

MIGRANT REPRESENTATION WITHIN BRITISH AND DUTCH POLITICAL
SYSTEMS

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by

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To Atlas and Oğün

To all migrants and minorities – from whatever origin they are, from wherever they
come from, to wherever they go

**MIGRANT REPRESENTATION WITHIN BRITISH AND DUTCH
POLITICAL SYSTEMS**

**Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University**

by

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ANKARA**

August 2015

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ABSTRACT

MIGRANT REPRESENTATION WITHIN BRITISH AND DUTCH POLITICAL SYSTEMS

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This research aimed to analyze how often, in what ways and under which conditions MPs of migrant origin addressed the cultural and religious rights and freedoms of ethnic and religious groups. A content analysis was conducted on parliamentary questions to achieve this aim. The cases of the Netherlands and the UK are analyzed within a time period between 2002 and 2012.

The research follows the ‘political opportunity structures’ approach in analyzing available opportunities and constraints of political and institutional environments in the above-mentioned two cases. Taking recent trends in the neo-institutionalist understanding into consideration, the study also incorporates the idea

of ‘discursive opportunities’ into the general frame of political opportunity structures. The holistic approach incorporates political parties as a dimension of institutional approaches and makes space for individual and group related factors such as gender identity and ethnic backgrounds of minority representatives. The content analysis combines qualitative and quantitative techniques to provide an in-depth understanding of the subject area on the one hand, and formulate generalizable patterns on the other. Comparing the British and the Dutch cases reveals to what extent, if any, the opportunity structures differ across Britain and the Netherlands; the latter showing a clear shift towards a more integrative approach, whereas Britain would still seem to be attached to multiculturalism even debating it loudly in recent years.

Findings of the qualitative content analysis reveal suppressive framings as well as messages supporting cultural and religious rights. The quantitative content analysis challenges the profound role attributed to the citizenship regime and media discourse. Political party membership appears to be the most significant factor in explaining a variance in framing cultural and religious rights and freedoms in the parliament. The roles of ethnic background and gender identity are also significant. However, their impacts differ across the two cases.

Keywords: Political representation, immigrant minorities, content analysis, The Netherlands, The UK

ÖZET

HOLLANDA VE İNGİLTERE SİYASAL SİSTEMLERİNDE GÖÇMENLERİN TEMSİLİ

Aydemir Çavuş, Nermin

Doktora, Siyaset Bilimi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Yard. Doç. Dr. Saime Özçürümez

Augustos 2015

Bu çalışma ile göçmen kökenli milletvekillerin ne sıklıkta, ne şekilde ve hangi şartlar altında etnik ve dini grupların kültürel ve dini haklarını ve özgürlüklerini dile getirdikleri incelenmektedir. Bu amaçla, parlamentodaki soru önermeleri üzerinde bir içerik analizi yapılmaktadır. Hollanda ve İngiltere örnekleri ele alınmakta ve 2002 ile 2012 yılları arasında bir zaman dilimi üzerinde durulmaktadır.

Araştırma, Hollanda ve İngiltere örneklerindeki siyasi ve kurumsal çevrelerin beraberinde getirdiği mevcut fırsatları ve engelleri araştırmada siyasi fırsat yapıları

anlayışını takip etmektedir. Neo-kuramsal anlayıştaki son trendler dikkate alınarak, söylemsel fırsatlar da çalışma içinde siyasi fırsat yapılarına dahil edilmiştir. Çalışmanın bütüncül yaklaşımı siyasi partileri kurumsal yapıların bir boyutu olarak ele almakta ve göçmen kökenli milletvekillerinin cinsiyetleri ve etnik kökenleri gibi birey ve grup ile ilgili kimlik faktörlerini de içermektedir. Çalışmada bir taraftan incelenen konunun derinlemesine anlaşılmasını sağlamak diğer taraftan ise genellenebilir sonuçlara ulaşabilmek adına nitel ve nicel teknikler bir arada kullanılmaktadır. Hollanda ve İngiltere örneklerini karşılaştırmak, son yıllarda artan tartışmalarla birlikte çok-kültürlü geleneğine bağlı görünen İngiltere ile daha entegrasyonist bir yaklaşım benimseyen Hollanda'nın fırsat yapılarının - eğer birbirlerinden farklılık gösteriyorsa - ne ölçüde değiştiğini araştırılmaktadır.

Nitel içerik analizinin bulguları, azınlık kökenli milletvekillerinin kültürel ve/veya dini haklarını desteklemelerinin yanı sıra zaman zaman baskılayıcı çerçevelendirmeler de kullandıklarını ortaya koymaktadır. Nicel içerik analizi ise vatandaşlık rejimine ve medyanın söylemine atfedilen rolü sarsmakta ve kültürel ve/veya dini hakların ve özgürlüklerin çerçevelemesinde siyasi partilerin ağırlığına işaret etmektedir. Etnik köken ve cinsiyet kimliklerinin de kayda değer bir önemi bulunmaktadır. Ancak, kimliğe bağlı bu faktörlerin etkileri, incelenen ülkelerde farklılık göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siyasi temsil, göçmen kökenli azınlık, içerik analizi, Hollanda, İngiltere

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documents, keywords, analysis programs and the relationship between variables....

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GLOSSARY OF ACRYNOMS

CDA – Christian Democratic Appeal (Christen-Democratisch Appèl)

CU – Christian Union (ChristenUnie)

D66 - Democrats 66 (Democraten 66)

GL – Green Left (GroenLinks)

LPF – List of Pim Fortuyn (Lijst van Pim Fortuyn)

PvdA – Dutch Labour Party (Partij van de Arbeid)

PVV – Party for Freedom (Partij voor de Vrijheid)

SGP –Reformed Political Party (Staatkundig Gereformeerde Partij)

SP – Socialist Party (Socialistische Partij)

VVD –People’s Party for Freedom and Democracy (Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie)

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¹The sum of questions coded in each category may exceed the total number of questions as the questions are coded more than once when they covered more than one issue or when they had references both to ‘supportive representation’ frame and ‘suppressive representation’ frame.

