likely outweigh personal motives on whipped votes, as suggested by the research on Catholic MPs (Baughman 2004).

Conformists or Dissenters?

Members of Parliament are usually cohesive in voting because of its importance for the legislative process and the party's public image. Legislative proposals are usually initiated by the Government, formed by the party that won the most parliamentary constituencies at the General Election. Holding the majority of seats in the Chamber allows the Government to pass their

legislation, which reflects the effectiveness of the majoritarian political system. However, the parliamentary majority is not always enough. Strict party discipline, especially on whipped votes, aims to ensure the cohesiveness of the party in passing that legislation. Cohesive voting within the Government parliamentary party enables the Government to deliver the policies promised before the General Election and demonstrates party unity, which is crucial for its image given the ongoing scrutiny of the leading party and its political decisions in the media.

For Opposition parties, cohesion in voting is as important. A strong party vote also improves the party image among the voters, and increases the Opposition's chances to defeat the Government's bills. The latter had been exceptional events in British parliamentary practice between 1945 and 1970, but became increasingly more common between the 1970s and 1990s (Cowley 2002, 4-5), and even more so in the early 2000s. The 2010 General Election, which resulted in the first Coalition Government since World War II, has opened an era when 'rebellion has become the norm, cohesion the exception' (Cowley and Stuart 2010, November 8).

This section examines the voting behaviour of parliamentarians with Jewish and Muslim backgrounds and examines the frequency of their dissent on whipped and free votes between 1997 and 2012, in order to understand if there are differences in voting between them and the rest of House in general. The level of cohesiveness of minority MPs and its consistency with the overall trend reflects their acceptance of their party's ideology, policies and regulations. Although this does not necessarily indicate their disengagement from minority issues, it certainly limits their opportunities in representing

Jewish and Muslim minorities by making them less likely to stand up to the party when its position clashes with that of minority groups.

On the whole, the voting behaviour of Members from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds replicate the patterns of behaviour among non-minority politicians. They rarely defy the party whip, and usually support the majority of the party, even on free votes. However, there have been slight changes across minorities and parties that correspond to general party trends. For instance, as dissatisfaction with the Labour Party leadership increased between 1997 and 2010, the level of dissent among Labour parliamentarians, including Jewish and Muslim MPs, grew accordingly. The dissent by Conservative Members also sharply increased after the 2010 General Election (Cowley and Stuart 2010, November 8).

Table 4.1 demonstrates the proportion of cases when Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians voted differently from the majority of the party out of the overall number of whipped and free divisions they attended between 1997 and 2012. The data is presented by Parliament and MPs' religious background, showing how the proportion of votes against the majority of the party cast by Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians changed between the 1997, 2001, 2005 and 2010 Parliaments. It is compared to the control group of non-minority MPs, which reflects the overall level of dissent among the Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat members. Accounting for the party, the table includes Labour, Tory and Lib Dem politicians from a Jewish background, Labour and Conservative Muslim MPs, and the control group of 25 parliamentarians from the three main parties. The proportion of dissent is calculated by dividing the number of votes that witnessed Jewish, Muslim and

non-minority MPs voting differently from the majority of the party by the sum of divisions attended by Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs, multiplied by 100.[37]

Table 4.1 Votes that witnessed dissent by the MPs in the sample, per cent

	Jewish			Muslim		Non-minority		
	Lab	Con	LD	Lab	Con	Lab	Con	LD
1997 Parliament	0.6	0.6	2	0.8	-[38]	0.7	0.8	3
2001 Parliament	1.2	1.1	2	1	-	2.2	1	3.2
2005 Parliament	1.3	2.2	0.6	1.3	-	2.3	1.5	2.1
2010 Parliament	0.3	1.7	1.4	0.5	0.1	0.9	2.5	5.6

Source: Data collected from the Public Whip (undated).

The frequency of dissent among the control group of non-minority parliamentarians varies depending on the party and its parliamentary status and reflects the dynamics of dissent within each party between 1997 and 2012 (Table 4.1). For instance, cohesion in voting was much stronger among the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats when they were in Opposition. Tory MPs voted against the majority of the party on whipped and free votes on less than two per cent of votes, and the level of dissent among Lib Dems was around three per cent between 1997 and 2010 when both parties were in Opposition. The dissent among Labour more than tripled during the New Labour period, whereby the cases of non-minority MPs voting against the

[37] The data is presented in percentages, rather than actual number, which makes outlining of the trends in dissent by Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs clearer. The number of votes attended by Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs, as well as the number of cases when they voted against the majority of the party, can be found in Appendix 3.
[38] There was no Muslim Conservative MPs elected before the 2010 General Election.

majority of the party increased from 0.7 to 2.3 per cent between 1997 and 2010. Although free votes were given more often between 1997 and 2010 (House of Commons 2013), which is partly responsible for a comparatively high dissent rate among Lib Dems, the numbers show a growing lack of consensus within Labour while in Government. However, after the 2010 General Election they restored the cohesiveness of the party, and the number of cases where non-minority MPs voted against the party line dropped by half. The level of dissent among the Conservatives and Liberal Democrats who formed the Coalition Government, on the other hand, grew to 2.5 and 5.6 per cent, respectively.

Although the proportion of votes against the majority of the party in relation to the overall number of divisions attended does not exceed six per cent for any of the three parties, the data indicates the direction and strength of dissent among non-minority parliamentarians. This coincides with the parliamentary status of the parties. The dissent within the Labour Party grew between 1997 and 2010, and decreased after the 2010 General Election when Labour moved to the Opposition benches. The Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties were also rather cohesive in Opposition between 1997 and 2010 (e.g., Cowley and Stuart 2005, April 10; Cowley and Stuart 2010, January 5), and turned more rebellious after forming the Coalition Government in May 2010. As Table 4.1 shows, the dynamics of dissent among Jewish and Muslim politicians from the three parties resemble that of the control group, with the exception of the Conservative Jewish MPs who are more cohesive than the party in general.

Similar to the control group, the proportion of votes against the majority of the party cast by Labour Jewish MPs doubled in the 2001 Parliament compared to the previous period, and continued growing in the 2005 Parliament. Although at a slower rate, the dissent by Muslim MPs also grew between 1997 and 2010. However, after peaking in the 2005 Parliament – 1.3 per cent for Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians – Labour MPs' voting against the majority of the party dropped to only 0.3 and 0.5 per cent for Jewish and Muslim politicians, respectively, in the 2010-12 session. Muslim parliamentarians have been more cohesive than Jewish Labour MPs, with the exception of the 2010 Parliament, although this small difference in 0.2 percent could be a coincidence.

The dissent by Jewish Conservative MPs was on the rise between 1997 and 2010; doubling in each subsequent Parliament from 0.6 in the 1997 to 2.2 in the 2005 Parliament (Table 4.1). However, in the 2010-12 session the level of their dissent decreased to 1.7 per cent, which was almost one per cent lower than non-minority MPs. Furthermore, the first elected Muslim Conservative MPs also demonstrated remarkable unity with the party in voting, having voted against the majority of the party on only 0.1 per cent of divisions they attended. That contradicted the overall level of dissent among the party MPs, which has been recorded as the highest post-war rate because of the dissatisfaction of the backbenchers with the party leadership and the Coalition Government (Morris 2011, December 30; Cowley and Stuart 2010, November 8).

That was the result of a high ratio of frontbenchers among Jewish Conservative politicians, such as Jonathan Djanogly, Grant Shapps, Michael

Fabricant, and Brooks Newmark,[39] and ministerial aspirants wishing to enhance their parliamentary careers, for instance, Michael Ellis and Robert Halfon.[40] As a result, there were only three Conservative Jewish backbenchers consistently opposing the Government in the 2010-12 session, including Dr. Julian Lewis, Zac Goldsmith, and Karl McCartney. Finally, neither of the Tory Muslim parliamentarians defied the party whip, which could be because of a lack of political experience, the increasing effectiveness of party discipline, or a reluctance to harm their prospects for re-election given that two of them were elected from very safe constituencies. Alternatively, their aspiration could be to be promoted to the frontbench (e.g., Sajid Javid), for which cohesiveness in voting is a requirement.

The Liberal Democrat Party was the most cohesive Opposition party. However, the voting of Liberal Democrat Jewish parliamentarians between 1997 and 2012 only partly support this statement. The proportion of votes against the majority of the party cast by Lib Deb Jewish MPs was one per cent lower than that of non-minority politicians between 1997 and 2005 (Table 4.1). However, the gap widened in the 2005 and 2010 Parliaments, and in the 2010-12 session Jewish Members appeared to be almost four times more cohesive than non-minority MPs as a result of creating the Coalition Government, which had a devastating effect on party cohesion, and pushed the level of dissent to

[39] Jonathan Djanogly was a Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Justice, Grant Shapps was a Minister of State at the Department for Communities and Local Government between 2010 and 2012 and then became a Minister without Portfolio, and the whips – Michael Fabricant (2005-2010) and Brooks Newmark (2007-2012). The latter became a Parliamentary Secretary at the Cabinet Office in 2014.

[40] Ministerial aspirants are identified using the typology suggested by Donald Searing (1994) on the basis of MPs' membership in the Select Committees and proven party loyalty. Both Karl McCartney and Robert Halfon rarely vote against the party line – 1.7 and 2.6 per cent in 2010 Parliament, respectively. Their expertise and insights reflected in the Select Committees is also rather wide, e.g., McCartney is a member of the Transport Committee and Halfon – of the Public Administration Committee. The membership in the nation-focused yet specialised Committee often signals ministerial ambitions (Searing 1994, 103-106).

the extraordinary 28 per cent on whipped divisions among the party overall (Cowley and Stuart 2010, November 8).[41] For Lib Dem Jewish MPs, on the other hand, it increased only a little – to 1.4 per cent of all the votes attended by the two parliamentarians.

The cohesiveness of Liberal Democrat politicians from a Jewish background was largely the result of institutional constraints and the limitations of their legislative roles. For instance, Lynne Featherstone has been a Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the Government Equalities Office and Home Office, and then at the Department for International Development since 2010, whereby she has born collective responsibility for legislative proposals and their progress through Parliament. Defying the party whip in this case would imply voting against legislation proposed by the Government of which Lynne Featherstone has been part. That would contradict the Ministerial Code of Conduct (Cabinet Office 2011, 31). However, the small number of Liberal Democrat Jewish MPs – only four were elected between 1997 and 2010 – does not allow for the generalisation of their apparent cohesiveness to minority MPs in general. Because of such limited data, it is impossible to reliably identify whether voting with the majority of the party has been an individual choice or a group trend.

[41] The difference between the 28 per cent level of rebellion on whipped votes calculated Cowley and Stuart (2010, November 8) and 5.6 per cent of votes casted against the majority of the party by the control group of non-minority MPs in Table 4.1 is the result of differences in methodologies. In the first case the level of rebellion is focused on the per cent of the whipped divisions that witnessed Members voting against the party whip calculated from the overall number of divisions, whereas the proportion of dissent referred to in Table 4.1 is calculated from the proportion of votes cast against the majority of the party by minority and non-minority MPs on all the divisions they attended. As the number of such votes and the number of divisions attended are summarised by religious background, the number overall is lower than in some of previous research, but shows how often Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs disagree with the majority of party, as illustrated in Table 4.1.

Overall, the dynamics of dissent by Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians from the three parties repeats the general party trends reflected in the frequency of dissent among the control group. Opposition parties have been more cohesive in voting, which has been reflected in the lower proportions of votes cast against the majority of the party by Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat MPs from minority and non-minority backgrounds while in Opposition.

Despite the similarities in terms of the dynamic of dissent, the proportion of votes against the majority of the party is slightly lower amongst the Labour and Liberal Democrat minority politicians compared with the control group. Conversely, the level of dissent among Conservative Jewish MPs is similar to or slightly higher than that of non-minority Members, while Conservative Muslim politicians almost never vote against the majority of the party. Altogether this shows similarities between minority and non-minority politicians in terms of the likelihood of opposing the majority of the party in voting. Their dissent seems to be determined by the party parliamentary status and the legislative roles of individual MPs, rather than their shared religious minority background. Even the low (compared to the rest of the party) level of dissent among Conservative Muslim parliamentarians is more likely to be the result of career aspirations and the ministerial duties of the Muslim politicians, as well as their lack of parliamentary experience and small number.

The analysis has shown that minority and non-minority parliamentarians do not differ greatly from non-minority MPs from the same party in general. It is, however, important to account for the types of division that witnessed their dissent in order to explore how the similarities between the

behaviour of Jewish and Muslim MPs are reflected in the frequency of dissent on whipped and free votes. This is telling about the cohesiveness of minority parliamentarians. If Jewish or Muslim MPs defy the party whip and rebel on whipped votes, it adds weight to even a small proportion of dissent. If, on the other hand, they tend to disagree with the majority of the party on free votes when they are allowed a conscience vote, this could indicate their deviation from the party on some socio-cultural and moral issues, which does not necessarily imply disagreement with the party policies on economy, foreign affairs, security, immigration and other such issues.

This distinction matters for religious minority representation. The operationalization of minority issues in Chapter 3 suggests that Jewish and Muslim minorities are expected to be interested in foreign affairs relating to the Middle East and South Asia, and issues of social cohesion – as well as immigration regulations – if they perform for Jewish and Muslim minorities. Although these issues can be sensitive, there have been no free votes given on these topics (House of Commons 2013). Therefore, if a minority MP acts for their minority group, and the minority's position clashes with the party whip, then in order to express this position, the MP will have to rebel. Therefore, MPs' rebellions on whipped votes of minority concern, such as the invasion in Iraq, the tightening of anti-terrorism and immigration legislation – which could be potentially damaging for community cohesion – are indicative of their performance as substantive minority representatives. MPs' dissent on socially-controversial issues, such as abortion, embryo research, or euthanasia, on which free votes are given (House of Commons 2013), can also be indicative of their performance as minority representatives. That is, when they vote

against the majority of the party against overly liberal legislative proposals that contradict the views of Jewish or Muslim minorities, as expressed by such leaders of faith communities and faith-based NGOs as the Chief Rabbi and Secretaries General of the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB).

Before moving on to analysing the content of minority-related votes and how MPs voted on them, Table 4.2 outlines the distribution of the cases when MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds voted against the majority of the party on whipped and free votes. It shows the number of whipped and free votes that witnessed Jewish or Muslim MPs, or members of the control group, voting against the majority of their party by Parliament. Free votes are identified on the basis of the Parliamentary Information List (House of Commons 3); the votes that are not listed there are considered whipped.

If minority parliamentarians are as cohesive as non-minority ones, as suggested by Table 4.1, then the distribution of votes against the majority of the party cast on whipped and free votes by minority and non-minority politicians should be similar as well. However, if minority parliamentarians are more likely to rebel on whipped votes than non-minority parliamentarians, then it shows that the level of their cohesiveness with the party in voting is lower than for non-minority MPs. If, on the other hand, they largely disagree with the party on free votes, then they are more cohesive politically, though they may have ideological stand-offs with the majority of the party. Either scenario has implications for minority parliamentary representation and for MPs' performance on minority issues. For example, consistent defiance of the party whip on minority-related issues, such as the invasion in Iraq, in the case of Muslim parliamentarians, can reflect an MP's reaction to the rejection of such

a policy by British Muslims. The disagreement of Jewish and Muslim MPs with the liberal stance of their party on life-death choices could also be a reflection of the opinions of the Jewish and Muslim communities. Although the content of the divisions is examined in the next section, Table 4.2 gives an impression of whether disagreements between minority MPs and the rest of the party are on whipped or free votes, hence, happen on the basis of political issues or ideology. Differently from Table 4.1, the data in Table 4.2 is presented in numbers instead of percentages.

Table 4.2 Whipped and free votes that saw dissent by the selected MPs, frequency

	Jewish			Muslim		Control group		
	Lab	Con	LD	Lab	Con	Lab	Con	LD
				1997 Parliament				
Whipped	65	13	10	4	n/a	55	17	8
Free	12	17	9	1	n/a	16	16	15
				2001 Parliament				
Whipped	118	33	4	13	n/a	142	22	5
Free	43	28	11	4	n/a	77	24	22
				2005 Parliament				
Whipped	83	81	12	13	n/a	153	42	13
Free	40	105	3	31	n/a	75	20	7
				2010 Parliament				
Whipped	6	87	11	6	0	18	75	39
Free	2	3	0	3	2	1	3	1

Source: The data are obtained from Public Whip (undated).

Presenting the data in percentages in this case can be misleading because of the small number of cases. Additionally, using the actual number of votes on whipped and free divisions that witnessed dissent by minority MPs in some way speaks to the content of the next section of the chapter, which analyses these divisions in greater detail.

The discussion of the data, in terms of the significance and dynamic of dissent on whipped and free votes, uses ratios to identify the patterns and simplify the content of Table 4.2 for the analysis. The ratios demonstrate how many whipped compared to free votes cast by minority and non-minority MPs voted against the majority of the party per Parliament. For instance, the ratio for Lib Dem Jewish MPs in the 1997 Parliament is calculated from ten cases of dissent on whipped and nine on free votes, which gives a ratio of 1:1, and the control group of non-minority Liberal Democrats rebelled on eight whipped and 15 free votes in the same Parliament, which gives a ratio of 1:2.

The ratio of whipped to free votes that witnessed dissent by Jewish, Muslim and non-minority parliamentarians in some way varies across parties and Parliaments, though differences between the three groups of politicians are negligible. Labour Jewish and Muslim MPs, as well as the control group of non-minority politicians, have rebelled on whipped issues more often than on free votes. Their dissent on free votes did not exceed half of votes cast against the majority of the party on whipped divisions by Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs during the New Labour Governments, with the exception of Muslim parliamentarians in the 2005 Parliament. However, between the 1997 and 2005 Parliaments the ratio of dissent on whipped to free votes slowly decreased from 5:1 to 2:1 for Jewish, 3:1 to 1:2 for Muslim, and 3:1 to 2:1 for

non-minority politicians elected from the Labour Party. Overall, the level of dissent on both whipped and free votes grew between 1997 and 2012.

Such topics as the modernisation of the House of Commons, the reform of the House of Lords, and embryo research, in particular, have caused serious disagreements within the parties. As a result, the number of free votes on which MPs voted against the majority of the party has increased and balanced out the rebellions on whipped divisions, such as the Terrorism Bill, the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Bill, and the invasion in Iraq. This has caused growing dissent among Labour backbenchers and disagreements with the party leadership in the early 2000s.

Although the overall number of votes against the majority of the party among Labour MPs dropped after the 2010 General Election, the level of rebellion on whipped votes among non-minority MPs increased to an 18:1 ratio for free votes, yet it has barely changed for Jewish – 3:1 – and for Muslim – 2:1 parliamentarians. It shows that although the number of rebellions grew throughout the New Labour period, the dissent on whipped and free votes increased proportionately. This signifies that, first, not all the acts of dissent by minority and non-minority MPs constituted rebellion, as at least one third of such votes occurred when party discipline was loosened. Secondly, it hints that there has been both political and ideological divisions within the parliamentary Labour party, which would explain the high frequency of dissent on both whipped and free votes. Finally, these trends seem to be reflected in the similar voting patterns of Jewish, Muslim and control group Labour politicians (Table 4.1).

The analysis of dissent by Conservative and Liberal Democrat MPs in the sample also supports the argument that the distribution of votes against the majority of the party across whipped and free divisions is determined by the parties and their parliamentary statuses, rather than a shared religious minority background.

The Conservative Jewish and non-minority MPs, by contrast with Labour, voted against the majority of the party on free votes as frequently as on whipped ones between 1997 and 2010. Thereby, the ratios of whipped to free votes remained 1:1, with the exception of the increase in the number of rebellions on whipped votes among the control group to 2:1 in the 2005 Parliament (Table 4.2). After the 2010 General Election, dissent by Jewish and non-minority MPs was almost solely confined to whipped divisions – ratios of 29:1 and 25:1, respectively – as only a few free votes were given during the 2010-12 session. The only exceptions were the Conservative Muslim politicians who voted against the majority of the party only on free votes; specifically they supported the provision of an independent abortion advice on 7 September 2011.

Between 1997 and 2005 Liberal Democrat Jewish parliamentarians more frequently, voted against the majority of the party when a free vote was given, which is demonstrated by the data in Table 4.2 and supported by previous research (Cowley and Stuart 2005, April 10). In the 2005 Parliament, the ratio of whipped to free votes that witnessed rebellion shifted to 4:1 for Jewish and 2:1 for non-minority MPs, and it sharply increased again in the subsequent Parliament, to 11:1 and 39:1, respectively.

In the cases of the Conservative and the Liberal Democrat parties the distribution of the dissent by Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs has been relatively even and consistent with party parliamentary status, as well as reflective of the disproportionate number of free votes given in each Parliament. However, the similarities between the ratios of votes against the majority of the party cast on whipped and free votes by minority and non-minority MPs from the same party suggest the influence of the party is stronger than that of a religious background.

That said, Muslim politicians have been particularly cohesive with their parties. They have rarely defied the party whip and largely voted against the majority of the party only in free votes (e.g., Labour Muslim MPs in the 2005 Parliament and Tory Muslim MPs in the 2010 Parliament). Both the overall level of dissent (Table 4.1) and its distribution between whipped and free votes (Table 4.2) paint Muslim parliamentarians as having been more cohesive than Jewish and non-minority politicians. This could be a result of caution because of a lack of parliamentary experience, a general agreement with the party leadership and policies, or of the limitation of the legislative roles for those who hold ministerial positions.

Issues of Dissent: What Are They Fighting For?

However, the presence of MPs from minority backgrounds is expected to inform political decision-making on minority issues (House of Commons, 2009). In those debates, minority parliamentarians have an advantage because of their expertise in minority-related topics, which they presumably share with the House. This does not necessarily imply acting on behalf of, or in the interests of, religious minorities, rather than informing policy- and legislation-

making processes. The analysis of the topics of voting divisions in this case shows whether or not Members from Jewish and/or Muslim backgrounds engage with minority issues. Supporting the party on whipped and free votes is the default position of an MP, whereas dissent on a free vote, and especially defying the party whip, equates to making a political point. For religious minority Members, voting against the party stance on minority-related divisions can be because of their expertise and insights which derive from their religious minority backgrounds. This argument is supported by the previous studies of ethnic minority MPs' parliamentary behaviour (Bird *et al.* 2011, 1-21).

The analysis of topics of the votes that witnessed dissent by Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians is used to examine the level of their engagement with minority-related issues in voting. Considering party discipline and the unequal cost of dissent, whipped and free minority-related votes are examined separately, and non-minority divisions that witnessed dissent by minority Members are used for comparison.

The whipped divisions that witnessed rebellion by Jewish Labour MPs include minority-related votes on anti-terrorism legislation (e.g., Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Bill, Prevention of Terrorism Bill, Terrorism Bill, and Counter-Terrorism Bill), immigration regulations (e.g., Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Bill and Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants, Etc.) Bill), and the invasion in Iraq (e.g., UN Security Council Resolution 1441, Case for War is Unproven, Support for the Government, Case for War not Established, and Declaration of War). On occasion, Labour Muslim parliamentarians also defied the whip on minority-related votes, for

instance, on Iraq: ‘Case for war is Unproven’ and the Terrorism Bill. The free votes that witnessed dissent by MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds include ‘life-death’ choices of concern to faith communities, such as euthanasia (e.g., Doctor Assisted Dying) and embryo research (e.g., Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations and Human Fertilisation and Embryology Bill).

Conservative Jewish MPs, most commonly, rebelled on issues that concern the general population, rather than Jewish communities specifically, with the exception of the Criminal Justice and Immigration Bill voted on 6 May 2008, and equality-related divisions (e.g., Gender Recognition Bill, Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations, and Protection of freedom of expression (sexual expression)). On free votes, Jewish parliamentarians disagreed with the majority of the party on a wide range of issues relating to embryo research (e.g, Stem Cell Research, Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations, and Human Fertilisation and Embryology Bill), and abortion (e.g., Nadine Dorries’ amendment to the Health and Social Care Bill voted on 7 September 2011). The latter also caused the only case of dissent by two of three Conservative Muslim parliamentarians during the 2010-12 session.

Finally, Liberal Democrat Jewish politicians have never rebelled on whipped votes related to minority issues, but have voted against the majority of the party on euthanasia between 1997 and 2000 in free votes. Between 2005 and 2012, however, dissent on whipped votes occurred more frequently, especially after the Liberal Democrats entered the Coalition Government. In the 2010 Parliament, Jewish MPs have voted against the majority of the party

and defied the party whip in all those instances, including one vote on anti-terrorism legislation (Terrorism Act 2006 (Disapplication of Section 25) Order 2010 voted on 14 July 2010).

The dissent by Jewish and Muslim MPs on the issues of concern for the general population, such as the modernisation of the House of Commons, Trident replacement, and higher education has been more common than their engagement with minority-related topics. Non-minority MPs could also be rather outspoken on minority-related issues, for instance, the invasion of Iraq or immigration legislation. All minority-related votes that caused the dissent by one or more minority MPs included more than one non-minority rebel, and all revolts involving Muslim or Jewish parliamentarians included non-minority MPs. This strengthens the case for tackling the representation of minority interests as a concept dependent on the behaviour of parliamentarians and influenced by factors beyond a shared religious minority background. This is partly supported by the fact that even when Jewish or Muslim politicians engage with minority issues in a pre-voting debate, they rarely base their argument on the interests and concerns of faith communities alone. Rather, they refer to the common good of the country and their constituents (e.g., Yasmin Qureshi and Dr. Julian Huppert in HC Debate 2010-12a, 1015 and 1023-1027).

Whipped Votes

In the majority of cases, whipped divisions that witnessed rebellion by Jewish and/or Muslim MPs were focused on the issues of concern for the general population rather than faith communities (for instance, the election of

the Speaker and the Freedom of Information Bill).[42] However, on a few occasions rebellions occurred on issues of concern for British Jews and Muslims, including the invasion of Iraq, anti-terrorism and immigration legislation, and equality issues. Table 1 in Appendix 3 summarises the divisions that caused Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians to defy the party whip on minority-related issues, presented by party and religious background, whilst identifying broader themes that caused disagreement of the selected minority Members with the party position.

Between 1997 and 2010 both the Conservative and Lib Dem Jewish MPs usually voted with the party on whipped issues (Cowley and Stuart 2010, January 5), and the Liberal Democrats used to be the most cohesive of the main parties (Cowley 2002; Cowley and Stuart 2005, April 10). The few revolts that occurred were on votes of general concern to the public, rather than those of interest to religious minorities specifically. For instance, Conservative Jewish MPs joined in the rebellion on the House of Commons (Removal of Clergy Disqualification) Bill, the Election of Speaker by secret ballot, and the amendments to the Identity Cards Bill, whereas only one rebellion was on a minority-related issue – the Criminal Justice and Immigration Bill. Voting on three of four of the divisions split the Conservative parliamentary party almost in the middle; the list of dissenters included both minority and non-minority politicians.

It has confirmed that the Tory Jewish MPs tend to focus on general, rather than minority, issues, and if they oppose the party stance, they do so in alliances with non-minority politicians. After the 2010 General Election,

[42] All votes that are not listed in the Parliamentary Information List are considered whipped (House of Commons 2013).

dissent among Conservative MPs dramatically increased (Morris 2011, December 30). The Jewish Members, such as Zac Goldsmith, Robert Halfon and Karl McCartney, opposed the Government on EU integration, tuition fees, and reform of the voting system, and on local government. However, neither of these issues was connected with a Jewish minority background, rather than their party and socio-economic identity. The Liberal Democrat Jewish and non-minority MPs elected in the 2010 General Election also defied the party whip on the University Tuition Fee Cap, National Health Service and Social Care Bill (Third Reading), and the Terrorism Act 2006 (Disapplication of Section 25) Order 2010.

Labour Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians also rebelled on such issues of general concern as the Trident Replacement, the Education and Inspections Bill, the Freedom of Information Bill, and the Identity Cards Bill (Appendix 3).[43] For instance, one notable revolt by Labour Jewish and Muslim MPs occurred on the Trident Replacement in the 2005 parliament. It also faced strong opposition from backbenchers, including Harry Cohen, Fabian Hamilton, Mohammad Sarwar and Graham Stringer. None of the minority votes caused disagreement between Labour Jewish and Muslim MPs and the party in the 1997 Parliament.

However, between 2001 and 2010 several minority-related divisions witnessed rebellion by Labour minority Members, including their opposition to the Government's attempts to restrict the asylum regime, tighten anti-terrorism legislation, and join the US-led coalition in Iraq. Faith communities largely agreed with the Government that tighter anti-terrorism and immigration

[43] The first three Conservative Muslim MPs were elected in the 2010 General Election and did not vote against the party whip in the 2010-12 session (Table 4.2).

regulations were needed (e.g., Sacks 2008). However, they often disagreed about the shape of these changes, which resulted in minority MPs voting against the majority of the party on one of ten divisions on anti-terrorism legislation between 1997 and 2010 (Appendix 3). With the change of Government this trend continued.

However, the Labour party vote on the Terrorism Act 2006 (Disapplication of Section 25) Order 2010 proposed by Theresa May on 14 July 2010 was not clear – the party vote was split in half, and one MP abstained (HC Debate 2010-12a). Notably, it was the first and only case so far when the newly elected Muslim MPs voted against the Act opposing the attempt to keep the maximum period of detention of terrorist suspects at 28 days (HC Debate 2010-12a, 1030). Rather, referring to the argument that the restriction of counter-terrorism legislation creates 'a damaging disconnect between the state and communities' (Choudhary and Fenwick 2011, 85), Muslims MPs used civil liberties and practical arguments. For instance, Yasmin Qureshi referred to her experience as a legal practitioner, stating that '[a]s someone who has dealt with anti-terror cases and seen the evidence that comes in, and even taking away the civil liberties argument, I know as a practitioner that law enforcement agents do not need 28 days to interrogate people. They have all the information and evidence before them' (HC Debate 2010-12a, 1015).

Votes on a stricter asylum system did not cause a major rebellion among Labour's Jewish and Muslim MPs. Although the Chief Rabbi Jonathan Sacks agreed with the necessity to tighten the asylum regime, and particularly a need to specify eligibility criteria for asylum seekers to ensure the harmonious

development of the country (Sacks 2008), minority parliamentarians questioned more trivial aspects of immigration legislation. For instance, several MPs expressed concerns over the living conditions of migrants and especially about accommodation centres, including their control and accountability, whilst debating the 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Bill (e.g., Louise Ellman and Oliver Letwin in HC Debate 2001-02, 454-457).

The most interesting and revealing vote in terms of the effect of a religious minority background on minority MPs' performance for their minority groups is voting on the invasion of Iraq, which split the Labour Party during the 2001 Parliament. The majority of the Government and Opposition Jewish parliamentarians supported the invasion, contending that it was a last resort but necessary to ensure peace in the region and the safety of the Iraqi people. For instance, Dr Julian Lewis said that the Iraqi people were unable to overthrow Saddam Hussein without external help, as after 1991 they 'rose up and were massacred' (HC Debate 2002-03a, 876).

In their opposition to the intervention, the Labour rebels shared some of the misgivings of Jewish and Muslim community leaders, such as the Chief Rabbi's call for a clearly stated objective, the creation of a broader coalition, and strict safeguards against civilian casualties (BBC 2002, August 28). The Muslim Council of Britain was even more sceptical, having expressed deep concerns over the Government's role in the war against terror (Casciani 2002, September 19), and the strongly negative views of the Muslim minority regarding the UK's involvement in Iraq (MCB 2008, March 20).

Echoing those views, some Jewish parliamentarians were not convinced about the objective of the operation to disarm Saddam Hussein given 'that

Saddam has demonstrated over a long period that he is a mass murderer and a compulsive liar' (John Bercow in HC Debate 2002-03b, 283) and 'that anyone who believes that Saddam Hussein gives a twopenny damn for the Palestinians, the Kurds or the Marsh Arabs is living in self-delusion' (Sir Gerald Kaufman in HC Debate 2002-03b, 275). Given that, they feared that the operation would eventually lead to regime change, which would change the initial focus of the operation from disarmament and the removal of weapons of mass destruction.

The uncertainty about the objectives of the intervention were supplemented with 'concerns about the effect on Muslim opinion; ... about the danger of Iraq's spreading any such war, with the consequent perils of a middle east in turmoil and serious economic consequences; about the hazards of war—including the certainty of civilian casualties; and about the role played in such a conflict by the most unappetising United States Administration' (Sir Gerald Kaufman in HC Debate 2002-03b, 300). Mohammad Sarwar, one of two Muslim MPs in the 2001 Parliament, also 'profoundly disagreed' with the UK's involvement in the operation, because of a lack of popular support for military action in Britain and worldwide, and his suspicions regarding 'the genuine motive for the American position' (HC Debate 2002-03b, 341). However, the evidence of WMDs in Iraq seemed to be compelling (Dr Julian Lewis and Oona King in HC Debate 2002-03b), and the invasion was carried out despite the Labour Party split on the matter, and negative public opinion regarding the reasoning and prospects of the operation. The public opposition to Britain joining any American-led military action against Iraq without UN approval increased from 70 per cent in September 2002 to 77 per cent in

January 2003 with, only 15 per cent supporting the action (Ipsos MORI 2007, May).

The invasion and its consequences triggered criticism and deep dissatisfaction among British Muslims regarding the Government's foreign policy, which was reflected in six rebellions of Muslim MPs on Iraq and an open letter to Tony Blair in August 2006.[44] Three of four Muslim MPs (Sadiq Khan, Shahid Malik, and Mohammed Sarwar), three peers (Lord Patel of Blackburn, Lord Ahmed of Rotherham, and Baroness Uddin) and 38 community groups signed a letter criticising the Government's stance on the Middle East as a destabilising factor in the region and beyond. They claimed the debacle in Iraq and insecure foreign policy had put civilians at increased risk both in the UK and abroad (BBC 2006, August 12; Woodward and Bates 2006, August 12). Referring to the common good of society and the development of community cohesion, Muslim parliamentarians bridged the interests of the Muslim minority and the general population, performing for British Muslims and delivering their expertise and insights in the Chamber and beyond.

The start of a wider dialogue about the role and integration of Muslims in the UK resulted in growing political and community support for community cohesion projects, such as the Institute for Community Cohesion and the Equality and Human Rights Commission; the launch of the Commission on Integration and Cohesion; the allocation of Government funding for local authorities to prevent Violent Extremism; the adoption of the Equality Bill and

[44] Mohammad Sarwar defied the party whip on Iraq five times, and Khalid Mahmood did it once. Both of them voted to say the 'case for military action against Iraq was as yet unproven' on 26 February 2003, for instance (HC Debate 2002-03c, 285).

the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill, and the consolidated efforts of faith communities in tackling xenophobia and extremism, including the launch of such support services as Tell MAMA. The disagreement of Muslim Members with the Government's foreign policy neither damaged the integrity of the Labour Party in voting, nor caused any particularly significant rebellions of the Muslim MPs. However, it strengthened their contribution to religious minority representation, whereby they liaised with faith communities, performed as observers at international events (such as 2013 Pakistani elections), and drafted the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill (Kolpinskaya 2014). Although their increasing contribution to Muslim minority representation following the invasion in Iraq and the 2005 London bombings did not stand out in voting, they came across stronger in low-cost parliamentary activities, especially the content of EDMs and WPQs (Chapter 5 and 6).

The strong negative feelings of the Muslim parliamentarians regarding the UK's foreign policy, and the increase of anti-Muslim sentiment after July 2005, resulted in their inclusion in community cohesion projects and participation in the drafting of equality legislation. The latter case included legislative proposals on granting equal rights to same-sex couples, transgender persons and homosexuals through the Gender Recognition Bill on 25 May 2004, the Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations on 19 March 2007, and the Protection of Freedom of Expression (sexual orientation) on 9 January 2008. Voting on those bills witnessed Labour Muslim Members, Labour and also Lib Dem Jewish MPs conforming to the majority of their parties, and

several Conservative Jewish parliamentarians rebelling against the party in support of equal gay rights.[45]

Although the liberal stance of Labour and the Liberal Democrats on equal rights for homosexuals, same-sex couples and freedom of sexual expression was not surprising (Durham 2005),[46] the rebellion by Conservative Jewish and Muslim MPs on those divisions contradicted the traditional Conservative views on those issues, outlined by Michael Howard before the 2005 General Election (Hennessy and Kite 2005, March 20). For instance, MPs from a Jewish background, including Michael Fabricant, John Bercow, and Oliver Letwin, voted to allow a transsexual person to change their legal gender, dissenting from the majority of the party, and to approve a set of regulations regarding discrimination and harassment on the grounds of sexual orientation under the Equality Act 2006 (HC Debate 2003-04, 1537; HC Debate 2006-07, 647). The Conservative Party, however, adopted a more liberal stance on these issues in the 2010 Parliament, which resulted in the legalisation of marriage for same-sex couples. The majority of Jewish MPs from the three main parties voted for the Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Bill,[47] as well as five Muslim parliamentarians (HC Debate 2012-13; HC Debate 2013-14).[48] The only Muslim MP who voted against the Bill, Rehman Chishti, also specified that he 'voted against the Bill, as [he] believe it is contrary to my own personal belief

[45] Gerry Steinberg was the only minority MP to rebel against the adoption of children by same-sex couples and civil registration of same-sex marriages.

[46] As noted by Dr Evan Harris during the debate on the Gender Recognition Bill on 25 May 2004, the Liberal Democrat Party support the Bill 'not on a free vote, because it is our party policy to allow transsexual people to access their human rights' (HC Debate 2003-04, 1530).

[47] Nine of 13 Conservative Jewish MPs with the exceptions of Robert Halfon, Dr Julian Lewis, Karl McCartney, Sir Malcom Rifkind (West 2010, April 21); all nine Labour and two Lib Dem Members from a Jewish background (HC Debate 2012-13).

[48] Muslim MPs who supported same-sex marriage were Rushanara Ali, Sajid Javid, Sadiq Khan, Shabana Mahmood and Anas Sarwar. Two MPs abstained (Khalid Mahmood and Yasmin Qureshi), and Rehman Chishti voted against the bill (HC Debate 2012-13; HC Debate 2013-14).

as a Muslim, which states that a marriage is between a man and a woman' (Chapman and Versi 2013, May 8).

However, the liberalism of the majority of Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians on same-sex marriage, equal rights for homosexuals and transgender people clashed with the opinions of Jewish and Muslim community leaders who defined same-sex marriages as 'a sign of moral decay' (Rocker 2011, October 11), and 'something we would certainly not, in any form, encourage the community to be involved in' (BBC 2006, January 3). It was pointed out during the parliamentary debate on that issues that 'not a single mosque responded by supporting the redefinition of marriage' during the consultation, and neither did 'the Orthodox Jews – all those faiths who do not want a redefinition of marriage' (HC 2012-13b, 127 and 164).

Some comparisons can be made between Jewish, Muslim and other religious minority MPs (for instance, Catholics) in voting on such issues. In particular, Catholic Members of Parliament tend to take socially conservative positions when voting on such issues as equal gay rights and freedom of sexual expression, or suffer consequences – potentially as harsh as denouncement – for non-conformity (Bingham 2014, March 28). Most recently, the Muslim MPs who voted in support of the same-sex marriage on the Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Bill were also denounced as apostates by religious leaders and even received death threats from several UK and Pakistani-based organisations (Tatchell 2013, February 18; Maher 2013).

Nevertheless, the voting of Jewish and, most recently, Muslim MPs in support of equal rights to homosexuals and transgender people suggests a dominance of liberal views among the minority politicians based on the belief

‘that couples who love each other and want to make that long-term commitment to each other should be able to have a civil marriage regardless of their gender or their sexuality’ (Sadiq Khan cited in Maher 2013). This contradicts the positions of faith community leaders, and, to an extent, indicates the secularisation of minority politicians. Given the position of the religious leaders and the majority of faith communities is used as a baseline to evaluate minority MPs’ performance for religious minorities, it is seems that Jewish and Muslim politicians are closer to the general population than to their minority groups on these issues.

Although there is a degree of uncertainty about the extent to which the views voiced by Jewish and Muslim religious bodies reflect the views of the entire communities, it is safe to say that they represent the traditionalist part of both communities. The number of Jews and Muslims who share traditional values is quite high, despite the proportion of Jews and Muslims who strictly follow religious dogma decreasing in recent years (Woodhead and Catto 2012). 74 per cent of Jews, for instance, are still affiliated with synagogues in Britain (Graham and Vulkan 2010, 9-10). Such affiliations suggest a high likelihood of them sharing traditional views on granting equal rights to homosexuals and transgender people. Drawing upon the voting of Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians, they do not share these views, but their liberal stance on such socially controversial issues might speak on behalf of secular Muslims and Jews. This pattern is repeated in voting on free divisions discussed in the next section.

Free votes

Free votes are more likely to show the impact of individual identities on voting. They are given on controversial social issues and are less constrained by the parties, with MPs required to be guided by their own experience and consciousness in voting (Cowley and Stuart 2010). Abortion, embryology, and euthanasia are examples of free votes that might be affected by the beliefs and religious affiliations of an MP (Glover 1990; Levy 2007; Brockopp 2003, Clements 2014).[49] They are used to identify the impact of a religious background on voting by comparing the positions of religious leaders to the voting of minority MPs on controversial social issues when the party discipline is loosened, and the cost of dissent is low. Table 1 in Appendix 3 summarises the divisions that witnessed dissent by Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians by party, focusing on 'life-death' choice issues that are of concern for faith communities, including Jewish and Muslim minority groups.

Free votes on both minority and general issues have witnessed dissent by Jewish and Muslim MPs between 1997 and 2012. Their variation across the parties indicates certain similarities in the attitudes of Jewish and Muslim MPs towards controversial social issues, whereby they tend to take a pro-choice stance on embryo research and abortion. At the same time, euthanasia and some general political issues, such as modernisation of the Commons and reform of the Lords, have split Jewish and Muslim Members regardless of party.

[49] Other free votes are allowed on divisive political issues, such as reforms of the Houses of Parliament and a hunting ban, though they do not concern Jewish and Muslim minority groups, in particular (Appendix 3).

Patterns of voting behaviour have been similar to voting on whipped divisions. First, Jewish politicians disagreed with the party stance more often than Muslim MPs, who confirmed the 'cohesion without discipline' thesis, stressing their ideological similarities and commitment to the party even when the discipline was loosened (Norton 2001; Norton 2003). Second, dissent on free votes included both minority and non-minority politicians on the issues of concern for the general population and minority groups. Finally, making an argument in support of their liberal views on abortion, embryo research and euthanasia, MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds rarely referred to moral arguments.

Rather, they made an argument informed by personal and practical experience. For instance, whilst debating the Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill on 28 January and 14 April 2000, Dr Evan Harris declared an interest as a member of the British Medical Association medical ethics committee and a former hospital doctor, and therefore, commented on the content of the bill as a person who '[has] been involved in the care of critically ill patients in hospital not competent to give their consent or approval to decisions taken in their best interests by the clinical team' (HC Debate 1999-00, 655). Dr Julian Lewis referred to a personal example of his friends in the Netherlands who lost their trust in doctors because 'the general respect for trying hard to save life [the family's father in that case] had been undermined by the introduction of euthanasia' (HC Debate 1999-00a, 706).

So far, minority MPs' voting on minority-related free votes have portrayed them as pro-choice parliamentarians, which contrasted to the positions of the Jewish and Muslim community leaders (Glover 1990; Levy

2007; Clements 2014). The Labour Jewish and Muslim Members voted with the majority of the party in support of the pro-choice approach to abortion and the liberalisation of embryo research.[50] Almost half of Jewish MPs also supported the assisted death suicide proposal.[51]

The latter was actively supported by Dr Evan Harris, a Liberal Democrat MP from a Jewish minority background and a champion of the assisted dying cause[52]. In fact, the support for the legalisation of euthanasia among the three Liberal Democrats who were doctors made Dr Julian Lewis wonder whether 'being Liberal Democrats makes them believe in euthanasia, or that believing in euthanasia makes them Liberal Democrats', which mischievously reflected on the libertarian views of the party (HC Debate 1999-00a, 728).

Liberal Democrats, including the Jewish Members, embraced a liberal approach to 'life-death' choices. That clashed with the opinions of Jewish and Muslim community leaders who disapproved of embryo research, comparing it to 'playing roulette with human life' (Sacks 2010), and considered British abortion laws to be too liberal (Sylvester and Thomson 2007, November 3). For his views on euthanasia, Dr Evan Harris, for instance, was criticised by such religious figures as George Pitcher (Pitcher 2010, May 7).

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[50] Only two of ten MPs (Ivan Lewis and Shahid Malik) voted to reduce abortion limit from 24 weeks to 22 weeks, and the latter also supported an amendment on Prospects for life of handicapped child must be given before abortion, which would have made it illegal to terminate pregnancy without the current, scientific information regarding physical or mental abnormalities of the foetus and the offer of a suitable opportunity to receive relevant counselling on 20 May 2008. Sir Gerald Kaufman, Sadiq Khan, and Mohammad Sarwar voted against the party stance and against widening embryo research on 19 May 2008.

[51] Peter Bradley, Harry Cohen, Margaret Hodge, Gillian Merron, Gerry Steinberg, and David Winnick (six of 14 Jewish MPs) voted to allow a terminally ill person to get assistance in dying from a doctor.

[52] Dr Evan Harris voted for ('aye') Doctor Assisted Dying Bill among other ten Liberal Democrats. In two votes on Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill he voted 'both' ('aye' and 'no').

Although Conservative MPs from Jewish and – after the 2010 General Election – Muslim backgrounds did not align with those from the Lib Dems and Labour on euthanasia, they supported a more liberal stance on abortion and embryo research than the Tory ideology before Cameron's re-branding would imply (Hennessy and Kite 2005, March 20). For instance, John Bercow argued against reducing abortion limits from 24 to 12 weeks and for sticking with the status quo (HC Debate 2007-08, 270), and suggested that 'we should go with embryo research because of the tremendous human opportunities that it offers. That is to say, I take an empiricist, pragmatic, instrumental view … that such research should be allowed or extended' (HC Debate 2007-08a, 1100).

As a result, voting on abortion and embryo research split the Tory party vote, including its minority Members (Cowley and Stuart 2010). For instance, voting on abortion and embryology, especially on the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations in 2000, the Human Fertilisation and Embryology Bill between 2007 and 2008, and Nadine Dorries' amendment to the Health and Social Care Bill, divided the Conservative Party. The dissent against reducing the abortion limits and banning further embryo research was both consistent and significant in number – four of six Conservative Jewish MPs rebelled against the Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations on 19 December 2000; and ten of 11, including six frontbenchers, voted against the party stance on abortion and embryology between 2007 and 2008. On the other hand, in the subsequent Parliament, six of 14 MPs voted for the Independent Abortion Advice amendment on 7 September 2011 in support for 'an offer of independent counselling, not compulsory counselling' for a woman who is considering an abortion to

terminate an unwanted pregnancy (HC Debate 2010-12, 365). That more conservative amendment on abortion was also supported by two of three newly elected Conservative Muslim MPs.

Nonetheless, more than half of the Conservative Jewish MPs elected between 1997 and 2010, including all of those who served in the 2005 Parliament, were less socially conservative on abortion and embryo research than the party vote.[53] All Jewish Members, in particular, voted against the Conservative Party stance on abortion and embryology at least once. Dissent on those votes included non-minority MPs as well.

Although previous research indicates that Catholic Members of Parliament tend to adopt a 'pro-life' approach when voting on socially controversial issues, such as abortion, embryo research, and euthanasia, the voting of Muslim and especially Jewish MPs on free votes between 1997 and 2010 suggests that they are different. The support of the Labour and Lib Dem minority MPs, as well as a large proportion of Conservative minority politicians, for further embryo research and the existing abortion limits suggests that minority parliamentarians take a pro-choice, rather than a pro-life, stance on 'life-death' choices, which contradicts the positions of the faith community leaders and indicates the secularisation of minority politicians, similar to their voting in support of gay right discussed in the previous section. Politicians from a Jewish background, in particular, have been more outspoken on these issues and tend to express stronger support for pro-choice positions. Although Muslim parliamentarians voted for Nadine Dorries' amendment on

[53] John Bercow opposed the party on 17 of 23 votes; Grant Shapps – eight of 20; Michael Howard – seven of 23; Oliver Letwin – seven of 24; Jonathan Djanogly – six of 24; Sir Malcolm Rifkind – five of 20; Anthony Steen – five of 23; Michael Fabricant – five of 24; Dr Julian Lewis – five of 24; Brooks Newmark – two of 20; Lee Scott – one of 20.

the independent abortion advice, they have been cohesive with Labour in support of the current abortion limits, which paints them as more liberal than the Muslim community leaders too.

Conclusion

The analyses show little evidence that dissent by MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds is affected by their religious minority background. Equally, there is little evidence that the voting behaviour of minority Members differs significantly from the voting of MPs from non-minority backgrounds in terms of the frequency and distribution of dissent.

Similar to the control group of non-minority Members, Labour parliamentarians with Jewish and Muslim backgrounds frequently voted against the majority of the party between 1997 and 2010, but have become more cohesive after the 2010 General Election, when Labour moved to the Opposition benches. By contrast, minority and non-minority Conservative and Liberal Democrat MPs were more cohesive in Opposition between 1997 and 2010, but the level of dissent has increased under the Coalition Government.

Minority parliamentarians have been as cohesive as non-minority politicians. However, Muslim MPs, in particular, almost never voted against the majority of the party. Their cohesiveness may have been a result of their small number and/or their relatively short presence in the House. Furthermore, of 11 Muslim politicians, eight held leadership roles at some point in their parliamentary careers (Kolpinskaya 2014). Given the high cost of rebellion for a frontbencher, this could also reduce the level of dissent among Muslim MPs. The frequency, with which Jewish Members voted against the majority of the party, on the other hand, has been comparable to that of non-minority MPs.

The topical analysis of whipped and free votes that witnessed any dissent by minority MPs does not show any link with their religious minority backgrounds either. Jewish and Muslim politicians have voted against the party stance on votes relating to both minority interests and general public concerns. However, they have not bloc voted, and have joined in rebellions with non-minority Members instead. Although they have delivered expertise on some topics of minority interest, such as the invasion of Iraq and the asylum regime, they have based their arguments on the 'common good' of British society, rather than the well-being of certain minority groups. Furthermore, in spite of the opposition to the war in Iraq and the UK's involvement in the Middle East among the public, Jewish and Muslim religious leaders and some MPs, Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians have been largely cohesive in voting on these matters. The analysis also shows that Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians tend to take pro-choice, rather than pro-life, stances on controversial social issues and cast votes in support of equal gay rights, for instance. That opposed the positions of religious minority leaders (e.g., Levy 2007), and showed that politicians largely disagree with the moral and ethical arguments based on religious beliefs and practices (Glover 1990; Brockopp 2003).

In summary, the analysis does not show any significant variations between the voting behaviour of minority and non-minority MPs, and gives no indication that the behaviour of MPs is affected by their religious backgrounds. Rather, party and parliamentary constraints remain the most influential predictors of voting on whipped votes, in addition to MPs' personal experience and convictions on free votes. This suggests that Jewish and Muslim politicians do not pursue minority interests in voting.

Chapter 5

Examining the Effect of Religious Background on Low-Cost Activities: Early Day Motions

This chapter examines the content of EDMs tabled by MPs from religious minority backgrounds, looking at whether they correspond to issues of minority interest. A low-cost parliamentary activity, such as tabling EDMs, provides MPs with a safer opportunity to reflect individual identities whilst the party discipline is loosened, and risks to a career are minimal. Drawing on content analysis of EDMs tabled by Members of Parliament from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds and comparing them to other MPs, this study examines whether a religious minority background has any impact on the frequency with which minority MPs raise minority-related topics in EDMs.

The analysis shows that the impact of a religious minority background on the level of interest to minority-related issues is insignificant, comparing to institutional factors such as legislative role. It also demonstrates that MPs' engagement with minority issues is triggered by extraordinary domestic and international events, such as the invasion in Iraq, terrorist attacks in London, or political disturbances in Pakistan and the Middle East. However, there is no evidence to suggest that a religious minority background alone increases the number of references to or the likelihood of referring to minority issues. The ups and downs in such engagement look alike for MPs from all religious minority groups, which confirms that a religious minority background is a weak predictor of engagement with minority issues in sponsoring EDMs.

Data and methods

The data include 5,160 EDMs sponsored by Jewish, Muslim and the control group of non-minority MPs between 1997 and 2012, including 1,862 EDMs sponsored by non-minority MPs, and 3,102 and 196 by MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds, respectively (Table 3.4). The motions are collected from Parliament's EDMs Archive (Hansard 2010-2012a).

Each EDM constitutes a coding unit, which is tested against the keywords (indicators) that indicate the presence of minority issues (concept) in the text.[54] The content analysis output – the number of references to minority issues by session by MP – is coded as a dependent variable (*y*) in STATA. They are merged with the MPs' biographical data and electoral records and declared to be time series cross-sectional (TSCS) data (Appendix 5).

This chapter examines the distribution of references to minority issues between 1997 and 2012 and tests the relationships between the frequency of references to and the likelihood of referring to minority issues against religious background and institutional predictors.

The distribution of the references is graphically displayed in Figure 5.1, using mean averages, rather than absolute numbers. It allows for the smoothing of the data and accounts for the uneven distribution of references and EDMs across MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds across sessions (Table 3.4). The analysis indicates the ups and downs of interest in minority issues which are explained qualitatively using secondary sources and previous research. Events that affected MPs' engagement the most, including the invasion of Iraq, the 2005 terrorist attacks in London, the assassination of

[54] See Chapter 3 for details of sampling, data selection, coding, and construction of the conceptual dictionary.

Benazir Bhutto, and the Second Lebanese War, are used as reference points for the analysis.

Then the study moves onto testing the impact of religious minority background and institutional predictors – the proportion of religious minority population in the constituency and MPs' legislative roles – on the frequency and likelihood of raising minority issues in EDMs.

The hypotheses derive from the argument that if the presence of minority MPs in the House improves the quality of minority representation, then minority MPs represent their minority groups descriptively and substantively. Hence, it is expected that they engage with issues of minority concern, at least in low-cost activities when the cost of such engagement for one's political career is minimal.

Therefore, H_1 reads: Members of Parliament from Jewish and Muslim minority backgrounds are more likely to raise issues of concern for the Jewish and Muslim minorities in EDMs and/or to do so more frequently than MPs from a different religious background.

If this hypothesis is supported, then the statistical coefficients will show a positive relationship between having a Jewish or Muslim background and the frequency and/or likelihood of referring to issues of concern for the respective minority group in the EDMs tabled by Jewish and Muslim MPs. It is also expected that the relationship between having a non-minority background and the frequency and/or likelihood of referring to minority issues in the motions will be significantly lower compared to minority Members. If the analyses support these expectations, then Jewish and/or Muslim Members are indeed more likely to engage with their respective minority issues, or do so more

frequently in EDMs, which indicates that they disproportionally represent the concerns and interests of their minority groups in this low-cost parliamentary activity.

If, on the other hand, the analyses do not support these arguments, then minority MPs are not significantly affected by their religious minority backgrounds in their parliamentary behaviour, but could be affected by institutional factors, such as the proportion of Jews or Muslims in their constituencies, and/or their legislative roles.

Constituency bias is accounted for by including a 'constituency type' variable. It represents for the proportion of minority population in the constituency defined on the basis of community watch-lists (e.g., Jewish Chronicle 2010; Muslim Vote 2010) and ONS data (ONS 2003; ONS 2012), and is shown in Table 3.2. Given the strong constituency focus of British MPs (Jenny *et al.* 2014, February), representing a constituency with a minority population could encourage minority MPs to engage with the interests of the respective minority group even when his/her religious minority background does not have any effect on such engagement.

H_2: MPs who represent constituencies with a significant proportion of Jews and/or Muslims are more likely to raise issues of concern for Jewish and Muslim minorities in EDMs and/or to do so more frequently than MPs who represent constituencies without a significant presence of these minorities.

If the hypothesis is supported, then there is a positive relationship between representing the 'minority' type constituency and the frequency and/or the likelihood of referring to minority issues in EDMs. Representing a 'non-minority' type constituency, on the other hand, is not expected to have

statistically significant effects on the frequency and/or likelihood of raising minority issues in the motions.

The impact of legislative roles on MPs' involvement in discussing minority issues is a result of tighter party and self-control, as well as time constraints that vary depending on whether an MP holds a ministerial or a backbench position (House of Commons 2010; Kolpinskaya 2014). As a result, backbenchers are generally more active in tabling EDMs, which they use for campaigning and/or probing MPs' opinion (Franklin and Tappin 1977; Nason 2001). The difference in the number of EDMs tabled by ministers and backbenchers, as well as in their willingness and ability to engage with sensitive topics, expressed in the following hypothesis:

H_3: Frontbench MPs are less likely to raise issues of concern for Jewish and Muslim minorities in EDMs and/or to do so less frequently, than backbench Members.

If the hypothesis is supported by the analyses, then there is a negative correlation between holding a ministerial position and the frequency and/or likelihood of MPs' engagement with minority issues. In this event, the least constrained Members of the parliamentary parties are more engaged in discussing minority issues than those who are on the frontbench.

In summary, if H_1 is not supported, whereas H_2 and/or H_3 are, then it shows that having a certain religious background alone is an insufficient stimulus for minority MPs' engagement with minority issues and the enhancement of their performance for their minority groups, even in low-cost parliamentary activities. Instead, it shows the superiority of institutional

predictors, such as the Jewish and/or Muslim minority presence in the constituencies, and legislative roles.

The three hypotheses are tested for the frequency of references to and the likelihood of referring to minority issues in multi-variate regression models using the Prais-Winsten and random-effect (Gaussian) logistic regression analyses conducted on time series cross-sectional (TSCS) data.

The output of the quantitative computer-aided content analysis provides values for dependent variables ('British Jewry', 'British Muslims', 'Immigration', 'Inter-Faith Dialogue', 'Middle East', and 'South Asia').[55] They are merged with the personal characteristics of MPs (*x*) – a religious background, legislative role, and a constituency type (Appendix 4). Explanatory variables are dichotomised for the statistical analysis.

A series of Prais-Winsten regression models with standard errors search and cluster robust inference examine how religious background, types of constituency (minority or non-minority) and legislative roles affect the frequency of references to minority issues in EDMs (Becketti 2013).[56] The models are identity-centred and account for the effect of having a certain religious background on the frequency of raising minority issues, alongside the most relevant institutional predictors whilst excluding less relevant characteristics.[57] The analysis accounts for the uneven distribution of references, as shown in Table 3.2), and compares MPs' engagement with minority issues before and after the 2005 attacks in London. This event marks

[55] The details about the content analysis coding and procedure can be found in Chapter 3.
[56] The *prais* command uses the Prais-Winsten estimator and iterates until the parameter estimates converge. The Durbin-Watson test is reported for both the original and the transformed models, which suits the data due its nonscalar residual variance matrices.
[57] For instance, party identification, electoral characteristics, and gender, as well as ethnicity, have been omitted from the analysis because of collinearity and a lack of ethnic variation within each religious group.

the transition between the periods of the least and the most interest to minority issues in EDMs, and it is also reflective of such transition in public and parliamentary debate (Figure 5.1).

The study then moves on to testing the impact of a religious minority background, constituency type, and a legislative role on the likelihood of referring to minority issues in EDMs in a series of random-effect logistic (Gaussian) models conducted on dichotomised dependent and independent variables (Appendix 4).[58] The choice of a dichotomised technique for hypothesis testing is appropriate to compensate for the unbalanced nature of the panel, which increases the possibility of serially correlated standard errors and makes testing for autocorrelation problematic. The hypotheses are tested using a series of random-effect logistic models. They are similar to the Prais-Winsten models, but the dependent variables are dichotomised for the purpose of the analysis (Appendix 5). This allows for an estimation of the likelihood of raising minority issues, rather than the intensity with which it is done.

Minority issues in EDMs – a rarity, but not in times of trouble

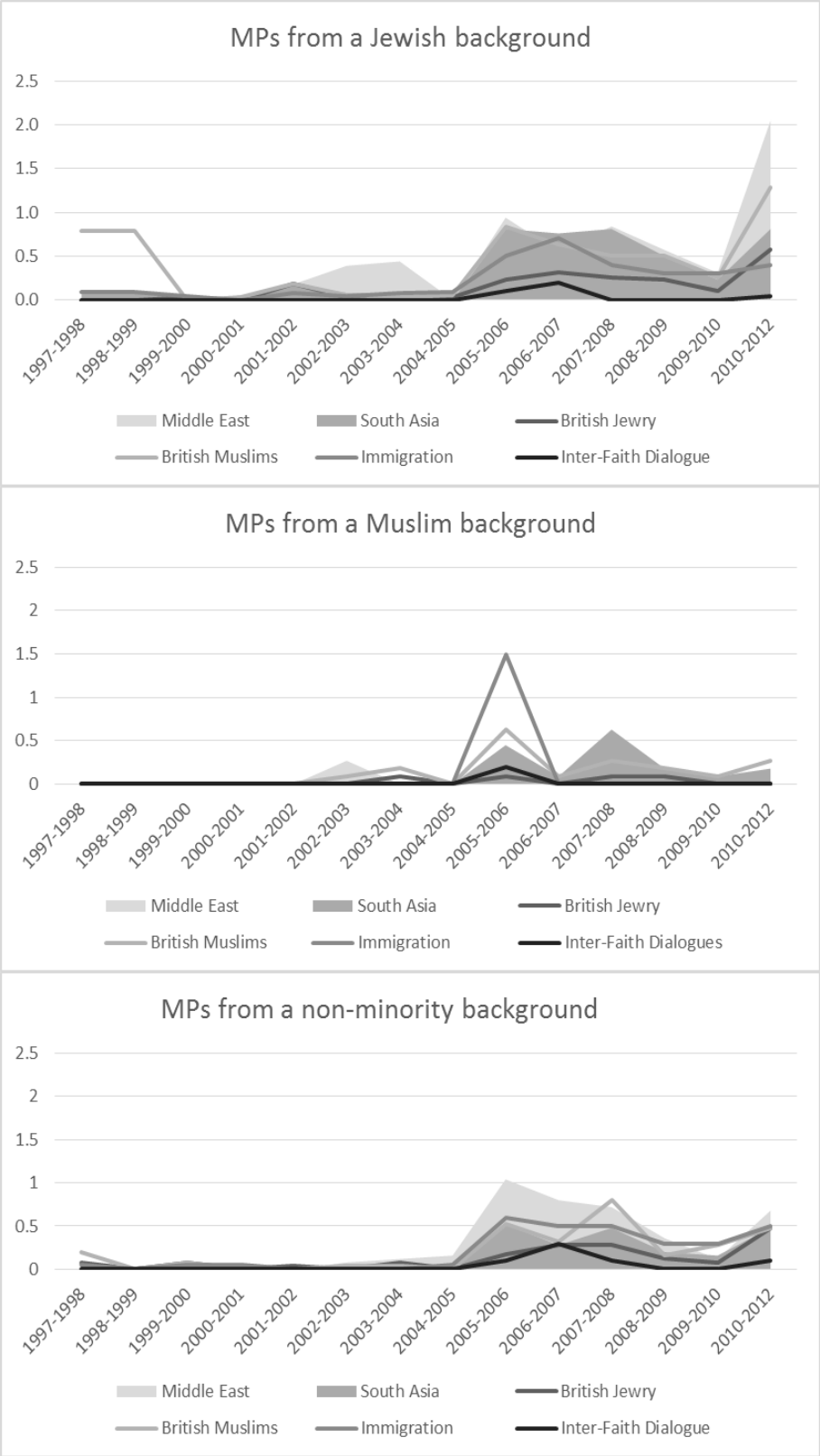
Members' interest has been triggered by domestic and international events that put Jewish and Muslim minorities in the spotlight. Minority issues have been mentioned after potentially dangerous events in South Asia and the Middle East (DeHanas *et al.* 2010; O'Toole *et al.* 2013). For instance, South Asia appeared in EDMs after the 2005 terrorist attacks in London that had been committed by British-born South Asians. MPs' interest in the region was

[58] A random effects model is preferred to a fixed effects model because it is feasible to assume that the unobserved effect is uncorrelated with each explanatory variable. Additionally, the IVs are relatively stable over time. For example, a religious background is time-constant, whereas proportions of minority population in constituencies and legislative roles change infrequently. Finally, random effects models are preferred to fixed effects in the pooled logistic regression, which is the type used in the analysis (Wooldridge 2013).

triggered by the assassination of Benazir Bhutto in December 2007 that led to mass protests, the suspension of the constitution and the introduction of a state of emergency in Pakistan in 2008. The Middle East started to strongly feature in EDMs after the assassination of the Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri in 2005. It was followed by the resignation of the Cabinet and the Syrian invasion in Lebanon. Shortly after that Hamas won the 2006 Palestinian legislative election, which eventually led to the Second Lebanon War and turned into another Israeli-Palestinian clash.

All three charts combined in Figure 5.1 show similar peaks and drops in minority and non-minority MPs' interest in minority issues. They show that the issues of concern for Jewish and Muslim minorities had been barely mentioned in the EDMs before the Iraq debate started in 2002, and were not prominent before the terrorist attack on July 7, 2005, as confirmed by the distribution of references to minority issues. However, the intensity of this interest, reflected in the mean averages of the number of references to minority issues, varies across MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds.

Figure 5.1 Distribution of references to minority issues in EDMs, 1997-2012, mean average



Note: Egen mean averages of the numbers of references to minority issues calculated from the average number of references to minority issues per minority group made by each MP in the respective identity group per session. The horizontal axis shows the distribution of averages across 14 parliamentary sessions.

In particular, MPs from a Jewish background mentioned minority issues most frequently compared to the other two groups. Their interest in minority-related foreign affairs relating to the Middle East and South Asia started growing around the time of the UK's involvement in Iraq, rapidly increased after the 2005 London bombings, and has remained rather high since then. Between 2005 and 2008, in particular, Jewish parliamentarians referred to the Middle East and South Asia at a rate of 1 and 1.5 mentions per session, respectively. Interest slightly dropped in the 2009-10 session, but reached a new high – level of 2 and 2.5 references to the Middle East and South Asia in the subsequent 2010-12 session. These figures do not necessarily mean that every Jewish politician tabled at least two motions regarding the Middle East in the 2010 Parliament, because some of MPs could be more interested in this topic than the other. However, they reflect the overall increase of interest in foreign affairs among parliamentarians from a Jewish background.

Figure 5.1 also shows that the ups and downs of Jewish MPs' interest in the Middle East, and especially South Asia, coincided with the intensity of references to British Muslims, which increased at the start of the Iraq War debate and around the time of the terrorist attacks in London. Interestingly, the initial 0.5 level of references to British Muslims between 1997 and 1999 outweighed the number of motions on foreign affairs, whereas they have become tighter connected after 2002.

The frequency of references to immigration and the inter-faith dialogue reflects on the general pattern. Immigration was infrequently mentioned in the motions tabled by Jewish MPs before the 2005-06 session, whereas the inter-faith dialogue did not feature there at all. However, after the 7/7 London

bombings, there was a spike of interest regarding both topics. In the case of the inter-faith dialogue, Jewish parliamentarians briefly mentioned between 2005 and 2007, whereas the interest in immigration persisted until the end of the 2010-12 session.

Finally, Figure 5.1 demonstrates the low, yet consistent, interest of MPs from a Jewish background in the issues of concern for the British Jewry. It largely repeats the 'British Muslims' curve, but with a lower intensity – not more than 0.5 on mean average, which suggests that the topics raised in the EDMs might speak to both faith communities.

The consistent interest in British Muslims from MPs from a Jewish background was not reciprocated by Muslim parliamentarians, who have barely mentioned British Jews, and referred to the issues relating to the Middle East half as frequently as Jewish Members. Their engagement with issues relating to South Asia and British Muslims was slowly increasing after 2002, yet peaked only twice in the 2005-06 and 2007-08 sessions to an average of just over 0.5 (Figure 5.1). Such a low level of engagement – barely one EDM that mentioned British Muslims per two Muslim MPs per session – could have been the result of institutional constraints, as well as a small number of MPs from a Muslim background in the Chamber. The 2005-06 session was also a peak point for Muslim MPs' engagement with topics relating to immigration and inter-faith dialogue, although it returned to the zero level in the subsequent session.

Finally, the control group tend to demonstrate similar patterns of engagement with minority issues in general, though with some notable variations. First, there were almost no mentions of minority-related issues in

the EDMs tabled by non-minority MPs before the 2005 London bombings, even at the time of debating the UK's involvement in Iraq. Secondly, the intensity of the references to minority-related domestic and foreign affairs in the motions sponsored by MPs from the control group has been comparable to that of Jewish parliamentarians, but not to British Muslims. Non-minority MPs became the most active in tabling motions relating to British Muslims in the 2007-08 session, which is two years later in comparison to the peaks of interest in that issue expressed by Jewish and Muslim Members. Finally, non-minority parliamentarians referred to immigration as frequently as Jewish Members, with the exception of the 1998-99 and 2001-2004 sessions. The inter-faith dialogue, on the other hand, attracted more attention from non-minority politicians – more than that of the Jewish and Muslim MPs combined. It was mentioned by non-minority parliamentarians throughout the 2005-2008 and the 2010-12 sessions.

Overall, at first glance Figure 5.1 gives the impression that Muslim and especially Jewish politicians have been faster to respond to political and social events relating to British Muslims and Jews. Furthermore, similarities between the curves that reflect minority MPs' interest in foreign and domestic affairs indicate that they have seen links between these two areas, whereas a lack of engagement with minority issues during the Iraq War debate suggests the opposite for non-minority politicians. On the other hand, the latter tend to be keener on discussing the inter-faith dialogue in the motions. However, placing the content of Figure 5.1 in socio-political context is necessary in order to make a more meaningful argument regarding the patterns of MPs' engagement with minority issues in EDMs, and the reasons behind them.

The invasion in Iraq increased criticism of the Government's foreign policy (BBC 2006, August 12), raised concerns over the dangers of involvement in the Middle East for British troops (Ipsos Mori 2003, November 20), and was linked with the 2005 attacks in London (Ipsos Mori 2005, July 23). The latter triggered the growth of xenophobia and mistrust of migrant-origin persons, especially Muslims, putting their regions of origin – South Asia and the Middle East – in the spotlight as well. The 'demonisation' of Muslims quickly spread to other communities, which was reflected in the increasing number of hate crimes in the UK (Lambert and Githens-Mazer 2010; Githens-Mazer and Lambert 2010). The Jewish community also remained on a high level 2 alert status, and the CST urged continuing extra vigilance from the Jewish community because of their concerns over the rise of far right movements and a number of incidents, such as the desecration of the Jewish cemetery in East Ham (APPG against Antisemitism 2006, 37). These events led to the 'securitisation' of social and community cohesion (DeHanas *et al.* 2010), which was reflected in the EDMs tabled by minority and non-minority MPs.

The interest in the issues of concern for Jewish and Muslim minorities remained low before the invasion in Iraq and did not grow much after the military operation. However, after the terrorist attacks in London in 2005, the interest in British Muslims and South Asia sharply increased (Figure 5.1). Furthermore, the involvement of the UK in Iraq and its continuing partnership with Israel (Kelemen 2012) made Members of Parliament, especially from Jewish and non-minority backgrounds, pay particular attention to the issues related to the Middle East after the start of the Second Lebanon War that shook

the region in 2006 (Figure 5.1). In general, MPs from a Jewish background have been the most likely to engage with both Jewish and Muslim minority related issues; Muslim parliamentarians, by contrast, have almost never mentioned the British Jewry or the Middle East. However, they have occasionally referred to British Muslims and South Asia after July 2005. The control group of non-minority politicians have demonstrated a much higher level of engagement of Muslim Members with these topics, compared to that of Jewish parliamentarians (Figure 5.1).

The content of the minority-related motions varies slightly across MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds. For instance, the issues of concern for the British Jewry have been barely mentioned by Muslim Members, yet were referred to by MPs from Jewish and non-minority backgrounds, especially during the Iraq debate and after 2004 when the commemoration of the Holocaust was approved by the United Nations. The majority of the motions sponsored by Members from Jewish and non-minority backgrounds were devoted to Holocaust-related events, including Memorial Days, commemoration campaigns, celebrations, and education initiatives, including the Holocaust Education Trust Auschwitz trips.[59] Furthermore, MPs from a Jewish background unequivocally condemned attempts to deny the Holocaust or the outcomes of the Nuremberg Trials (e.g., EDM 1229 2010-12). Focusing on combating anti-Semitism and discrimination on religious grounds (EDM 1590A2 2002-03; EDM 1376 2010-12), the motions relating to the British Jewry did not reflect wider community issues and needs.

[59] For instance, Memorial Days (EDM 287 2009-10; EDM 558 2009-10), Holocaust Education Trust Auschwitz trips (EDM 1032 2007-08; EDM 1317 2010-12) and the 'Never again for anyone' initiative (EDM 1360 2010-12). Simon Wiesenthal was also awarded a knighthood to pay 'tribute to his lifetime of dedication to the cause of bringing justice to the merciless Nazi perpetrators of the Holocaust' (EDM 717 2003-04).

MPs from a Muslim background talked fondly about how religious freedoms were exercised in Britain, illustrating their motions with examples from the UK Muslim communities. For instance, discussing the importance of religious practices, they referred to the celebration of Eid and the Hajj Pilgrimage (EDM 751 2002-03), and criticised the ban on religious symbols in French schools as opposed to the freedom of religious expression practised in the UK (EDM 362 2003-04; EDM 461 2003-04).[60] Freedom of religious expression in clothing was backed by a few non-minority Members as well (EDM 495 2010-12). The 'celebrating diversity' motif appeared prominently in the motions sponsored by Jewish and non-minority Members too. For instance, MPs from a Jewish background praised Bangladeshi cuisine (EDM 1931 2008-09) and live performances for 'enriching and entertaining communities' (EDM 546 2010-12). Although on some occasions the House expressed strong opinions with regard to Muslims,[61] MPs vocally opposed anti-Muslim sentiments reflected in condemning the proposal to burn the Koran (EDM 713 2010-12), or create a 'burn the Koran' day (EDM 700 2010-12).

The idea of burning the Koran – from an Evangelical Church in Florida (EDM 700 2010-12) – reflected the increased mistrust towards Muslims and

[60] EDM 461 was sponsored by Mohammad Sarwar and signed by all the minority parliamentarians, including Khalid Mahmood, Parmjit Dhanda, Parmjit Singh Gill, Piara Khabra, Lembit Opik, Marsha Singh, and Keith Vaz, disapproved of the banning of noticeable religious symbols in French schools. It '…recognises the importance of wearing certain items as a sign of faith, such as the Muslim hijab, Sikh turban, Jewish kippa and Christian crucifix or cross… reaffirms support for freedom of religious expression as a fundamental human right enshrined in international law; and calls on Her Majesty's Government to make strong representations with partners across the European Union against this blatant restriction of personal freedom, in defence of France's diverse faith communities' (EDM 461 2003-04).

[61] The content of the Channel 4 Dispatches programme broadcast on 15 January 2007 contained 'covert filming inside mosques in Birmingham and Derby showing speakers using highly derogatory and racist language against non-Muslims including, specifically, Christians, Jews, homosexuals, lesbians and women'. Although the House recognised that the majority of Muslims did not share those views, it stressed that 'incitement to religious and racial hatred… [had] no place in British society' (EDM 646 2006-07).

growing Islamophobia after the terrorist attacks in London in July 2005. The attacks and their impact on the UK communities caused major concerns for all the Muslim Members who condemned 'the violence against people of every religion and none'… and urged 'the Government to do everything in its power to ensure that those responsible [were] dealt with immediately so that nothing imperil[led] the diverse and multicultural character of the UK' (EDM 589 2005-06).

Combating Islamophobia became the main feature of the motions sponsored by Muslim MPs, having urged the House to recognise the contributions of prominent members of Muslim communities. They stated that 'there [was] no contradiction in being both Muslim and British', and call[ed] on the Government to bring in tighter regulation to tackle all forms of religious and racial discrimination (EDM 934 2005-06; EDM 1523 2005-06; EDM 955 2010-12). They also opposed 'the increased demonisation of Muslims … that [would] only lead to a climate of fear, division and disharmony' (EDM 1079 2009-10), specifying a number of individual cases, such as the detention of Muslims (EDM 1453 2008-09), and the generalisation of 'unIslamic and inhuman practices', such as forced marriage and honour killings, to the entire Muslim community (EDM 341 2006-07; EDM 589 2010-12).

The Muslim minority came under attack because of the alleged contradiction between the traditional morals and practices of their religion and countries of origin with those of British society, whereas British Jews were seen as more British than the British thanks to their ability 'to adjust, adapt and belong' (Sacks 2008, 34). To avoid false generalisation of such fundamentalist practices as forced marriages, honour killing, and the discrimination of women,

Muslim MPs, Mohammad Sarwar, for instance, suggested studying Islam and Muslims (EDM 2864 2005-06). However, despite the efforts of the Labour and Coalition Governments, as well as religious leaders, the peaceful nature of the Koran and Islam, in general, has been questioned.[62]

Combating increasing xenophobia in British society produced a strong cross-party and cross-minority support for the motions that addressed those issues. As a result, MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds from the three main parties sponsored EDMs opposing anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, and improving community cohesion, the integration of immigrants, and the inter-faith dialogue in Britain. Those motions reflected on historical and contemporary events associated with xenophobia, discrimination on religious grounds, and acts of vandalism. Although each motion was focused on a certain event it was always making a broader point in order to address those issues in general. For instance, EDM 2705 on 10.10.2006 commemorated the Battle of Cable Street, and EDM 343 on 16.06.2005 condemned the desecration of the Jewish cemetery in East Ham. However, both of them urged '…all progressive people to invoke the spirit of Cable Street again today by challenging and defeating the rise of racism and fascism at home and abroad' (EDM 2705 2005-06) and '…the Government…, the police service and local government to prevent… attacks against places of sacred or religious significance, which cause[d] such pain and incite[d] fear and division' (EDM 343 2005-06). They stressed the importance of fighting religious and ethnic discrimination, opposed '…the increased demonisation of

[62] For instance, issues of socio-political integration of British Muslims were raised in the exchange between Baroness Warsi and Lord Pearson of Rannoch in the House of Lords (HL Debate 2013-14, c17W). They also featured in some popular writings, such as 'Londonistan: How Britain is Creating a Terror State Within' by Melanie Phillips (2006).

Muslims in sections of the media… welcome[d] the participation and contribution of Muslims in British society, including in politics…' (EDM 1079 2009-10).

Muslim MPs linked the well-being of multicultural Britain with the sensibility of the UK's foreign policy towards the Middle East, and the Government's stance on the Middle East and South Asia caused a strong reaction from Muslim parliamentarians, reflected in an open letter to the Prime Minister Tony Blair in August 2006 (BBC 2006, August 12). Growing concerns that the British participation in the war on terror and the Iraq campaign might negatively affect domestic security were reflected in a few EDMs devoted to the Middle East and South Asia, sponsored by minority and non-minority MPs, in the mid-2000s. For instance, EDMs focused on the length of the British involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq. MPs expressed disappointment with the forecast by the UK military officials that the conflict might last for 38 years (EDM 9 2007-08) and urged for the withdrawal of British troops from Iraq (EDM 1225 2006-07). Finally, some motions reflected on UK relations with Iran in supporting sanctions, but warning against military intervention (EDM 858 2001-02; EDM 1398 2006-07; EDM 77 2009-10).