²The sum of questions coded in each category may exceed the total percentage of questions as the questions are coded more than once when they covered more than one issue or when they had references both to ‘supportive representation’ frame and ‘suppressive representation’ frame. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“Democracy arose from men's thinking that if they are equal in any respect, they are equal absolutely.”

— Aristotle

Political representation of minority groups is not only an important parameter of political incorporation but also an indispensable tool for further integration in democratic societies. Taking such significance into account, political scientists have shown substantial interest in the political representation of immigrant minorities in Western Europe. Relevant literature widely identifies such representation with the presence of minority figures in decision-making bodies. The presence of minority representatives in legislative mechanisms, however, does not guarantee a supportive approach on cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of minority people. Representatives coming from migratory groups are oftentimes reluctant to represent the interests, wishes and needs of constituencies with which they share similar backgrounds. Minority representatives, not unusually, remain silent or act restrictively

on issues concerning ethnic and religious groups. In what respect, to what extent, if any, and under which circumstances minority representatives can support cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms within the decision-making process is less than conclusive.

1.1. Background to the problem

Political representation of minority groups has always been a core subject area among students of political science, and there are legitimate grounds for that to be the case. The political marginalization of migrants and their children³ has several potential negative implications for democratic politics: it undermines the process of democratic representation and accountability; undervalues the role of active participation in the polity; and perpetuates the view of immigrants and their descendants as outsiders to the community (Correa, 1998: 35). Such exclusion further marginalizes immigrant minorities in social and economic spheres since policy-makers fail to grasp the problems, needs and demands of those new-comers if their voices cannot be heard (Morales and Giugni, 2011: 1). Politics is the only area in which immigrant minorities can safely voice their interests, wishes and needs in democratic regimes. Scholarly research on the subject area becomes even more important when transition of those outsiders into full citizens is taken into account (for example see: Morales and Giugni, 2011; Bird *et al.*, 2011).

³ This use refers to immigrants and their (grand) children by using the terms ‘immigrant minorities’ (Michon and Vermeulen, 2013), ‘migrant’ (Morales and Giugni) and ethnic and/or religious minorities (Bloemraad and Schönwälder, 2013, p.565). This interchangeably used wording will include the latter generations of people of foreign origin as well as those who have actually changed their countries of residence in their own lifetimes. See: Morales, L. And M. Giugni, ‘Political Opportunities, Social Capital and the Political Inclusion of Migrants in European Cities’ in Morales and Giugni (Eds.) *Social Capital, Political Participation and Migration in Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pg. 17.

Existing literature on the political representation of Europe's immigrant minorities (for example see: Bloemraad, 2013; Michon and Vermeulen, 2013; Sagar and Geddes, 2000; Thrasher *et al.*, 2013; Schönwalder, 2013; Togeby, 2008), widely identifies political representation with a presence in legislative mechanisms. The election of ethnic and/or religious minority members to policy making bodies, namely their descriptive representation (Pitkin, 1967), is valued as a fundamental premise of representative democracies. Diversity in decision-making bodies is a significant achievement in itself. Quite a number of studies have already shown how descriptive representation consolidates democratic legitimacy (Koopmans and Statham, 2000; Phillips, 1995: 24; Correa, 1998: 35; Verba and Nie, 1972; Verba *et al.*, 1995), contributes to political incorporation, strengthens attachment to the political system (Correa, 1998: 35; Mansbridge, 1999; Morales, 2011; Phillips, 1995: 24; Saalfeld, 2011; Koopmans and Statham, 2000; Verba and Nie, 1972; Verba *et al.* 1995), lowers the sense of exclusion (for example see: Morales and Giugni, 2011; Saalfeld, 2011), and adds to the social meaning of 'ability to rule' (Mansbridge, 1999).

In this regard, the increasing of trend of descriptive presence of minorities in the political arena would seem to raise hope. According to the latest numbers there are 14 members of migratory background in the national parliament of the Netherlands, which has a total of 150 seats.⁴ The number has reached to 42 in the 650-seat British House of Commons in the latest elections in 2015⁵. Nevertheless, whether the presence of minority representatives under the roof of the parliament indeed leads to an effective representation remains a question. Empirical research, at least within the context of Western Europe, has so far hardly addressed such lack of direct causality.

⁴⁴<http://radio.omroep.nl/f/74265/> (Accessed on 01.10.2012)

⁵⁵<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2015/may/08/record-numbers-female-minority-ethnic-mps-commons> (Accessed on 03.07.2015)

Effective political representation of minorities necessitates the reflection of minority voices, opinions and perspectives within the decision-making process. Political representation only occurs when political actors speak, symbolize and act on the behalf of their constituencies as Pitkin states in her seminal work (1967). The identical nature of the representative and the represented is an achievement in itself, as stated above. Such identicalness, however, does not mean that the representative acts in the interests of those constituencies with similar characteristics. Pitkin's sophisticated understanding of representation and her differentiation between 'descriptive representation' and 'substantive representation' carries weight at this point. I define 'substantive representation' as acting in the interest of the represented where a representative is responsive to public opinion, but acts independently and according to his own judgment in the best interest of his constituents (Pitkin, 1967). The space created for the representative's own judgement leads to taking the favourable content of any references to minority related issues as a given. Relevant literature, however, overlooks Pitkin's statements on minority representatives who persistently act against minority interests (Anne, 2012).

European literature on the issue has largely remained uninterested in those cases in which MPs of minority origin remain silent on cultural and religious issues. Available studies barely touch upon the silence of minority representatives on problems concerning minority populations. At this point, the silence of MPs from Muslim backgrounds in the heated debates on wearing the headscarf, building mosques and Muslim faith schools in recent years is a remarkable example. Other than silence on minority issues, MPs of minority origin often adopt restrictive stances against constituencies sharing their own ethnic and/or religious backgrounds. For instance, available understanding of substantive representation can hardly explain the

anti-Islam position of Ayaan Ali Hirsi (Ghorashi, 2003), a Dutch MP of Somali origin.

Critics oppose the promotion of minority rights and freedoms through minority representatives on the grounds that it may intensify segregation within society. Departing from the support coming from native politicians, such perspectives claim that a representative does not need to come from a minority background to support rights and freedoms arising from culture and religion.⁶ The concentration of minority representatives on the problems, needs and wishes of such freedoms are also criticized for the same reason. However, existing studies show us that minority representatives have a significant advantage in reflecting the viewpoints of constituencies from their own backgrounds. Missed opportunities for communication imply the loss of a very valuable tool of political incorporation, and despoil the invaluable channel provided by minority representatives. On the other hand, the silence and/or the restrictive patterns from representatives with minority backgrounds are signs of a repressive system of ruling, rather than an open democracy in which citizens can freely articulate their viewpoints.

Lacking a sophisticated understanding of political representation with regard to minority groups obstructs explanations of real world happenings in the political arena. Available studies fail to explain those contradictory figures from minority backgrounds downgrading minority identities, symbols and practices. To illustrate, MPs of Turkish origin preferred to keep silent during debates on the ‘Armenian issue’ in the Netherlands before the national elections in 2006. Those candidates who did not openly accept the genocide allegations were removed from the candidacy list of the

⁶For a broader overview, see: Bird (2004).

labour party. Many constituents of Turkish origin voted for Fatma Koser Kaya, a candidate of Turkish origin from the Dutch Liberal Party. Kaya, however, had voted for the recognition of the genocide in the Dutch parliament in 2005.⁷

Those very few European studies which follow in the footsteps of Pitkin (for example see: Saalfeld and Bischof, 2013; Saalfeld, 2011; Saalfeld and Kyriakipoullou, 2011; Wüst, 2013) are based on frequency counts of minority related keywords in the parliamentary data. Empirical works investigating the substantive representation of immigrant minorities appear to agree on a greater focus of minority related issues in the agendas of MPs of minority origin when compared with their native counterparts. Institutional factors such as the citizenship regime, party ideology, and group and individual level identities, based on gender, ethnicity and so on, are highlighted as important factors influencing such salience. Those studies move the existing literature forward by asking questions beyond the mere presence of minority voices in decision-making bodies. Nonetheless, they could be criticized for using a limited operationalization of the substantive representation of minority interests. The above-mentioned studies would seem to count any reference to minorities as a significant element within the interests of any one particular representative. Investigating possible variations of representation and the underlying reasons for such variations, could not only lead to a more sophisticated understanding of political representation, but also illuminate how different structures and actors shape such representation.

⁷ Interview with Fatma Kose Kaya.

1.2.Statement of the problem

As stated above, existing research widely identifies the political representation of immigrant minorities with the presence of representatives coming from these groups in the parliamentary mechanisms. Whether such a presence indeed leads to meaningful support of the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms within the decision-making process remains a gap in the literature. Hence, this dissertation has two main aims: the study first endeavours to observe how minority representatives frame ethnic and/or cultural rights and freedoms of immigrant minorities. Thereafter, it seeks to reveal the underlying factors of a possible variance in the agendas of MPs of minority origin. I identify other possible framings if a direct relationship between minority identity and a favourable framing of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms does not exist.

How often and in what ways do MPs of minority origin address issues concerning members with a migration background? What possible reasons play a role in such potential variance across the representation of minorities? To what extent, if any, do institutional and discursive opportunity structures influence the political representation patterns of MPs of minority origin?⁸What are the variances across the Netherlands and the UK, which are seen as following different citizenship regimes after the first decade of the new millennium? Are there variances across time with the changing forms of citizenship regimes – especially within the context of the Netherlands? To what extent, if any, does the visibility of immigrant minorities in the media influence such political representation? To what extent, if any, does the media tone towards immigrant minorities influence such political representation? To what

⁸ Eline Severes' paper titled '*Visible minority representatives and substantive representation: Claims-making in the Brussels-Capital Region*' at the ECPR Conference in Postdam in 2009 and Saalfeld's proposed research session (2011) have been sources of inspiration in formulating the research question.

extent, if any, does the media visibility of various political parties influence such political representation? To what extent, if any, do institutional and discursive opportunity structures separately operate in the political systems analysed within this study? What are the interactions between these two opportunity structures in the British and Dutch political systems? Within such representation are there variances across party ideologies? What are the impacts of group and individual related variables such as gender identity and ethnic and religious minority origins in addressing and framing minority related issues?

1.3.Theoretical framework

This study engages with the systematic analysis of a set of opportunity structures for the representative patterns of MPs of migrant origin in the British and Dutch political systems. Departing from the understanding of social movements, I attribute significant importance to the role of ‘political opportunity structures’ in constraining or supporting political endeavors in the public arena.

The concept of political opportunity structures was initially developed in the context of research into social movements. The main idea is that the degree of openness or accessibility of a given political system is crucial for the success or failure of a given political movement (Tilly, 1978). The study of Koopmans *et al.* (2005) can be seen as the study introducing the political opportunities’ perspective to the literature on immigrant minorities.

Some limit political opportunity structures to citizenship regimes in migration and integration literature. Koopmans and his colleagues, for instance, attribute

significance to the role different citizenship regimes play in political participation patterns of immigrant minorities. Others develop a more comprehensive approach to this opportunity structure understanding and include other factors such as electoral systems, political parties and ethnic identities (Htun, 2004; Bird, 2005; Wüst, 2014). This study follows the latter perspective in analyzing political representation patterns among minority representatives, as the role of factors other than citizenship regimes cannot be overlooked. How different variables change across countries with different citizenship regimes is also important in showing indirect effects of those institutional opportunity structures. I pay attention to party ideology, gender identity, ethnic and religious backgrounds of representatives.