Human rights and the status of minorities in the region were prominent in the motions tabled by minority and non-minority Members, though MPs from a Jewish background raised them more frequently.[63] In general, the humanitarian situation was often at the centre of the motions, especially with regard to Palestine. Although only one Muslim MP – Mohammad Sarwar –

[63] For instance, treatment of Christians in Iraq (e.g., EDM 224 2007-08; EDM 1212 2009-2010; EDM 1660 2010-12); Greek enclave in Northern Cyprus (e.g., EDM 1792 2005-06; EDM 2005-06; EDM 27 2006-07), and the status of Kurds and the Kurdish language in Iraq and Turkey (e.g., EDM 2029 2005-06; EDM 1599 2010-12; EDM 2002 2010-12).

sponsored a few EDMs relating to Middle East, all of them were devoted to poverty in the Palestinian Territories, Israel's treatment of the Palestinians, and the inaction of the Government on these matters. For instance, the motions stressed that the barrier to mobility – the 'Israeli Wall' – increased the deprivation of the Palestinians, rejecting that the 'fence would also improve the daily life of Palestinians, by reducing Israel's involvement in Palestinian areas' (EDM 1784 2002-03); acknowledged that 'the barriers to mobility of persons, goods and services within the West Bank and between the Gaza Strip and the West Bank have worsened'; and urged 'the Government to work towards ending deprivation and restrictions imposed upon Palestinians living in the occupied territories' (EDM 2498 2005-06). Those views were supported by some MPs from a Jewish background, especially Sir Gerald Kaufman who consistently opposed the erecting of the Wall (e.g., EDM 1087 2005-06).

After the escalation of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in 2006, the majority of motions demanded an immediate unconditional ceasefire and called for open and fair negotiation between Israel and the Palestinians (EDM 1087 2005-06; EDM 457 2008-09; EDM 1841 2006-07). However, the opinions varied on whether Israel or the Palestinians were to blame for the return of the conflict. For instance, Mohammad Sarwar sponsored motions calling upon the House to condemn Israel for breaching the Geneva Conventions, and to open dialogue with Hamas (EDM 1841 2006-07; EDM 457 2008-09). On the other hand, there was no consistency in the opinions of MPs from Jewish and non-minority backgrounds on the matter; they varied from celebrating Israel's victories to being compassionate and encouraging to the Palestinians. For instance, EDM 1641 on 6 June 2007 was co-sponsored by MPs from a Jewish

background (Lee Scott and Louise Ellman)[64] and indicated strong support and sympathy to Israel in the 40th anniversary of the Six Day War of 1967.[65] However, the amendment to the motions by Berry Roger suggested that '…one-sided accounts of the history of the six day war and its 40 year aftermath are unlikely to make constructive contributions either to the promotion of understanding between Israelis and Palestinians or to the search for a lasting peace in the Middle East' (EDM 1641 2006-07).

Although Muslim MPs encouraged peace negotiations and the provision of humanitarian aid to Palestine, none of them actively supported motions on the Palestinian membership of UNESCO and the United Nations. Only two of nine elected Muslim politicians (Anas Sarwar and Yasmin Qureshi) signed those EDMs, which was smaller than the number of signatories from a Jewish background, including Sir Gerald Kaufman, David Winnick, and Dr Julian Huppert (EDM 2135 2010-12; EDM 2357 2010-12).[66] Dr Julian Huppert also co-sponsored EDM 2357 2010-12 welcoming 'the admission of Palestine to full membership of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation' (EDM 2357 2010-12). Despite having been supported by 115 MPs, including two Muslim and three Jewish parliamentarians, the suggestion to accept Palestine into the United Nations

[64] Louise Ellman expressed strong opinions on Israel's security on several occasions, for instance, she characterised the killing of Sheikh Yassin as a legitimate response of the Israel's government (HC Debate 2003-04a, 1404-1405).

[65] The motion '…marks the 40th anniversary of the Six Day War of 1967, and Israel's stunning victory against overwhelming odds; recalls that the war was triggered by Egypt's aggressive armed forces build up in Sinai and the closing by Egypt of the Straits of Tiran to Israel, in breach of international law, cutting off Israel's main oil supply route from her major supplier, Iran; remembers that subsequent to the surprise attacks in 1973 on Yom Kippur, the holiest day in the Jewish calendar…' (EDM 1641 2006-07).

[66] EDM 2135 2010-12 '…notes that the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, United Nations and EU have all reported that Palestine is ready for statehood… and support its admission to the UN', and EDM 2357 2010-12 co-sponsored by Dr Julian Huppert welcomed 'the admission of Palestine to full membership of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation' (EDM 2135 2010-12).

caused strong opposition from such Conservative politicians from a Jewish background as Robert Halfon and Dr Julian Lewis. They amended the motions making 'a clear distinction… between moderate Palestinians, such as those in the West Bank, who [were] seeking a peaceful two state solution and terrorist groups in Gaza, such as Hamas…' and stated that '…only those areas of Palestine which accept[ed] the Quartet Principle, and renounce[d] terrorism, should be considered for statehood' (EDM 2135 2010-12). The content of the motions has indicated strong opinions among parliamentarians concerning the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, especially with non-minority and Jewish backgrounds, whereas Muslim MPs have avoided engaging with the Israel-Palestinian conflict with the exception of in relation to humanitarian issues.

The engagement of MPs with topics related to South Asia was also largely confined to humanitarian and human rights issues, including ethnic tensions in Kashmir and Tibet. Members of Parliament from a Jewish background, for instance, Sir Gerald Kaufman and Graham Stringer, argued in favour of self-determination for Kashmir (EDM 241 1998-99; EDM 363 2005-06).[67] Harry Cohen and Fabian Hamilton also expressed concerns over the situation in Tibet, and human rights violations by China's government (EDM 1551 2002-03; EDM 808 2005-06; EDM 978 2008-09; EDM 2715 2010-12). The interest of non-minority MPs in South Asia remained relatively low, though some MPs, such as Graham Brady, Glenda Jackson, and Terry Rooney, occasionally raised issues relating to India and Burma. Muslim members never mentioned South Asia in EDMs tabled before the 2005-06 session. Their

[67] The motion welcomed 'the new approach being taken by the governments of India and Pakistan to bring a peaceful solution to one of the world's longest running disputes' and reaffirmed 'belief that the UK Government should continue vigorously to support the right of the Kashmiri people to determine its own future' (EDM 363 2005-06).

interest was triggered by political events in the UK and abroad, including the 7/7 London bombings and the assassination of Benazir Bhutto in December 2007 that led to mass protests and ended up with the introduction of the state of emergency in Pakistan.

The 2005 terrorist attacks were linked to South Asian British communities, which increased the interest in the region. Combating extremism, and internal stability in South Asia, had become of increasing importance for Britain's internal security, which is why the introduction of the state of emergency in Pakistan in 2008 caused strong reactions from British Muslim MPs, including Pakistani-born Mohammed Sarwar and Khalid Mahmood. They were concerned that a lack of political instability in Pakistan could pose a serious threat of extremism and terrorism (EDM 64 2007-08) and destabilise the region (EDM 2549 2005-06; EDM 1565 2007-08), including the peace negotiations between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue (EDM 980 2009-10; EDM 1524 2006-07). In light of this, they also expressed concerns over the freedom of the press and the safety of journalists in the country (EDM 1979 2007-08; EDM 975 2008-09).

In summary, MPs from different religious backgrounds have engaged with issues of Jewish and Muslim minority concern, though the frequency of such engagement varied across Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs. Parliamentarians from a Jewish background were interested in the issues of concern for both minorities, whereas Muslim MPs demonstrated even the lower intensity of engagement minority issues, compared to the non-minority Members. This was because of a small number of Muslim MPs, and the high proportion of frontbenchers among them who were bound by the Ministerial

Code and constrained in terms of time (Kolpinskaya 2014). However, the interest of MPs from all religious backgrounds in issues of minority concern increased after major domestic and international events, such as the invasion of Iraq, the 2005 terrorist attacks in London, and political disturbances in the Middle East and South Asia.

There was little diversity across minority and non-minority Members in terms of the content of the motions. The majority of Members focused on 'celebrating diversity' in Britain, making a strong point of combating Islamophobia and anti-Semitism, and stimulating the inter-faith dialogue, especially after the 7/7 London bombings. That event also triggered criticism of the Government's foreign policy in the Middle East, and led to the 'securitisation' of minority issues, linking the well-being of British society to the rationality of the UK's foreign policy, and the stable democratic development of the Middle East and South Asia (O'Toole *et al.* 2013). As both minority and non-minority Members sponsored the motions on those issues, there was no clear cut difference between the EDMs tabled by Members from minority and non-minority backgrounds. It is, however, unclear if differences in the frequency of raising minority issues by Jewish, Muslim and non-minority politicians is significant in statistical terms.

The effect of religious background on sponsoring minority-related EDMs: Do minority MPs sponsor more minority-related EDMs?

Prais-Winsten regression analysis on the TSCS data examines the effects of having a certain religious minority background, legislative role, and the presence of a Jewish and/or Muslim minority in the constituency on the frequency of references to the issues of concern for their respective minority

groups. It accounts for differences in the number of motions and their variable distributions between parliamentary sessions, as well as the number of Jewish, Muslim and non-minority politicians.

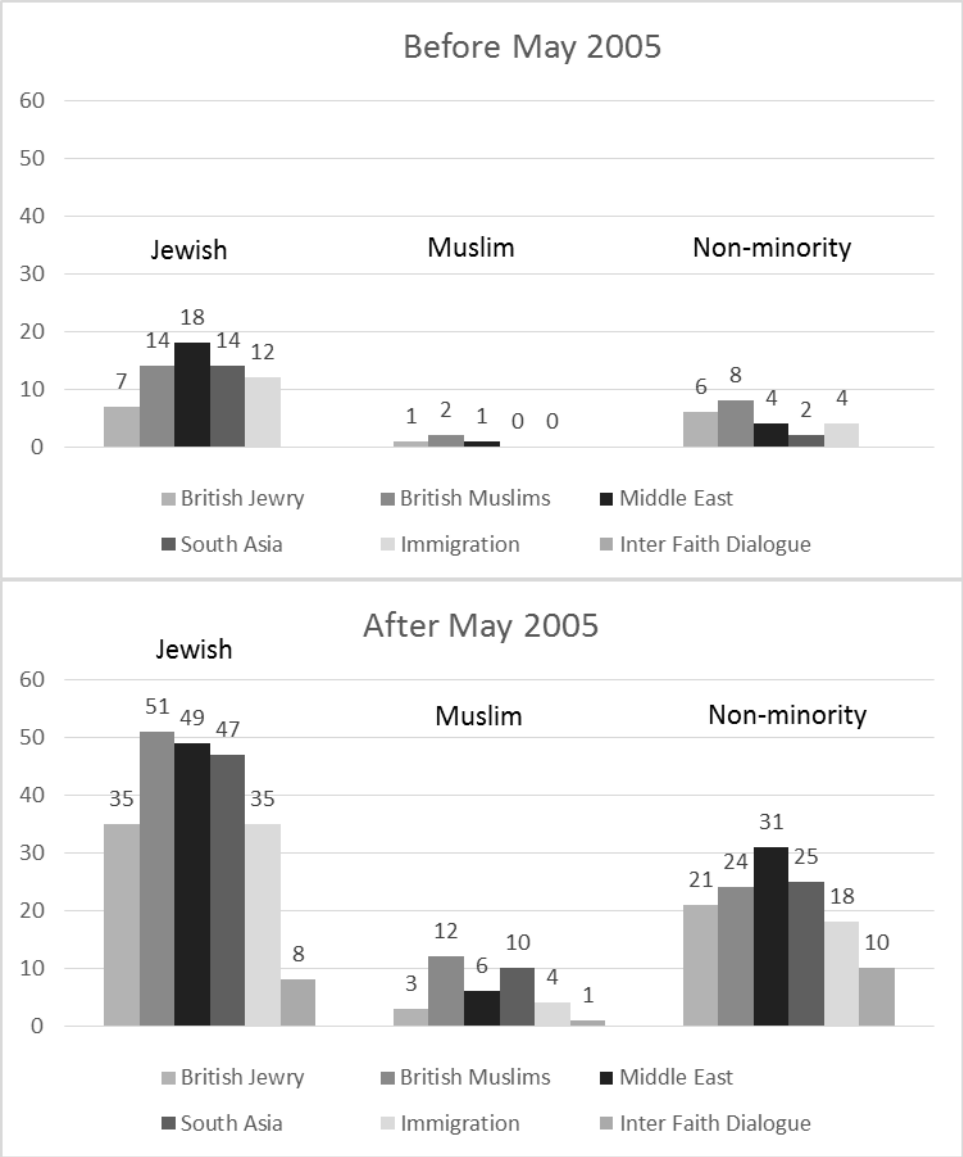
The analyses do not show any statistically significant relationship between coming from a religious minority background and referring to minority issues (Appendix 6). The models, however, are significant when it comes to engagement with issues of concern for British Muslims, through the analysis indicates no significance for the explanatory variables separately. That means that although being a backbencher, and a minority MP, and representing a constituency with a significant proportion of minority population make a parliamentarian engage with Muslim related topics more often, separately these characteristics do not enhance such engagement. The only exception is having a significant proportion of minority population in the MPs' constituencies, which makes Jewish and Muslim politicians raise issues of Muslim concern more frequently, as opposed to non-minority parliamentarians.[68]

The absence of a statistically significant relationship between the frequency of references to minority issues and a religious minority background might be the result of the limited sample size and uneven distribution of the references. However, the analysis of the post-2005 engagement with minority issues might paint a different picture, assuming that the terrorist attacks in London, growing xenophobia, and political disturbances in the Middle East and South Asia that trigger MPs' interest to Jewish and Muslim minority issues.

[68] The coefficients for Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs are 1.023, 0.904, and -0.899, respectively.

Figure 5.2 shows the number of references to minority issues in the motions sponsored by MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds before and after May 2005.

Figure 5.2 Distribution of references to minority issues in the EDMs sponsored before and after May 2005, frequency



Note: The number of references to minority issues is summed by identity group. May 2005 is as a reference line, because it separates the 2004-2005 and 2005-2006 sessions. The latter session starts shortly before the terrorist attacks in London on 7 July 2005 that marks the periods of the least and the most interest to minority-related topics.

The number of references to minority issues increased several times in the mid-2000s. They remained unevenly distributed across MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds, because of a smaller number of Muslim parliamentarians, their larger presence on the frontbench (especially in the 2005 Parliament) and, by contrast, the greater number of Jewish MPs on the backbench. For instance, Muslim MPs have barely mentioned minority issues before 2005, yet between 2005 and 2012 their interest in the topics regarding British Muslims and South Asia, in particular, increased. The number of references, however, remained small compared to other Members, and significance testing has not given any statistically significant results. After May 2005 MPs from Jewish and non-minority backgrounds have referred to issues of minority concern three times more often on average, than before. In the case of such issues as British Muslims, the Middle East and South Asia the frequency multiplied by four or more.

Figure 5.2 also shows slight variations between Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs in referring to certain topics. However, the relationship between a religious background and the number of references to certain topics is not statistically significant. For instance, Muslim MPs almost never referred to issues relating to immigration and the inter-faith dialogue, whereas the number of references increased three times for Jewish and non-minority Members.

It is particularly interesting that the case of the inter-faith dialogue had never been mentioned before 2005, yet drew moderate attention of MPs from a Jewish and non-minority background after the London attacks. Muslim parliamentarians, by contrast, raised that topic only once. Unsurprisingly,

issues relating to British Muslims attracted the most attention from politicians from a Muslim background. For instance, after 2005 the number of references to British Muslims in the motions tabled by Muslim MPs multiplied by six, and it grew three- and fourfold in the EDMs sponsored by non-minority and Jewish MPs, respectively.

The dynamics of referring to the British Jewry had a similar pattern, although with less intensity. Jewish MPs referred to the British Jewry five times more often after 2005 than before, whereas the interest of non-minority and Muslim Members to the matter increased three- and twofold, respectively. Minority MPs sponsor more motions on the issues of concern for their respective minority; MPs from a Jewish background sponsor motions on the British Jewry, and Muslim MPs on British Muslims. Furthermore, the pattern in the number of references to Jewish and Muslim community issues corresponds to the frequency of mentioning the Middle East and South Asia, which supports the 'securitisation' of minority issues hypothesis (DeHanas *et al.* 2010).

However, the number of references remains too low to get any statistically significant results. The statistical analyses show no meaningful relationship between coming from a religious minority background and the frequency of references to minority issues. However, the analyses do not show whether coming from a minority background increases the probability of raising those issues at all, especially given that both minority and non-minority MPs sponsor minority-related motions. This question is answered using the random-effect (Gaussian) logistic regressions on the TSCS data.

Are minority MPs more likely to raise minority issues in EDMs?

The results of the statistical analyses demonstrate that Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians are not more likely to raise issues of minority concern than other Members. There is no statistically significant relationship between having a certain religious minority background and the likelihood of raising issues of minority concern, including community and foreign affairs relating to the British Jewry and British Muslims.[69] This indicates that having a religious minority background is insignificant as a predictor of engagement with minority-related issues in EDMs.

Figure 5.3 shows the coefficients from the series of random-effect logistic (Gaussian) regressions conducted on dichotomised variables that demonstrate the effects of coming from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds on the probability of referring to the British Jewry, British Muslims, the Middle East, and South Asia in EDMs. The coefficients – represented as black circles on the graph – demonstrate the average effects of having a Jewish, Muslim, or non-minority background (IVs) on referring to each minority topic (DVs) across the time periods. The farther the circle is placed from the line through zero, the stronger the effect is. If the circle appears on the right side of the line through zero, the effect is positive, and it is negative if it is placed on its left-hand side. If the line for the 95 per cent confidence intervals crosses the line through zero, the effect is not statistically significant.

[69] The models for immigration and the inter-faith dialogue are not statistically significant, which indicates the irrelevance of using having a religious minority background, holding a certain legislative role, and representing a 'minority' type constituency for predicting the likelihood of raising these issues. Because of their irrelevance, the coefficients from these models are omitted from the main text. They can be found in the full STATA output in Appendix 6.

Figure 5.3 Effect from religious background on the likelihood of referring to minority issues in EDMs

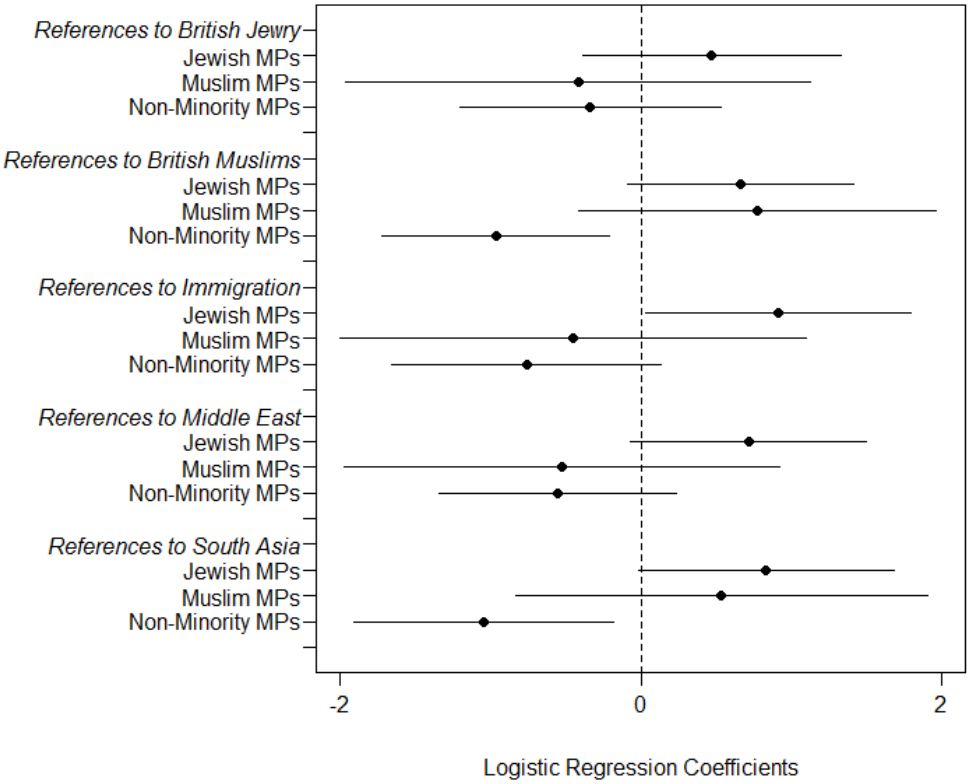


Figure 5.3 shows only one statistically significant effect from having a religious minority background on the probability of referring to minority issues. In particular, having a Jewish background has a relatively strong, positive, statistically significant effect on tabling WPQs on immigration (coefficient=0.912). This finding reflects on the consistent interest of Jewish parliamentarians in immigration, citizenship and asylum regimes. It is hardly surprising, given that the immigration debate has caused a heated discussion among British Jews since the late 19th century (Alderman 1998).

Although having a minority background impacts on the likelihood of referring to immigration only, having a non-minority background has statistically significant negative effects on the frequency of referring to British

Muslims' community affairs (-0.967) and in reference to South Asia (-1.048). It demonstrates that non-minority MPs in the sample are unlikely to raise minority issues related to British Muslims and South Asia.

Overall, the results of testing H_1 shows little evidence that minority MPs are more likely to raise minority issues in EDMs driven by their religious backgrounds alone. The absence of statistically significant relationships between having a Jewish or Muslim minority background and raising the issues of concern for their minority groups (with the only exception) suggests that a religious minority background is largely irrelevant for predicting such engagement. Although the effect from a Jewish background on the probability of asking immigration-related WPQs is positive and statistically significant, this issue is of concern for the UK minority and non-minority population alike. This suggests that there could be other than a religious minority background factors that stimulate MPs' engagement with these issues, which is supported by the testing of H_2 and H_3 and the WPQs analysis in Chapter 6.

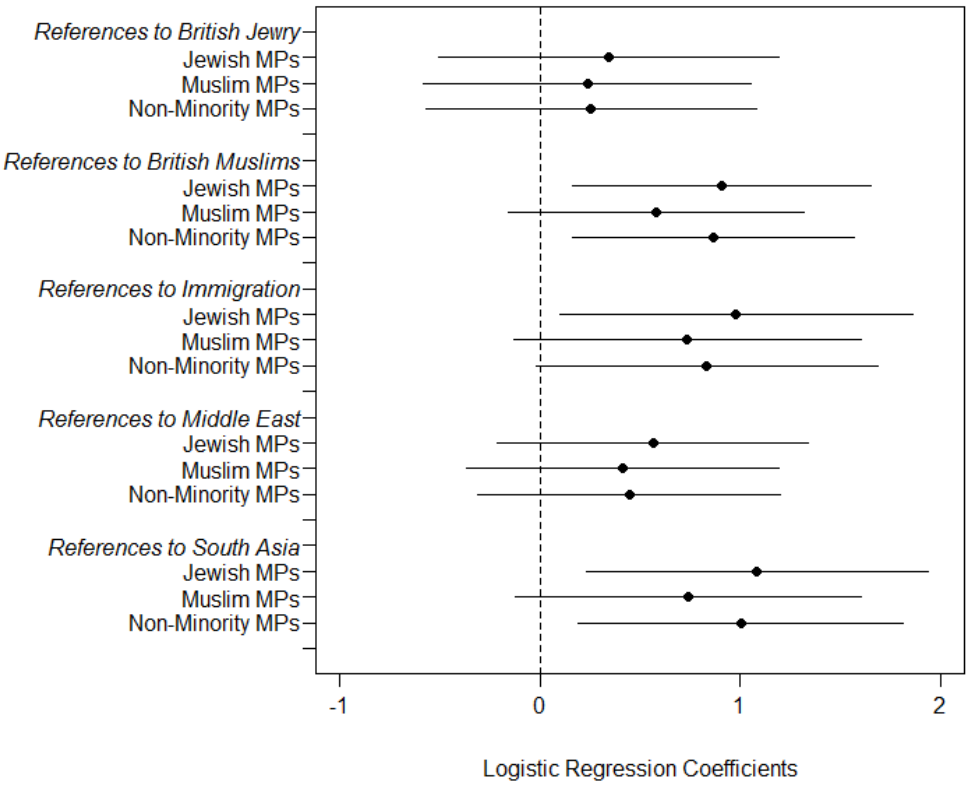
In addition to religious minority background, the multi-variate models include institutional predictor variables – the type of constituency with regard to minority population, and legislative roles. The statistical significance of the models that predict the likelihood of raising minority issues in EDMs, despite the irrelevance of one of the explanatory variables – religious minority background – suggests that the impact of institutional predictors on the likelihood of engagement with minority issues is statistically significant.

The proportion of Jewish and Muslim minority population by constituency is used to identify 'minority' and 'non-minority' constituencies. 'Minority' constituencies are defined as areas with a significant proportion of

Jewish and/or Muslim population, compared to England's and Scotland's averages (ONS 2003; ONS 2012). In addition, these constituencies are identified with regard to Jewish and Muslim community sources that watch the electoral outcomes in these areas (Jewish Chronicle 2010; Muslim Vote 2010). The constituency-oriented bias in the parliamentary behaviour of an MP is accounted for by examining the effect of representing a constituency with a significant proportion of minority population (Gaines 1998). Members who are elected from a minority constituency have more incentives to engage with issues of minority concerns, because they have a clearer insight into problems facing religious minorities and/or experience of dealing with them as a part of constituency case work. Figure 5.4 demonstrates the effect of representing a constituency with a significant proportion of Jews and Muslims on the likelihood of raising minority issues in EDMs. The coefficients are presented by MPs' religious backgrounds for comparative purposes – to explore how representing minority constituencies influences the likelihood of MPs' engagement with the topics of concern for their minority groups. [70] The positive relationship points at the increasing likelihood of engagement with minority issues if an MP represents a constituency with a significant proportion of Jewish and/or Muslim population.

[70] Although there none of Muslim parliamentarians was elected from a constituency with a significant Jewish population, there have been a few non-minority and Jewish parliamentarians representing 'minority' constituencies, such as Oona King (Bethnal Green and Bow); Robert Halfon (Harlow); Harry Cohen (Leyton and Wanstead); Sir Gerald Kaufman (Manchester Gorton); Mike Gapes (Ilford South); Stephen Timms (East Ham); Jack Straw (Blackburn); Terry Rooney and David Ward (Bradford North).

Figure 5.4 Effect from representing a ‘minority’ constituency on the likelihood of referring to minority issues in EDMs



Notes: Figure 5.4 represents 15 coefficients from the random-effects logistic (Gaussian) regressions conducted on dichotomised DVs – British Jewry, British Muslims, Immigration, Middle East and South Asia – and IVs – constituency type with regard to the proportion of Jewish/Muslim population.
The coefficients – black circles – show average effects of representing a ‘minority’ constituency on the likelihood of referring to these minority issues. The farther the circle is placed from the line through zero, the stronger the effect is. If the circle appears on the right side of the line through zero, the effect is positive, and it is negative if it is on its left side. If the line for the 95 per cent confidence intervals crosses the line through zero the effect is not statistically significant.

Figure 5.4 shows strong to moderate, positive, statistically significant effects of representing a constituency with the significant proportion of Jewish and/or Muslim population on the probability of referring to British Muslims and South Asia by MPs with Jewish and non-minority backgrounds in EDMs, as well as the likelihood of Jewish MPs tabling EDMs on immigration. The statistically significant effects from having a large enough Muslim minority on raising issues of concern to British Muslims, their countries of origin and

immigration speak to the argument of the 'securitisation' of community cohesion, which has come across especially strongly after 9/11, the invasion of Iraq, and the 2005 London bombings (DeHanas *et al.* 2010; O'Toole *et al.* 2013). These events connected the UK's domestic security and well-being of Muslim minorities with the quality of democracy and well-being of their countries of origin, whilst adding another dimension to the immigration debate.

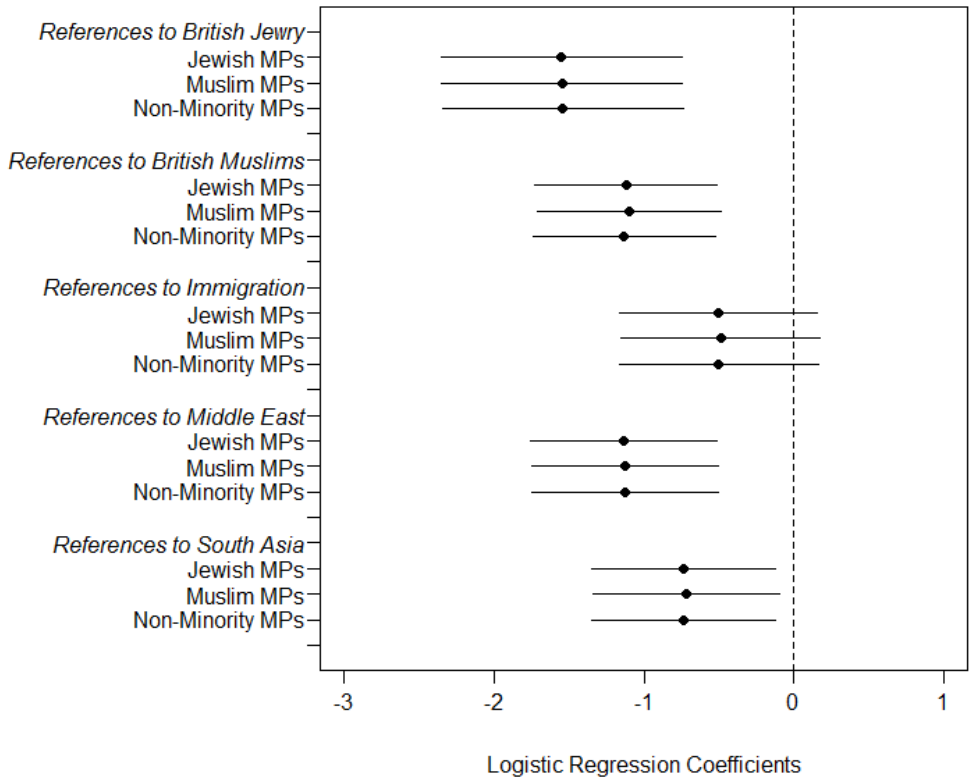
However, the impact of representing a 'minority' constituency on the likelihood of engagement with minority issues in the case of Muslim MPs is not statistically significant. This might reflect the desire of Muslim parliamentarians to avoid being perceived as single issue MPs. On the other hand, it clearly contradicts the portrayal of Muslim politicians as minority representatives by the media and public bodies, as well as by parties during election campaigns (Kahani-Hopkins and Hopkins 2002; Saeed 2007). In practice, a minority presence in a constituency does not have any significant impact on the likelihood of engagement with minority issues by Muslim MPs.[71]

The results of the analysis partially support H_2, suggesting that representing a constituency with a significant proportion of minority population encourages Jewish and non-minority MPs to raise the issues that concern British Muslims and topics relating to immigration in the EDMs they sponsor. On the other hand, the hypothesis is not supported in the case of Muslim MPs representing 'minority' constituencies, or Jewish and non-minority MPs engagement with the issues of concern for British Jews. In these instances no statistically significant effect has been observed.

[71] All eight Labour Muslim Members have been elected from constituencies with a significant proportion of Muslim population: Rushanara Ali (Bethnal Green and Bow), Khalid Mahmood (Birmingham Perry Bar), Shabana Mahmood (Birmingham Ladywood), Sadiq Khan (Tooting), Yasmin Qureshi (Bolton South East), Mohammad Sarwar (Glasgow Central and before then Glasgow Gowan), Anas Sarwar (Glasgow Central), and Shahid Malik (Dewsbury).

Coming from a religious minority background is irrelevant as a predictor of minority MPs' engagement with minority issue in EDMs, whereas representing a 'minority' constituency seems to have a limited impact. A legislative role, by contrast, is the single most important predictor of raising minority issues for Jewish, Muslim, and non-minority MPs.

Figure 5.5 Effect from holding a leadership role on the likelihood of referring to minority issues in EDMs



Notes: Figure 5.5 represents 15 coefficients from the random-effects logistic (Gaussian) regressions conducted on dichotomised DVs – British Jewry, British Muslims, Immigration, Middle East and South Asia – and IVs – legislative role.
The coefficients – represented as black circles – show average effects of holding a leadership role on the likelihood of referring to minority issues. The farther the circle is placed from the line through zero, the stronger the effect is. If the circle 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 per cent confidence intervals crosses the line through zero the effect is not statistically significant.

The coefficients plotted in Figure 5.5 display the effects of holding a leadership position on the likelihood of referring to minority issues in EDMs sponsored by MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds.

Figure 5.5 shows consistent, strong to moderate, negative, statistically significant effects from holding a leadership role on the probability of referring to all minority issues, except immigration, in the EDMs sponsored by politicians from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds.

The strengths and consistency of these effects paint a legislative role as a strong predictor of MPs' engagement with minority issues in this type of low-cost activity. They suggest that under loosened party discipline, MPs' behaviour is regulated by other institutional predictors that correspond to the type of activity and its significance for the parliamentary process. First and foremost, EDMs are well-suited to express MPs' personal views and attitudes, as well as probe the opinions of the rest of the House. However, they lack an immediate effect on passing legislative proposals, which often discourages ministers and other frontbenchers from investing their time and effort in proposing EDMs. Furthermore, although the party whips are largely disengaged, MPs who hold ministerial positions are expected to notify the Whips when they sponsor a motion (Walpole and Kelly 2008; House of Commons 2010). Finally, ministers are bound by the Ministerial Code of Conduct that includes the principle of collective responsibility, and are constrained in terms of time (Cabinet Office 2011). Overall, the pressures of frontbenchers' roles and responsibilities, as well as their time constraints, make them unlikely to get involved in sponsoring EDMs – on minority issues amongst other topics – as much as backbenchers.

The results of the analysis speak to this argument and show that MPs in ministerial positions are less likely to engage with the issues of Jewish or Muslim concern in EDMs, regardless of their own religious background. Conversely, this suggests that backbenchers are more likely to raise minority issues in EDMs. These effects are particularly strong on issues relating to the British Jewry and the Middle East, but are slightly weaker for British Muslims and South Asia. They are equally strong for Members from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds. This confirms that institutional constraints affect them in the same way.

The analyses support H_3, and suggest that holding a ministerial position decreases the probability of MPs' engagement with minority issues in EDMs for both minority and non-minority parliamentarians.

In summary, the analyses largely reject the main hypothesis, finding little evidence to suggest that coming from a religious minority background has a significant impact on the engagement of Jewish and Muslim MPs with the issues of concern for their respective minorities through EDMs. This does not mean that minority Members do not bring up minority topics on occasion, but it shows that being Jewish or Muslim does not make them more likely to do so. Furthermore, the analyses demonstrate the inferiority of religious minority background as a predictor of referring to minority issues in EDMs, compared with institutional factors. Representing a 'minority' constituency, for instance, increases the likelihood of Jewish and non-minority MPs' engagement with issues relating to British Muslims and South Asia, though it is irrelevant in other instances. Holding a backbench legislative role, on the other hand, substantially increases backbench Members' likelihood of engagement with the

topics of concern for Jewish and Muslim minority groups, being the strongest and most consistent predictor of such engagement in EDMs for MPs from minority and non-minority backgrounds.

Conclusion

The analyses demonstrate that Jewish and Muslim MPs do not sponsor a disproportionate number of EDMs relating to the issues of concern for their minority groups, demonstrating that increasing the number of MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds in the House of Commons should not be expected to improve the representation of Jewish and Muslim issues in Parliament.

On the other hand, Jewish MPs are more likely to ask immigration-related questions. This reflects on their consistent interest to immigration that has been argued to be a point of common interest to the British Jewry since the late 19th century (Alderman 1983). However, the engagement of Jewish MPs with immigration has not been caused by their religious minority background alone. It is supported by the absence of the effects from a Jewish background on the likelihood of raising other minority issues in EDMs.

Institutional predictors, on the contrary, have strong and consistent effect on the likelihood of both minority and non-minority MPs raising minority issues in EDMs. Holding a backbench leadership role, in particular, strongly encourages politicians from these three religious backgrounds to refer to all minority issues, except immigration. Furthermore, representing a 'minority' constituency increases the probability of Jewish and non-minority MPs' engagement with Muslim-related issues, and the likelihood of Jewish politicians referring to immigration.

The strength and consistency of institutional, rather than identity-based, predictors shows that minority MPs are no more or less likely to engage with issues relating to British Jews and Muslims, and their regions of origin, than other MPs. Rather, these issues are a matter of common debate which engage politicians in their personal capacity and in their role as experts. There is no evidence to suggest that coming from a religious minority background creates a bias that encourages MPs to engage with these issues.

This finding is perhaps not surprising as parliamentarians must be seen as rational policy-makers who operate in a highly constrained working environment; arguably, they should not be expected to push hard for such minority issues, given their other obligations as MPs (to their party or other constituents, for example). However, this study has shown that this remains true even in low-cost parliamentary activities when party discipline is loosened, and where there is a greater opportunity for self-expression.

This suggests that minority politicians do not necessarily engage with issues of minority concern, or at least are raising these topics as frequently as non-minority politicians. As the result, the representation of minority interests does not benefit from being exclusively delivered by MPs from a certain minority background. On the contrary, politicians from different religious backgrounds who are willing to and capable of engaging with issues of any minority concern can improve minority representation.

So why do minority politicians not exclusively represent minority interests? First, party and parliamentary constraints favour a certain type of behaviour, and therefore, encourage the self-censorship of MPs on sensitive issues. This is demonstrated by the comparatively rare engagement of Muslim

parliamentarians with Muslim-related issues. They stand out because of their ethnic and religious backgrounds, and do not want to be seen as single-issue MPs, driven by ethnicity or religious beliefs rather than by reason.

Second, a question can be posed as to whether minorities should represent minorities, given their primary duties are to the party and constituency that select and elected them. The analysis shows that non-minority MPs raise minority-related issues. Therefore, the representation of minority interests is delivered by MPs regardless of their religious background. Then, the presence of minority MPs improves parliamentary representation descriptively making the House visibly more diverse. This can empower minority groups to engage with formal politics and provide role models for British Muslims and Jews to lift their life and career aspirations. On the other hand, substantive representation that implies acting on behalf and in the best interests of the respective minority groups can be expertise-based. It does not necessarily imply a religious identity shared by an MP and those who he/she represents and can, therefore, be delivered by non-minority Members as well as both minority and non-minority politicians.

Chapter 6

Examining the Effect of Religious Background on Low-Cost Activities: Parliamentary Questions for written answers

This study continues with the analysis of another low-cost parliamentary activity – the content of WPQs. As well as in the case of EDMs, WPQs are tabled when party discipline is loosened, and the cost of self-expression is lower compared with voting. This allows a religious minority background to influence the performance of minority MPs. However, WPQs serve a different purpose from EDMs, namely to scrutinise the Government's legislation and policies, and to hold the Executive to account (Norton 1993a, 195-196).

Using methods of content and statistical analysis, this chapter examines if the content of WPQs tabled by parliamentarians with Jewish and Muslim backgrounds reflects the issues of concern for their minority groups, compared to those asked by non-minority MPs. This is indicative of the effect from a religious minority background on the content of WPQs. This study estimates the likelihood and examines the frequency of raising minority issues in WPQs, accounting for the effects of coming from a religious minority background, party parliamentary status, and the proportion of minority population in MPs' constituencies. The validity of the analysis is enhanced by comparing Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians to a control group of non-minority MPs. The analyses are supplemented with qualitative content analysis of WPQs that maps the distribution of references to the minority issues which attracted the most attention of Members from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds.

This chapter argues that coming from a religious minority background has a limited impact on the likelihood of asking minority-related questions, and no effect on its frequency, when controlling for institutional predictors such as being in Opposition or holding a leadership legislative role. Although having a Muslim background increases the likelihood of asking questions regarding the Middle East and South Asia, and having a non-minority background reduces the possibility of addressing issues connected to British Muslims, a Jewish background does not have an impact on either the likelihood or the frequency of raising minority issues. Being in Opposition, on the other hand, increases the possibility of all MPs tabling WPQs on minority issues. Finally, the analyses expose the differences between EDMs and WPQs, and demonstrate that tabling WPQs is a partisan, though low-cost, activity, which is affected by the dichotomy between the Government and the Opposition.