Other than placing emphasis on the institutional determinants, this dissertation is one of the few studies, making space for ‘discursive opportunities’ in explaining political representation. A number of studies shed light upon media influence in explaining migratory claim making in their newspaper coverage (See Koopmans *et al.*, 2005; Cinalli and Giugni, 2011; among others). This study, however, broadens such understanding and endeavors to answer more extensive questions by focusing on the impacts of such discourse in political representation within parliament. I operationalize the concept in three different dimensions: the visibility of the presence of minority claims in newspaper coverage; tone used on immigrant minorities in newspaper coverage; and presence of different political parties in newspaper coverage. Linking these dimensions of opportunity structures to the original theory of social movements is another contribution that the study will make to the literature.

The author acknowledges the electoral system as an important variable having influence on the representational patterns of the analyzed representatives. However, this factor is deliberately excluded from this research to avoid the problem of ‘too few

cases, too many variables’.

This research benefited from the claims-making approach (Koopmans and Statham, 1993) in detecting how often minority representatives addressed constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them. However, this research differs from the relevant literature by applying the ‘framing approach’ (Entman, 1993), as well. Using the framing approach facilitated analysing how, and under which conditions, minority representatives use competing or convergent frames to substantiate their particular policy positions, either deliberately or not.

The primary focus of the study is analyzing the discourse of MPs of migrant origin as holders of seats in relevant political systems. Therefore, a limited conceptualization of political representation will be made and such representation will be limited to the representative patterns of MPs of migrant origin within the respective parliament. Following the qualitative investigation, representative patterns are grouped into two categories: namely supportive representation and suppressive representation. These are explained in more detail in the following section entitled ‘Assumptions and hypotheses’.

1.4. Assumptions and hypotheses

This study starts with the assumption that there are variations within the framings of cultural and religious rights and freedoms in the agendas of minority representatives. Firstly, I adopt a qualitative strategy to detect those various framings. The notion of substantive representation, which was first developed by Hanna Pitkin (1967), is revised at this stage, as existing literature would seem to purely focus on the favourable content of the communications made by minority representatives. The

qualitative content analysis, however, reveals the existence of a restrictive pattern among MPs of minority origin when addressing cultural and religious issues concerning immigrant minorities. On the basis of those findings, two main categories of framing cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms are defined. Firstly, the ‘suppressive representation frame’ refers to the restrictive framing of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. The ‘supportive representation frame’, on the other hand, entails a supportive framing of those rights and freedoms. Leaning towards a quantitative approach in the latter parts of the research, enabled me to formulate systematic analyses of the underlying reasons. I analyze the salience of minority related issues in the agendas of minority representatives only in descriptive terms as the logistic regression employed to investigate the variation across supportive and suppressive framings cannot be applied to the salience of minority related issues.

After introducing these two categories, the study follows political opportunity structures (Koopmans and Statham, 2000) to detect under which conditions those framings prevail and under which conditions they wane. I hypothesize that minority representatives would adopt supportive framings when there is a multicultural understanding of citizenship. Therefore, this study expects more supportive content in the UK than the Netherlands, which is considered as shifting away from her traditional multiculturalism.

In line with the same argument, I also hypothesize that there would be a more supportive approach in the earlier years of the time frame under consideration in the Netherlands, before the country moved away from multiculturalism over more recent years.

Following Bird (2005) and (Durose *et al.*, 2012), this research also hypothesizes that minority representatives from leftist and/or liberal parties would be more supportive to cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of immigrant minorities.

Regarding the discursive opportunities, this dissertation hypothesizes that representatives of minority origin are more inclined to adopt a supportive representation frame in the parliament when immigrant minorities are visible in media discourse, when there is a positive tone towards immigrant minorities in media discourse, and when leftist and/or liberal political parties are present in media coverage on minorities. The time series analysis employed in predicting the media impact on minority representation allows searching the salience as well. So I expect a higher salience of minority related issues in the agendas of minority representatives in these three conditions, namely when immigrant minorities are visible in media discourse, when there is a positive tone towards immigrant minorities in media discourse, and when leftist and/or liberal political parties are present in media coverage on minorities. The research also expects a variance in the functioning of those discursive opportunities and their interaction with citizenship regimes across the countries analysed.

1.5. Research design

To answer these questions, I followed a manifold approach in content analysis, merging different approaches and techniques. Firstly, a qualitative content analysis was conducted on the parliamentary questions of MPs of minority origin on minority related issues. The qualitative content analysis enabled a thorough examination of the

concept of substantive representation, which led to a more sophisticated conceptualization. The formulation of a dual category of framing cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of immigrant minorities was followed by a quantitative content analysis to see how the identified patterns may be generalized and explained. The qualitative work gave me an in-depth understanding of how minority representatives frame cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. The quantitative approach, on the other hand, provided the opportunity to test and generalize the patterns derived from the qualitative investigation.

The possible impacts of the transition within citizenship regime, party identity, gender and ethnic background on framing cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms were investigated through a regression analysis on the outcome of the quantitative content analysis. Multivariate logistic regression applied for the examination of variance in framing did not allow investigate how often minorities addressed constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them. A separate model for the salience could not be built due to lacking the total number of parliamentary questions, including other questions than those related to minorities, were not available for the British dataset. Therefore, salience was studied through descriptive statistics in the quantitative investigation. Variance across the two countries, namely citizenship regimes, was studied both by descriptive statistics and by comparing the mean presence of supportive and suppressive frames.

The analysis continued by an examination of the role of ‘discursive opportunities’ on supportive representation of immigrant minorities. Media representations of immigrant minorities are also investigated. This part studied the role of media representations on the salience and framings of minority related issues in parliamentary discourse of minority representatives. Times series analysis,

examining the relationship between media and parliamentary data were conducted. This relationship between parliamentary and media data was investigated using the results of two different content analyses. In order to ensure causality and correct temporal ordering, lagged values of media in the models were applied.

The dataset for this study consists of parliamentary and media data of the Netherlands and the UK between 01.01.2002 and 31.12.2012.⁹ The countries and the time period are of critical importance for providing a rich context of discussions on minorities. Comparing the Netherlands and Britain revealed the differences between these two countries, which are seen as identical in terms of their multicultural understanding. Analyzing a long time period of eleven years also allowed me to see the fluctuations within the citizenship regime in the Netherlands.