Data and methods

The study tests the likelihood and frequency of referring to minority issues in WPQs against religious background and institutional predictors. The analysis is contextualised using previous research and illustrated by the relevant WPQs.

54,123 questions are used for the analysis, including 39,877 WPQs tabled by MPs from a Jewish and 2,398 by politicians from a Muslim background, and 11,848 questions asked by a control group of non-minority MPs (Table 3.5).

The hypotheses and the structure of the analysis are similar to the analysis on EDMs in Chapter 5, though some adjustments have been made to account for differences in the nature and functions of EDMs and WPQs. In

particular, the hypotheses test the effects of having a Jewish, Muslim or non-minority background (H_1), representing a 'minority' type constituency (H_2), and holding a ministerial legislative role (H_3) on raising minority issues in WPQs, on the grounds explained in Chapter 5. The hypotheses read, as follows:

H_1: Members of Parliament from Jewish and/or Muslim minority backgrounds are more likely to raise issues of concern for their minority groups in WPQs and/or to refer to these issues more frequently than MPs from a different religious background.

H_2: MPs who represent constituencies with a significant proportion of Jewish and/or Muslim population are more likely to raise issues of concern for, respectively, Jewish and Muslim minorities in WPQs and/or to do so more frequently, than MPs who represent constituencies without a significant presence of these minorities.

H_3: Frontbench MPs are less likely to raise issues of concern for Jewish and Muslim minorities in WPQs and/or to do so less frequently than backbench Members.

Unlike Chapter 5, the analysis of WPQs accounts for the effect of being in Opposition or Government as a predictor of parliamentary behaviour. The party parliamentary status influences the content of WPQs because of the nature and purpose of WPQs as a tool for holding the Government to account, and probing ministers on the Government's legislation and policies, which is shaped by the dichotomy between the Government and the Opposition (Norton 1993a, 195). Given that WPQs ensure the accountability of the Government and enable MPs to scrutinise its decisions, being in Opposition or Government

is expected to affect the number and content of WPQs; MPs from the Opposition parties are likely to ask more questions than those on the Government benches. Furthermore, given the prominence of the Iraq war, immigration and community cohesion in parliamentary debates, they are also more likely to ask minority-related questions. Conversely, the Government might want to maintain the integrity of the party and refrain from interrogating the ministers on sensitive topics, including minority issues. The argument that the frequency and/or the likelihood of engagement with minority issues in WPQs varies between MPs from the Opposition parties and the party of Government is expressed in the following hypothesis:

H_4: Opposition MPs are more likely to raise issues of concern for Jewish and Muslim minorities in WPQs and/or to do so more frequently than Members from the party of Government.

If the hypothesis is supported by the analysis, then there is a positive relationship between being in Opposition and the frequency and/or likelihood of MPs' referring to minority issues in WPQs. In this event, being in Opposition stimulates Members to interrogate the Government ministers on policies and legislation in general and stimulates the discussion of minority issues as well. MPs from the Government party, with the exception of some backbenchers, avoid the discussion of sensitive topics that can undermine party integrity and the Government's work.

In summary, if H_1 is not supported, whereas H_2, H_3 and/or H_4 are, then it shows that having a religious minority background is largely irrelevant as a predictor of minority MPs' engagement with issues of concern to and their performance as representatives of the interests of their minority groups in

WPQs. It will also show the superiority of institutional predictors, including the proportion of a minority population in the constituency, party parliamentary status and/or the legislative roles of MPs. In this event, the results of the analyses would be consistent with the results of the voting behaviour and EDMs analyses in Chapters 4 and 5.

The analyses replicate the structure of the EDMs analysis in Chapter 5. First, the content analysis output provides values to dependent variables (*y*). The data are declared to be TSCS data and merged with dichotomised explanatory variables (*x*), including a religious background, legislative role, party parliamentary status, and a constituency type (Wooldridge 2013; Becketti 2013).

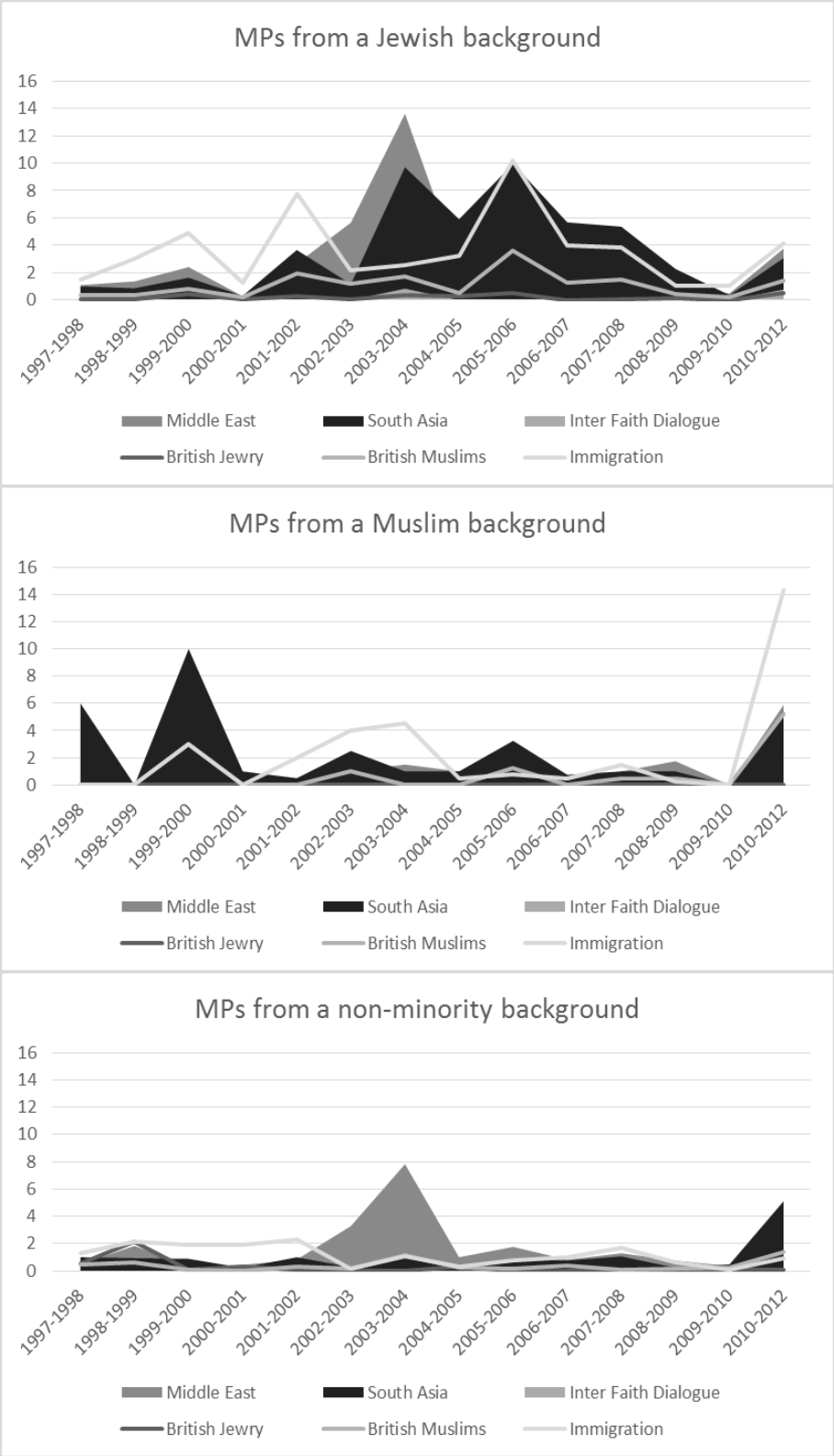
The distribution of references to minority issues between 1997 and 2012 is explored using the mean averages of the number of references, rather than the actual number, to account for the uneven distribution of the references and WPQs across MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs (Figure 6.1) and explored qualitatively. The hypotheses are tested for the frequency and the likelihood of referring to minority issues in series of multi-variate Prais-Winsten and random-effect (Gaussian) logistic regression models.[72]

Minority issues in WPQs, 1997-2012

The distribution of references to minority issues in WPQs show patterns different from those that emerged in the EDMs analysis. First, they are more consistently distributed across time, compared to motions. The moderate rises of interest around the time of the Iraq war and the 2005 London bombings, however, were stronger shown in EDMs than in WPQs (Figures 5.1 and 6.1).

[72] See the methods section of Chapter 5 for details.

Figure 6.1 Distribution of references to minority issues in WPQs, 1997-2012, mean average



Note: Egen mean averages of the numbers of references to minority issues calculated from the average number of references to minority issues per minority group made by each MP in the respective identity group per session. The horizontal axis shows the distribution of averages across 14 parliamentary sessions.

Figure 6.1 shows that foreign affairs and immigration attracted the most attention from parliamentarians, whereas interest in British Muslims has been comparatively weak. However, in both instances, the frequency of references to minority issues is much higher than in EDMs (Figure 5.1), where it never exceeded 2 in mean average. In WPQs, on the other hand, the highest average frequency of references to the Middle East and South Asia for Jewish Members reached 14 and 10 in mean average at the times of the Iraq War debate and the 2005 London bombings, respectively.

Figure 6.1 also demonstrates more variance among the topics of interest for Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs, compared with EDMs. MPs from a Jewish background repeatedly asked questions on foreign affairs, immigration and, to a lesser extent, on British Muslims, whereas the British Jewry and the inter-faith dialogue were barely mentioned. The latter two were almost never addressed in WPQs tabled by Muslim and non-minority MPs either. Those groups were less engaged in discussing minority issues in general, though for Muslim politicians this could have been the result of their smaller presence in the Chamber. Nevertheless, both groups regularly tabled Parliamentary Questions on immigration, though their priorities in terms of foreign affairs varied – Muslim parliamentarians asked more questions on South Asia, and non-minority MPs on the Middle East.

The consistently high level of attention to immigration and foreign affairs in WPQs reflects on the scrutiny of New Labour's migration, asylum, and citizenship legislation, as well as its multicultural policies, by the Opposition parties and Labour backbenchers. After the 2010 General Election the parties reversed, yet the questions remained, though they were now being

asked by Labour politicians and the Conservative and Liberal Democrat backbenchers, as they scrutinised the Coalition Government.

Immigration talks – the more, the merrier

First and foremost, the efficiency and responsiveness of the Home Office and the other migration authorities was regularly questioned and often criticised, especially with regard to technical and staff-related issues (17004, 43044 in Hansard 2005-06) that negatively affected administrative performance. For instance, MPs wondered how many passports had been lost,[73] what the proportion of incorrect primary decisions (92482 in Hansard 2005-06) and the response time to visa applications and correspondence in general were.[74] They also criticised a lack of clarity within the application procedures (93732 in Hansard 1998-99).

Second, Members of Parliament frequently expressed concerns over potential flaws in immigration regulations and the entry regime,[75] which caused misunderstandings concerning migrants' rights and responsibilities, including their eligibility to work in the UK and their access to the welfare system.[76] In addition, the functioning and costs of border control, visa

[73] For instance, 'Lynne Featherstone (Hornsey & Wood Green): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, how many passports and documents handed in have been lost after being deposited at the Immigration and Nationality Directorate in each of the last five years; and if he will make a statement' (13559 in Hansard 2005-06).

[74] E.g., 133845, 113587 in Hansard 1999-00; 31408, 33239, 34332, 41886, 88535 in Hansard 2005-06; 293061 in Hansard 2008-09; 72080, 72081 in Hansard 2010-12. For instance, 'Shabana Mahmood (Birmingham, Ladywood): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, what the average processing time was between an individual claiming asylum and receiving a decision on their application (a) as of 1 September 2011 and (b) in each of the last five years' (72081 in Hansard 2010-12).

[75] E.g., 43198, 73346 in Hansard 2005-06. For instance, 'Mr Michael Howard (Folkestone and Hythe): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, how many illegal immigrants have been apprehended at the Channel Tunnel terminal at Cheriton this year; and how many of them have applied for asylum' (5280 in Hansard 2001-02).

[76] E.g., 28291 in Hansard 1997-98; 72867 in Hansard 1998-99; 7232, 73336 in Hansard 2005-06; 125175 in Hansard 2006-07; 213681, 213683 in Hansard 2007-08. For instance, 'Ms Oona King (Bethnal Green and Bow): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, what statutory provision gives effect to the rights of Turkish workers as regards residence and

processing and appeal, immigration and asylum legal support and appeal,[77] costs of the police and detention services, accommodation, administrative,[78] and welfare systems, including the NHS and public schools, were consistently interrogated.[79] The lack of clarity and efficiency of the immigration system were considered to be potential loopholes for discrimination against migrants in the workplace, in housing and in everyday life.[80]

Ensuring community cohesion also came across strongly in the questions related to the treatment of migrants and ethnic minorities in the context of the stop-and-search police operations and claiming benefits.[81] A few MPs, such as Shabana Mahmood, also raised concerns over non-English-speaking migrants on community cohesion and the availability of English language courses.[82]

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employment in accordance with Article 6(3) of the Association of Council Design 1/80 adopted under the Turkey/EC Association Agreement 1963 and its Protocol' (72867 in Hansard 1998-99).

[77] E.g., 93985, 93983, 61708, 61709 in Hansard 1998-99; 117048 in Hansard 1999-00; 21972, 38178, 91796 in Hansard 2005-06. For instance, 'Mr Mohammad Sarwar (Glasgow Govan):To ask the Parliamentary Secretary, Department for Constitutional Affairs, how much was paid in legal assistance in asylum cases in 2003' (164974 in Hansard 2003-04).

[78] E.g., 117049, 117047, 117050 in Hansard 1999-00.

[79] E.g., 55872 in Hansard 1997-98; 83737 in Hansard 1998-99; 117051, 117052, 118056; 116535, 116534 in Hansard 1999-00; 72823; 70484 in Hansard 2010-12. For instance, Fabian Hamilton reflected on the 'demands on the health service arising from Kosovar refugees arriving in the United Kingdom' (83737 in Hansard 1998-99) and the relating strain on the NHS (83738 and 83739 in Hansard 1998-99).

[80] E.g., 28296 in Hansard 1997-98; 72874, 82940, 82941 in Hansard 1998-99; 88266, 124706, 139259, 139261, 139249 in Hansard 2002-03. For instance, 'Mr Graham Stringer (Manchester, Blackley): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, if he will make a statement on his Department's policy on unannounced visits to check if a marriage is one of convenience for immigration purposes' (82013 in Hansard 1998-99), and 'Mr Mohammad Sarwar (Glasgow Govan):To ask the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, what plans she has to bring forward legislation to establish employment rights for migrant workers' (197685 in Hansard 2003-04).

[81] E.g., 55872 in Hansard 1997-98; 88451 in Hansard 2005-06. For instance, 'Lynne Featherstone (Hornsey & Wood Green):To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, how many stop-and-searches have been made under article 60 (1) (b) of the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 as amended by the Knives Act 1997 in each year since the entry into force of the Knives Act 1997; and how many of those stop-and-searches (a) in England, (b) in London, (c) in the Haringey basic command unit lead to an arrest' (108627 in Hansard 2006-07).

[82] E.g., 55613, 55615, 72186 in Hansard 2010-12.

Minority and non-minority MPs frequently used WPQs for requesting statistical data. In particular, they asked about the composition of the migrant population, including the number of refugees and asylum seekers, labour migrants, dependants, and family members, as well as foreign nationals who had leaves to remain.[83] They also filed a few requests to clarify the differences between migration categories, such as 'a refugee', following the changes in European legislation (128236 in Hansard 1999-00). In addition, MPs requested regular updates on illegal immigration,[84] the number of migrants who had been detained, prosecuted, deported, and/or appealed their cases.[85]

Members of Parliament also asked for information on the ethnic and religious groups in the UK[86]. Since the early 2000s they have been focusing on migrant-origin minority groups, including Muslims, and examining their role and contribution to British society. For instance, MPs asked about the number of Muslims in the army (83676 in Hansard 2005-06) and the police force (134526 in Hansard 1999-00), as well as those serving sentences in British prisons (62346 in Hansard 2001-02; 50458 in Hansard 2005-06). Reflecting on the complex structure of the UK population, politicians also expressed concerns over the insufficiency of the ethnic group categories in use, and

[83] E.g., 60011, 26778, 26779, 26780, 26781, 28296, 60013 in Hansard 1997-98; 61683, 95166, 61683, 66112, 661115, 66990; 72874 in Hansard 1998-99; 117794; 97577, 137489, 130841 in Hansard 1999-00; 164972, 147100 in Hansard 2003-04; 37577, 14721 in Hansard 2005-06; 115982, 130601, 158788, 104605 in Hansard 2006-07; 239060 in Hansard 2008-09.

[84] E.g., 135022, 123629, 134809 in Hansard 1999-00, 49934 in Hansard 2001-02; 4143 in Hansard 2005-06.

[85] E.g., 49313, 49314, 49319, 49320, 52714, 52715 in Hansard 1997-98; 97576 in Hansard 1999-00; 62346 in Hansard 2001-02; 85937, 88653; 36816 in Hansard 2005-06; 263891, 263892 in Hansard 2008-09; 56356, 56357, 59177, 94880, 94063, 73435; 76096 in Hansard 2010-12.

[86] For instance, 'Mr Sadiq Khan (Tooting):To ask the Deputy Prime Minister, what proportion of (a) African, (b) Afro-Caribbean, (c) Bangladeshi, (d) Chinese, (e) Indian, (f) Pakistani, (g) Somali, (h) white, (i) other black groups and (j) mixed and other ethnic groups households are estimated by the Survey of English Housing 2004-05 to be living in overcrowded housing conditions' (42919 in Hansard 2005-06).

suggested expanding them and including smaller ethno-religious groups, such as Turks, Arabs, and Kurds.

Finally, politicians from minority and non-minority backgrounds used WPQs for constituency case work to request information on particular cases,[87] or to get statistical data on the number and composition of migrant communities in their constituencies.[88] In addition to dealing with single cases, MPs also filed requests about plans to build immigration and refugee centres in their local authorities, the running of the existing refugee and detention facilities, the number of refugees in their local authorities, and the level of support they were able to receive.[89] For instance, Dr Evan Harris expressed concerns over unaccompanied minors in detention centres,[90] and Louise

[87] E.g., Lynne Featherstone – 28844, 37008, 37576, 52225, 75603, 94134 in Hansard 2005-06; 101186, 113420 in Hansard 2006-07; Susan Kramer – 79307 in Hansard 2005-06; David Winnick – 104512, 106827 in Hansard 1999-00; Anthony Steen – 43836 in Hansard 2001-02; and Sir Gerald Kaufman – 61681, 66486, 68200-68202, 68196-68198, 74569 in Hansard 2001-02; 83429, 133838, 133844, 89239 in Hansard 2002-03; 175614, 177026, 178999, 19551 in Hansard 2003-04; 210838, 224364 in Hansard 2004-05; 190, 2131, 10689, 10693, 79416 in Hansard 2005-06; 101610 in Hansard 2006-07; 185054, 238139 in Hansard 2007-08; 266374, 266375, 250860 in Hansard 2008-09; 303385 in Hansard 2009-10; 11970, 29294, 34751, 37229, 102717, 104008 in Hansard 2010-12. For instance, 'Mr Gerald Kaufman (Manchester, Gorton): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, for what reason he has not yet replied to the letter to him dated 18th March from the Right honourable Member for Manchester, Gorton with regard to an Afghan asylum-seeker ref DEV/OU/1506' (66486 in Hansard 2001-02).

[88] E.g., 14314, 72079, 94062 in Hansard 2010-12. For instance, 'Shabana Mahmood (Birmingham, Ladywood): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, how many applications for asylum made before 5 March 2007 by residents of (a) Birmingham, Ladywood constituency, (b) Birmingham City Council area and (c) England have yet to be determined; and what proportion of these she expects to have been resolved by 31 August 2011' (14314 in Hansard 2010-12).

[89] E.g., 120342 in Hansard 1999-00; 38654, 52353, 77560, 38655, 50437 in Hansard 2001-02; 85562, 85563 in Hansard 2002-03; 38135, 39194 in Hansard 2005-06; 28239, 28240 in Hansard 2010-12. For instance, 'Mr Mohammad Sarwar (Glasgow, Govan): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, if he will make a statement on the hunger strike by asylum seekers at Dungavel detention centre' (50513 in Hansard 2001-02); 'Sir Gerald Kaufman (Manchester, Gorton): To ask the Secretary of State for Justice, how many immigration matter starts are allocated in the Greater Manchester access area' (61642 in Hansard, 2010-12), and 'Mr Michael Howard (Folkestone and Hythe): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, why he proposes to locate a 24-hour reporting centre for asylum seekers in Folkestone' (85563 in Hansard 2002-03).

[90] E.g., 20655, 20656, 20657, 20659, 37121, 37123, 37125, 60013 in Hansard 1997-98.

Ellman interrogated the criteria for the assessment of private contractors providing accommodation and support for asylum seekers.[91]

Although the scrutiny of migration legislation in WPQs stands out the most, it is inevitably connected with issues of community cohesion and multicultural policies. The latter were occasionally referred to with regard to the British Jewry, but were usually mentioned in relation to British Muslims.

British Jewry – a small white elephant in the room

In WPQs tabled by MPs from Jewish and non-minority backgrounds,[92] combating anti-Semitism was the most prominent issue, which shows the relevance of this issue for modern Jews. Between 1997 and 2012, politicians consistently condemned anti-Semitic sentiments and strongly reacted to any related incidents, such as 'Mr John Bercow (Buckingham): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, what investigations have been initiated into the circulation of posters in North London urging the murder of Jewish people' (134527 in Hansard 1999-00).[93]

Whilst acknowledging the historic roots of anti-Semitism, several questions addressed the lasting memory of the Holocaust and continuing support for Holocaust survivors.[94] MPs also condemned Nazi war criminals

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[91] E.g., 7412, 7413, 78543, 78544, 78546, 78549, 78582, 10207, 10824 in Hansard 2001-02.

[92] Muslim politicians did not table WPQs that mentioned British Jews (Figure 6.1).

[93] Also, 'David Winnick (Walsall North):To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, what his policy is on allowing into the UK those with well-known racist and anti-Semitic views who intend to speak at public meetings; and if he will make a statement' (183118 in Hansard 2002-03), and 'David Winnick (Walsall North):To ask the Prime Minister, what safeguards are in place to ensure that Ministers do not inadvertently attend meetings or send messages to meetings where racist or anti-Semitic individuals are platform speakers' (183142 in Hansard 2002-03).

[94] E.g., 63042 in Hansard 1998-99; 137409, 138158 in Hansard 1999-00. For instance: 'Dr Evan Harris (Oxford West & Abingdon): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, what representations he has received regarding the BBC televising the Holocaust Memorial Day national event; and if he will make a statement' (14501 in Hansard 2001-02); 'Mr Harry Cohen (Leyton and Wanstead): To ask the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, what steps the Government is taking to return to victims of Nazi persecution assets which were

and Fascism/Nazism as an ideology (e.g., 23674, 23676 in Hansard 1997-98; 114938 in Hansard 1999-00) and made sure that the Holocaust would not be questioned or denied in the UK and abroad: 'Mr Lee Scott (Ilford North): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what representations he will make to the Iranian government following the statement by President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad dismissing the Nazi Holocaust as a myth' (38664 in Hansard 2005-06). Altogether, the questions regarding British Jews tabled by Jewish and non-minority MPs aimed to outlaw anti-Semitism and to ensure that people who have made anti-Semitic statements could not be appointed to public positions, or allowed to enter the UK (37994 in Hansard 2005-06).

British Muslims – friends or foes?

In WPQs related to British Muslims, MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds reflected on Muslim clothing and dietary requirements,[95] and whether their needs were accepted and accounted for in British society. They also requested information on how the Government and official bodies dealt with language barriers, especially in the court of law and other public services.[96] That included the availability of interpreters from Arabic, Urdu, and

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confiscated in the United Kingdom by Her Majesty's Government under trading with the enemy legislation' (63042 in Hansard 1998-99), and 'Grant Shapps (Welwyn Hatfield): To ask the Secretary of State for Defence, what plans he has to commemorate the role of British servicemen during the Second World War in saving victims of the Holocaust' (80256 in Hansard 2005-06).

[95] For instance, 'Mr Mohammad Sarwar (Glasgow, Govan): To ask the Secretary of State for Health, if he will make a statement on his policy caring for Muslim patients' (130949 in Hansard 1999-00) and 'Lynne Featherstone (Hornsey & Wood Green): To ask the Secretary of State for Health, whether the vaccines for (a) diphtheria, (b) tetanus, (c) pertussis, (d) polio, (e) Haemophilus influenza type b, (f) pneumococcal conjugate, (g) meningitis C, (h) MMR and (i) HPV available for use by GPs are halal; what halal alternatives are available for those which are not; and if he will make a statement' (247899 in Hansard 2008-09).

[96] E.g., 61706, 61707, 61708 in Hansard 1998-99. For instance, 'Dr Evan Harris (Oxford West and Abingdon): To ask the Minister of State, Lord Chancellor's Department, how many

Hindi (86812 in Hansard 2005-06), and the provision of English language classes.[97]

Parliamentarians also launched enquiries into issues of religious tolerance, and the links between the UK's Muslim organisations and those that posed a security threat in Britain and overseas. 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 (e.g., 14781, 14843 in Hansard 2001-02). A number of individual cases, such as the detention of a Palestinian activist Sheikh Raed Salah in 2011, grasped the attention of Members as well (e.g., 65761, 65762, 65763, and 65764 in Hansard 2010-12).

Because of the sensitivity of the issue, MPs' concerns over the possible radicalisation of British Muslims and their links to extremist organisations after the 2005 terrorist attacks in London rarely made it to WPQs.[98] However, MPs from minority backgrounds requested additional information on the matter and reflected on the views of Muslims in their constituencies. For instance, Fabian Hamilton requested the assessment of the representations from Muslim community leaders in Leeds (14690 in Hansard 2005-06), and Dr Julian Lewis reflected on the content of the Channel Four Dispatches programme on extremism in some mosques, broadcast on 15th January 2007, and the criminal

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persons intending to be court interpreters in asylum hearings have failed to pass security checks; and what action was taken as a result' (61707 in Hansard 1998-99).

[97] For instance, 'Lynne Featherstone (Hornsey & Wood Green):To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Skills, how many failed asylum seekers took English for Speakers of Other Languages courses in each London borough in each of the last five years for which figures are available' (130991 in Hansard 2006-07).

[98] The few exceptions include, for instance, Louise Ellman who requested clarification of what advice the unit 'Engaging with the Muslim World' gave to the Government concerning radical Muslim organisations (37995 in Hansard 2005-06). She also asked who was responsible for the policy of the unit towards radical Islam (86291 in Hansard 2005-06), and whether the Foreign and Commonwealth Office was funding some of the organisations (86287 in Hansard 2005-06).

offences committed by the individuals featured (119985 in Hansard 2006-07). A few Members also expressed concerns over the risks of having the offices of international organisations, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, in the UK and their alleged links with international organisations suspected of funding and supporting terrorist networks.[99]

Similar to EDMs, WPQs reflected the 'securitisation' of community affairs, which was reflected in a number of requests to assess the threat that international Muslim fundamentalist terrorism posed to Britain.[100] Focusing on the different elements of domestic security, MPs examined steps taken by the Government to improve community cohesion and prevent the growth of Islamophobia in British society. For instance, they inquired about the meetings held between ministers and faith-based NGOs after the 2005 bombings (14712 in Hansard 2005-06), and the Government's initiatives to improve the inter-faith dialogue, and avoid the marginalisation of Muslim communities. Muslim MPs, in particular, attracted the attention of the House to the attempts of mosques and local faith communities to improve social cohesion and community relations.[101]

MPs' concerns over domestic security and community cohesion partly echoed the UK's foreign affairs, which included military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq, in addition to the traditional economic, military and humanitarian cooperation with South Asia and the Middle East. The military

[99] For example, 24583 in Hansard 2010-12.
[100] E.g., 135020, 137911 in Hansard 1999-00; 13677, 17254, 17029 in Hansard 2001-02.
[101] For instance, 'Mr Khalid Mahmood (Birmingham, Perry Barr): To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, what recent reports she has received on (a) investigations undertaken by members of the US Congress and (b) materials held by the US Department of Justice on the attendance of Umar Farouk Abdulmuttalab at events addressed by Anwar al-Awlaki at North London Central Mosque since 2005; and what assessment her Department has made of the role of the North London Central Mosque in deradicalisation in the context of her Department's review of each strand of the Prevent strategy' (10247 in Hansard 2010-12).

campaigns and their aftermaths triggered debates on topics relating to South Asia and the Middle East, which was reflected in the consistently high level of interest to those regions in WPQs.

Foreign Affairs – tug-of-war on South Asia and the Middle East

Members of Parliament also required regular updates on the UK's relations with the South Asian and Middle Eastern countries, and information about human rights and potential security risks emerging from them.[102] They requested information on economic cooperation with those countries, including the improvement of infrastructure, regional development projects and trade agreements, international aid, and cultural exchange.[103]

Muslim MPs, in particular, focused on economic cooperation, development funding and humanitarian aid to South Asian countries.[104] Furthermore, they notably referred to issues connected with pilgrimages, which were relevant to practising Muslims in the UK and overseas,[105] though there were not raised by non-Muslim Members. In addition to economic cooperation,

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[102] E.g., 137917, 128585 in Hansard 1999-00; 78464, 78465 in Hansard 2001-02; 190569 in Hansard 2003-04; 82984, 33594, 87328 in Hansard 2005-06; 256247 in Hansard 2008-09; 37599 in Hansard 2010-12. WPQs addressed issues relating to particular countries, for instance, Saudi Arabia – 63097 in Hansard 1998-99; 196297, 199353 in Hansard 2007-08; Turkey – 62098 in Hansard 1998-99; 3988, 4312 in Hansard 2010-12; Jordan – 8071 in Hansard 2001-02; Syria – 60024 in Hansard 2005-06; 102983, 84011, 86076, 87697 in Hansard 2010-12; Pakistan – 113590, 113588, 113589 in Hansard 1999-00; India – 38993, 38994, 42681, 45499, 51795, 62019, 70792 in Hansard 2001-02; Bangladesh – 37814, 37813 in Hansard 2005-06.

[103] E.g., 25474, 25473, 21697, 42760 in Hansard 1997-98; 91760 in Hansard 1998-99; 129932, 129362, 129308 in Hansard 1999-00; 23640, 23641; 86723, 102984, 103021 in Hansard 2010-12. For instance, 'Zac Goldsmith (Richmond Park): To ask the Secretary of State for International Development, what support his Department is giving to renewable energy projects in Pakistan' (7385 in Hansard 2010-12).

[104] *E.g.*, WPQs regarding Pakistan and Bangladesh (130961, 97582, 97583 in Hansard 1999-00; 27470, 27471, 27472 in Hansard 2005-06; 100975 in Hansard 2006-07; 202573 in Hansard 2007-08; 18546 in Hansard 2010-12); India (27822 in Hansard 2010-12), and Afghanistan (37130, 37129, 37131, 8964, 12285 in Hansard 2010-12).

[105] E.g., 145912 in Hansard 2000-01; 19875 in Hansard 2010-12. For instance, 'Anas Sarwar (Glasgow Central): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what consultation his Department had with community leaders before taking the decision not to include a medical team within the British Hajj Delegation' (19875 in Hansard 2010-12).

the content of the WPQs suggested military collaboration, which included providing training and assistance to armed forces, and exporting weapons to the South Asian and Middle Eastern countries.[106] Furthermore, both Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians expressed concerns over the increasing military potential of Syria and Iran as a result of their agreements with Russia.[107]

Regarding particular areas, ethnic political conflicts were the main point of interest for minority parliamentarians. For instance, both Jewish and Muslim MPs regularly interrogated the Foreign and Commonwealth Office on the status of the Kashmir negotiations and human right violations in the area,[108] though Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were the most frequently mentioned in WPQs throughout the 2000s.

Although the grounds for military intervention in Afghanistan have not been questioned in WPQs, concerns over the efficiency of the UK's involvement, its military strategy (the use of cluster bombs, for instance), and especially its cost were often raised by Jewish MPs.[109] Additionally, MPs interrogated the criteria for recognising the new government and improving the practice of governance in Afghanistan,[110] and the terms and conditions of Britain's withdrawal (e.g., 104858 in Hansard 2010-12), which had been

[106] E.g., 43095, 27060 in Hansard 1997-98; 134961, 129308 in Hansard 1999-00; 110250 in Hansard 2002-03; 48688, 92375, 92376 in Hansard 2005-06; 25070, 25072 in Hansard 2010-12.
[107] E.g., 270257 in Hansard 2008-09; 16621 in Hansard 2010-12.
[108] E.g., 56716 in Hansard 1997-98; 89892, 89890, 89893 in Hansard 1998-99; 97581 in Hansard 1999-00; 11561, 11562 in Hansard 2010-12. For instance, 'Yasmin Qureshi (Bolton South East): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what recent assessment he has made of the political situation in Indian-administered Kashmir' (60157 in Hansard 2010-12).
[109] E.g., 10788; 36936, 11646 in Hansard 2001-02; 14449 in Hansard 2005-06; 23692, 23693, 30068 in Hansard 2010-12.
[110] E.g., 17035, 17172, 17173, 17174 in Hansard 2001-02; 67537 in Hansard 2005-06; 83419 in Hansard 2010-12.

postponed because of the instability of the political situation (17034 in Hansard 2001-02).

The post-war reconstruction and humanitarian situation were mentioned by MPs from a Jewish background,[111] but came across particularly strongly in the WPQs tabled by Muslim MPs. Those included questions of political assistance to the new Afghani government (180739 in Hansard 2003-04; 293679 in Hansard 2008-09; 27825 in Hansard 2010-12), the political and social inclusion of women and minorities (37790, 37127, 37791 in Hansard 2010-12), and the reconstruction of health and other public services (65011, 64560, 65012, 65010 in Hansard 2010-12). Both Jewish and Muslim politicians were also concerned with the inability of the coalition and local authorities to curb opium and heroin production.[112] In addition, MPs from a Jewish background frequently expressed concerns over the treatment of prisoners by the US forces and their allies,[113] though no Muslim MPs raised that issue.

Along with Afghanistan, the invasion in Iraq – its prerequisites and consequences – was one of the top topics of the minority-related WPQs tabled by MPs from a Jewish background, but not Muslim parliamentarians. Differently from EDMs, the discussion about the relevance of a military intervention in Iraq had started long before the actual invasion. It was mostly focused on the potential removal of sanctions for Iraq, the oil-for-food programme, and the Iraqi weapons of mass destruction dossier. Some MPs, including Sir Gerald Kaufman, David Winnick, and Harry Cohen, appealed for

[111] E.g., 152881 in Hansard 2000-01; 103030 in Hansard 2010-12.
[112] E.g., 52771, 81227 in Hansard 2005-06; 293680 in Hansard 2008-09.
[113] E.g., 30133, 31271, 31636, 31635, 31634 in Hansard 2001-02; 73726 in Hansard 2005-06.

the lifting of the sanctions because of the worsening humanitarian situation in Iraq and the unavailability of food and medicine.[114] On the other hand, many parliamentarians were convinced that Iraq abused the conditions of the oil-for-food programme by exporting oil and using the profits for military purposes.[115] MPs also remained unconvinced that all the weapons of mass destruction in Iraqi territory had been discovered and eliminated – concerns that were frequently questioned after the invasion.[116]

In addition to evaluating the internal situation in Iraq, MPs examined the UK's involvement in military operations. Before March 2003 they asked about the British involvement in Operation Desert Fox and other attacks on Iraq, and their cost for the country (e.g., 65160 in Hansard 1998-99; 110697 in Hansard 1999-00). In the run up to the invasion, MPs, especially Dr Julian Lewis, repeatedly interrogated the Secretary of State for Defence on his

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[114] E.g., 23042 in Hansard 1997-98; 76933 in Hansard 1998-99; 114171, 140144, 114121, 114122, 114123 in Hansard 1999-00; 145430 in Hansard 2000-01; 2707, 2712, 2733, 5929, 9122, 9119, 9123, 9118, 9123 in Hansard 2001-02. For instance, 'Mr David Winnick (Walsall North): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what is the latest position on the provision of food and medicines in Iraq; what reports he has received on the number of children suffering in Iraq because of the lack of adequate medicines and other health supplies; and what plans he has to assist them' (83293 in Hansard 1998-99); 'Mr Gerald Kaufman (Manchester, Gorton): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, if he will set out the conditions contained in United Nations Security Council resolutions which require to be fulfilled before sanctions on Iraq can properly be lifted' (40427 in Hansard 1997-98), and 'Harry Cohen (Leyton & Wanstead): To ask the Prime Minister, what Her Majesty's Government's requirement is of Iraq for the lifting of economic sanctions' (49810 in Hansard 2001-02).

[115] For instance, 'Mr Michael Fabricant (Lichfield): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what estimate he has made of the number of barrels of oil, and the value in US dollars, exported illegally each year from Iraq to each first destination' (76934 in Hansard 1998-99).

[116] E.g., 60668, 60746 in Hansard 1997-98; 65696, 65697 in Hansard 1998-99; 119006 in Hansard 2002-03; 124671 Hansard 2006-07. For instance, 'Mr Michael Howard (Folkestone and Hythe): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, if he will make a statement on progress in inspecting Iraqi missile warheads alleged to contain traces of VX' (50721 in Hansard 1997-98), and 'Dr Julian Lewis (New Forest East): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what his assessment is of Iraq's access to weapons of mass destruction' (134922 in Hansard 1999-00).

assessment of whether Iraqi military could use the conventional, chemical, and biological weapons to attack the British troops on the ground.[117]

In the post-war period, MPs asked about the cost of the British military presence and reconstruction of Iraq,[118] as well as remembrance campaigns and support for veterans.[119] However, the terms and conditions of the British withdrawal was the top question from the backbenchers and Opposition,[120] as well as the lessons learnt from the Iraqi experience (95596 in Hansard 2010-12).

In addition to Iraq and Afghanistan, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was consistently referred to in WPQs with regard to the peace process, a security threat to Israel, and the humanitarian situation in Palestine. WPQs show a strong cross-party consensus and commitment to the peaceful solution of the conflict highlighted in the requests to the Secretary of State for Foreign and

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[117] E.g., 94533, 94531, 94534, 95882, 95880, 112251 in Hansard 2002-03.

[118] E.g., 110698 in Hansard 1999-00; 132832 in Hansard 2001-02; 116602, 116601, 116601, 135497, 131041 in Hansard 2002-03; 6049, 39192 in Hansard 2005-06. For instance, 'Dr Julian Lewis (New Forest East): To ask the Secretary of State for Defence, what assistance is being given by (a) the Royal Marines and (b) the Royal Navy to facilitate the reconstruction of Iraq' (112250 in Hansard 2002-03); 'Gerry Steinberg (Durham, City of): To ask the Secretary of State for Defence, what the average daily cost has been of the occupation of Iraq' (154940 in Hansard 2002-03), and 'Ivan Lewis (Bury South): To ask the Secretary of State for International Development, what steps his Department is taking to improve standards of governance in Iraq' (83420 in Hansard 2010-12).

[119] For instance, 'Mr Jonathan Djanogly (Huntingdon): To ask the Secretary of State for Defence, what plans he has made to award campaign medals to British troops fighting in the Gulf in recognition of their service in Iraq' (108525 in Hansard 2002-03), and 'Dr Julian Lewis (New Forest East):To ask the Secretary of State for Defence, what arrangements his Department has made to facilitate the financial assistance offered by the US-based Intrepid Fallen Heroes Fund to the families of British personnel lost on operations in Iraq and Afghanistan' (36458 in Hansard 2005-06).