For the parliamentary data, parliamentary questions of MPs of minority origin in both countries were studied. For the media data, I investigated the most widespread newspapers reflecting different ideological viewpoints from both countries. The newspapers analysed for this research are *NRC Handelsblad*, *De Telegraaf* and *De Volkskrant* for the Netherlands; the *Daily Mail*, the *Guardian* and the *Times for the UK*. 347 texts were investigated for the parliamentary data and a total of 1200 for the media.

1.6.Limitations of this study

When narrowing my focus, I follow those studies searching parliamentary questions for allowing MPs greater freedom to express their ideas and thoughts (For example,

⁹ The year 2002 is of particular importance for the Dutch context as that year corresponds to the rising criticisms against the multicultural understanding in migration policies as well as the rise of Pim Fortuyn as the anti-immigrant politician and his later assassination.

see: Bird, 2005; Saalfeld 2011; Franklin and Norton, 1993; Russo, 2011; Vliegthart and Roggeband, 2007). Still, posting parliamentary questions is only one of the many activities in which legislatives are engaged, and one that is argued to be mainly symbolic in nature and most often without any policy consequences (Walgrave and Van Aelst, 2006) with no legislative change (Russo, 2011).

Moreover, I attribute significance to the role of the electoral system in explaining political representation patterns of MPs of minority origin. Again, the time and scope limitations hindered larger N studies covering countries with different electoral systems and similar citizenship understandings.

Other than that, comparing representative patterns of MPs of migratory origin across different levels of representation, specifically national and regional, was part of the original plan of study. However, there were no references to the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms within the regional parliament in the case of the Netherlands. For the British case there were only a few examples. Such limited number of texts on cultural and religious indications in the relevant data thwarted comparisons across the above-mentioned levels of representation.

1.7.Summary

This dissertation focuses on the political representation of immigrant minorities by representatives coming from immigrant backgrounds in the Netherlands and the UK. Effective representation of immigrant minorities carries significant importance in contemporary Europe as those minorities transform from outsiders to citizens. Minority representatives have a high potential for bringing minority perspectives to

the parliament. However, the presence of representatives from ethnic and/or religious minorities does not guarantee a supportive framing of their cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. I aim to answer the question whether MPs coming from immigrant backgrounds contribute to the promotion of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of immigrant minorities. Explaining under which conditions a possible support emerges, together with detecting factors hampering such support, lies at the core of this dissertation.

The relevant literature and methodology are discussed in the second chapter. Thereafter, I analyze framings of cultural and religious rights and freedoms by minority representatives through a qualitative approach in the third chapter. The qualitative inquiry explores variances in framings of minority representatives when addressing ethnic and/or religious constituencies in the above-mentioned countries. The validity of those patterns and their causality with the independent variables, such as citizenship regimes, political party ideologies, ethnic and religious backgrounds, and gender identities of minority representatives, are tested in the fourth chapter. The fourth chapter further analyzes the role of media coverage on immigrant minorities in shaping the relevant representation patterns. The dissertation's final chapter is a conclusion, which includes discussion of the limitations of this research and puts forth proposals for future research efforts in this field.

The study challenges earlier studies which attribute a significant role to diversified parliaments in increasing cultural and/or religious plurality within society. The parliamentary work of minority representatives is highly charged with the emphasis on 'integration' to the mainstream society, especially in the Netherlands. Minority representatives, not unusually, remain silent or adopt suppressive framings

when it comes to ethnic and/or religious rights and freedoms. Citizenship regimes and discursive opportunities play a modest role when compared to the party influence on the variance of representative patterns. Nevertheless, the determining role of party differs significantly across different citizenship regimes. So do the other individual and group related factors such as gender identity and ethnic background of the representative.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the relevant literature and explains the methodology used in this dissertation. The literature review begins with emphasizing the significance of political representation of minorities. Thereafter it delineates the different forms of representing minorities: specifically descriptive vs. substantive types of minority representation. The chapter then continues with a brief section on the complexity of minority representation in an ever more intermingled world, followed by an examination of explanations of political incorporation of minority groups in terms of political opportunity structures. The literature review introduces recent developments in neo-institutionalism, together with the opportunity to add a discursive dimension to political opportunity structures. The mixed - method approach of this thesis embraces different aspects of opportunity structures, such as political parties and individual/group-related factors such as gender and ethnic background, all of which are considered at the end of the chapter. The literature review section ends with explaining how the discussed concepts are operationalized.

The methodology section starts with a detailed explanation of how the data was operationalized and analyzed, which is followed by a statement of the reasons for choosing content analysis as a research strategy, and mention of the qualitative and quantitative approaches used in this content analysis. The methodology continues with detailed information on the data. The chapter ends with the significance of the cases and the time period covered in the thesis.

2.1. Literature on the political representation of minorities

Being heard and being treated equally are central to effective democracies as governments' should be responsive to all citizens, not just a particular group or groups (Verba *et al.*, 1995: 1). Even core democratic countries, however, would seem to have shortcomings in reflecting minority perspectives within legislative institutions. Political life inescapably favours national majorities, whose established presence in decision-making bodies dominates the decision-making process (Andrews *et al.*, 2008; Durose *et al.*, 2012; Kymlicka, 1995: 194). Deficits in transporting the minority voice to the decision-making process through legitimate channels, on the other hand, create significant questions on the collectivity of the citizenship identity, as well as the legitimacy of decisions taken in European democracies (Bloemraad and Schönwälder, 2013: 652). Considering the core value of equality in representative democracies, students of political science have attributed significant importance to the political incorporation of less-represented constituencies.

Much time and ink has been expended on studies of the political engagement of newcomers, who are defined with different labels such as 'immigrants', 'ethnic

and/or religious minorities’, and people of ‘non-Western origin’ (Bloemraad and Schönwälder, 2013: 565). One group of scholars may focus on the presence of minorities in legislative mechanisms, namely on their descriptive representation. Others are more interested in the actual content of representation and investigate whether such presence leads to a substantial contribution in reflecting minority perspectives. European scholars have contributed significantly in their investigations of the descriptive presence of immigrant minorities in decision-making mechanisms. Existing literature, however, has largely overlooked the issue of substantive representation. Available studies largely rely on an understanding of institutional opportunity structures to explain variances in such representation, with a heavy emphasis on citizenship regimes when performing cross-country analyses.