[120] For instance, 'Dr Julian Lewis (New Forest East):To ask the Secretary of State for Defence, what his assessment is of the date of their likely return to the UK' (9765 in Hansard 2005-06); 'Lynne Featherstone (Hornsey & Wood Green):To ask the Secretary of State for Defence, when he expects British troops to complete the present mission in Iraq; and if he will make a statement' (4661 in Hansard 2005-06), and 'David Winnick (Walsall North): To ask the Prime Minister, whether he plans to have discussions with the US administration on the ending of military operations in Afghanistan earlier than previously planned as a result of the death of Osama bin Laden' (54856 in Hansard 2010-12).

Commonwealth Affairs urging him to further contribute to the peace negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians.[121]

On the other hand, there was a clear divide between MPs from a Jewish background in regard to their assessment of what could facilitate the peace process. The likes of Sir Gerald Kaufman and Harry Cohen insisted on putting more pressure on Israel, including the possible use of targeted sanctions, to push it to negotiate a settlement with the Palestinians (133152, 133151 in Hansard 2002-03). Louise Ellman and Lee Scott, on the other hand, urged a focus on the safety of Israel from the groups supported by Iran (106541 in Hansard 1999-00) and the Arab governments (115426 in Hansard 2006-07). Continuing attacks on Israel from the Gaza Strip were mentioned as one of the main obstacles to the Middle East peace process.[122] Both positions, however, resulted in regular requests to assess whether Hamas, the Fatah and other organisations were involved in terrorism,[123] whether the Palestinian Authority had been disadvantaged in the negotiation process, and if Israel had been mistreating the Palestinians, which could have been the reason for radicalisation of the Palestinians and the growing popularity of Hamas.[124] On the whole, MPs from a Jewish background viewed the fulfilment of the obligations under the Road Map by both Israel and the Palestinian Authority to be the guarantor of successful peace negotiations, and urged the Secretary of

[121] For instance, 'Mr John Bercow (Buckingham): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what contribution he is seeking to make to the resolution of conflict between Israel and the Palestinian people' (134692 in Hansard 1999-00).
[122] E.g., 60012 in Hansard 2005-06; 217115 in Hansard 2007-08; 24581 in Hansard 2010-12.
[123] E.g., 28831 in Hansard 2001-02; 104858, 104859 in Hansard 1999-00; 24579, 48078, 48079 in Hansard 2010-12.
[124] That led to the increasing number of human rights abuses, which was brought to the attention of the House by Oona King and some other MPs (19983, 24580 in Hansard 2010-12). For instance 'Ms Oona King (Bethnal Green and Bow): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what recent representations he has made to the Palestinian administration about human rights abuses relating to women' (8070 in Hansard 2001-02). Also, 41932, 41934 in Hansard 2005-06.

State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs to continue working along those lines (e.g., 50684, 50551 in Hansard 2005-06).

Whilst reflecting on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, MPs from a Jewish background often referred to the role of Iran in consistently opposing Israel and funding Hamas, Hezbollah, and other radical organisations. Furthermore, MPs expressed concerns over human rights violations and abuses of political and personal freedoms in Iran, including the mistreatment of the Iranian Jews.[125] However, the assessment of Iran's capability to produce nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and their delivery systems had been the most frequent issues of interest from parliamentarians to the Secretary of State for the Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs.[126] Between 1997 and 2012, MPs' concerns over Iranian weapons of mass destruction stimulated a debate about the possible sanctions against Iran, as well as questions regarding the state of diplomatic relations between Britain and Iran.[127]

In consistency with the results of the EDMs analysis, on the few occasions when MPs from a Muslim background engaged with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Middle East, they generally focused on the treatment of the Palestinians and humanitarian issues. WPQs, therefore, explored the status and rights of Israel's Arabic population,[128] alleged cases of

[125] E.g., 112935, 126441 in Hansard 1999-00; 52108, 52109, 99917 in Hansard 2010-12. For instance, 'Mr John Bercow (Buckingham): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what recent representations he has made to the Government of Iran about human rights in that country' (134763 in Hansard 1999-00), and 'Mr John Bercow (Buckingham): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what assessment he has made of the situation of Jews in Iran' (134776 in Hansard 1999-00).

[126] E.g., 104854, 104855, 104857 in Hansard 1999-00; 60015, 48824 in Hansard 2005-06.

[127] E.g., 51992 in Hansard 1997-98; 137917 in Hansard 1999-00; 34327 59995 in Hansard 2005-06; 3126, 19980, 20924, 89792 in Hansard 2010-12.

[128] E.g., 168459 in Hansard 2003-04; 256246, 293678 in Hansard 2008-09; 68596, 103476, 78767 in Hansard 2010-12. For instance, 'Rushanara Ali (Bethnal Green and Bow): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what recent reports he has received

targeted assassination of Palestinians (168460 in Hansard 2003-04), and examined the humanitarian situation in the Palestinian Territories with regard to refugees and international aid, and the involvement of international organisations, including the situation with Palestinian refugees in Lebanon.[129] Furthermore, Muslim MPs frequently raised humanitarian and human rights issues relating to other Middle Eastern countries, including Syria,[130] and requested information about the treatment of UK citizens in the Middle East.[131]

The thematic qualitative analysis of WPQs tabled by minority MPs demonstrates their consistent interest in minority issues, including various aspects of immigration, the UK's involvement in South Asia and the Middle East and, to a lesser extent, topics relating to domestic Jewish and Muslim communities (Figure 6.1). Unlike the EDMs on minority issues that are triggered by events like the invasion in Iraq and the terrorist attacks in London, minority-related questions stretch before and after those events. It reflects a functional difference between the two parliamentary activities; EDMs are a

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on the conditions of detention of Palestinian children in prison in Israel' (78767 in Hansard 2010-12).

[129] E.g., 204191, 204190, 207831 in Hansard 2007-08; 254212 in Hansard 2008-09; 264906, 2009; 55927, 55940, 55788, 55926, 60896 in Hansard 2010-12. For instance, 'Yasmin Qureshi (Bolton South East): To ask the Secretary of State for International Development, what assessment his Department has made of the humanitarian situation of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon; and what effect their situation has on the assistance they require from the UK (a) directly and (b) through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East' (55940 in Hansard 2010-12) and 'Anas Sarwar (Glasgow Central): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what discussions he has had with the Israeli government regarding the observance of UN Security Council Resolution 1860 and the naval blockade of Gaza' (65429 in Hansard 2010-12).

[130] E.g., 87792, 95833 in Hansard 2010-12. For instance, 'Rehman Chishti (Gillingham and Rainham): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what reports he has received on how many refugees have left Syria for (a) Turkey, (b) Jordan and (c) Lebanon in 2011 to date' (87792 in Hansard 2010-12).

[131] For instance, in the United Arab Emirates (69213, 69214, 69215, 69216, 69217, 69218, 69219, 69220, 69643 in Hansard 2010-12); Bahrain (68592 in Hansard 2010-12); India (68685 in Hansard 2010-12), and Israel (100895 in Hansard 2010-12). For instance, 'Rushanara Ali (Bethnal Green and Bow): To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, what discussions (a) he, (b) his Ministers and (c) officials in his Department have had with their Israeli counterparts on the denial of entry into Israel and the deportation from Israel of UK citizens' (100895 in Hansard 2010-12).

means for political self-expression, whereas WPQs are for scrutinising policies and legislation. For this research, it means that a significant event involving Jewish and/or Muslim minorities is likely to produce a strong, sudden reaction in the form of EDMs. WPQs, on the other hand, make a broader point, which might be driven by an event, though would have a longer impact and the potential to pursue that question further. In addition, WPQs reflect the content of parliamentary debates, including events outside Westminster (Franklin and Norton 1993). Given the prominence of immigration and integration policies on the floor of the House throughout the 2000s, a large number of immigration-related questions is not surprising. It is likely that the events of July 2005 have been interpreted in the context of community cohesion and multicultural policies. That would explain why there are few references specifically to British Muslims, yet many to immigration.

The content of WPQs shows minority MPs have engaged with minority issues and indicates the topics that have attracted the most attention. However, it does not indicate whether minority politicians table more minority-related questions, compared with non-minority MPs, or if they are more likely to engage with these issues at all. In order to provide rigorous results that account for the distribution of the WPQs tabled by MPs from different religious backgrounds between the 1997-98 and 2010-12 sessions, and institutional factors that might affect references to minority issues, a more elaborate statistical analysis is needed.

The effect of religious background on asking minority-related WPQs: Do minority MPs ask more minority-related Parliamentary Questions?

The regression analyses show that Members of Parliament from minority backgrounds do not refer to the issues of concern for the respective minority more frequently than MPs from a different background. When controlling for minority presence in the constituencies that MPs represent, their legislative roles, and the status of their parties in Parliament, the analyses show no statistically significant impact of having a religious minority background on the frequency of referring to minority issues in WPQs.

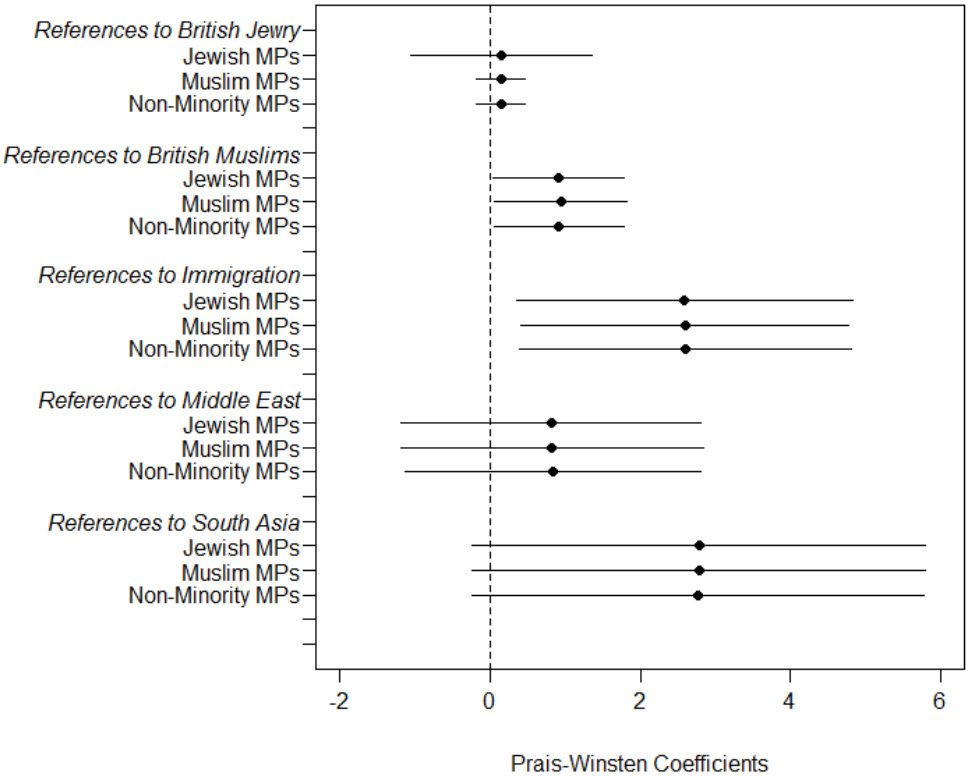
In fact, the only statistically significant result is a negative effect from having a Muslim minority background on the frequency of references to the issues of concern for British Jews (Appendix 6). Although rather weak (Prais-Winsten regression coefficient = -0.150), it demonstrates that Muslim parliamentarians do not engage with the topics of interest to British Jews. However, there is no evidence to suggest that they do so more actively on Muslim-related issues.

The analyses show that the proportion of minority population in the constituency or the legislative role of the MP do not affect the frequency of asking minority-related WPQs either. The absence of a relationship between the proportion of Muslims and/or Jews and the frequency of raising minority issues corresponds to the results of the previous chapter. It would be highly speculative to argue that this finding reflects a weak link between an MP and his/her constituents. However, it shows that it is not to be expected that an MP who represents a constituency with a high proportion of religious minority population will necessarily engage with the interests of those minorities on the

floor of the House. Furthermore, the absence of a statistically significant relationship between the frequency of engagement with minority issues of MPs representing constituencies with minority and non-minority population might signify that there is no variation at all. Hence, it can indicate either a lack of MPs' engagement with minority issues, or the consistent interest of MPs regardless of the type of constituency they have been elected from.

The absence of a significant effect for legislative role is unique to WPQs, whereas it has a strong effect on the likelihood and frequency of sponsoring minority-related EDMs. This difference is determined by the purpose of tabling questions, which focus on scrutinising the Government's policies and legislation. It makes WPQs a partisan activity largely conducted by MPs of the Opposition parties – Shadow ministers or backbenchers. Therefore, the differences between frontbenchers and backbenchers can be minimal, compared to the differences between being a member of the Government or the Opposition party. This is evident from the series of regression coefficients that demonstrates the effects of being in Opposition on the frequency of references to minority issues in WPQs (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2 Effect from being in Opposition on the frequency of references to minority issues in WPQs



Notes: Figure 6.2 shows 15 coefficients from Prais-Winsten AR(1) regressions conducted on dichotomised IVs – being in Opposition/Government – and ordinal 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. The farther the circle is placed from the line through zero, the stronger the effect is. If the circle 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 per cent confidence intervals crosses the line through zero the effect is not statistically significant.

Figure 6.2 shows consistently strong, positive, statistically significant effects from being in Opposition on the frequency of references to immigration and British Muslims in WPQs by MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds. This reflects on the high level of Opposition MPs engagement in scrutinising Government's policies and legislative proposals, as well as growing concerns about immigration, asylum, and the citizenship regime, as well as Britain's multicultural policies. This speaks to the findings of opinion polls and the content of public debate (e.g., Migration Observatory 2011, April 5 and 2011, October 16; YouGov 2013, May 8). It also echoes the

parliamentary debate on legislative proposals regarding these issues, put forward by the Labour and Coalition Governments. The high frequency of references to immigration by minority and non-minority parliamentarians shows that they have been making a substantive contribution to the debate.

Furthermore, Figure 6.2 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 of them address multicultural policies and the problem of socio-political inclusion of migrant-origin minority groups, including British Muslims.

The impact of being in the Opposition or Government and the partisan nature of WPQs are well-argued in literature (e.g., Wiberg 1995; Rozenberg and Martin 2011; Franklin and Norton 1993). Empirically, the potential of this institutional factor for predicting the content of WPQs in supported by the results of the regression analyses. Although the models are statistically significant only for immigration and British Muslims, the ‘opposition’ variable gives positive and statistically significant results for the frequency of references to British Muslims by Jewish, Muslim or non-minority MPs. Coming from a religious minority background, on the other hand, is largely irrelevant for predicting the frequency of references to minority issues in WPQs. The superiority of institutional factors as a predictor is confirmed by the analyses conducted on both WPQs and EDMs.

Are minority MPs more likely to raise minority issues in the WPQs?

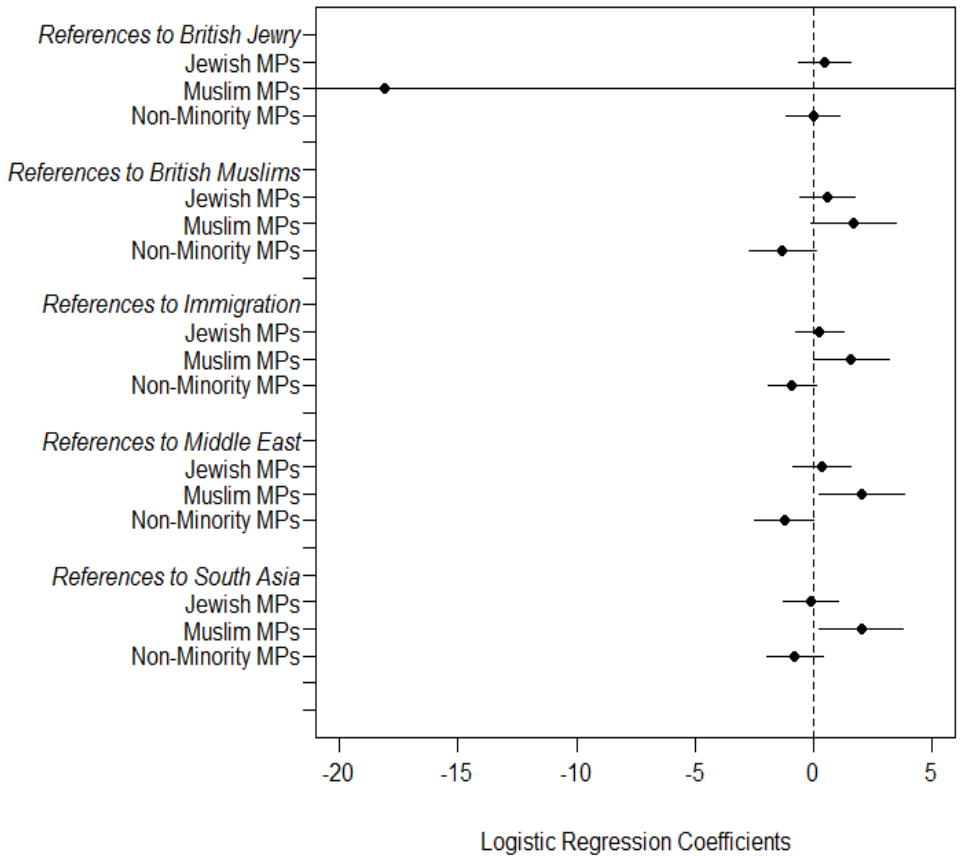
The logistic regressions demonstrate the effect of having a religious minority background on the likelihood of asking a minority-related Parliamentary Question, whilst accounting for other institutional predictors, such as representing a 'minority' type constituency, holding a leadership legislative role, and being in Opposition.

The results largely confirm those of the frequency analysis and suggest the superiority of the institutional, rather than identity-centred, explanations of MPs' engagement with minority issues. Figure 6.3 summarises a series of logistic regression coefficients that demonstrate the effects from having a Jewish, Muslim and non-minority background on the likelihood of referring to minority issues in WPQs.

Figure 6.3 shows relatively strong, positive, statistically significant effects from a Muslim background on the likelihood of referring to Muslim-related foreign affairs, including South Asia and the Middle East, in WPQs.[132]

[132] The effects of having a certain religious background on the likelihood of referring to minority issues are not statistically significant in other cases. Testing for the likelihood of referring to the inter-faith dialogue, in particular, did not give any statistically significant results. Furthermore, the likelihood test ratio is never statistically significant, because the inter-faith dialogue was mentioned only seven times between 1997 and 2012, which leads to massive standard errors. The results of the analysis are included in the full STATA output in Appendix 6, but they are omitted from the main text because of their irrelevance.

Figure 6.3 Effect from religious background on the likelihood of referring to minority issues in WPQs



Notes: Figure 6.3 represents 15 coefficients from the random-effects logistic (Gaussian) regressions conducted on dichotomised DVs – British Jewry, British Muslims, Immigration, Middle East, and South Asia – and IVs – having a Jewish, Muslim or non-minority background.
The coefficients – circles – show average effects of having a Jewish, Muslim or non-minority background on the probability of referring to these minority issues. The farther the circle is placed from the line through zero, the stronger the effect is. If the circle 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 per cent confidence intervals crosses the line through zero the effect is not statistically significant.

Muslim MPs are twice as likely as those from a non-Muslim background to table the WPQs on these issues. The strength of their interest in foreign, rather than internal community, topics speaks to the argument of the 'securitisation' of minority issues (Radcliffe 2004; DeHanas *et al.* 2010; O'Toole *et al.* 2013). It suggests that the engagement of minority politicians with minority issues is enhanced by events that threaten the stability of British

society and/or could be linked to the British religious communities and their countries of origin. The main aim of such engagement, therefore, is to eliminate potential threats to British society, rather than to celebrate its diversity. The results of the EDMs analysis support this argument, though whilst tabling WPQs on foreign affairs Muslim MPs more frequently refer to humanitarian issues rather than the security situation in South Asia and the Middle East.

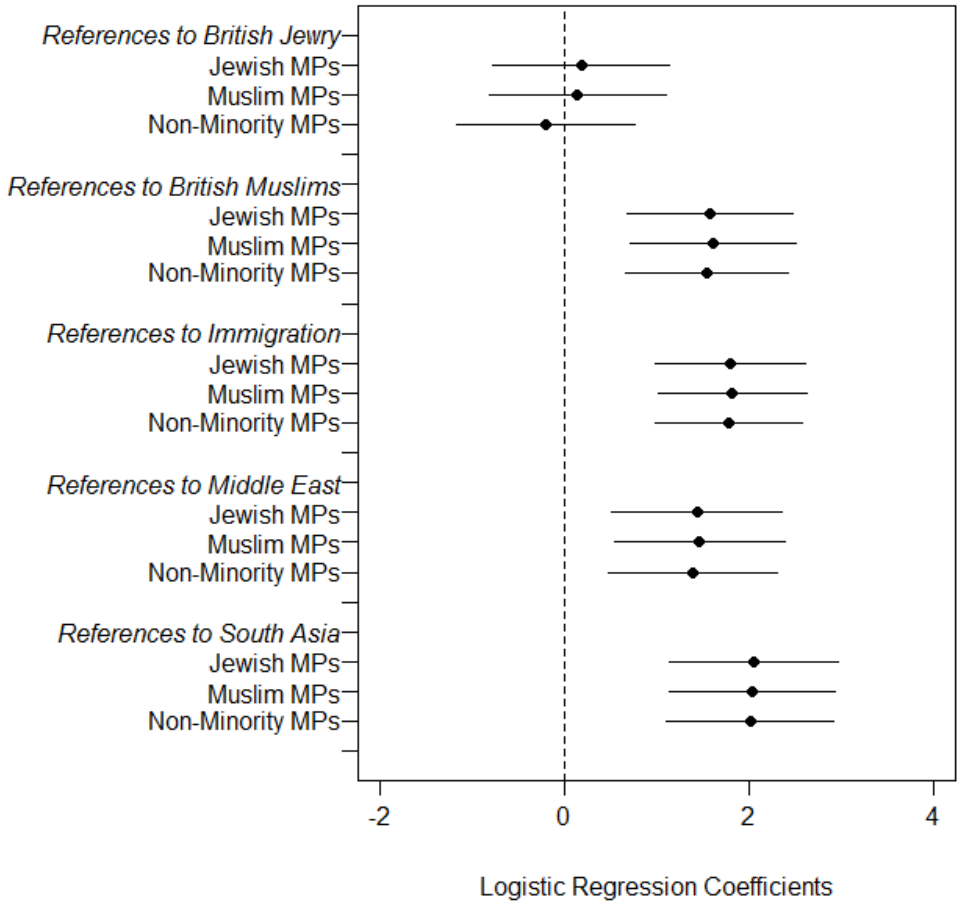
On the whole, the impact of having a religious minority background on the likelihood of raising minority issues in WPQs is limited to Muslim parliamentarians asking WPQs on foreign affairs, which partially supports H_1. The effect from having a Jewish background, on the other hand, is irrelevant as a predictor of MPs' engagement with minority issues, as well as having a Muslim background that does not impact on the likelihood of MPs referring to the UK's domestic communities, immigration, and the inter-faith dialogue.

Although representing a constituency with a significant minority population has been proven to increase the likelihood of Jewish and non-minority MPs' engagement with the issues of concern for British Muslims in EDMs (Chapter 5), it is irrelevant for predicting the likelihood of both minority and non-minority MPs' engagement with minority issues in WPQs.[133] This rejects H_2 and suggests that the partisan nature of WPQs could outweigh the effect of a constituency bias. This is supported by the results of testing H_3 and H_4, whereby the institutional factors, especially being a member of an Opposition party, are the strongest predictors of the likelihood of engagement with minority issues in WPQs.

[133] None of the regression coefficients are statistically significant and are omitted from further analysis. See the full STATA output in Appendix 6 for details.

H_4 is supported by the results of the regression analyses on WPQs demonstrated in Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.4 Effect from being in Opposition on the likelihood of referring to minority issues in WPQs



Notes: Figure 6.4 represents 15 coefficients from the random-effects logistic (Gaussian) regressions conducted on dichotomised DVs – British Jewry, British Muslims, Immigration, Middle East, and South Asia – and IVs – being in Opposition/Government.
The coefficients – circles – show average effects of being in Opposition on the probability of referring to these minority issues. The farther the circle is placed from the line through zero, the stronger the effect is. If the circle 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 per cent confidence intervals crosses the line through zero the effect is not statistically significant.

Figure 6.4 shows consistently strong, positive, statistically significant effects from being in Opposition on the likelihood of referring to British Muslims, immigration and foreign affairs, including the Middle East and South

Asia, in the WPQs by MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds. Being in Opposition is statistically significant not only for the likelihood of MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds referring to the British Jewry in WPQs.[134] In all the cases the effects are strong, positive and comparable across Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs. This means that being in Opposition significantly increases the likelihood of asking questions in relation to the Muslim minority, immigration, the Middle East and South Asia. Differently from the EDMs, this interest has been consistent throughout the period of the study, and the increase in references after the invasion of Iraq and the London bombings are not significant. This suggests that those questions were not an ad-hoc reaction to certain events, but rather the routine scrutiny of relevant policies and legislation.

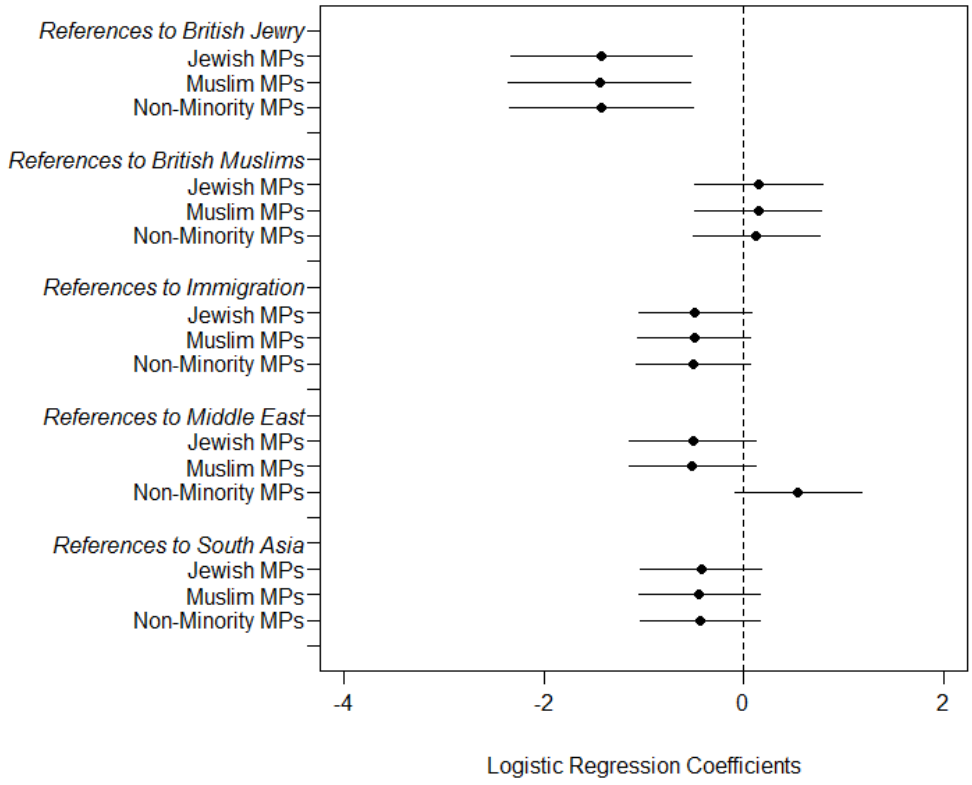
The strength and consistency of the effects also highlights the partisan nature of WPQs. Tabling WPQs is considered to be a low-cost parliamentary activity that can hardly damage one's career or prospects for promotion. However, it is highly instrumental in both holding the Executive to account and promoting the party's agenda. This makes WPQs more visible to the general public and more partisan. In this study, the effect of the dichotomy between the Government and the Opposition clearly outweighs the impact of having a religious minority background. As a result, the likelihood of asking minority-related WPQs by Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs is rather similar. A lack of variation across MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority

[134] The likelihood of referring to the British Jewry is not significantly affected by MPs being in Opposition or Government, which is likely to be the result of the sensitivity of the topic and cross-party consensus on combating anti-Semitism that reduces the differences in tabling WPQs on these issues by MPs from the Opposition and the Government parties.

backgrounds suggests the strong Government/Opposition bias that affects the content of the questions.

Although the likelihood of referring to British Jews is not affected by being in Opposition in statistically significant terms, it is also the only one that has such a relationship with legislative role (Figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5 Effect from holding a leadership role on the likelihood of referring to minority issues in WPQs



Notes: Figure 6.5 represents 15 coefficients from the random-effects logistic (Gaussian) regressions conducted on dichotomised DVs – British Jewry, British Muslims, Immigration, Middle East, and South Asia – and IVs – legislative role.
The coefficients – circles – show average effects of holding a leadership role on the likelihood of referring to these minority issues. The farther the circle is placed from the line through zero, the stronger the effect is. If the circle 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 per cent confidence intervals crosses the line through zero the effect is not statistically significant.

Figure 6.5 demonstrates the regression coefficients for the effect of holding a leadership role on the likelihood of referring to minority issues in

WPQs tabled by MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds. Although a legislative role does not impact on the likelihood of referring to the majority of minority issues, Figure 6.5 shows consistent, negative, statistically significant effects from holding a leadership role on the probability of referring to issues relating to the British Jewry in WPQs tabled by MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds. This means that frontbenchers from the three religious backgrounds are very unlikely to ask questions relating to the British Jewry. The disengagement of politicians in ministerial positions with these issues might be because of its sensitivity and irrelevance for the political debate between the two parties. British Jews are a well-established and integrated community. This community is not associated with major political disturbances and does not require specially targeted domestic policies. Rather, the issues of concern for the British Jewry, such as anti-Semitism, are tackled by general legislation and do not cause disagreement within or across the parties. In this case, there is nothing frontbenchers can possibly add to debating the issues of concern for the British Jewry; hence, a lack of engagement with the topics.

The analyses of maximum likelihood support and strengthen the evidence from the regression analyses and suggest that institutional factors, especially being in the Government/Opposition party, are stronger and more consistent predictors of engagement with minority issues than an MP's religious minority background and the proportion of a minority population in his/her constituency. However, Muslim parliamentarians have been more likely to engage with foreign affairs, which supports the argument regarding the

securitisation of minority issues in UK political debate (e.g., DeHanas *et al.* 2010).

Conclusion

Building on the analyses of voting behaviour and the EDMs sponsored by MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds, this chapter examines whether having a religious minority background makes a difference for tabling minority-related WPQs. A concise answer to this question is 'hardly ever'.

Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians do not table disproportionately more questions on the issues of concern for their respective minority groups than MPs from a different religious background. Neither a Jewish nor a Muslim background has a statistically significant impact on the likelihood of raising internal community matters, though these categories of MP still do so occasionally, as the qualitative, exploratory study of WPQs shows. Whilst having a Jewish background does not increase the possibility of their engagement with minority issues at all, Muslim MPs are more likely to ask questions about South Asia and the Middle East compared to other politicians. Their interest in foreign affairs speaks to the argument that minority affairs may be becoming securitised (e.g., DeHanas *et al.* 2010), though the content of the WPQs tabled by Muslim parliamentarians shows that they are more interested in human rights, and humanitarian and economic cooperation, than in security issues.

A religious minority background as a predictor of MPs' engagement with minority issues is inferior to the institutional factors. Being in Opposition, in particular, has a strong and consistent effect on the frequency of asking the WPQs relating to British Muslims and immigration and the likelihood of

asking minority-related WPQs by MPs from minority and non-minority backgrounds.[135] The strength and consistency of the positive relationship between being in Opposition and asking questions on British Muslims and foreign affairs reflects the partisan nature of WPQs; this partisanship is driven by the dichotomy between the Government and the Opposition. The Opposition parties, therefore, scrutinise the Government's legislation and policies by requesting information on how laws and policies are implemented, and what impact they have in the UK and overseas.

The results of the statistical analyses and the qualitative study on WPQs paint immigration as one of the topics of key interest to MPs, and the most partisan issue. There is a strong, positive, statistically significant effect from being in Opposition on both the frequency and the likelihood of asking questions on British Muslims and immigration, which suggests that WPQs on these issues have been used to interrogate the immigration and multicultural policies of the Labour and Coalition Governments, and to request statistical data. Finally, being in Opposition increases the likelihood of MPs asking WPQs on South Asia and the Middle East, which demonstrates their interest in the campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq and the Israeli-Palestinian peace process.[136]

Although there is no statistically significant difference in the likelihood of referring to the issues of concern for British Jews by the Government and

[135] The only exception is the British Jewry. The likelihood of referring to this topic is statistically significant only in relation to a legislative role, whereby MPs holding ministerial positions are far less likely to raise this topic than backbenchers (Figure 6.5).

[136] The qualitative analysis of WPQs reveals a split between MPs from a Jewish background in their assessment of the Israel's treatment of Palestinians and prospects of the peace process, which corresponds to the results of the EDMs study (Chapter 6). However, neither the frequency nor likelihood of referring to those issues is statistically significant in correlation with a Jewish minority background.

Opposition MPs, it is strongly influenced by another institutional factor – a legislative role. The analyses show that, regardless of a religious background, frontbenchers from both the Government and Opposition parties are less likely to table WPQs related to the British Jewry. Backbenchers from Jewish and non-minority backgrounds, on the other hand, occasionally engage with such issues as combating anti-Semitism and remembrance of the Holocaust, though not frequently enough for it to be statistically significant. The negative correlation between holding a ministerial role and referring to the British Jewry is likely to be because of the sensitivity and narrowness of the topic, which is too specialised to attract the attention of frontbenchers who usually engage with broader issues (Searing 1994, 371).

The results of the WPQ analysis confirm and strengthen the findings of the previous chapter, by reflecting on the functional differences between the two low-cost parliamentary activities. Despite EDMs and WPQs both being loosely constrained by party discipline, and providing MPs with an opportunity to express their views, they serve different purposes. EDMs are individual statements useful for campaigning and for exploring MPs' attitudes towards certain issues (House of Commons 2010). They are actively used by backbenchers, as confirmed by a strong effect from legislative role on the frequency and likelihood of tabling motions on minority issues (Chapter 5).

WPQs, by contrast, aim at probing and scrutinising the Government (Sandford 2012, 8-9; House of Commons 2010a), which explains the high impact that being in Opposition has on the frequency and likelihood of referring to minority issues in WPQs (Chapter 6). However, both the results of the EDMs and the WPQs analyses demonstrate that having a religious minority

background is largely irrelevant as a predictor of raising minority issues, and that it is inferior to institutional factors. The consistency of the findings suggests that Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians are neither more likely to engage with minority issues in low-cost parliamentary activities, nor to do so more frequently than politicians from a different religious background in low-cost parliamentary activities. That is despite there are lower risks for their political careers and fewer institutional constraints on these forms of behaviour.

Final Thoughts

Drawing upon the arguments of the grand theories of representation (Pitkin 1967; Birch 1971; Phillips 1995), the UK Parliament and political parties have endorsed the importance of fairer parliamentary representation to improve the quality of democracy and legitimacy of democratic institutions (House of Commons 2009). They have also acknowledged the crucial role played by good parliamentary representation in addressing the growing dissatisfaction of the UK population with the quality of democracy and their increasing detachment from formal politics, including party and parliamentary politics (Whiteley 2012).

Although the theories of representation argue that representation can be delivered in different ways and that types of representation vary (Birch 1971; Mansbridge 2003), their efforts to improve the quality of minority parliamentary representation have been largely focused on increasing the number of women and minority MPs and enhancement of their descriptive representation. Positive action strategies implemented by the main parties and encouraged by Parliament have made the House of Commons more diverse and representative by 'rectifying the disparity between the representation of women, ethnic minorities and disabled people in the House of Commons' (House of Commons 2009, 17-21; HC Debate 2007-08b, 912). As the result, the number of parliamentarians from disadvantaged and historically oppressed groups such as women, ethnic and religious minorities has been steadily growing (OBV 2008; Sobolewska 2011).[137]

[137] To improve the parliamentary representation of British Muslims, the Labour Party increased the number of Muslim MPs from one in 1997 to six in 2010, and the Conservatives got their first three Muslim MPs elected in 2010 (Muslim Vote 2010). Although British Jews are largely

However, it is unclear whether the improvements of the descriptive representation of disadvantaged groups has enhanced the quality of representation overall. In particular, this study focuses on examining the substantive representation of British Muslims and Jews in the UK House of Commons. It focuses on the argument that a more diverse Parliament is not necessarily more aware and responsive to the needs and interests of disadvantaged groups unless MPs from disadvantaged groups act for their respective groups in the Chamber (Weldon 2002; Dovi 2007). Then 'good minority representation' is an advancement of the political system that allows for more comprehensive representation of minority constituents and their interests by MPs. Furthermore, drawing upon the arguments of the previous research on women's parliamentary representation (e.g., Dahlerup 1988; Bystydenski 1992; Childs and Krook 2008), as the number of minority politicians increases, it changes the political environment and encourages minority MPs to raise and promote minority issues, i.e. represent their respective groups substantively. Therefore, in the argument of what matters the most – 'a politics of ideas' or 'a politics of presence' – it would be wrong to treat them as complete opposites and 'worry exclusively about the people without giving a thought to their policies and ideas' (Phillips 1994, 88). Therefore, for a minority MP 'standing for' a certain group should be accompanied by 'acting for' that group in order to comprehensively improve the quality of minority representation.

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ineligible for mentoring schemes and shortlisting that target visible ethnic minority candidates and women, they have been successfully standing for Parliament from the three main parties. More than 20 Jewish MPs have been elected to the House of Commons at each election since 1997 (Littlewood 2008; Jewish Chronicle 2010).

The importance of advancing substantive minority representation alongside enhancing descriptive representation has been stressed by the results of the Ethnic Minority British Election Study (EMBES). It suggests that despite the increase in the number of minority MPs the majority of BME votes feel under-represented and dissatisfied with politics (Heath *et al*. 2013). Up to a third of the respondents have claimed that no political party represented them, and over 20 per cent have suggested that a 'minority' party is needed to 'deal with minorities' special problems' (Heath *et al.* 2013, 95). Although little is known about the satisfaction of British Jews with their parliamentary representation, the recent community report on representation has pointed at the perfomative nature of Jewish representation too. It has stated that 'British Jews are members of a global Jewish people and have responsibilities to represent Jewish interests' (Jewish Policy Research 2000, 5). Both the EMBES and Jewish Policy Research link the quality of representation to the 'politics of ideas' and reinforce the importance of better representation of minority interests in formal politics while acknowledging the importance of minority presence in a legislature.[138] However, if the number of minority MPs increases, but the representation of minority interests does not improve, that could undermine the faith of minority groups in the British political system and democracy overall.

Drawing upon the importance of the minority representation argued by the grand theories of representation (Pitkin 1967; Birch 1971) and the

[138] This is evident from the content of the community-based media, especially during elections (Jewish Chronicle 2010; Muslim Vote 2010) and around important dates of their political history such as 150 years from the election of the first practicing Jews to Parliament (Gloger 2008, July 11). The EMBES respondents have also agreed that getting more ethnic minority MPs into Parliament 'would improve things for ethnic minorities' (62 per cent), and that 'Black and Asian MPs can better represent Black and Asian interest than White MPs can' (46 per cent) (Heath *et al.* 2013, 89-91)

empirical approaches designed to examine different types of parliamentary representation and behaviour of women and minority representatives (e.g., Bird 2005; Childs and Withey 2004; Childs and Withey 2006; Saalfeld and Bischof 2013), this study has assessed the performance of MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds in representing minority issues. It has examined whether Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians act on minority issues and represent their respective minority groups substantively, or if they only perform as descriptive minority representatives. The research contributes to the debate on representation of disadvantaged groups by exploring an under-researched topic of religious minority parliamentary representation in Britain. It enriches the group representation literature by examining new research cases, i.e. the parliamentary representation of Muslims and Jews, and contributes to the parliament literature by exploring the effect of an under-research predictor such as a religious identity on parliamentary behaviour. Based on previous studies of women and ethnic minority representation, this study develops a useful methodological framework that can be used for the analysis of substantive minority representation – one of the most under-researched types of representation – in parliamentary democracies, especially those based on the Westminster model. It particularly focuses on migrant-origin, non-Christian faith communities and the behaviour of their parliamentary representatives providing a comprehensive analysis of their engagement with minority issues in Parliament. The contribution of this study in bridging the gap in the literature on the effect of religious identity on parliamentary behaviour is especially valuable considering the growing significance of religion as a facet

of identity and the institutionalisation of religious networks (Woodhead and Catto 2012).