2.2. The concept of political representation

An intractable puzzle lies at the very hearth of the idea of political representation as re-presentation implies the presence of those who are absent in a given place, bringing ontological controversies to the act of political representation (Pitkin, 1967; Runciman, 2007). In this regard, one can claim the existence of a deep paradox within extant democratic democracies, which operate significantly differently from the direct democracies in ancient Greece (Dahl, 2000). Indeed, it could be argued that contemporary democracies could not operate as did their illustrious Greek counterparts in today’s highly populated societies. Hence, continuous discussions on this subject would seem to mostly focus on how the legislative roles should be employed, rather than considering the ontological difficulties which form the very

essence of the act of political representation. The relationship between voters and MPs has predominantly been debated along the lines that Wahlke and his colleagues put forward in 1962, namely around the question of whether representatives should act as delegates: putting instructions from the represented above their own judgment; or as Burkean trustees: following their own judgment rather than that of their constituents (Akirav, 2014; Andeweg and Thomassen, 2005; Wahlke *et al.*, 1962).

Pitkin's more nuanced conceptualization of the concept of political representation provides another framework, which accommodates a significant proportion of the related discussions. After defining political representation as the activity of making citizens' voices, opinions, and perspectives heard, in her seminal work 'The Concept of Representation' in 1967, she goes on to propose four different types of representation: formal, symbolic, descriptive and substantive. Formal representation is mostly related to the legal context and the extent to which representatives gain authority and can thereby be held accountable through institutional structures. Symbolic representation refers to more abstract implications of the act of representation and questions what the representative means to the represented (Pitkin, 1967; Nergiz, 2013: 56-58). Studies focusing on the representation of politically disadvantaged groups are mostly concerned with the latter two classifications, namely the descriptive and substantive perspectives of political representation.

Relevant literature on the political representation of immigrant minorities is mostly based on the classifications of descriptive and substantive representation and can be classified as those studies focusing on the descriptive presence of minorities in legislative mechanisms, and those studies putting greater emphasis on possible

contributions of such descriptive presence. The first group is defined as ‘descriptive representation’ which refers to the principle of mirroring the composition of the constituency within legislative structures (Pitkin, 1967: 60). The other group is identified with the concept of ‘substantive representation’ and focuses on the ability to act in the interests of the represented (Ibid: 209).

Is having representatives from similar backgrounds with whom they can identify advantageous to minority constituencies in representative democracies? Is having a representative with a similar background helpful for less-represented groups? Mansbridge (1999) also asked these questions in her seminal article entitled ‘Should blacks represent blacks and women represent women?’ The scholar answered ‘yes’ in the end. According to Mansbridge, minority representatives serve the interests of democracies with respect to a better articulation of minority perspectives, opening the way towards substantive representation of group interests, adding to the ability to rule and fostering attachment to the polity of members of the group. Philips (1995) can be seen as another leading scholar praising the ‘politics of presence’ in her theoretical debate on different forms of representation. According to Philips, the interests of the people can best be represented by people sharing similar experiences, as shaky opinions about others fell short in developing sympathy to the needs and wishes of the others (Philips, 1995: 2).

Following this line of reasoning, European studies on political representation of minorities (see: Bloemraad, 2013; Michon and Vermeulen, 2013; Sagar and Geddes, 2000; Thrasher *et al.*, 2013; Schönwalder, 2013; Togeby 2008) mostly focus on the descriptive presence of immigrant minorities in decision-making bodies. These studies made significant contributions to the reflection of the diverse composition of European societies with their comparative analyses across countries, time periods and

ethnic groups. The Netherlands, for instance, scores quite high on reflecting ethnic and/or religious composition in parliament in descriptive terms. According to Bloemraad's index of representation, the Netherlands appears as the most proportional country within the Western world (Bloemraad, 2013). Increasing numbers of minority representatives in both the Netherlands and Britain further raise hopes in this regard (Sobolewska, 2013). The number of minority representatives in the parliaments of European countries stands at an all-time high, with a fairly steep gradient behind recent gains (Saggar and Geddes, 2000).

The absence of visible minorities in elected bodies certainly points to the fact that something is amiss. However, their inclusion does not necessarily guarantee policies that are more sensitive to minority interests (Bird, 2005: 455; Saggar, 2013). Representation of immigrant minorities refers to having representatives with migratory backgrounds. Nevertheless, it is unclear in what sense that is a genuine form of representation, for there are no mechanisms in this model for establishing what each group wants, or for ensuring that the representatives of the group act on the basis of what the group wants (Kymlicka, 1995). Other than that, minority representatives might experience individual assimilation into politics, where their interest in running for office and their ability to do so becomes similar to any person of longstanding native origin (Bloemraad, 2013: 662). Whether an increasing trend toward descriptive representation contributes to the reflection of the minority perspective within the decision-making process remains the question, which has so far barely been addressed by empirical research, at least within the European context.

Unlike an established literature within the Northern American context, European works have largely abstained from asking the question of whether the presence of minority representatives leads to a difference in reflecting minority

perspectives in the decision-making process. Lacking a clear cut subject area such as the civil rights movement in the USA, together with the often difficult issue of defining what the interests, needs and wishes of the outsiders across different citizenship regimes are, could have been a major hindrance to the development of an established literature. A limited number of studies on the claims made by ethnic and/or religious groups in European democracies, on the other hand, have fallen short in shedding light upon the representative patterns of those coming from migratory backgrounds. Studies on minority representatives are mostly limited to frequency counts, which lack contextual insight. Those investigating the claims made by immigrant minorities, on the other hand, would seem to be mainly limited to analysis of print media content and avoid the investigation of claims in a more formal fashion.

The presence of minority representatives in the legislative process can be praised for several reasons. Nonetheless, the presence of legislatives of minority origin in parliamentary bodies does not always mean that minority interests are being served within the legislative process (Celis *et al.*, 2008: 104; Pitkin, 1967: 60-92). Descriptive representation can be criticized for limiting the idea of political representation of minorities to the descriptive attributes of representatives. An overemphasis on whom the representatives are diverts attention from more urgent questions of what the representatives actually do. Associating representation with the presence of group-based characteristics weakens political accountability as the only determining criterion becomes the representative's resemblance to the represented. Being 'one of us' (Mansbridge, 1999: 629) does not automatically promote minority interests (Severes, 2010: 413). On the contrary, MPs of minority origin would often seem to be the source of intense criticism of minority groups, as their conformity to

particular aspects of the archetypal candidate role, may over-ride their differences in the course of their political careers (Durose *et al.*, 2013: 263).

In descriptive terms, a representative does not act for others as s/he stands for them, by virtue of correspondence or connection between them (Pitkin, 1967: 61). Political representation means acting in the interests of the represented, in a manner responsive to them (Pitkin, 1967: 209). Understanding political representation in descriptive terms may create significant problems with regard to being responsible to the represented. Substantive representation values the presence of minority representatives mainly for opening the door towards making a substantial contribution to the representation of minorities. Hanna Pitkin (1967), in her remarkable study, values the presence of minority representatives for being an achievement in itself. However, she rightfully argues that there will be no effective representation without making citizens' voices, opinions and perspectives present in the public policy making process (Pitkin, 1967).

An enduring civil rights movement in North America appears to have led to a more reputable literature on the issue. North American literature mostly operationalizes substantive representation of minorities within the scope of the distinct subject area of the civil rights movement. The availability of detailed statistics on tangible parliamentary activities such as voting, bill introduction and community association, on issues that are related to minorities, further strengthens the hands of American academics studying substantive representation (Hero and Tolbert, 1996; McCormick and Jones, 1993; Iverby and Cosgrove, 1996 among others). Such North American studies on the issue draw a less than optimistic picture on the impact of the minority presence in legislative mechanisms. Little substantive change would seem to be the case despite the increasing number of minority MPs (Hero and Tolbert, 1996).

Iverby and Cosgrove go even further and claim that there is a negative correlation between descriptive representation and actually addressing the concerns of ethnic constituencies (Iverby and Cosgrove, 1996: 549).

The European literature on the issue is still less than conclusive due to the lack of a distinct focus such as the civil rights movements on the one hand, and the difficulties of identifying who the minorities actually are on the other. Issues concerning European minorities, however, are embedded in a broad range of subject areas, rather than being centred on one tangible issue. Immigrant minorities have various demands and needs across the full spectrum of social, political, economic and cultural life, ranging from improving language capabilities to holding religious festivals.

A recently emerging trend within the western European context would seem to be seeking more comprehensive explanations. Although very few in number, recent content analyses (see: Saalfeld and Bischof, 2013; Saalfeld, 2011; Saalfeld and Kyriakipoullou, 2011) question the correspondence between the issues, policies and legislation pursued by a representative and the interests, needs and wishes of the represented (Pitkin, 1967: 210) within the European context.

However, the existing literature could be criticized for operationalization issues. The very few extant studies on the issue take a favourable stance on minority related issues for granted and operationalize any reference to ethnic and/or religious groups as substantive representation (Bird, 2005; Saalfeld, 2011; Saalfeld and Bischof, 2013; Saalfeld and Kyriakipoulou, 2010). Departing from the trustee notion of representation, scholarly work in this field accepts any reference to minority related issues as substantive representation. The varying frames issued by minority representatives are omitted from existing studies. Normally, as noted by Pitkin,

representatives' activities would coincide with minority interests. Empirical studies following in the footsteps of Pitkin appear to ignore her thoughts on identifying minority interests, and omit her remarks on those cases in which MPs with a minority background persistently act against the interests of minority interests. A deeper examination of the speeches of representatives of minority origin reveals a tendency to ignore, if not to directly act against, minority interests – at least within the European context (Philips, 1995).

Existing studies on the European context would seem to be somewhat disinterested in those cases in which representatives with minority background adopt restrictive stances against minority interests. The recently evolving European literature on substantive representation presumes that representatives' activities would be in line with the needs, wishes and interests of immigrant minorities (Pitkin, 1967). However, coming from ethnic and/or religious groups does not necessarily lead to supporting minority interests, which are described as cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms within the scope of this study. At this point, it should be noted that this study is in line with those studies criticizing a priori definitions of minority interests, given the significant variance across representatives as well as minority constituencies. However, the promotion or restriction of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms is an indicator on the stance of the minority representatives.

Consideration should also be given to the delegate vs. trustee categorization of Wahlke *et al.*, (1962) which challenges the idea that the performance of a minority representative can only be judged on the basis of the extent to which s/he makes claims in the interests of people of similar backgrounds. Representatives of minority origin may focus on the demands of their constituencies. The trustee understanding of representation, however, leaves it to the representative to formulate the best interests

of the represented. From such a perspective, minority representatives may act quite restrictively with respect to cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms, if they believe that such restriction will serve the interests of minority constituencies. The representatives may, and almost certainly will, differ from those for whom they act, not only in their social and sexual characteristics, but also in their understanding of where the true interests of their constituencies lie. However, a correspondence can be achieved in a continuous process, which heavily relies on responsiveness to the electorate (Phillips, 1995: 4). Persistently ignoring, or acting against, cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms does not mean representing in a manner responsive to ethnic and/or religious minorities.