The engagement of minority MPs with minority issues has been tested by examining the impact of having a Jewish or Muslim background – alongside institutional indicators such as the party discipline, holding a certain legislative role, representing a 'minority' type constituency, and being in Opposition or Government – on voting and low-cost activities, including the content of EDMs and WPQs. The selection of the institutional predictors draws upon the parliament and group representation literature that identifies the party as the main predictor of voting (e.g., Cowley 2002; Childs and Cowley 2003; Cowley and Stuart 2010) and the legislative role and party parliamentary status in tabling EDMs and WPQs (e.g., Nason 2001; Franklin and Norton 1993). Finally, the analysis endorses the arguments of the parliament literature, including the British Representation Study and PARTIREP, and accounts for an increasingly prominent constituency bias in the analysis (e.g., Searing 1994; Norris 1997; Andre *et al.* 2014).

The analysis has been conducted on the content of 96 votes, 5,160 EDMs, and 708,429 WPQs using methods of content analysis, descriptive statistics and TSCS data analysis. The innovative combination of methods, some of which were previously used in the studies of women and ethnic minority representation (e.g., Childs and Withey 2004; Saalfeld and Bischof 2013), has been primarily driven by the specifications and amount of data that favoured employing computer-aided technique for the analysis of EDMs and WPQs and qualitative content analysis for the study of voting records. The use of methods of TSCS regression analysis has allowed the problem of the small

sample size to be overcome, as well as accounting for the uneven distribution on text units across time. The analysis of voting behaviour has been conducted using methods of descriptive statistics proven to be effective by previous studies. The behaviour of politicians from Jewish and Muslim minority backgrounds has been compared with that of other minority and non-minority MPs to account for the behaviour of 'unusual suspects' (Celis and Erzeel 2015), namely the behaviour of MPs who do not 'stand for' British Muslims or Jews, but can 'act for' them by engaging with issues of concern for those minority groups.

The results of the analysis show that the effect from a religious minority background is largely negligible on high- and low-cost parliamentary behaviour. Institutional factors, by contrast, strongly influence the level and the probability of minority and non-minority MPs' engagement with minority issues. Overall, the analyses suggest that although politicians from Muslim and Jewish backgrounds 'stand for' their respective minority group, they do not necessarily 'act for' them.

The voting behaviour of Jewish and Muslim parliamentarians is consistent with that of MPs from non-minority backgrounds. It varies across parties rather than minority groups, whereby Labour, Conservative and Liberal Democrat MPs from minority and non-minority backgrounds demonstrate similar levels and dynamic of dissent between 1997 and 2012. The analysis of the frequency and distribution of dissent and the qualitative study of the minority-related votes does not suggest that minority parliamentarians act for their minority groups or support their attitudes on the floor of the House. Unlike the majority of British Muslims, for instance, the voting of minority

MPs paints them as largely supportive of tighter immigration and anti-terrorism legislation and the invasion in Iraq. Although Jewish and Muslim Members have expressed some concerns over these policies, such as the accountability of detention centres and the length of detention before pressing charges, their insights have been informed by their pre-parliamentary work experience and their expertise from their constituency casework rather than by the views expressed by minority groups. Furthermore, on such socially sensitive issues as euthanasia, abortion, embryo research and equal rights for homosexuals minority MPs take a more liberal stance compared to their minority groups (e.g., Glover 1990; Levy 2007; Sacks 2010).

Overall, the voting behaviour of MPs from Jewish and Muslim backgrounds is mostly affected by their party discipline and ideology. As the result, their voting resembles that of the majority of the party and is determined by the party discipline on whipped votes, and the habit of voting with the party and the support to its ideology as well as MPs' personal convictions on free votes.

The analysis of low-cost activities, including the content of EDMs and WPQs tabled between 1997 and 2012, also shows little effect from a religious background on the frequency and the likelihood of MPs' engagement with the issues of concern for British Muslims and Jews. Although Jewish and Muslim politicians raise the topics relating to the Middle East, South Asia, British Muslims, and immigration, their engagement with these issues is more affected by institutional predictors rather than their religious minority backgrounds.

Holding a backbench legislative role strongly affects the probability that an MP would raise any minority issue in EDMs. Representing a

constituency with a significant proportion of minority population also increases the likelihood of tabling EDMs on British Muslims and South Asia by Jewish and non-minority MPs. A religious background, on the contrary, has no statistically significant relationship with the frequency and the likelihood of sponsoring minority-related motions, with the only exception of a positive effect from having a Jewish background on the likelihood of referring to immigration in EDMs.

In WPQs, being in Opposition has a consistently strong, statistically significant, positive effect on the frequency and likelihood of MPs' engagement with minority issues, especially those relating to immigration and British Muslims. Holding a ministerial role also has a strong, negative effect on the likelihood of referring to British Jews meaning that ministers are particularly unlikely to raise the issues of concern for the British Jewry. Although, similarly to EDMs, these institutional predictors strongly affect MPs' engagement with minority issues in WPQs, having a Muslim background increases the probability tabling questions relating to the Middle East and South Asia. This indicates that a religious minority background has a potential to impact on low-cost activities that provide a suitable avenue to reflect on their personal views when the party discipline is loosened, and the risks for their parliamentary career are minimal.

Overall, the analyses of the three type of parliamentary behaviour suggest that minority MPs are not more likely to engage with minority issues, or to do so more frequently than politicians from other backgrounds. There is almost no difference in how minority and non-minority parliamentarians engage with the issues of minority concern. The differences in the probability

and the frequency of such engagement are mostly affected by their legislative duties and responsibilities, as well as the parliamentary status of their parties and the presence of minority population in the constituencies they represent. This suggests that the presence of MPs from religious minority backgrounds does not necessarily advance the quality of substantive minority representation.

However, minority issues are regularly discussed on the floor of the House (Heath *et al.* 2013, 96-98). Rather, the qualitative analysis of motions, questions and contributions to debates on voting divisions suggest a high, consistent interest to minority issues among minority and non-minority politicians, especially after the 2003 invasion in Iraq and the 2005 terrorist attacks in London. This supports the argument made by Karen Celis and Silvia Erzeel that accounting for the input of 'unusual suspects', i.e. MPs who do not 'stand for' women and minority groups, to the substantive representation of disadvantaged groups (Celis and Erzeel 2015). Although they do not share their gender, religious or ethnic backgrounds, there parliamentarians can contribute to the parliamentary debate on women's and minority issues drawing upon their professional expertise, personal experiences and interest. Substantive minority representation is, therefore, a dynamic and inclusive process based on the engagement of minority and non-minority MPs with the issues of concern for minority groups. Focusing on 'a politics of ideas' ensures that the needs of disadvantaged groups get sufficient attention in parliamentary debate and that their interests are not 'overlooked' even if these insights come from non-minority politicians (Dovi 2007).

However, this study shows that institutional rather than identity predictors affect the probability and the level of engagement with minority

issues by both minority and non-minority MPs. This finding is supported by the previous research of women's and ethnic minority representation that stress the impact of the institutional structures and contexts on the parliamentary behaviour of MPs from disadvantaged groups (e.g., Tremblay 2006; Bird *et al.* 2011). This suggests that although ideally 'a politics of presence' and 'a politics of ideas' complement each other (Phillips 1994), whereby descriptive minority representation positively affects the quality of their substantive representation in a legislature by changing the institutional climate and encouraging identity-driven parliamentary behaviour, in practice it depends on particular institutional contexts. In the UK House of Commons, for instance, institutional constraints – particularly those stemming from party loyalty – are the main predictor of parliamentary behaviour that also affect the probability and the frequency of MPs engagement with minority issues. The limitations of the party discipline and the parliamentary procedure are cited as the main obstacle for women and minority MPs to 'act for' their respective groups (Durose *et al.* 2011; Bird *et al.* 2011). This also explains why despite the efforts of political parties and Parliament to make the Chamber more diverse and representative, they succeed in improving descriptive rather than substantive minority representation.

Political parties have a lot to gain by including more politicians from marginalised groups. It could vastly improve their public image and attract certain groups of voters, as proven by the case of the Labour Party which – thanks to its All-Women and All-Minority Short Lists – is considered to be more minority and women friendly compared to the Tories (Saggar 2000). Target candidate recruitment and favourable treatment of minority politicians

also inspire minority groups to engage with formal political institutions such as parties and Parliament and increase the approachability and legitimacy of these institutions (Dovi 2007). However, they do not guarantee that minority representatives 'act for' their respective minority groups in a legislature. As the result, as the number of minority legislators increases, the representation of minority interests remains unchanged. This can lead to decreasing levels of public satisfaction with the quality of representation, including a disbelief that minority groups are (or can be) represented by the existing political parties, as demonstrated by the Ethnic Minority British Election Study (Heath *et al.* 2013).

This suggests that minority parliamentary representation cannot be improved by only increasing the number of minority MPs. Although these parliamentarians 'stand for' their respective groups, as the findings of these study shows, they do not necessarily 'act for' them because the effects from their minority backgrounds is outweighed by their parliamentary duties and party discipline. Previous studies of women and ethnic minority representation, however, suggest that minority representation can be improved both descriptively and substantively by reforming the political system and institutional environment to stimulate minority MPs to engage with minority issues (e.g., Bird *et al.* 2011; Durose *et al.* 2011).

Electoral systems, in particular, are expected to affect the quality of parliamentary representation (e.g., Tremblay 2006; Heitshusen *et al.* 2005; Andre *et al.* 2014a). They can advance descriptive minority representation by improving the access of politicians from disadvantaged groups to a legislature and enhance substantive minority representation by encouraging individualised

rather than party-centred behaviour, which encourages MPs to 'act for' their parliamentary and extra-parliamentary constituencies, including minority groups (e.g., Norris 2004; Andre *et al.* 2014a). Preferential, proportional representation, single-member districts are expected to have the strongest, positive impact on the quality of minority parliamentary representation.

In particular, previous studies suggest that on average more women and ethnic minority MPs are elected in PR and mixed systems compared to majoritarian systems (e.g., Norris 2004; Tremblay 2006). Although there is a lack of empirical evidence regarding religious minorities, previous studies make a convincing argument that PR systems enhance the access of politicians from disadvantaged groups to a legislature (e.g., Welch and Studlar 1990; Rule and Zimmerman 1994; Norton 2006). The UK majoritarian, non-preferential electoral system, therefore, might mitigate a positive effect from target selection and shortlisting of minority candidates on descriptive minority representation.[139] This explains why the efforts of the main political parties and their commitments to improving descriptive minority representation are often unsuccessful,[140] as they are making cosmetic changes to reduce the negative impact the non-preferential, majoritarian electoral system rather than changing the nature of the system to accommodate the growing diversity of the UK population.

[139] Although, in theory, the UK system is preferential as votes are not cast on the basis of party lists, voters cannot choose among the candidates from the party they support, which makes the UK system non-preferential in practice (Karvonen 2004).

[140] For instance, although the number of Lib Dem Muslim PPCs is increasing in each election since 1997 reaching the record 14 in 2010, none of them took a seat in the Commons so far (Sobolewska 2011). Similarly, it took the Labour and Conservative parties approximately 20 years to get their first Muslim MPs in the Commons from the time when their first Muslim PPCs ran for Parliament (1979 to 1997 for Labour, and 1992 to 2010 for Conservatives) (Anwar 2009).

Some scholars also argue that under proportional representation the substantive representation of women improves as the number of women MPs increases (Sawer 1998), and that PR systems create opportunities for women to engage with women's issues because they represent a wider constituency of voters that is not limited to a particular territory (Norris 2001). The first argument is, however, vulnerable to the same criticism as the 'critical mass' theory (Dovi 2007). Expecting the substantive representation of women or ethnic minorities to improve with the increasing number of women and minority MPs means overstating the commitment of these politicians to representing their identity groups and underestimating the impact of institutional constraints on their behaviour (Tremblay 2006). Furthermore, the recent PARTIREP study argues that PR systems differ with regard to the magnitude of electoral districts. Under PR single-member systems MPs behave in a more individualised manner, which might make minority MPs more likely to 'act for' their minority groups, whereas their behaviour is more party-centred under PR multi-member districts (Andre *et al.* 2014a). However, the empirical research on this topic is insufficient to conclusively support or reject the theoretical argument of the positive effect from PR systems on the substantive representation of disadvantaged groups.

Being focused on a single country, this study cannot compare the effects of different electoral systems on the parliamentary representation of religious minorities empirically. Relying on the previous studies of women and ethnic minorities representation, it does, however, agree that changing the current system to a preferential, PR system would bring more MPs from disadvantaged groups to the House. This is especially true for non-white,

Muslim parliamentarians, though its benefit for the descriptive representation of British Jews is questionable. Although there are reasons to believe that PR, especially single-member, systems would advance substantive representation by strengthening the link between MPs and their constituencies (e.g., Andre *et al.* 2014; Andre *et al.* 2014a), there has not been a large-scale comparative research to examine if these systems stimulate minority MPs to 'act for' their minority groups. Albeit the minority MPs' motivation to engage with minority issues is likely to increase under a PR compared to a majoritarian system, it would depend on the strength of their association with minority groups and the relationships between MPs' individual identities, party and legislative commitments.

In laying the groundwork for future research, this study demonstrates that there is a big gap between the substantive representation of minority interests (i.e. the consistent engagement of minority MPs with these issues in Parliament), and descriptive minority representation (i.e. increasing the number of minority MPs). These findings are of particular importance for anyone concerned about the representation of issues of salience to minority communities, and for political parties. This study shows that to improve the representation of historically marginalised communities and their interests in Parliament, political parties will have to go further than ensuring that more people from such backgrounds are elected to Parliament. They must create the conditions to enhance MPs' engagement with issues of concern for disadvantaged groups and support their contributions on behalf of these groups by changing the institutional environment in the Chamber and, potentially, reforming the electoral system. That would reduce the constraints of the party

discipline on MPs' behaviour without risking their political careers and being stigmatised as 'single issue' MPs and create incentives for minority MPs to engage with minority issues by making them accountable to wider, extra-parliamentary constituencies of minority voters.

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Appendix 1 MPs from Jewish, Muslim and non-minority backgrounds

Table 1 Members of Parliament from a Jewish background

Members of Parliament	ID	Party	In Office
Bercow, John	jmp01	Conservative	1997-
Berger, Luciana	jmp02	Labour	2010-
Bradley, Peter	jmp03	Labour	1997-2005
Caplin, Ivor	jmp04	Labour	1997-2005
Cohen, Harry	jmp05	Labour	1983-2010
Djanogly, Jonathan	jmp06	Conservative	2001-
Ellis, Michael	jmp07	Conservative	2010-
Ellman, Louise	jmp08	Labour	1997-
Fabricant, Michael	jmp09	Conservative	1992-
Featherstone, Lynne	jmp10	LibDem	2005-
Goldsmith, Zac	jmp11	Conservative	2010-
Halfon, Robert	jmp12	Conservative	2010-
Hamilton, Fabian	jmp13	Labour	1997-
Harrington, Richard	jmp14	Conservative	2010-
Harris, Evan Dr	jmp15	LibDem	1997-2012
Hodge, Margaret	jmp16	Labour	1994-
Howard, Michael	jmp17	Conservative	1983-2010
Huppert, Julian Dr	jmp18	LibDem	2010-
Kaufman, Gerald Sir	jmp19	Labour	1970-
King, Oona	jmp20	Labour	1997-2005
Kramer, Susan	jmp21	LibDem	2005-2010
Letwin, Oliver	jmp22	Conservative	1997-
Lewis, Ivan	jmp23	Labour	1997-

Lewis, Julian Dr.	jmp24	Conservative	1997-
Mandelson, Peter	jmp25	Labour	1992-2004
McCartney, Karl	jmp26	Conservative	2010-
Merron, Gillian	jmp27	Labour	1997-2010
Miliband, David	jmp28	Labour	2001-2013
Miliband, Ed	jmp29	Labour	2005-
Newmark, Brooks	jmp30	Conservative	2005-
Rifkind, Malcolm Sir	jmp31	Conservative	1974-1997; 2005-
Roche, Barbara	jmp32	Labour	1992-2005
Scott, Lee	jmp33	Conservative	2005-
Shapps, Grant	jmp34	Conservative	2005-
Steen, Anthony	jmp35	Conservative	1974-2010
Steinberg, Gerry	jmp36	Labour	1987-2005
Stringer, Graham	jmp37	Labour	1997-
Winnick, David	jmp38	Labour	1966-1970; 1979-

Source: Janner and Taylor 2008; Jewish Chronicle 2010.

Table 2 Members of Parliament from a Muslim background

Members of Parliament	ID	Party	In Office
Ali, Rushanara	mmp01	Labour	2010-
Chishti, Rehman	mmp02	Conservative	2010-
Javid, Sajid	mmp03	Conservative	2010-
Khan, Sadiq	mmp04	Labour	2005-
Mahmood, Khalid	mmp05	Labour	2001-
Mahmood, Shabana	mmp06	Labour	2010-
Malik, Shahid	mmp07	Labour	2005-2010
Qureshi, Yasmin	mmp08	Labour	2010-
Sarwar, Anas	mmp09	Labour	2010-
Sarwar, Mohammad	mmp10	Labour	1997-2010
Zahawi, Nadhim	mmp11	Conservative	2010-

Source: Cracknell 2012; Muslim Vote 2010.

Table 3 Members of Parliament from a non-minority background (control group)

Members of Parliament	ID	Party	In Office
Beith, Alan	wmp01	LibDem	1973-
Blackman, Bob	wmp02	Conservative	2010-
Brady, Graham	wmp03	Conservative	1997-
Brazier, Julian	wmp04	Conservative	1987-
Brooke, Peter	wmp05	Conservative	1977-2001
Campbell-Savours, Dale	wmp06	Labour	1979-2001
Cunningham, Tony	wmp07	Labour	2001-
Doyle-Price, Jackie	wmp08	Conservative	2010-
Field, Mark	wmp09	Conservative	2001-
Freer, Mike	wmp10	Conservative	2010-
Gapes, Mike	wmp11	Labour	1992-
Hain, Peter	wmp12	Labour	1991-
Jackson, Glenda	wmp13	Labour	1992-
Laing, Eleanor	wmp14	Conservative	1997-
Mackinlay, Andrew	wmp15	Labour	1992-2010
Maclean, David	wmp16	Conservative	1983-2010
McNulty, Tony	wmp17	Labour	1997-2010
Morris, Estelle	wmp18	Labour	1992-2005
Murphy, Jim	wmp19	Labour	1997-
Rooney, Terry	wmp20	Labour	1990-2010
Stewart, Rory	wmp21	Conservative	2010-
Straw, Jack	wmp22	Labour	1979-
Timms, Stephen	wmp23	Labour	1994-
Vis, Rudi	wmp24	Labour	1997-2010
Ward, David	wmp25	LibDem	2010-

Appendix 2 Conceptual dictionary

British Jewry		
Jewish	Judeophob	chupah*
Jewry	Kabbalah*	circumcis*
*Jews	Karait*	commandment*
Judai	Kindertransport	concentration camp*
Zion	Kohanim*	conspiracy theor*
nazi	Leo Maxse*	crime* against humanity
semit	Limmud*	dayan*
Anglo-Jew*	Maimonid*	death camp*
Anglo-Judaism	Marrano	deicide*
Archibald Ramsay*	Marrano*	dhimmi*
Arnold Leese*	Masorti*	dual loyalt*
Aschkenazi*	May Law*	etrog*
Auschwitz	Mezuz*	fasci*
Baha'i*	Midrash*	fuhrer*
Battle of Cable Street	Mishnah*	gabbai*
Belsize Square	Montefiore*	ghetto*
Belzen	Moorish	haftarah*
Bergen	Musar*	halakhot*
Birkat Ha-Mizvot	National Socialist League*	hazzan*
Birkenau	Nuremberg Law*	hilon*
Board of Deput*	Nuremberg Trial*	kashrut*
Bolshevik	Nuremberg Tribunal*	kipp*
British Brothers League*	Nuremberg code*	kittel*
British Union of Fascist*	Oral Law*	kohanim*
Brodetsky*	Pale* of Settlement*	kohen*
Canaan	Passover	kosher*
Chaim V'Tikvah	Pentateuch	mashgiach*
Chumash*	Perushvim*	masort*
Community Security Trust	Piyyut*	mezuz*
Disraeli*	Purim	minyan*
Edict* of Expulsion	Rabbi*	mohel*
Emancipat* Jews	Rebbe*	niddah*
Evian Conference*	Rosh Hashanah*	pogrom
	Rothschild*	rabbi*

Expulsion from England	Salomons*	rebbe*
Final Solution	Schechita	regalim*
Gabbai*	Scroll*	scroll*
Gebbels	Sephardi*	shabbat*
Genocide Memorial	Shavuot*	shalom*
Germanophob*	Shulchan Aruch*	shatz*
Goldsmid*	Synagogue*	shavuot*
Grunwald*	Sukkot*	shawl*
Gulag	Tabachnik*	shiva*
Halakha*	Talmud*	shloshim*
Han*uk*ah	Tanakh*	shochet*
Haredi*	Targum*	shofar*
Hasid*	Third Reich*	siddur*
Hazzan*	Torah*	sofer*
Hebrew	Tosefta*	sukkot*
Hitler	Union of Orthodox Congregation*	swastika*
Holocaust	Vichy*	synagogue*
Imperial Fascist League*	Waffen	tachrichim*
Inquisition	Wagerman*	tahor*
Ivrit	Wineman*	talit*
Janner*	Yiddish	tamei*
Jedwabne	Yom*	teffilin*
Jonathan Sacks*	bar mitzvah*	treif*
Judaea	bat mitzvah*	treifah*
Judaism	brit bat*	tzitvit*
Judaismo	brit milah*	yarmulke*
Judenhass	chumash*	yeshiva*
Judeo		
British Muslims		
9/11	London bombing*	ayatollah*
*A*hmad*	Londonistan	bin Laden*
EDL	Madh*hab*	burka*
Islam	Medina*	burqa*
Jazeera	Maghreb*	calif*
MCB	Mahdi*	caliph*
*Muhajiroun	Mahomet*	demonisation*
Mujahidin	Maliki*	demonization*

Muslim	Maudeodi*	disadvantaged communit*
Talib	Mevlevi*	dupatta*
honour killing	Minhaj-ul-Quran	faqih*
jihad	Mohammedan*	far right*
terror law*	Moslem*	fatwa*
terror legislat*	Mosque*	fiqh*
7* July	Mouride*	forced into marriage*
Ak*bari*	Mubarak	ghoonghat*
Alavi*	Muhammad*	hadith*
Alevi*	Muharram	hajj*
Allah*	Mustaali*	halal*
Anglo-Islam*	Naqshbandi*	haram*
Anglo-Muslim*	National Interim Committee*	headscarf*
Arab*	Nigerian*	headscarv*
Ashuka	Nimatullahi*	hijab*
Baha'i*	Nizari*	ijma*
Bangladeshi*	Osama*	imam*
Barelvi*	Oveyssi*	incitement* to hatred
Barelwi*	Pakistani*	infidel*
Bektashi*	Posten-Jylland*	Insha’Allah
Bengali	Prophet Muhammad	jizya*
Bohra*	Qadiri*	khutba*
British Asian*	Qaeda	labour market segregat*
Commission for Racial Equality	Qiyamah*	madrasah*
Da'wah	Qur'an*	mixed marriage*
Da*wa*	Quran*	mufti*
Dar al*Ulum*	Racism the Red Card	muhaddith*
Dawat	Radical Middle Way	mullah*
Dawat-e-Islami	Ramadan*	murid*
Dawoodi*	Rashidun*	mutilat
Deobandi*	Rivers of Blood	niqab*
Druze*	Rushdie*	othering
Eid	Sacranie*	pardeh*
Emirate*	Salaf*	problem communit*
English Defence League*	Satanic Verses*	purdah*
	September 11*	qadi*
		racist abuse*

Enoch Powell*	Shadhili*	racist attack*
Ethnic Minority Employment Task Force*	Shafi'i*	religious disadvantage*
Eurabia	Shari	religious extremis*
EuroIslam*	Sharia*	religious fanati*
Farooq Murad*	Shati*	religious fundamentalis*
Final Testament	Shi*it*	religious radical*
Five Pillars	Shia*	religious terror*
Forced Marriage*	Somali*	salaf*
Freedom Community Organisation	South Asian*	salat*
Friday prayer*	South-Asian*	sawn*
Gudjarati	Sufi*	scapegoat*
Gudjarati*	Suhrawardiyya*	selective racis*
Hanaf*	Sulaimani*	sheikh*
Hanafi*	Sunni*	shirk*
Hanati*	Sura	shisha
Hanbali*	Tijaniyyah*	stop*and*search*
Hebtiah*	Trinitarian Act*	suicid* bomber*
Hijaz	Turkish	sunna*
Hizb *Tahrir	Turkish Cypriot*	takaful*
Holy Prophet	Twelver	tanzih*
Ibadi*	Ulema*	taqlid*
Ijtihad	Um al-Qura	tatseer*
Imam*	Urdu	tawhid*
Indian*	Usuli*	the common good
Ismaili*	Uwaaiysi*	ulama*
Jamaat	Wahhab*	ulema*
Jummah*	Wahhabi	ummah*
Kafa*	Zahiki*	umrah*
Kharijite*	Zaidi*	veil*
Koran*	Zāhirī	vulnerable communit*
Kurdish	alima*	xenophob*
Laylat	aqidah*	zakat*
London attack*	arrange* marriage*	zenana*
	awrah*	
Immigration		
British national	UK-born	migration *flow*

Caribbean migra	United Kingdom Border Agenc*	nationality code*
Commonwealth citizen	accommodation cent*	naturali*ation
EEA national	asylum aid*	non*family visit*
UK national	asylum claim*	non*worker migra*
lapsing leave	asylum*	overseas qualified migra*
migrant	biometric information	overstay*
skilled migra	biometric resident permit*	permanent residen*
white migra	border* control*	person* outside UK
Aliens Act	businessperson*	person* with UK ancestry
Appeal Tribunal*	conditional Brit*	points-based system*
Approved Destinations Status agreement*	countr* of origin*	post*war migration*
Asian migra*	dependent relative*	post*war settlement*
Asylum*	deportation*	post-war immigration
Black migra*	depriv* citizenship*	protect* for humanitarian reason*
Border* Act*	detention centr*	refuge*
British-born	earlier right* to appeal*	removal* of migrant*
Citizenship Act*	entry clearance	removal* of people
Common Travel Area*	entry of foreigner*	representative* of business
English language requirement*	entry restrict*	residence permit*
Foreign citizen*	family of nations	resum* citizenship*
Free Movement of Persons	family reunificat*	retired person* of independent means*
Gateway Protection Program*	family reunion*	returning resident*
Immigration*	first generation migra*	seasonal migra*
International Graduate Scheme*	forced migra*	seasonal worker*
Jewish migra*	ground* of public good	second generation migra*
Knowledge of Language and Life	high*value migra*	skilled worker*
Legal Services Commission*	hostility towards migrant*	slavery
Middle Eastern migra*	humanitarian protection*	temporary migra*
National Asylum Support Service*	illegal migra*	temporary residen*
Nationality Act*	illegal work*	temporary stay*
	immigration detain*	third countr* removal*
	immigration law*	third generation migra*
	immigration legislation*	undocumented migra*
	immigration polic*	unfounded asylum claim*
	integrat* into society	human rights claim*
	knowledge of language and	

One Stop Service*	life	visa polic*
Points-Based System*	labour migrat*	visa regulation*
Refugee and Migrant Justice	leave* to enter	visa system*
Safe Countr* of Origin	leave* to remain	visiting religious worker*
Sector-based scheme*	legal residen*	visitor* in transit
UK Border Agenc*	migra* benefit*	work permit employ*
UKBA*	migra* loan*	zero migration
	migra* support*	
Inter-Faith Dialogue		
Abrahamic Faith*	SACRE	ground* of religio*
Abrahamic faith*	Scottish Inter Faith Council	hate crime*
Christian-Muslim Forum*	Spiritual Care Service*	inter faith
Church of England	St Ethelburga's Centre for Reconciliation and Peace	liberal religion*
Commission on Equality and Human Rights	St Philip's Centre for Study and Engagement in a Multi-faith Society	majority faith*
Community Cohesion	Standing Advisory Council* for Religious Education	majority religion*
Community Relation*	Three Faiths	minority faith*
Council of Christians and Jews	Three Faiths*	minority religion*
Faith Communities Consultative Council	Tony Blair Faith Foundation	monitoring by religion
Faith Communities Forum	United Religions Initiative	multi-faith
Faith Communities Unit	World Congress of Faiths	multiculturalis*
Faith Zone	Young People's Faith Forum*	multifaith forum*
Faith-based Regeneration Network	chaplaincy-support	mutual respect
Hindu-Christian Forum*	church-state	national church*
Inner Cities Religious Council*	civil religio*	new religio*
Inter Faith	community cohesion	place* of worship
Inter Faith Council of Wales	congregation*	religious belief*
Inter Faith Network*	conservative religion*	religious cohesion
International Association for Religious Freedom	desecration*	religious communit*
Joseph Inter faith Foundation*	discriminat* on ground* of relig*	religious discriminat*
Lambeth Group	established church	religious diversity
	faith cohesion	religious group*
		religious harmon*
		religious identit*
		religious minorit*
		religious monopol*
		religious toleran*
		religious tolerance

New Religious Movement*	faith education*	scripture*
Northern Ireland Inter Faith Forum	faith group*	sectarian*
Regional Faith Forum*	faith school*	secular*
Religions for Peace	faith*based	state church*
Religious Education*	faith*focused	state-funded educational provision*
Religious Council*	freedom of belief*	world religion*
	freedom of religion	
	freedom of religious expression*	
Middle East		
Anbar	Iraq*	Samari
*Aqaba	Irgun	Samarr*
Ba'ath	Israel	Sargat*
Basra	Judaea	Saud*
Muthanna	Jerusalem	Shabak
Najaf	Jewish Agency	Sharett
Quadisiyya	Jewish National Home	Shatila
Ahmadinejad*	Jewish State	Shatt al-Arab*
Al-Jazeera*	Jewish majority	Sherit Leumi*
Al-Tuwaitha*	Jezreel	Shimon Peres*
Alger*	Joint Special Operation* Command*	Sinai
Aliyah	Jordan*	Six*Day War*
Aman	Judea	Southern Focus
Anfal*	Judenstaat	Southern Sahar*
Aqsa	Kadhim*	Southern Watch
Arab Spring*	Kadima	State* terror*
Arabah	Kahan	Stern Group*
Arafat*	Karbala*	Stop the War
Aravia*	Karzai*	Strait* of Tiran
Arbil*	Kinneret	Suez*
Ariel Sharon*	Kirkuk*	Sulayman*
Ashkelon	Knesset	Syri*
Assyria*	Kokhba	Temple Mount
Axis of Evil	Kurd*	Tel-Aviv*
Babylon*	Kuwait*	Tiberia
Baghdad*	Land for Peace	Tigris*
Baha'i*		Tikrit*

Bahrain*	Law of Return	Tiran*
Balfour	Leban*	Tunis*
Bat Yam*	Lehi	Turk*
Beersheb	Letter* of Mutual Recognition	Tzi-yon*
Ben*Gurion*	Likud	UAE
Biltmore	Lockerbie	UK's presence in Afghanistan
Bnei Brak*	Libya*	UK's presence in Iraq
Camp David*	Libyan	United Arab Emirat*
Canaan	Maccabe*	Vaad Leumi*
Carmel	Medina*	WMD
Circassia	Mahmoud Abbas*	Wasit*
Coalition Provisional Authorit*	Makkah*	Weapon* of Mass Destruction
Coastal Road Massacre*	Maronit	Wailing Place*
Cypriot*	Maysan*	Wailing Wall*
Cyprus*	Mecca*	Weizmann
Dead Sea*	Mesopotam*	West Bank
Dessert Fox	Middle East*	West Bank*
Dhi*Qar*	Mizrahi	Western Wall*
Disengagement Plan*	Modi'in Illit*	Yasser Arafat*
Diyala*	Mossad	Yehud
Dohuk*	Mosul*	Yemen*
Druze	Mount Hermon*	Yeshiva
Egypt*	Nazareth	Yisrael
Ehud Barak*	Negev	Yitzhak Rabin*
Eilat	Netanya	Yom Kippur War*
Eretz	Nineveh*	abarot
Euphrat*	Oil-for-Food	al-Megrahi
Exodus	Oman*	al-Qaeda
Faisal	Osirak*	anthrax
Falluja	Oslo Accord*	atayim
Galile	PLO	borderland buffer*
Gaza	Palestin	cyclosarin
Golan	Palestinian*	Fedayeen
Golda Meir*	Persia*	intervention in Iraq
Green Line*	Peshmerg*	invasion in Iraq
Gulf War*	Petah Tikv*	

Gush Emunim*	Plan of Partition	investment in oil
Haganah	Polish Resettlement Act*	kibbutz
Halabja*	Promised Land	makhtesh
Hamas*	Qatar*	mobile biological weapon* lab*
Hanoar Hatzioni*	Ramal	mobile chemical weapon* lab*
Hashemit*	Ramat Gan*	national home for Jew*
Hatikvah	Ramla	nerve gas*
Hebron	Ramon Crater*	no-fly zone*
Herodia	Red Sea*	occupied territor*
Herzl	Rehovot	peshmerg*
Hezbollah	Resolution 1441	price of oil
Histadrut	Rishon Lezion*	settled-Muslim*
Holon	Road Map*	shekel
Holy Land*	Sabra	state* terror*
Hulah Valley*	Saddam Hussein*	uranium*
International Trusteeship*	Sadr*	weapon* of mass destruction
Intifada	Safed*	
Iran*	Salah ad-Din*	
South Asia		
Karakoram	Hunza*	Orūzgān*
055 Brigade*	Hurriyat Conference*	Osama bin Laden
Abdul Haq	Hyderabad*	Pakistan*
Abdul Rashid Dostum	India	Pakti*
Aden Colon*	India*	Pashto*
afghan*	Indian	Pashtun*
Afghanistan*	Indira Gandhi*	Pervez Musharraf*
Ahmad Shah Masood	Indo-Arya*	Peshawar*
Aksai Chin*	Instrument of Accession*	Petersberg Process
Anti-Taliban Force*	International Security Assistance Force*	Provincial Reconstruction Team*
Ashfaq Majid Wani*	Islamabad	Public Safety Act
Asif Ali Zardari*	Islamabad*	Punjab*
Bagram*	Jain*	Qala-I-Janghi*
Balkh*	Jaish-e-Mohammed*	Quetta*
Balochistan*	Jalalabad	Resolution 1172
Baltistan*	Jamaat-i-Islami	Resolution 1373
Bangladesh*		

Bengal*
Bhutan*
Blue Mosque*
British Somali*
British Special Force*
Buddh*
Burm*
Camp Rhino*
Chenab*
Coalition Force*
Delhi*
Delta Force*
Dhaka*
Dhivehi
Dogra*
Dravidi*
Durand Line*
Dzongkha*
Farah*
Farooq Ahmad Dar*
Farooq Siddiqui*
Federally Administered Tribal Region*
Forward Operating Base*
Gardez*
Gilgit*
Great Game*
Gujarat
Haji
Hamid Karzai
Harkat-ul-Jihad al-Islami
Harkat-ul-Mujahedeen
Helmand
Herat*
H*zb-i-Islami
Himalaya*
Jammu*
Jhelum*
Junagadh*
Junbish
Kabul*
Kandahar*
Karachi*
Kargil*
Kashmir*
Kathmandu
Kunduz
Ladakh*
Lahore*
Lashkar-e-Taiba*
Leh*
Line of Control
Lok Sabha
Loya Jirga
Maharaja*
Mahatma Gandhi
Maldive*
Malé
Manmohan Singh*
Mazari Sharif*
McNaughton
Mirwaiz Umar Farooq*
Moghul*
Mountbatten
Mullah*
Mumbai*
Musa Qala*
Nagar*
Naypyidaw
Nepal*
Northern Alliance*
Operation Enduring Freedom
Resolution 47
Royal Marine*
Sanskrit*
Shahi-Kot*
Shkin*
Shrine of Hazrat Ali
Siachen*
Simla Agreement*
Sindh*
Sinhal*
South Asia*
Sri Jayawardenapura-Kotte
Sri Lanka*
Srinagar*
Standstill Agreement*
Syed Ali Shah Geelani*
Tajik*
Takhar
Talib*
Tamil*
Tashkent Declaration*
Thimphu*
Tibet*
Tora Bora
United Front*
Urdu*
Uruzgan*
Uzbek*
Vedi*
Waziristan*
Yasin Malik*
Zabul*
Zahir Shah
Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto*
al*Qaeda
princely state*
skirmish*

Appendix 3 Voting records

Table 1 Whipped votes on minority issues that witnessed dissent by minority MPs

	Jewish MPs	Muslim MPs
Labour	Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Bill 21 Nov 2001; Prevention of Terrorism Bill 28 Feb 2005; Terrorism Bill 2 Nov 2005 & 9 Nov 2005; Counter-Terrorism Bill 11 Jun 2008; Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Bill 5 Nov 2002; Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants, Etc.) Bill 1 Mar 2004, 1 Mar 2004 & 1 Mar 2004; Iraq: UN Security Council Resolution 1441 25 Nov 2002; Case for war is unproven 26 Feb 2003; Support for the Government 26 Feb 2003; Case for war not established 18 Mar 2003; Declaration of War 18 Mar 2003.	Iraq: Case for war is unproven 26 Feb 2003; Terrorism Bill 2 Nov 2005, 9 Nov 2005.
Conservative	Criminal Justice and Immigration Bill 6 May 2008; Gender Recognition Bill 25 May 2004; Categories of civil partners other than same sex couples 9 Nov 2004; Equality Act (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 19 Mar 2007; Protection of freedom of expression (sexual orientation) 9 Jan 2008; Termination of Pregnancy (Counselling and Miscellaneous Provisions) 5 Jun 2007.	

Liberal Democrat	Terrorism Act 2006 (Disapplication of Section 25) Order 2010 14 Jul 2010

Source: The data are collected from Public Whip (undated).

Table 2 Free votes on minority issues that witnessed dissent by minority MPs

	Jewish MPs	Muslim MPs
Labour	Doctor Assisted Dying 10 Dec 1997; Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 19 Dec 2000; Human Fertilisation and Embryology Bill 19 May 2008.	Human Fertilisation and Embryology Bill 19 May 2008
Conservative	Sexual Offences (Amendment) Bill 10 Feb 2000 & 28 Feb 2000; Stem Cell Research 31 Oct 2000; Human Fertilisation and Embryology (Research Purposes) Regulations 19 Dec 2000; Human Fertilisation and Embryology Bill 19 May 2008; 20 May 2008 & 22 Oct 2008; Health and Social Care Bill 7 Sep 2011.	Health and Social Care Bill 7 Sep 2011
Liberal Democrat	Medical Treatment (Prevention of Euthanasia) Bill 28 Jan 2000, 14 Apr 2000; Doctor Assisted Dying 10 Dec 1997; Health and Social Care Bill 7 Sep 2011.	

Source: The data are collected from Public Whip (undated). The free votes are identified on the basis of the Information List (House of Commons 2013).

Table 3 Whipped votes on general issues that witnessed dissent by minority MPs

	Jewish MPs	Muslim MPs
Labour	City of London (Ward Elections) Bill 24 Feb 1999, 14 Jul 1999, 2 Nov 1999 & 24 Jan 2000; Freedom of Information Bill 5 Apr 2000 & Freedom of Information (Amendment) Bill 18 May 2007; Identity Card Bill 23 Jan 2002; Education Bill 6 Feb 2002, Higher Education Bill 27 Jan 2004 & Education and Inspections Bill 15 Mar 2006, 23 May 2006; Health and Social Care (Community Health and Standards) Bill 7 May 2003 & 8 Jul 2003; Trident Replacement 14 Mar 2007; Alcohol Marketing 30 Mar 2011; Election of Speaker 23 Oct 2000, 22 Mar 2001; Parliamentary Pensions 5 Jul 2001; Members' Accommodation and Works 16 Jul 2001; Payment for Chairmen 14 May 2002; Programming of Bills 7 Nov 2000; Ministerial Statements proposals 29 Oct 2002; Parliamentary Questions 29 Oct 2002; New Provision for Earlier Sittings 29 Oct 2002; September Sittings 1 Nov 2006; Removal of References to Strangers 26 Oct 2004.	Education and Inspections Bill 15 Mar 2006 & 23 May 2006; Trident Replacement 14 Mar 2007; Removal of References to Strangers 26 Oct 2004; September Sittings 1 Nov 2006.
Conservative	House of Commons (Removal of Clergy Disqualification) Bill 1 Mar	

	2001; Election of Speaker 22 Mar 2001;
	Identity Cards Bill 29 Mar 2006;
	Parliamentary Pensions 5 Jul 2001; September Sittings and Short Speeches 1 Nov 2006; MPs' salaries 3 Jul 2008; 30 Apr 2009; Backbench Business Committee 15 Jun 2010; Backbench Business – Ministerial Statements 5 Dec 2011 ;
	Draft EU Budget 13 Oct 2010; Loans to Ireland Bill 15 Dec 2010; Eurozone Financial Assistance 24 May 2011; European Union Bill 11 Jan 2011; International Monetary Fund 11 Jul 2011; 1 Feb 2011; National Referendum on the European Union 24 Oct 2011;
	Parliamentary Voting System and Constituencies Bill 25 Oct 2010;
	Protection of Freedoms Bill (Programme) 10 Oct 2011;
	Hairdressers Registration (Amendment) 30 Nov 2011;
	Local Government Bill 10 Mar 2003; Communities and Local Government 12 Mar 2012;
	Mental Capacity Bill 14 Dec 2004.
Liberal Democrat	Communications Allowance 28 Mar 2007; MPs' salaries 3 Jul 2008;
	University Tuition Fee Cap 9 Dec 2010.

Source: The data are collected from Public Whip (undated).

Table 4 Free votes on general issues that witnessed dissent by minority MPs

	Jewish MPs	Muslim MPs
Labour	Members' Allowances, Insurance 5 Jul 2001; Modernisation of the House of Commons 14 May 2002, 29 Oct 2002, 26 Jan 2005; House of Lords Reform 4 Feb 2003 & 7 Mar 2007.	
Conservative	Select Committees 16 Jul 2001; Modernisation of the House of Commons 29 Oct 2002 & 25 Oct 2007; Health Bill 14 Feb 2006; House of Lords Reform 4 Feb 2003 & 7 Mar 2007.	
Liberal Democrat	Hunting Bill 17 Jan 2001, 27 Feb 2001, 18 Mar 2002, 30 Jun 2003, 1 Jul 2003, 15 Sep 2004 & 18 Nov 2004; Animal Welfare Bill 14 Mar 2006.	

Source: The data are collected from Public Whip (undated). The free votes are identified on the basis of the Information List (House of Commons 2013).

Table 5 Attendance and dissent by Jewish, Muslim and non-minority MPs, number

	Divisions attended	Cases of dissent	Whipped votes	Free votes
		1997 Parliament		
Lab Jewish	12,031	77	65	12
Lab Muslim	583	5	4	1
Lab Control	10,270	71	55	16
Con Jewish	4,584	30	13	17
Con Control	3,945	33	17	16
LD Jewish	702	19	10	9
LD Control	758	23	8	15
		2001 Parliament		
Lab Jewish	12,716	161	118	43
Lab Muslim	1,599	17	13	4
Lab Control	9,702	219	142	77
Con Jewish	5,494	61	33	28
Con Control	4,473	46	22	24
LD Jewish	680	15	4	11
LD Control	836	27	5	22
		2005 Parliament		
Lab Jewish	9,192	123	83	40
Lab Muslim	3,406	44	13	31
Lab Control	9,916	230	153	75

Con Jewish	8,475	186	81	105
Con Control	3,999	62	42	20
LD Jewish	2,559	15	12	3
LD Control	936	20	13	7
		2010 Parliament		
Lab Jewish	2,605	8	6	2
Lab Muslim	1,792	9	6	3
Lab Control	2,164	19	18	1
Con Jewish	5,143	90	87	3
Con Muslim	1,264	2	0	2
Con Control	3,093	78	75	3
LD Jewish	781	11	11	0
LD Control	712	40	39	1

Source: The data are collected from Public Whip (undated).

Appendix 4 STATA codebook

Observations

id (observations=Members of Parliament). MPs are coded to ensure anonymity. The codes reflect on religious identity (jmp - Jewish, MPs, mmp - Muslim MPs, wmp - white MPs) and are in alphabetical order by surname. 74 *id* values (MPs) are repeated over 14 time periods. This gives 621 valid observations, and 415 are omitted as missing.

Time variable *t*

session (time variable) on which observations and variables are sorted. It includes 14 parliamentary sessions: (1) 1997-98; (2) 1998-99; (3) 1999-00; (4) 2000-01; (5) 2001-02; (6) 2002-03; (7) 2003-04; (8) 2004-05; (9) 2005-06; (10) 2006-07; (11) 2007-08; (12) 2008-09; (13) 2009-10; (14) 2010-12.

Dependent variables

An EDM and a WPQ can refer to multiple concepts, which is why the number of reference to concepts is larger than the number of EDMs/WPQs that refer to the concepts. The number of references is calculated by summing up hits to each concept by MP, whereby no reference to a concept in an EDM/WPQ is 0, and a reference – 1. If there are several hits to the same concept in one EDM/WPQ, they are still recorded as 1.

<u>Early Day Motions:</u>

britjew (count): The number of references to 'British Jewry' in the EDMs.

britmuslim (count): The number of references to 'British Muslims' in the EDMs.

immigration (count): The number of references to 'Immigration' in the EDMs.

interfaith (count): The number of references to 'Inter-Faith Dialogue' in the EDMs.

mideast (count): The number of references to 'Middle East' in the EDMs.

southasia (count): The number of references to 'South Asia' in the EDMs.

britjewbin1 (binary): (0) no references to 'British Jewry'; (1) one or more references to 'British Jewry'.

britmuslimbin1 (binary): (0) no references to 'British Muslims'; (1) one or more references to 'British Muslims'.

immigrationbin1 (binary): (0) no references to 'Immigration'; (1) one or more references to 'Immigration'.

interfaithbin1 (binary): (0) no references to 'Inter-Faith Dialogue'; (1) one or more references to 'Inter-Faith Dialogue'.

mideastbin1 (binary): (0) no references to 'Middle East'; (1) one or more references to 'Middle East'.

southasiabin1 (binary): (0) no references to 'South Asia'; (1) one or more references to 'South Asia'.

Parliamentary Questions for written answers:

wpqbritjew (count): The number of references to 'British Jewry' in the WPQs.

wpqbritmuslim (count): The number of references to 'British Muslims' in the WPQs.

wpqimmigration (count): The number of references to 'Immigration' in the WPQs.

wpqinterfaith (count): The number of references to 'Inter-Faith Dialogue' in the WPQs.

wpqmideast (count): The number of references to 'Middle East' in the WPQs.

wpqsouthasia (count): The number of references to 'South Asia' in the WPQs.

wpqbritjewbin (binary): (0) no references to 'British Jewry'; (1) one or more references to 'British Jewry'.

wpqbritmuslimbin (binary): (0) no references to 'British Muslims'; (1) one or more references to 'British Muslims'.

wpqimmigrationbin (binary): (0) no references to 'Immigration'; (1) one or more references to 'Immigration'.

wpqinterfaithbin (binary): (0) no references to ‘Inter-Faith Dialogue’; (1) one or more references to ‘Inter-Faith Dialogue’.

wpqmideastbin (binary): (0) no references to ‘Middle East’; (1) one or more references to ‘Middle East’.

wpqsouthasiabin (binary): (0) no references to ‘South Asia’; (1) one or more references to ‘South Asia’.

Independent (explanatory) variables

Categorical variable **religionspec** is the main explanatory variable that reflects on each MP’s religious background defined as a socio-cultural code, rather than spiritual practice (Lazar *et al.* 2002; Sinno 2008): (1) Jewish; (2) Muslim; (3) Christian.

religionspec1 (binary), religious background: (0) non-Jewish; (1) Jewish.

religionspec2 (binary), religious background: (0) non-Muslim; (1) Muslim.

religiounspec3 (binary), religious background: (0) non-Christian; (1) Christian.

minorityshare (categorical), type of constituency with regard to the proportion of minority population: (1) Jewish; (2) 'Muslim'; (3) Muslim/Jewish; (4) White. The proportion of Jewish population is 0.5 per cent in England and 0.12-0.13 per cent in Scotland; and the average share of Muslim population is five per cent in England and one per cent in Scotland (ONS 2003; ONS 2012). ‘Jewish’ and ‘Muslim’ constituencies in England are instrumentally defined as those that have more than twice as many minorities as the country’s average (i.e. more than one and ten per cent in England, and 0.5 and two per cent in Scotland). The statistical data are triangulated with the Jewish and Muslim minority watch-lists (Jewish Chronicle 2010; Muslim Vote 2010).

minorityshare4 (binary), type of constituency with regard to the proportion of minority population: (0) Jewish and/or Muslim; (1) non-minority.

role2 (binary), or legislative role (Searing 1994): (0) backbencher; (1) frontbencher.

party (categorical): (1) Labour; (2) Conservative; (3) Liberal Democrat.

opposition1 (binary), being in the Opposition or in the Government party. The Labour Party is coded as the Government party and the Conservative and Liberal Democrat parties – as the Opposition parties between session 1 (1997-98) to 12 (2009-10), whereas they are coded as the Government parties during session 14 (2010-12) and the Labour party – as the Opposition: (0) Government; (1) Opposition.

Appendix 5 STATA command sequence

Declaring the data to be time series cross-sectional (TSCS) data

```
destring idnum, gen (id)
reshape long britjew britmuslim immigration interfaith mideast southasia party religionspec minorityshare role wpqbritjew wpqbritmuslim wpqmideast wpqsouthasia wpqimmigration wpqinterfaith, i(id)
xtset id session
drop idnum
sort id session
```

Finding mean averages of references to minority issues in EDMs and WPQs

Early Day Motions

```
bysort session:egen avera=mean(britjew)
bysort session:egen averb=mean(britjew) if religionspec==1
bysort session:egen averc=mean(britjew) if religionspec==2
bysort session:egen avercd=mean(britjew) if religionspec==3

bysort session:egen avere=mean(britmuslim)
bysort session:egen averf=mean(britmuslim) if religionspec==1
bysort session:egen averg=mean(britmuslim) if religionspec==2
bysort session:egen avero=mean(britmuslim) if religionspec==3

bysort session:egen averp=mean(mideast)
bysort session:egen averq=mean(mideast) if religionspec==1
```

```
bysort session:egen averr=mean(mideast) if religionspec==2
bysort session:egen avers=mean(mideast) if religionspec==3

bysort session:egen avert=mean(southasia)
bysort session:egen averu=mean(southasia) if religionspec==1
bysort session:egen averv=mean(southasia) if religionspec==2
bysort session:egen averw=mean(southasia) if religionspec==3

bysort session:egen averx=mean(immigration)
bysort session:egen averxx=mean(immigration) if religionspec==1
bysort session:egen averxy=mean(immigration) if religionspec==2
bysort session:egen averxz=mean(immigration) if religionspec==3

bysort session:egen avery=mean(interfaith)
bysort session:egen averyy=mean(interfaith) if religionspec==1
bysort session:egen averyz=mean(interfaith) if religionspec==2
bysort session:egen averzz=mean(interfaith) if religionspec==3
```

Parliamentary Questions for written answers

```
bysort session:egen averza=mean(wpqbritjew)
bysort session:egen averzb=mean(wpqbritjew) if religionspec==1
bysort session:egen averzc=mean(wpqbritjew) if religionspec==2
bysort session:egen averzd=mean(wpqbritjew) if religionspec==3

bysort session:egen averze=mean(wpqbritmuslim)
bysort session:egen averzf=mean(wpqbritmuslim) if religionspec==1
bysort session:egen averzg=mean(wpqbritmuslim) if religionspec==2
```

```
bysort session:egen averzo=mean(wpqbritmuslim) if religionspec==3

bysort session:egen averzp=mean(wpqmideast)
bysort session:egen averzq=mean(wpqmideast) if religionspec==1
bysort session:egen averzr=mean(wpqmideast) if religionspec==2
bysort session:egen averzs=mean(mideast) if religionspec==3

bysort session:egen averzt=mean(wpqsouthasia)
bysort session:egen averzu=mean(wpqsouthasia) if religionspec==1
bysort session:egen averzv=mean(wpqsouthasia) if religionspec==2
bysort session:egen averzw=mean(wpqsouthasia) if religionspec==3

bysort session:egen avezx=mean(wpqimmigration)
bysort session:egen averax=mean(wpqimmigration) if religionspec==1
bysort session:egen averay=mean(wpqimmigration) if religionspec==2
bysort session:egen averbz=mean(wpqimmigration) if religionspec==3

bysort session:egen averby=mean(wpqinterfaith)
bysort session:egen averby=mean(wpqinterfaith) if religionspec==1
bysort session:egen avercz=mean(wpqinterfaith) if religionspec==2
bysort session:egen averdz=mean(wpqinterfaith) if religionspec==3
```

Creating dichotomised independent (explanatory) variables

```
tab religionspec, generate(religionspec)
tab minorityshare, generate(minorityshare)
tab role, generate(role)
```

tab party, generate(party)

Generating the 'Opposition' dummy variable

gen opposition1=party

recode opposition1 (1=0 if session=1/13) (2/3=0 if session=14) (2/3=1 if session=1/13)

Testing the frequency of references to minority issues in EDMs and WPQs (Prais-Winsten regressions with standard error search and clustering)

Early Day Motions

prais britjew religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais britmuslim religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais immigration religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais interfaith religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais mideast religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais southasia religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais britjew religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais britmuslim religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais immigration religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais interfaith religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais mideast religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais southasia religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais britjew religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais britmuslim religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais immigration religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais interfaith religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais mideast religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais southasia religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

Parliamentary Questions for written answers

prais wpqbritjew religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais wpqbritmuslim religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais wpqimmigration religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais wpqinterfaith religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais wpqmideast religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais wpqsouthasia religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais wpqbritjew religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais wpqbritmuslim religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais wpqimmigration religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais wpqinterfaith religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
prais wpqmideast religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)
prais wpqsouthasia religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

prais wpqbritjew religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)
prais wpqbritmuslim religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)
prais wpqimmigration religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)
prais wpqinterfaith religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)
prais wpqmideast religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)
prais wpqsouthasia religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)
```

Significance testing of the relationship between a religious background and the frequency of references to minority issues before and after May 2005

<u>EDMs tabled before May 2005</u>

```
gen britjew11=britjew
replace britjew11=0 if session>8
recode britjew11(0=.)
tab religionspec britjew11, chi2
```

```
gen britmuslim11=britmuslim
replace britmuslim11=0 if session>8
recode britmuslim11(0=.)
tab religionspec britmuslim11, chi2

gen immigration11=immigration
replace immigration11=0 if session>8
recode immigration11(0=.)
tab religionspec immigration11, chi2

gen interfaith11=interfaith
replace interfaith11=0 if session>8
recode interfaith11(0=.)
tab religionspec interfaith11, chi2

gen mideast11=mideast
replace mideast11=0 if session>8
recode mideast11(0=.)
tab religionspec mideast11, chi2

gen southasia11=southasia
replace southasia11=0 if session>8
recode southasia11(0=.)
tab religionspec southasia11, chi2
```

WPQs tabled before May 2005

```
gen wpqbritjew11=wpqbritjew
replace wpqbritjew11=0 if session>8
recode wpqbritjew11(0=.)
tab religionspec wpqbritjew11, chi2

gen wpqbritmuslim11=wpqbritmuslim
replace wpqbritmuslim11=0 if session>8
recode wpqbritmuslim11(0=.)
tab religionspec wpqbritmuslim11, chi2

gen wpqimmigration11=wpqimmigration
replace wpqimmigration11=0 if session>8
recode wpqimmigration11(0=.)
tab religionspec wpqimmigration11, chi2

gen wpqinterfaith11=wpqinterfaith
replace wpqinterfaith11=0 if session>8
recode wpqinterfaith11(0=.)
tab religionspec wpqinterfaith11, chi2

gen wpqmideast11=wpqmideast
replace wpqmideast11=0 if session>8
recode wpqmideast11(0=.)
tab religionspec wpqmideast11, chi2

gen wpqsouthasia11=wpqsouthasia
```

```
replace wpqsouthasia11=0 if session>8
recode wpqsouthasia11(0=.)
tab religionspec wpqsouthasia11, chi2
```

EDMs tabled after May 2005

```
gen britjew1=britjew
replace britjew1=0 if session<9
recode britjew1(0=.)
tab religionspec britjew1, chi2

gen britmuslim1=britmuslim
replace britmuslim1=0 if session<9
recode britmuslim1(0=.)
tab religionspec britmuslim1, chi2

gen immigration1=immigration
replace immigration1=0 if session<9
recode immigration1(0=.)
tab religionspec immigration1, chi2

gen interfaith1=interfaith
replace interfaith1=0 if session<9
recode interfaith1(0=.)
tab religionspec interfaith1, chi2

gen mideast1=mideast
replace mideast1=0 if session<9
```

```
recode mideast1(0=.)
tab religionspec mideast1, chi2

gen southasia1=southasia
replace southasia1=0 if session<9
recode southasia1(0=.)
tab religionspec southasia1, chi2
```

WPQs Tabled after May 2005

```
gen wpqbritjew1=wpqbritjew
replace wpqbritjew1=0 if session<9
recode wpqbritjew1(0=.)
tab religionspec wpqbritjew1, chi2

gen wpqbritmuslim1=wpqbritmuslim
replace wpqbritmuslim1=0 if session<9
recode wpqbritmuslim1(0=.)
tab religionspec wpqbritmuslim1, chi2

gen wpqimmigration1=wpqimmigration
replace wpqimmigration1=0 if session<9
recode wpqimmigration1(0=.)
tab religionspec wpqimmigration1, chi2

gen wpqinterfaith1=wpqinterfaith
replace wpqinterfaith1=0 if session<9
recode wpqinterfaith1(0=.)
```

```
tab religionspec wpqinterfaith1, chi2

gen wpqmideast1=wpqmideast
replace wpqmideast1=0 if session<9
recode wpqmideast1(0=.)
tab religionspec wpqmideast1, chi2

gen wpqsouthasia1=wpqsouthasia
replace wpqsouthasia1=0 if session<9
recode wpqsouthasia1(0=.)
tab religionspec wpqsouthasia1, chi2
```

Generating dichotomised dependent variables

Early Day Motions

```
gen britjewbin1=britjew
recode britjewbin1 (1/max=1)

gen britmuslimbin1=britmuslim
recode britmuslimbin1 (1/max=1)

gen immigrationbin1=immigration
recode immigrationbin1 (1/max=1)

gen interfaithbin1=interfaith
recode interfaithbin1 (1/max=1)
```

```
gen mideastbin1=mideast

recode mideastbin1 (1/max=1)


gen southasiabin1=southasia

recode southasiabin1 (1/max=1)
```

Parliamentary Questions for written answers

```
gen wpqbritjewbin=wpqbritjew

recode wpqbritjewbin (1/max=1)


gen wpqbritmuslimbin=wpqbritmuslim

recode wpqbritmuslimbin (1/max=1)


gen wpqmideastbin=wpqmideast

recode wpqmideastbin (1/max=1)


gen wpqsouthasiabin=wpqsouthasia

recode wpqsouthasiabin (1/max=1)


gen wpqimmigrationbin=wpqimmigration

recode wpqimmigrationbin (1/max=1)


gen wpqinterfaithbin=wpqinterfaith

recode wpqinterfaithbin (1/max=1)
```

Testing for the likelihood of referring to minority issues in EDMs and WPQs (random-effect Gaussian logistic regression analysis)

Early Day Motions

```
xtlogit britjewbin1 religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit britmuslimbin1 religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit immigrationbin1 religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit interfaithbin1 religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit mideastbin1 religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit southasiabin1 religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2

xtlogit britjewbin1 religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit britmuslimbin1 religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit immigrationbin1 religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit interfaithbin1 religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit mideastbin1 religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit southasiabin1 religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2

xtlogit britjewbin1 religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit britmuslimbin1 religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit immigrationbin1 religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit interfaithbin1 religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit mideastbin1 religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2
xtlogit southasiabin1 religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2
```

Parliamentary Questions for written answers

```
xtlogit wpqbritjewbin religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
```

```
xtlogit wpqbritmuslimbin religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
xtlogit wpqimmigrationbin religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
xtlogit wpqinterfaithbin religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
xtlogit wpqmideastbin religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
xtlogit wpqsouthasiabin religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

xtlogit wpqbritjewbin religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
xtlogit wpqbritmuslimbin religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
xtlogit wpqimmigrationbin religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
xtlogit wpqinterfaithbin religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
xtlogit wpqmideastbin religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
xtlogit wpqsouthasiabin religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

xtlogit wpqbritjewbin religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
xtlogit wpqbritmuslimbin religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
xtlogit wpqimmigrationbin religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
xtlogit wpqinterfaithbin religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
xtlogit wpqmideastbin religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
xtlogit wpqsouthasiabin religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2
```

Appendix 6 STATA output

Testing the frequency of references to minority issues in EDMs and WPQs

(Prais-Winsten regressions with standard error search and clustering)

Early Day Motions

prais britjew religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     617
                                                       F(  3,    73) =    0.40
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.7514
                                                       R-squared     =       .
                                                       Root MSE      =  .67464

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
       britjew |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec1 |   .2478353    .235378     1.05   0.296    -.2212724    .7169431
minorityshare4 |   .1228353   .2352811     0.52   0.603    -.3460793    .5917499
         role2 |  -5.65e-08   .0230217    -0.00   1.000    -.0458823    .0458822
         _cons |   .1812771     .11391     1.59   0.116    -.0457451    .4082993
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |          1
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.736580
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.390681
```

prais britmuslim religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     617
                                                       F(  3,    73) =    1.69
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.1766
                                                       R-squared     =       .
                                                       Root MSE      =   1.211

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
    britmuslim |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec1 |   .7478354   .5637223     1.33   0.189    -.3756615    1.871332
minorityshare4 |   .1645021   .5638352     0.29   0.771    -.9592198    1.288224
         role2 |  -1.72e-08   .1196244    -0.00   1.000    -.2384111     .238411
         _cons |   .3896104   .2458795     1.58   0.117    -.1004267    .8796475
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   1.000001
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.598415
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.787542
```

prais immigration religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     617
                                                       F(  3,    73) =    2.29
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.0850
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0040
                                                       Root MSE      =  .67879

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
   immigration |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec1 |   .1117041   .0896948     1.25   0.217    -.0670574    .2904656
minorityshare4 |  -.1090441   .0899412    -1.21   0.229    -.2882967    .0702086
         role2 |  -.0763168   .0888775    -0.86   0.393    -.2534494    .1008157
         _cons |    .261843   .1066212     2.46   0.016     .0493473    .4743388
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .5884995
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.866246
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.849247
```

prais interfaith religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     617
                                                       F(  3,    73) =    0.69
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.5615
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0022
                                                       Root MSE      =  .22264

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
    interfaith |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec1 |  -.0032017   .0279596    -0.11   0.909     -.058925    .0525217
minorityshare4 |  -.0301112   .0270932    -1.11   0.270    -.0841079    .0238856
         role2 |  -.0071656   .0190288    -0.38   0.708    -.0450899    .0307587
         _cons |   .0597224   .0247556     2.41   0.018     .0103847    .1090602
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .4947691
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.014669
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.721616
```

prais mideast religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     543
                                                       F(  3,    54) =    1.25
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.3006
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0013
                                                       Root MSE      =  1.7562

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 55 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
     mideast |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec1 |  -122.448    209.907    -0.58   0.562    -543.2862    298.3902
minorityshare4 |  196.1482   212.5202     0.92   0.360    -229.9292    622.2255
        role2 |  -.1682346   .1296414    -1.30   0.200    -.4281499    .0916807
        _cons |  -286.1597   144.2984    -1.98   0.052    -575.4605    3.141185
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
         rho |   1.000281
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.451455
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.574255
```

prais southasia religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     617
                                                       F(  3,    73) =    3.94
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.0115
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0225
                                                       Root MSE      =  1.1165

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
   southasia |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec1 |  .4240951     .18774     2.26   0.027     .0499299    .7982603
minorityshare4 |  -.3939686   .1922628    -2.05   0.044    -.7771477   -.0107894
        role2 |  -.3570155   .1238075    -2.88   0.005    -.6037635   -.1102675
        _cons |  .5493294   .1103675     4.98   0.000     .3293674    .7692915
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
         rho |   .6007971
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.844883
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.970939
```

prais britjew religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     543
                                                       F(  3,    54) =    1.59
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.2034
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0005
                                                       Root MSE      =   .7186

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 55 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
       britjew |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec2 |   171061.6   93419.99     1.83   0.073    -16234.23    358357.4
minorityshare4 |   16894.05   63651.11     0.27   0.792    -110718.7    144506.9
         role2 |  -.0009597   .0219562    -0.04   0.965    -.0449792    .0430597
         _cons |   -91885.6   49128.67    -1.87   0.067    -190382.7     6611.46
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |          1
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.739145
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.396504
```

prais britmuslim religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     617
                                                       F(  3,    73) =    0.44
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.7245
                                                       R-squared     =       .
                                                       Root MSE      =   1.211

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
    britmuslim |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec2 |  -.3682067    .328237    -1.12   0.266    -1.022382    .2859687
minorityshare4 |   .3741455   .7168033     0.52   0.603    -1.054441    1.802732
         role2 |  -7.48e-08   .1196244    -0.00   1.000    -.2384111     .238411
         _cons |   .7207125   .1823197     3.95   0.000     .3573498    1.084075
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   1.000001
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.594275
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.787542
```

prais immigration religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     617
                                                       F(  3,    73) =    0.94
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.4256
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0033
                                                       Root MSE      =  .67901

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
   immigration |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec2 |  -.1382245   .0935283    -1.48   0.144    -.3246261     .048177
minorityshare4 |  -.0884002    .107571    -0.82   0.414    -.3027888    .1259885
         role2 |  -.0770201   .0885419    -0.87   0.387     -.253484    .0994437
         _cons |   .3233852   .0940335     3.44   0.001     .1359767    .5107938
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .5887892
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.866598
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.849340
```

prais interfaith religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     617
                                                       F(  3,    73) =    0.70
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.5536
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0024
                                                       Root MSE      =  .22261

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
    interfaith |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec2 |  -.0225944   .0360248    -0.63   0.532    -.0943917    .0492029
minorityshare4 |  -.0336826   .0248979    -1.35   0.180    -.0833041    .0159388
         role2 |  -.0074935   .0188388    -0.40   0.692    -.0450391    .0300521
         _cons |   .0617324   .0242769     2.54   0.013     .0133487    .1101162
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .4940406
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.016408
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.721469
```

prais mideast religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     543
                                                       F(  3,    54) =    1.51
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.2211
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0015
                                                       Root MSE      =  1.7558

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 55 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
     mideast |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec2 |   128005.7   84616.25     1.51   0.136    -41639.61    297651.1
minorityshare4 |   57160.52   59318.46     0.96   0.340    -61765.84    176086.9
        role2 |  -.1637813   .1286903    -1.27   0.209    -.4217899    .0942273
        _cons |  -106022.9   45965.23    -2.31   0.025    -198177.7   -13868.22
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
         rho |   1.000001
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.449766
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.574639
```

prais southasia religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     617
                                                       F(  3,    73) =    4.45
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.0063
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0154
                                                       Root MSE      =  1.1202

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
   southasia |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec2 |  -.1193143   .1581817    -0.75   0.453    -.4345699    .1959414
minorityshare4 |  -.2685559   .1761012    -1.53   0.132    -.6195252    .0824133
        role2 |  -.3535369   .1250814    -2.83   0.006    -.6028238     -.10425
        _cons |   .7231737   .1783247     4.06   0.000      .367773    1.078574
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
         rho |     .61152
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.829266
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.977841
```

prais britjew religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     617
                                                       F(  3,    73) =    0.20
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.8930
                                                       R-squared     =       .
                                                       Root MSE      =  .67464

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
       britjew |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec3 |  -.0625348   .2040598    -0.31   0.760    -.4692255    .3441559
minorityshare4 |   .1968127   .2694451     0.73   0.467    -.3401906     .733816
         role2 |  -5.55e-08   .0230217    -0.00   1.000    -.0458823    .0458822
         _cons |   .2916821    .107424     2.72   0.008     .0775863    .5057779
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |          1
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.735422
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.390681
```

prais britmuslim religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     543
                                                       F(  3,    54) =    0.30
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.8235
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0002
                                                       Root MSE      =  1.2908

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 55 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
    britmuslim |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec3 |  -21586.06   33806.97    -0.64   0.526    -89364.95    46192.82
minorityshare4 |   17990.62   33326.75     0.54   0.592     -48825.5    84806.74
         role2 |  -.0014159   .1209467    -0.01   0.991    -.2438995    .2410676
         _cons |  -27057.46   34154.74    -0.79   0.432    -95533.58    41418.67
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   1.000001
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.596892
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.789779
```

prais immigration religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     617
                                                       F(  3,    73) =    1.26
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.2938
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0030
                                                       Root MSE      =  .67911

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                   |             Semirobust
     immigration   |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------------+----------------------------------------------------------
  religionspec3    |  -.0635799   .0981262    -0.65   0.519    -.2591451    .1319853
 minorityshare4    |  -.0860946   .0922043    -0.93   0.354    -.2698575    .0976684
           role2   |  -.0755604   .0897122    -0.84   0.402    -.2543565    .1032358
           _cons   |   .3339593   .0744084     4.49   0.000     .1856636     .482255
-------------------+----------------------------------------------------------
             rho   |   .5895513
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.864650
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.848433
```

prais interfaith religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     617
                                                       F(  3,    73) =    0.72
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.5425
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0023
                                                       Root MSE      =  .22262

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                   |             Semirobust
     interfaith    |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------------+----------------------------------------------------------
  religionspec3    |   .0103698   .0271492     0.38   0.704    -.0437385    .0644781
 minorityshare4    |  -.0289623   .0246646    -1.17   0.244    -.0781188    .0201941
           role2   |  -.0073295   .0191634    -0.38   0.703    -.0455221     .030863
           _cons   |    .053525   .0245875     2.18   0.033     .0045221    .1025278
-------------------+----------------------------------------------------------
             rho   |   .4943751
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.015539
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.721645
```

prais mideast religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     543
                                                       F(  3,    54) =    1.27
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.2925
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0012
                                                       Root MSE      =  1.7564

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 55 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
     mideast |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec3 |   13.59665   134.8525     0.10   0.920    -256.7664    283.9597
minorityshare4 |    110.197   138.9747     0.79   0.431    -168.4305    388.8245
       role2 |  -.1676933   .1300059    -1.29   0.203    -.4283395    .0929529
       _cons |  -234.2323   138.6442    -1.69   0.097    -512.1972     43.7326
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
         rho |   1.000413
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.449039
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.574057
```

prais southasia religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     617
                                                       F(  3,    73) =    3.97
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.0112
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0210
                                                       Root MSE      =  1.1172

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
   southasia |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec3 |  -.3789185   .1571612    -2.41   0.018    -.6921403   -.0656967
minorityshare4 |  -.3359696   .1746394    -1.92   0.058    -.6840255    .0120863
       role2 |  -.3539519    .124741    -2.84   0.006    -.6025603   -.1053435
       _cons |   .8895311   .2115063     4.21   0.000     .4679996    1.311063
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
         rho |    .602905
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.841075
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.970532
```

Parliamentary Questions for written answers

prais wpqbritjew religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    1.74
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.1495
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0129
                                                       Root MSE      =  1.6399

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
    wpqbritjew |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec1 |  -.1363632   .2151234    -0.63   0.528    -.5651036    .2923772
minorityshare4 |   .2701215   .1713368     1.58   0.119    -.0713523    .6115952
   opposition1 |   .1436786    .167526     0.86   0.394    -.1902002    .4775573
         role2 |  -.2707301   .1447422    -1.87   0.065    -.5592008    .0177406
         _cons |   .2292267   .1190712     1.93   0.058    -.0080818    .4665353
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .1354146
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.682846
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.943303
```

prais wpqbritmuslim religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    1.69
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.1614
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0231
                                                       Root MSE      =  2.7119

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
 wpqbritmuslim |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec1 |   .6069117   .4137941     1.47   0.147    -.2177788    1.431602
minorityshare4 |  -.6650612   .4495736    -1.48   0.143     -1.56106    .2309378
   opposition1 |   .9103111   .4437392     2.05   0.044     .0259401    1.794682
         role2 |      .0507   .2660273     0.19   0.849    -.4794917    .5808917
         _cons |   .5507502   .2648067     2.08   0.041     .0229912    1.078509
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |    .332638
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.235349
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.914904
```

prais wpqimmigration religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    2.85
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.0298
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0175
                                                       Root MSE      =  7.9645

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                |             Semirobust
wpqimmigration |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec1 |   1.690382   1.291498     1.31   0.195    -.8835697    4.264333
minorityshare4 |  -1.243096   1.390549    -0.89   0.374    -4.014457    1.528265
   opposition1 |   2.589016    1.14363     2.26   0.027     .3097635    4.868268
         role2 |  -.2288532   .7840844    -0.29   0.771    -1.791531    1.333825
         _cons |   2.004338   .9476858     2.11   0.038     .1156029    3.893073
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .6402588
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.892737
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.150715
```

prais wpqinterfaith religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    0.96
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.4324
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0078
                                                       Root MSE      =  .14397

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                |             Semirobust
 wpqinterfaith |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec1 |   .0067903   .0096556     0.70   0.484    -.0124533     .026034
minorityshare4 |   .0202644   .0119802     1.69   0.095    -.0036121    .0441408
   opposition1 |   .0038989   .0147172     0.26   0.792    -.0254324    .0332303
         role2 |  -.0000935   .0079161    -0.01   0.991    -.0158702    .0156832
         _cons |  -.0003106   .0076226    -0.04   0.968    -.0155025    .0148813
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |  -.0299921
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.409334
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.359413
```

prais wpqmideast religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    1.25
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.2964
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0041
                                                       Root MSE      =  10.328

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
    wpqmideast |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec1 |   2.003667   2.093945     0.96   0.342    -2.169559    6.176892
minorityshare4 |  -1.019775   2.046027    -0.50   0.620      -5.0975     3.05795
   opposition1 |    .811103    1.01854     0.80   0.428    -1.218845    2.841051
         role2 |   -.570577   1.099051    -0.52   0.605    -2.760983    1.619829
         _cons |   2.160897   1.344817     1.61   0.112    -.5193191    4.841112
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .4664425
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.076075
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.229380
```

prais wpqsouthasia religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    0.95
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.4386
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0078
                                                       Root MSE      =  10.367

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
  wpqsouthasia |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec1 |   1.045261   1.370041     0.76   0.448    -1.685226    3.775748
minorityshare4 |  -.2049259   1.492409    -0.14   0.891    -3.179292    2.769441
   opposition1 |   2.779112   1.540504     1.80   0.075     -.291108    5.849331
         role2 |    1.40473   1.530454     0.92   0.362     -1.64546    4.454919
         _cons |    .513198   1.309833     0.39   0.696    -2.097295    3.123691
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .6807797
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.663524
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.423472
```

prais wpqbritjew religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    2.56
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.0453
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0121
                                                       Root MSE      =  1.6406

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
    wpqbritjew |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec2 |  -.1498794   .0515369    -2.91   0.005    -.2525924   -.0471664
minorityshare4 |   .2110944   .1185583     1.78   0.079    -.0251918    .4473807
   opposition1 |     .14049   .1699384     0.83   0.411    -.1981967    .4791767
         role2 |  -.2722921   .1422623    -1.91   0.060    -.5558204    .0112361
         _cons |   .1964444   .0610863     3.22   0.002     .0746996    .3181892
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .1369608
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.680842
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.944340
```

prais wpqbritmuslim religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    1.39
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.2471
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0233
                                                       Root MSE      =   2.712

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
 wpqbritmuslim |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec2 |   1.112208   .8121372     1.37   0.175    -.5063789    2.730795
minorityshare4 |  -.3609666   .4087588    -0.88   0.380    -1.175622    .4536887
   opposition1 |   .9414667   .4513444     2.09   0.040     .0419385    1.840995
         role2 |   .0781423   .2755958     0.28   0.778    -.4711194    .6274039
         _cons |   .6256802   .3605823     1.74   0.087    -.0929593     1.34432
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .3474796
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.223517
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.946819
```

prais wpqimmigration religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    1.83
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.1330
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0217
                                                       Root MSE      =  7.9469

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                |             Semirobust
wpqimmigration |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
----------------+-------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec2  |   5.220354   5.204961     1.00   0.319    -5.153117    15.59383
minorityshare4  |  -.0941096   1.264615    -0.07   0.941    -2.614483    2.426264
   opposition1  |   2.593497   1.112099     2.33   0.022     .3770877    4.809907
         role2  |  -.2025644   .7933387    -0.26   0.799    -1.783686    1.378557
         _cons  |    1.85864   .6674919     2.78   0.007     .5283309     3.18895
----------------+-------------------------------------------------------------
           rho  |   .6432477
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.885764
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.168744
```

prais wpqinterfaith religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    1.39
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.2450
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0073
                                                       Root MSE      =    .144

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                |             Semirobust
 wpqinterfaith  |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
----------------+-------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec2  |  -.0049944   .0034758    -1.44   0.155    -.0119217    .0019329
minorityshare4  |   .0219594   .0133343     1.65   0.104    -.0046158    .0485346
   opposition1  |   .0037544   .0147051     0.26   0.799    -.0255528    .0330615
         role2  |  -.0004045    .007957    -0.05   0.960    -.0162628    .0154537
         _cons  |   .0030539   .0061982     0.49   0.624    -.0092991    .0154069
----------------+-------------------------------------------------------------
           rho  |  -.0301371
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.408739
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.358607
```

prais wpqmideast religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    0.53
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.7107
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0012
                                                       Root MSE      =  10.342

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
    wpqmideast |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec2 |  -.1028054   1.814148    -0.06   0.955    -3.718397    3.512787
minorityshare4 |  -.3791568   1.662791    -0.23   0.820    -3.693094     2.93478
   opposition1 |   .8236557   1.029789     0.80   0.426    -1.228711    2.876022
         role2 |  -.5551181    1.12243    -0.49   0.622    -2.792117    1.681881
         _cons |   2.917387   2.081011     1.40   0.165    -1.230062    7.064836
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .4716714
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.067884
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.236557
```

prais wpqsouthasia religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    1.73
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.1521
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0079
                                                       Root MSE      =  10.367

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
  wpqsouthasia |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec2 |   1.774256   1.366745     1.30   0.198    -.9496627    4.498174
minorityshare4 |   .3440155   1.738704     0.20   0.844    -3.121216    3.809247
   opposition1 |   2.780273   1.538678     1.81   0.075    -.2863068    5.846853
         role2 |   1.414379   1.535712     0.92   0.360    -1.646291    4.475049
         _cons |   .6275754   1.002864     0.63   0.533    -1.371129     2.62628
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |    .681632
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.660350
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.425140
```

prais wpqbritjew religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    1.54
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.1993
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0138
                                                       Root MSE      =  1.6393

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
    wpqbritjew |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec3 |   .1743677   .2149313     0.81   0.420    -.2539898    .6027252
minorityshare4 |     .26471   .1545716     1.71   0.091    -.0433508    .5727708
   opposition1 |   .1399495    .163304     0.86   0.394    -.1855149    .4654139
         role2 |   -.276331   .1494804    -1.85   0.069    -.5742449     .021583
         _cons |   .0937276   .0955143     0.98   0.330    -.0966322    .2840874
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .1346542
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.684677
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.943640
```

prais wpqbritmuslim religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    2.14
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.0839
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0304
                                                       Root MSE      =  2.7019

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
 wpqbritmuslim |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec3 |  -.9156955   .3758659    -2.44   0.017    -1.664795   -.1665958
minorityshare4 |   -.665132   .4361141    -1.53   0.132    -1.534306    .2040421
   opposition1 |   .9181876   .4385188     2.09   0.040     .0442209    1.792154
         role2 |   .0680624   .2662272     0.26   0.799    -.4625277    .5986526
         _cons |   1.221298   .4082852     2.99   0.004     .4075868    2.035009
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .3277018
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.244419
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.917654
```

prais wpqimmigration religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    2.75
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.0344
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0241
                                                       Root MSE      =  7.9393

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                    |             Semirobust
wpqimmigration      |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
--------------------+---------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec3      |  -3.479798   1.309736    -2.66   0.010    -6.090099    -.869498
minorityshare4      |  -1.406597   1.666649    -0.84   0.401    -4.728224    1.915031
   opposition1      |   2.602422   1.129196     2.30   0.024     .3519382    4.852906
         role2      |  -.2259848   .7794209    -0.29   0.773    -1.779368    1.327399
         _cons      |   4.278419   1.306481     3.27   0.002     1.674606    6.882233
--------------------+---------------------------------------------------------
           rho      |   .6287923
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.898916
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.137658
```

prais wpqinterfaith religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    1.02
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.4051
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0076
                                                       Root MSE      =  .14398

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
                    |             Semirobust
 wpqinterfaith      |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
--------------------+---------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec3      |   -.005391   .0096237    -0.56   0.577     -.024571    .0137889
minorityshare4      |   .0212414    .012429     1.71   0.092    -.0035296    .0460124
   opposition1      |   .0040407   .0147661     0.27   0.785     -.025388    .0334695
         role2      |    .000051   .0079374     0.01   0.995    -.0157682    .0158701
         _cons      |   .0048976   .0064205     0.76   0.448    -.0078983    .0176935
--------------------+---------------------------------------------------------
           rho      |   -.030117
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.409044
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 1.358932
```

prais wpqmideast religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    1.46
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.2243
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0039
                                                       Root MSE      =  10.328

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
    wpqmideast |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec3 |  -1.938317   1.713302    -1.13   0.262    -5.352924     1.47629
minorityshare4 |  -.7868013   1.775606    -0.44   0.659     -4.32558    2.751977
   opposition1 |   .8305941   1.006117     0.83   0.412    -1.174595    2.835783
         role2 |  -.5380359   1.094435    -0.49   0.624    -2.719242     1.64317
         _cons |   3.844783   2.507852     1.53   0.130    -1.153359    8.842926
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .4680936
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    1.072426
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.233047
```

prais wpqsouthasia religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2, ssesearch cluster(id)

```
Prais-Winsten AR(1) regression -- SSE search estimates

Linear regression                                      Number of obs =     621
                                                       F(  4,    73) =    1.68
                                                       Prob > F      =  0.1630
                                                       R-squared     =  0.0084
                                                       Root MSE      =  10.365

                                     (Std. Err. adjusted for 74 clusters in id)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Semirobust
  wpqsouthasia |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 religionspec3 |  -1.689255   1.258874    -1.34   0.184    -4.198187    .8196768
minorityshare4 |  -.2182374   1.567737    -0.14   0.890    -3.342734    2.906259
   opposition1 |   2.776664    1.53556     1.81   0.075    -.2837035    5.837031
         role2 |   1.403676   1.529118     0.92   0.362    -1.643851    4.451203
         _cons |   1.710517   .8779281     1.95   0.055    -.0391911    3.460225
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
           rho |   .6798917
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Durbin-Watson statistic (original)    0.664206
Durbin-Watson statistic (transformed) 2.422258
```

Significance testing of the relationship between a religious background and the frequency of references to minority issues pre- and after May 2005

<u>EDMs tabled before May 2005</u>

tab religionspec britjew11, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	britjew11 1	2	3	Total
1	5	1	1	7
2	1	0	0	1
3	5	1	0	6
Total	11	2	1	14

Pearson chi2(4) = 1.2879 Pr = 0.863

tab religionspec britmuslim11, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	britmuslim11 1	2	3	Total
1	10	3	1	14
2	1	1	0	2
3	7	1	0	8
Total	18	5	1	24

Pearson chi2(4) = 2.1571 Pr = 0.707

tab religionspec immigration11, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	immigration11 1	Total
1	12	12
3	4	4
Total	16	16

tab religionspec interfaith11, chi2

no observations

tab religionspec mideast11, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	mideast11 1	2	3	4	10	16	Total
1	12	3	1	0	1	1	18
2	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
3	2	0	1	1	0	0	4
Total	14	3	3	1	1	1	23

Pearson chi2(10) = 13.9339 Pr = 0.176

tab religionspec southasia11, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	southasia11 1	2	3	5	Total
1	10	1	2	1	14
3	2	0	0	0	2
Total	12	1	2	1	16

Pearson chi2(3) = 0.7619 Pr = 0.859

WPQs tabled before May 2005

tab religionspec wpqbritjew11, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqbritjew11 1	2	3	4	6	38	Total
1	8	5	3	1	1	0	18
3	6	1	0	1	2	1	11
Total	14	6	3	2	3	1	29

Pearson chi2(5) = 5.9423 Pr = 0.312

tab religionspec wpqimmigration11, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqimmigration11 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
1	10	11	7	4	1	1	2	2	1	63
2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	5
3	8	8	5	3	0	2	0	0	1	35
Total	19	19	13	8	1	3	2	3	3	103

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqimmigration11 10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Total
1	2	2	1	1	2	1	3	0	1	63
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
3	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	35
Total	4	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	1	103

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqimmigration11 19	20	23	24	27	34	35	36	43	Total
1	2	1	1	2	1	0	1	1	1	63
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	35
Total	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	103

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqimmigration11 44	Total
1	1	63
2	0	5
3	0	35
Total	1	103

Pearson chi2(54) = 37.6376 Pr = 0.956

tab religionspec wpqbritmuslim11, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqbritmuslim11 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9	10	Total
1	17	7	2	4	3	1	3	2	0	42
2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
3	7	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	15
Total	24	12	4	4	4	1	3	2	1	59

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqbritmuslim11 15	19	20	Total
1	1	2	0	42
2	0	0	0	2
3	0	0	1	15
Total	1	2	1	59

Pearson chi2(22) = 19.4208 Pr = 0.619

tab religionspec wpqmideast11, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqmideast11 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
1	21	8	7	5	3	2	3	3	2	65
2	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
3	6	3	2	1	1	0	2	1	0	24
Total	27	14	10	6	4	2	5	4	2	93

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqmideast11 10	11	12	13	14	30	33	34	45	Total
1	1	0	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	65
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
3	0	1	1	3	0	1	0	1	0	24
Total	1	1	2	4	2	1	1	1	1	93

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqmideast11 50	53	98	132	154	Total
1	1	1	0	1	1	65
2	0	0	0	0	0	4
3	0	0	1	0	0	24
Total	1	1	1	1	1	93

Pearson chi2(44) = 36.8879 Pr = 0.768

tab religionspec wpqsouthasia11, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqsouthasia11 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
1	9	4	4	4	2	3	2	0	1	38
2	2	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	7
3	5	5	1	3	1	0	1	1	1	21
Total	16	11	5	7	4	4	3	1	2	66

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqsouthasia11 10	11	13	15	19	21	28	31	119	Total
1	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	38
2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
3	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	21
Total	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	66

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqsouthasia11 208	Total
1	1	38
2	0	7
3	0	21
Total	1	66

Pearson chi2(36) = 27.0554 Pr = 0.859

tab religionspec wpqinterfaith11, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqinterfaith11 1	2	Total
1	0	1	1
3	2	0	2
Total	2	1	3

Pearson chi2(1) = 3.0000 Pr = 0.083

EDMs tabled after May 2005

tab religionspec britjew1, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	britjew1 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	11	Total
1	21	8	3	0	2	0	0	1	35
2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
3	13	2	3	1	0	1	1	0	21
Total	37	10	6	1	2	1	1	1	59

Pearson chi2(14) = 10.8493 Pr = 0.698

tab religionspec britmuslim1, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	britmuslim1 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10	Total
1	24	5	8	7	2	2	1	0	1	51
2	7	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12
3	13	4	1	1	3	0	0	1	0	24
Total	44	14	9	8	5	2	1	1	1	87

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	britmuslim1 13	28	Total
1	0	1	51
2	0	0	12
3	1	0	24
Total	1	1	87

Pearson chi2(20) = 24.5685 Pr = 0.218

tab religionspec immigration1, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	immigration1 1	2	3	4	5	7	Total
1	18	7	7	1	1	1	35
2	2	2	0	0	0	0	4
3	8	3	1	3	1	2	18
Total	28	12	8	4	2	3	57

Pearson chi2(10) = 9.9594 Pr = 0.444

tab religionspec interfaith1, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	interfaith1 1	2	3	Total
1	5	3	0	8
2	1	0	0	1
3	8	1	1	10
Total	14	4	1	19

Pearson chi2(4) = 3.0027 Pr = 0.557

tab religionspec mideast1, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	mideast1 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
1	18	9	8	1	2	3	2	1	3	49
2	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
3	17	5	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	31
Total	39	16	10	2	2	5	3	1	3	86

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	mideast1 11	12	14	46	Total
1	0	0	1	1	49
2	0	0	0	0	6
3	1	1	1	0	31
Total	1	1	2	1	86

Pearson chi2(24) = 15.1710 Pr = 0.916

tab religionspec southasia1, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	southasia1 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
1	21	7	5	2	3	1	2	2	2	47
2	6	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	10
3	15	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	25
Total	42	14	8	3	4	1	2	2	4	82

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	southasia1 10	13	Total
1	1	1	47
2	0	0	10
3	0	0	25
Total	1	1	82

Pearson chi2(20) = 9.9752 Pr = 0.969

WPQs tabled after May 2005

tab religionspec wpqbritjew1, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqbritjew1 1	2	3	4	5	Total
1	10	2	1	2	1	16
3	2	2	0	0	0	4
Total	12	4	1	2	1	20

Pearson chi2(4) = 3.3333 Pr = 0.504

tab religionspec wpqbritmuslim1, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqbritmuslim1 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9	10	Total
1	15	8	7	3	4	3	2	1	1	48
2	3	3	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	11
3	12	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	18
Total	30	14	8	6	4	3	2	2	2	77

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqbritmuslim1 12	14	18	20	21	31	Total
1	1	1	0	0	1	1	48
2	0	0	0	1	0	0	11
3	0	0	1	0	0	0	18
Total	1	1	1	1	1	1	77

Pearson chi2(28) = 31.1302 Pr = 0.311

tab religionspec wpqinterfaith1, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqinterfaith1 1	2	Total
1	3	1	4
Total	3	1	4

tab religionspec wpqimmigration1, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqimmigration1 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
1	9	8	4	5	3	3	4	2	1	53
2	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	0	0	11
3	2	6	3	1	1	2	0	1	1	19
Total	12	15	8	7	5	8	6	3	2	83

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqimmigration1 10	13	15	19	21	24	25	27	37	Total
1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	53
2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	19
Total	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	83

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqimmigration1 58	59	94	119	Total
1	1	1	0	1	53
2	0	0	1	0	11
3	0	0	0	0	19
Total	1	1	1	1	83

Pearson chi2(42) = 29.2359 Pr = 0.932

tab religionspec wpqmideast1, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqmideast1 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9	13	Total
1	9	8	6	3	4	4	0	2	2	50
2	0	0	0	1	0	3	4	0	0	9
3	5	3	0	1	1	1	2	0	1	17
Total	14	11	6	5	5	8	6	2	3	76

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqmideast1 14	17	19	21	22	23	24	27	34	Total
1	1	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	50
2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	17
Total	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	76

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqmideast1 40	47	52	70	80	Total
1	0	1	1	1	1	50
2	0	0	0	0	0	9
3	1	0	0	0	0	17
Total	1	1	1	1	1	76

Pearson chi2(44) = 53.7446 Pr = 0.149

tab religionspec wpqsouthasia1, chi2

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqsouthasia1 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	9	10	Total
1	11	5	2	4	2	0	3	1	2	42
2	1	1	2	3	1	1	0	0	0	12
3	8	4	1	2	1	3	1	0	0	23
Total	20	10	5	9	4	4	4	1	2	77

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqsouthasia1 11	12	13	15	17	18	20	23	35	Total
1	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	42
2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	12
3	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	23
Total	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	77

Jewish 1, Muslim 2, Christian 3	wpqsouthasia1 36	57	96	109	177	Total
1	1	0	1	1	1	42
2	0	0	0	0	0	12
3	0	1	0	0	0	23
Total	1	1	1	1	1	77

Pearson chi2(44) = 37.0916 Pr = 0.760

Testing for the likelihood of referring to minority issues in EDMs and WPQs (random-effect Gaussian logistic regression analysis)

Early Day Motions

xtlogit britjewbin1 religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =     15.69
Log likelihood  = -197.89211                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0013
```

britjewbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec1	.4708545	.4402674	1.07	0.285	-.3920537	1.333763
minorityshare4	-.3429022	.4338768	-0.79	0.429	-1.193285	.5074806
role2	-1.550082	.4099441	-3.78	0.000	-2.353558	-.7466068
_cons	-2.026935	.3902145	-5.19	0.000	-2.791741	-1.262128
/lnsig2u	.0186017	.516093			-.992922	1.030125
sigma_u	1.009344	.2604578			.608681	1.673743
rho	.2364493	.093176			.1012175	.4599058

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    14.13 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit britmuslimbin1 religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =     19.14
Log likelihood  = -258.53803                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0003
```

britmuslimbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec1	.6636457	.3842959	1.73	0.084	-.0895603	1.416852
minorityshare4	-.9052323	.3817613	-2.37	0.018	-1.653471	-.1569939
role2	-1.122187	.3126171	-3.59	0.000	-1.734905	-.5094689
_cons	-1.329203	.3220257	-4.13	0.000	-1.960362	-.698044
/lnsig2u	-.0729179	.4896269			-1.032569	.8867332
sigma_u	.9641977	.2360486			.5967336	1.557943
rho	.2203264	.0841094			.0976673	.424552

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    14.36 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit immigrationbin1 religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =      8.69
Log likelihood  = -205.33209                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0337
```

immigrationbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec1	.9121661	.4504256	2.03	0.043	.0293482	1.794984
minorityshare4	-.9769743	.4499413	-2.17	0.030	-1.858843	-.0951056
role2	-.5041884	.337723	-1.49	0.135	-1.166113	.1577365
_cons	-2.310836	.3758881	-6.15	0.000	-3.047563	-1.574109
/lnsig2u	.1241712	.4362634			-.7308893	.9792316
sigma_u	1.064053	.2321038			.693888	1.631689
rho	.2560357	.0831001			.127668	.4472926

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    21.88 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit interfaithbin1 religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =      4.00
Log likelihood  = -81.981571                    Prob > chi2        =    0.2612
```

interfaithbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec1	-.3026026	.5352583	-0.57	0.572	-1.35169	.7464843
minorityshare4	-.5980612	.5600319	-1.07	0.286	-1.695704	.4995812
role2	-.8000707	.5529767	-1.45	0.148	-1.883885	.2837437
_cons	-2.961937	.5122927	-5.78	0.000	-3.966012	-1.957861
/lnsig2u	-.9872897	1.746766			-4.410888	2.436309
sigma_u	.6103975	.5331108			.1102016	3.380942
rho	.101731	.1596227			.0036779	.7765132

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =     0.45 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.251
```

xtlogit mideastbin1 religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =     17.05
Log likelihood  = -256.98629                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0007
```

mideastbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec1	.7165095	.401682	1.78	0.074	-.0707728	1.503792
minorityshare4	-.5624252	.3951556	-1.42	0.155	-1.336916	.2120655
role2	-1.136427	.3164789	-3.59	0.000	-1.756715	-.5161401
_cons	-1.656278	.3616019	-4.58	0.000	-2.365005	-.9475514
/lnsig2u	.0545308	.4732044			-.8729327	.9819944
sigma_u	1.027641	.243142			.6463163	1.633945
rho	.2429973	.0870458			.1126674	.4479757

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    17.26 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit southasiabin1 religionspec1 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =     12.86
Log likelihood  = -243.68111                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0050
```

southasiabin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec1	.8325126	.4336624	1.92	0.055	-.01745	1.682475
minorityshare4	-1.082521	.4364962	-2.48	0.013	-1.938038	-.2270045
role2	-.7331977	.3133891	-2.34	0.019	-1.347429	-.1189663
_cons	-1.669506	.3494093	-4.78	0.000	-2.354336	-.9846764
/lnsig2u	.2437545	.4671863			-.6719138	1.159423
sigma_u	1.129615	.2638704			.7146539	1.785523
rho	.2794698	.0940756			.1343815	.4921445

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    20.76 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit britjewbin1 religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =     14.71
Log likelihood  = -198.33125                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0021
```

britjewbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec2	-.4184206	.7888126	-0.53	0.596	-1.964465	1.127624
minorityshare4	-.2349569	.4180819	-0.56	0.574	-1.054382	.5844685
role2	-1.549434	.4098709	-3.78	0.000	-2.352767	-.7461022
_cons	-1.780922	.3542215	-5.03	0.000	-2.475184	-1.086661
/lnsig2u	.0144639	.5277423			-1.019892	1.04882
sigma_u	1.007258	.2657863			.600528	1.689462
rho	.2357031	.0950713			.0987902	.4645526

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    13.13 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit britmuslimbin1 religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =     17.34
Log likelihood  = -259.23388                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0006
```

britmuslimbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec2	.7749104	.6065965	1.28	0.201	-.4139969	1.963818
minorityshare4	-.5799084	.3778379	-1.53	0.125	-1.320457	.1606404
role2	-1.100432	.3128981	-3.52	0.000	-1.713701	-.4871634
_cons	-1.210559	.3061239	-3.95	0.000	-1.81055	-.6105667
/lnsig2u	.0077945	.4720218			-.9173513	.9329403
sigma_u	1.003905	.2369325			.6321202	1.594356
rho	.2345037	.0847334			.1083025	.4358782

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    15.75 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit immigrationbin1 religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =      4.97
Log likelihood  =  -207.2303                    Prob > chi2        =    0.1736
```

immigrationbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec2	-.4540409	.7924237	-0.57	0.567	-2.007163	1.099081
minorityshare4	-.7357578	.4432194	-1.66	0.097	-1.604452	.1329363
role2	-.4895646	.3392984	-1.44	0.149	-1.154577	.175448
_cons	-1.897343	.3419697	-5.55	0.000	-2.567591	-1.227095
/lnsig2u	.2472821	.4237704			-.5832927	1.077857
sigma_u	1.13161	.2397713			.7470327	1.714169
rho	.2801807	.0854658			.1450282	.4717824

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    24.73 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit interfaithbin1 religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =      4.01
Log likelihood  = -81.998302                    Prob > chi2        =    0.2607
```

interfaithbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec2	-.5646341	1.114974	-0.51	0.613	-2.749942	1.620674
minorityshare4	-.7388709	.5427113	-1.36	0.173	-1.802566	.3248238
role2	-.8113712	.5534397	-1.47	0.143	-1.896093	.2733506
_cons	-3.002522	.4903273	-6.12	0.000	-3.963546	-2.041498
/lnsig2u	-1.042097	1.821874			-4.612906	2.528711
sigma_u	.5938974	.5410032			.099614	3.540809
rho	.0968308	.1593313			.0030071	.7921383

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =     0.41 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.262
```

xtlogit mideastbin1 religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =     13.78
Log likelihood  = -258.32702                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0032
```

mideastbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec2	-.528778	.739873	-0.71	0.475	-1.978902	.9213464
minorityshare4	-.410931	.398018	-1.03	0.302	-1.191032	.3691701
role2	-1.127859	.3191687	-3.53	0.000	-1.753418	-.5023002
_cons	-1.315174	.329199	-4.00	0.000	-1.960392	-.6699562
/lnsig2u	.158317	.4590268			-.741359	1.057993
sigma_u	1.082376	.2484198			.6902651	1.697228
rho	.2625938	.0888852			.1265066	.4668351

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    19.84 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit southasiabin1 religionspec2 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =      9.29
Log likelihood  = -245.18324                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0257
```

southasiabin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec2	.5351931	.6982373	0.77	0.443	-.8333268	1.903713
minorityshare4	-.7383588	.4403621	-1.68	0.094	-1.601453	.1247351
role2	-.7167572	.31741	-2.26	0.024	-1.338869	-.094645
_cons	-1.461226	.3417363	-4.28	0.000	-2.131017	-.7914352
/lnsig2u	.4269671	.4363511			-.4282654	1.2822
sigma_u	1.237983	.2700977			.8072412	1.898568
rho	.3178044	.094603			.1653272	.5228221

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    25.99 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit britjewbin1 religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =     15.04
Log likelihood  = -198.17785                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0018
```

britjewbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec3	-.3374028	.4419099	-0.76	0.445	-1.20353	.5287247
minorityshare4	-.2554228	.4208416	-0.61	0.544	-1.080257	.5694115
role2	-1.54432	.410078	-3.77	0.000	-2.348058	-.7405817
_cons	-1.691449	.3837863	-4.41	0.000	-2.443656	-.9392412
/lnsig2u	.0430376	.5108089			-.9581294	1.044205
sigma_u	1.021752	.26096			.6193624	1.685568
rho	.2408893	.0934074			.1044269	.4634048

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    14.45 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit britmuslimbin1 religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =     23.06
Log likelihood  = -256.78996                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0000
```

britmuslimbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec3	-.9676087	.3879452	-2.49	0.013	-1.727967	-.20725
minorityshare4	-.8669059	.3595413	-2.41	0.016	-1.571594	-.1622179
role2	-1.134319	.3103041	-3.66	0.000	-1.742504	-.526134
_cons	-.6278216	.3065203	-2.05	0.041	-1.22859	-.0270529
/lnsig2u	-.153855	.4989283			-1.131736	.8240264
sigma_u	.925957	.2309931			.5678669	1.509854
rho	.2067378	.0818229			.0892698	.4093094

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    13.06 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit immigrationbin1 religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =      7.39
Log likelihood  = -205.98847                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0605
```

immigrationbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec3	-.7627368	.4577182	-1.67	0.096	-1.659848	.1343744
minorityshare4	-.8326252	.4361257	-1.91	0.056	-1.687416	.0221654
role2	-.5015486	.3387963	-1.48	0.139	-1.165577	.16248
_cons	-1.60535	.3689939	-4.35	0.000	-2.328564	-.8821347
/lnsig2u	.1742074	.4285941			-.6658216	1.014236
sigma_u	1.09101	.2338002			.7168341	1.660499
rho	.2656824	.0836167			.1350918	.4559616

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    23.33 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit interfaithbin1 religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =      4.44
Log likelihood  = -81.785318                    Prob > chi2        =    0.2178
```

interfaithbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec3	.4403604	.5137762	0.86	0.391	-.5666226	1.447343
minorityshare4	-.604556	.5405961	-1.12	0.263	-1.664105	.4549929
role2	-.8212563	.5540536	-1.48	0.138	-1.907181	.2646689
_cons	-3.26698	.5419739	-6.03	0.000	-4.32923	-2.204731
/lnsig2u	-1.188262	2.119397			-5.342204	2.96568
sigma_u	.552042	.5849981			.069176	4.405438
rho	.0847796	.1644483			.0014524	.8550576

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =     0.29 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.295
```

xtlogit mideastbin1 religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =     15.58
Log likelihood  =  -257.6479                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0014
```

mideastbin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec3	-.55562	.4040637	-1.38	0.169	-1.34757	.2363302
minorityshare4	-.4439275	.3851491	-1.15	0.249	-1.198806	.3109509
role2	-1.128664	.316475	-3.57	0.000	-1.748944	-.5083847
_cons	-1.12325	.3510196	-3.20	0.001	-1.811236	-.4352639
/lnsig2u	.0842876	.4672026			-.8314126	.9999878
sigma_u	1.043044	.2436565			.659874	1.648711
rho	.2485128	.087252			.1168855	.4524294

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    18.19 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit southasiabin1 religionspec3 minorityshare4 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       617
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.3
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(3)       =     14.88
Log likelihood  = -242.60677                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0019
```

southasiabin1	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec3	-1.048027	.4399963	-2.38	0.017	-1.910404	-.1856499
minorityshare4	-1.003202	.4146541	-2.42	0.016	-1.81591	-.1904953
role2	-.7363858	.312822	-2.35	0.019	-1.349506	-.123266
_cons	-.8777581	.3433133	-2.56	0.011	-1.55064	-.2048765
/lnsig2u	.2144842	.4613869			-.6898174	1.118786
sigma_u	1.113204	.2568088			.708285	1.74961
rho	.273614	.0917003			.1323125	.4819924

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    20.84 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

Parliamentary Questions for written answers

xtlogit wpqbritjewbin religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     12.59
Log likelihood  = -149.72172                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0135
```

wpqbritjewbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec1	.4856335	.563308	0.86	0.389	-.6184299	1.589697
minorityshare4	.6195215	.5713473	1.08	0.278	-.5002986	1.739342
opposition1	.1797383	.4897235	0.37	0.714	-.7801021	1.139579
role2	-1.426108	.465518	-3.06	0.002	-2.338506	-.513709
_cons	-3.341271	.5690908	-5.87	0.000	-4.456668	-2.225873
/lnsig2u	.4998837	.553285			-.5845351	1.584302
sigma_u	1.283951	.3551954			.7465688	2.208141
rho	.3338187	.1230416			.1448742	.5971141

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    16.53 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit wpqbritmuslimbin religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     13.09
Log likelihood  = -278.60614                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0109
```

wpqbritmuslimbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec1	.5852294	.5895563	0.99	0.321	-.5702798	1.740739
minorityshare4	-.3846713	.5925425	-0.65	0.516	-1.546033	.7766907
opposition1	1.571451	.4560332	3.45	0.001	.6776421	2.46526
role2	.1480009	.3241245	0.46	0.648	-.4872715	.7832733
_cons	-2.499496	.5219622	-4.79	0.000	-3.522523	-1.476469
/lnsig2u	1.252694	.3857901			.4965589	2.008828
sigma_u	1.870764	.360861			1.281818	2.730307
rho	.5154566	.0963553			.3330797	.6938075

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    71.59 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit wpqimmigrationbin religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     22.59
Log likelihood  = -314.97535                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0002
```

wpqimmigrationbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec1	.2557181	.5158911	0.50	0.620	-.7554098	1.266846
minorityshare4	.1624698	.5190542	0.31	0.754	-.8548578	1.179797
opposition1	1.796471	.4151372	4.33	0.000	.9828171	2.610125
role2	-.4877465	.2903233	-1.68	0.093	-1.05677	.0812767
_cons	-1.858784	.4425552	-4.20	0.000	-2.726176	-.9913916
/lnsig2u	.9903604	.3523276			.2998109	1.68091
sigma_u	1.640794	.2890485			1.161724	2.317421
rho	.4500454	.0872027			.290896	.6201211

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    75.42 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit wpqinterfaithbin religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =      3.25
Log likelihood  = -35.916142                    Prob > chi2        =    0.5170
```

wpqinterfaithbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec1	.2257487	.9205274	0.25	0.806	-1.578452	2.029949
minorityshare4	1.73205	1.174798	1.47	0.140	-.5705113	4.03461
opposition1	.3369108	.8411857	0.40	0.689	-1.311783	1.985604
role2	-.1017977	.8037989	-0.13	0.899	-1.677215	1.473619
_cons	-6.11875	1.322212	-4.63	0.000	-8.710238	-3.527261
/lnsig2u	-.8954841	3.260632			-7.286205	5.495237
sigma_u	.6390695	1.041885			.026171	15.60542
rho	.1104324	.320315			.0002081	.9866709

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =     0.12 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.367
```

xtlogit wpqmideastbin religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     14.60
Log likelihood  = -290.66654                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0056
```

wpqmideastbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec1	.3558878	.6309534	0.56	0.573	-.8807581	1.592534
minorityshare4	.6916789	.6363685	1.09	0.277	-.5555804	1.938938
opposition1	1.435555	.4726255	3.04	0.002	.5092266	2.361884
role2	-.5090064	.3230921	-1.58	0.115	-1.142255	.1242426
_cons	-2.146499	.5455582	-3.93	0.000	-3.215773	-1.077225
/lnsig2u	1.468201	.3800726			.7232725	2.21313
sigma_u	2.083607	.3959609			1.435677	3.023953
rho	.5688973	.093214			.3851904	.7354169

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    89.06 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit wpqsouthasiabin religionspec1 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     20.90
Log likelihood  =  -276.7211                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0003
```

wpqsouthasiabin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec1	-.1090729	.6053938	-0.18	0.857	-1.295623	1.077477
minorityshare4	-.6989292	.6086457	-1.15	0.251	-1.891853	.4939944
opposition1	2.053263	.4656053	4.41	0.000	1.140693	2.965833
role2	-.4270588	.3080981	-1.39	0.166	-1.03092	.1768024
_cons	-1.904626	.5008462	-3.80	0.000	-2.886267	-.9229857
/lnsig2u	1.309574	.3560625			.6117049	2.007444
sigma_u	1.924733	.3426626			1.357782	2.728418
rho	.5296469	.0887027			.3591299	.6935134

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    95.01 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit wpqbritjewbin religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     11.25
Log likelihood  = -147.96793                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0239
```

wpqbritjewbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec2	-18.09327	4233.228	-0.00	0.997	-8315.068	8278.882
minorityshare4	.615269	.5452737	1.13	0.259	-.4534478	1.683986
opposition1	.1403789	.4888462	0.29	0.774	-.8177421	1.0985
role2	-1.44743	.4653034	-3.11	0.002	-2.359408	-.5354517
_cons	-2.909277	.5092628	-5.71	0.000	-3.907413	-1.91114
/lnsig2u	.4606275	.559169			-.6353235	1.556579
sigma_u	1.258995	.3519955			.7278489	2.177744
rho	.3251465	.1226963			.138695	.5904271

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    16.54 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit wpqbritmuslimbin religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     14.52
Log likelihood  = -277.33226                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0058
```

wpqbritmuslimbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec2	1.697201	.924481	1.84	0.066	-.1147483	3.509151
minorityshare4	.0579513	.5848033	0.10	0.921	-1.088242	1.204145
opposition1	1.609426	.4582318	3.51	0.000	.7113079	2.507543
role2	.1412654	.3248633	0.43	0.664	-.495455	.7779858
_cons	-2.612366	.5240167	-4.99	0.000	-3.63942	-1.585312
/lnsig2u	1.285408	.3713632			.5575495	2.013267
sigma_u	1.901616	.3530951			1.32151	2.736373
rho	.5236225	.0926336			.3467631	.6947496

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    83.32 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit wpqimmigrationbin religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     24.97
Log likelihood  = -313.13202                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0001
```

wpqimmigrationbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec2	1.605727	.8271009	1.94	0.052	-.0153606	3.226815
minorityshare4	.4491102	.5037972	0.89	0.373	-.5383141	1.436535
opposition1	1.819908	.4148081	4.39	0.000	1.006899	2.632917
role2	-.4996804	.2907272	-1.72	0.086	-1.069495	.0701345
_cons	-2.036867	.434174	-4.69	0.000	-2.887832	-1.185901
/lnsig2u	.9819545	.3453461			.3050887	1.65882
sigma_u	1.633912	.2821326			1.164794	2.291967
rho	.4479658	.0854015			.2919858	.6149039

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    78.52 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit wpqinterfaithbin religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =      2.79
Log likelihood  = -35.773518                    Prob > chi2        =    0.5936
```

wpqinterfaithbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec2	-16.87693	10772.61	-0.00	0.999	-21130.81	21097.06
minorityshare4	1.701927	1.139416	1.49	0.135	-.5312882	3.935142
opposition1	.325612	.8391632	0.39	0.698	-1.319118	1.970342
role2	-.104398	.8047491	-0.13	0.897	-1.681677	1.472881
_cons	-5.921365	1.307542	-4.53	0.000	-8.484101	-3.358629
/lnsig2u	-.8043818	3.014305			-6.712312	5.103548
sigma_u	.668853	1.008064			.034869	12.82985
rho	.1197047	.317634			.0003694	.9804052

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =     0.14 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.355
```

xtlogit wpqmideastbin religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     17.03
Log likelihood  =  -288.7077                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0019
```

wpqmideastbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec2	2.033018	1.033717	1.97	0.049	.0069703	4.059066
minorityshare4	1.071429	.6308512	1.70	0.089	-.1650166	2.307875
opposition1	1.460706	.4711377	3.10	0.002	.5372931	2.384119
role2	-.5181389	.3241697	-1.60	0.110	-1.1535	.1172219
_cons	-2.375419	.5468346	-4.34	0.000	-3.447195	-1.303643
/lnsig2u	1.488696	.3663915			.770582	2.20681
sigma_u	2.105069	.3856396			1.470042	3.014413
rho	.5739165	.089596			.3964532	.7341854

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =   102.85 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit wpqsouthasiabin religionspec2 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     23.98
Log likelihood  = -274.18601                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0001
```

wpqsouthasiabin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec2	2.023694	.9053884	2.24	0.025	.249165	3.798222
minorityshare4	-.4463072	.5696433	-0.78	0.433	-1.562788	.6701731
opposition1	2.027478	.4586498	4.42	0.000	1.128541	2.926415
role2	-.4464486	.3069154	-1.45	0.146	-1.047992	.1550945
_cons	-2.276809	.4859856	-4.68	0.000	-3.229323	-1.324295
/lnsig2u	1.217387	.3556037			.5204163	1.914357
sigma_u	1.838028	.3268049			1.2972	2.604338
rho	.5066345	.0888853			.3384003	.6733795

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    89.60 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit wpqbritjewbin religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     11.79
Log likelihood  = -150.09018                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0190
```

wpqbritjewbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec3	-.0189531	.5714964	-0.03	0.974	-1.139065	1.101159
minorityshare4	.7782005	.569539	1.37	0.172	-.3380754	1.894476
opposition1	.201728	.4938212	0.41	0.683	-.7661438	1.1696
role2	-1.427122	.4671543	-3.05	0.002	-2.342728	-.5115165
_cons	-3.168884	.6152708	-5.15	0.000	-4.374793	-1.962976
/lnsig2u	.5547078	.5441576			-.5118215	1.621237
sigma_u	1.319633	.3590442			.7742111	2.249299
rho	.3461197	.1231542			.154117	.6059667

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    17.97 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit wpqbritmuslimbin religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     15.65
Log likelihood  = -276.54518                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0035
```

wpqbritmuslimbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec3	-1.325534	.5921672	-2.24	0.025	-2.486161	-.164908
minorityshare4	-.4271787	.5529017	-0.77	0.440	-1.510846	.6564888
opposition1	1.537612	.4493812	3.42	0.001	.6568411	2.418383
role2	.1214887	.3228354	0.38	0.707	-.5112571	.7542345
_cons	-1.67394	.5041414	-3.32	0.001	-2.662039	-.6858412
/lnsig2u	1.168219	.3875898			.4085569	1.927881
sigma_u	1.793393	.3475505			1.22664	2.622008
rho	.4943431	.096885			.3138264	.6763468

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    68.66 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit wpqimmigrationbin religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     24.78
Log likelihood  =  -313.5192                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0001
```

wpqimmigrationbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec3	-.9138271	.517	-1.77	0.077	-1.927128	.0994743
minorityshare4	.0699935	.4926561	0.14	0.887	-.8955947	1.035582
opposition1	1.776873	.4101064	4.33	0.000	.9730796	2.580667
role2	-.5068238	.2901682	-1.75	0.081	-1.075543	.0618953
_cons	-1.33441	.4461885	-2.99	0.003	-2.208924	-.4598969
/lnsig2u	.937356	.3534994			.2445099	1.630202
sigma_u	1.59788	.2824249			1.130042	2.259404
rho	.4369643	.0869702			.279622	.6081052

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    72.91 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit wpqinterfaithbin religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =      3.19
Log likelihood  = -35.941767                    Prob > chi2        =    0.5266
```

wpqinterfaithbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec3	-.0889034	.9142025	-0.10	0.923	-1.880707	1.702901
minorityshare4	1.785913	1.158211	1.54	0.123	-.4841387	4.055964
opposition1	.348562	.8410521	0.41	0.679	-1.29987	1.996994
role2	-.0979712	.804771	-0.12	0.903	-1.675293	1.479351
_cons	-6.002641	1.418436	-4.23	0.000	-8.782724	-3.222558
/lnsig2u	-.834726	3.118305			-6.946492	5.27704
sigma_u	.6587818	1.027141			.0310162	13.99248
rho	.1165439	.3210652			.0002923	.9834746

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =     0.13 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.360
```

xtlogit wpqmideastbin religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     17.21
Log likelihood  = -288.93444                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0018
```

wpqmideastbin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec3	-1.231339	.635331	-1.94	0.053	-2.476565	.0138865
minorityshare4	.5559148	.5956393	0.93	0.351	-.6115167	1.723346
opposition1	1.389613	.4656729	2.98	0.003	.4769104	2.302315
role2	-.5405793	.3230245	-1.67	0.094	-1.173696	.0925371
_cons	-1.434459	.5421913	-2.65	0.008	-2.497134	-.3717834
/lnsig2u	1.391198	.3822536			.6419948	2.140402
sigma_u	2.00491	.383192			1.378502	2.915965
rho	.5499208	.0946108			.3661306	.7210255

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    87.25 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```

xtlogit wpqsouthasiabin religionspec3 minorityshare4 opposition1 role2

```
Random-effects logistic regression              Number of obs      =       621
Group variable: id                              Number of groups   =        74

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian                   Obs per group: min =         1
                                                               avg =       8.4
                                                               max =        14

                                                Wald chi2(4)       =     21.96
Log likelihood  = -275.89417                    Prob > chi2        =    0.0002
```

wpqsouthasiabin	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
religionspec3	-.7745911	.5953007	-1.30	0.193	-1.941359	.3921769
minorityshare4	-.8699592	.5753115	-1.51	0.130	-1.997549	.2576306
opposition1	2.008589	.4605348	4.36	0.000	1.105957	2.911221
role2	-.437209	.3076158	-1.42	0.155	-1.040125	.1657069
_cons	-1.572423	.5151352	-3.05	0.002	-2.58207	-.5627767
/lnsig2u	1.251609	.3595539			.5468959	1.956321
sigma_u	1.869749	.3361378			1.314489	2.65956
rho	.5151856	.0898056			.3443538	.682541

```
Likelihood-ratio test of rho=0: chibar2(01) =    89.81 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000
```