2.3. Political representation of immigrant minorities in Western Europe

Generally speaking, there is a normative stance favouring the incorporation of less-represented groups within the decision-making process. A detailed body of literature has already been established on the political representation of women, both in descriptive and substantive terms (Saward, 2008). In comparison, the literature on political representation of ethnic and/or religious groups in Western Europe is less than conclusive. A seeming lack of diligence within studies in this regard can be traced back to the complicated position of ethnic and/or religious groups, challenging the prescribed notions of citizenship. Immigrant minorities encounter the established understanding of minorities in this regard with, on the one hand, being settled residents or even citizens, and on the other having different attachments with regard to ethnic and religious identities (Soysal, 1997: 510-515). The established concept of

political representation derives from an understanding of citizenship based on the idea of the axiomatic existence of actors, whose rights and identities are presaged by the boundaries of national collectives (Soysal, 1997).

The immigrant minorities of Europe, however, challenge such correspondence of rights and freedoms with national boundaries. In this respect, the current understanding of the act of representation appears to be too limited, if not restrictive, with ethnic and religious migrants settled as full citizens. Immigrant minorities are on course to become full citizens in their countries of settlement in Western Europe (Morales and Giugni, 2011; Bird *et al.*, 2011).¹⁰ Such a transition gives rise to different considerations, especially in fields such as citizenship rights, immigration and integration regimes, socio-economic well-being, culture and religion. Effective representation of those minority interests adds to the democratic legitimacy and political incorporation as minority members will attain stronger attachments (for examples see: Morales and Giugni, 2011; Saalfeld, 2011; Koopmans and Statham, 2000; Phillips, 1995: 24; Correa, 1998: 35; Verba and Nie, 1972; Verba *et al.*, 1995) to their countries of settlement, when they are able to make their claims visible in the decision-making process.

Discussions around Islam add further value to the effective representation of Europe's immigrant minorities. A large proportion of European minorities are Muslims. With controversial understandings of Islam on the one hand, and becoming permanent in countries of settlement on the other, European Muslims are on the way to becoming a new interest group and a new constituency (Klausen, 2005). Unanticipated problems, needs and demands arise as such newcomers become permanent residents in their countries of settlement. European Muslims, for instance,

¹⁰ For an overview of the current discussions on the subject area see the special issue on political participation of minorities in Western Europe on *Western European Politics*: Vol. 35 (6) (2012) among others.

have faced serious issues ranging from dressing according to their faith to having their own schools, and have encountered difficulties in making themselves heard. In this context, the democratic institutions of Western countries have been far from successful in responding to ethnically diverse societies, especially with respect to demographic and electoral composition (Saggar, 2013).

2.4. Why minority representatives?

The idea of minority representation is not without criticism. An over-emphasis on cultural and/or religious identities and practices, especially through representatives with minority backgrounds, is not only criticized for leading to essentialism in line with ethnic and religious disparities, but also for diverting the process of active integration of immigrant minorities into the economic, social and political mainstream.¹¹ Minority representatives are often criticized for marginalizing their appeal to the wider electorate, in their pursuit of service to a limited number of political issues and concerns shaped by their minority agenda (Saggar, 2013: 72). Gender suppressive practices, such as genital mutilation and honour killings, further constrain the advocates of minority representation in legislative mechanisms. Nevertheless, respecting minority rights in other fields can enlarge the freedom of individuals, because freedom is closely linked with, not to mention dependent on, culture. Culture provides a meaningful way of life across the full range of human activities: social, educational, religious, recreational and economic life; encompassing both private and public spheres (Benhabib, 2002). There is little political point in a

¹¹For a broader overview, see: Bird (2004).

claim that does not seek to address a specified audience: national, local, ethnic, religious, linguistic, class; as argued by Saward (2006). According to Mansbridge, denial of minority identities within the decision-making process may lead to the assimilation of minority or subordinate interests into those of the dominant group without even recognizing their existence (Mansbridge, 1999: 637). In contrast, a colourful legislature would seem to be indicative of a broader incorporation of differences within a society (Bloemraad, 2013: 654).

Other than that, studies on minority representation are often criticized over the somewhat thorny issue of identifying minority representatives (Saward, 2006). The lack of a given and solid understanding of minority interests, together with a range of differences among minorities, further adds to the difficulty of studying minority representation, especially in substantive terms. Individuals within minority groups may have totally different perspectives. Sectarian, ethnic, age, gender, or other group or individual level variables, certainly lead to different demands within minority groups, which deny challenges to the idea of a unitary category with a recognizable set of political interests that can be acted upon (Saward, 2006). Still, the fact that interests are varied within the group, does not refute the argument that these interests are related to the group identity (Philips, 2005: 68).

2.5. Explanatory factors

Literature within the field of comparative politics is mostly based on investigations of variances across countries and, to a lesser extent, among ethnic groups. Koopmans *et al.* (2005) have largely shaped the relevant literature with their emphasis on the role

of citizenship regimes. However, Bloemraad's (2013) study challenges those expecting a negative influence of exclusive citizenship regimes in the descriptive representation of minority groups. In contrast to the established point of view in this regard, the author shows that countries with exclusive citizenships score better in making way for diversity in legislative mechanisms. Similarly, the roles of party ideologies and group and individual related variables, such as gender and ethnic background are less conclusive. Existing literature could also benefit from incorporating the newly emerging understanding of discursive opportunities. A thorough understanding on the effects of favourable, or unfavourable, discourses on the representation of the minority viewpoint in the public arena would add to the explanatory power of the theoretical perspectives.

The type of electoral system employed carries significant weight in shaping the presence of minority voices in decision-making bodies, as it determines the rules and procedures by which votes are translated into seats. Available studies on the representation of women indicate that proportional representation systems (PR) are more advantageous in allocating greater space for those who are politically disadvantaged (Bird, 2003). Majoritarian systems, on the other hand, are seen to be only helpful in districts largely populated by minority societies, elsewhere maintaining the dominance of the upper class white man in general (Overby and Cosgrove, 1996). Although attributing significant importance to the role of electoral systems in this context, this research chooses to exclude rules governing the conduct of elections and instead focuses on how politicians act after being elected, whilst also considering the re-election concerns of MPs included in the study.

This study follows a mixed - method understanding of the political representation of immigrant minorities in the Netherlands and the UK. Attention is

given to the role of different citizenship regimes on the representative patterns of MPs of migratory origin in the two countries, the former of which is described as turning towards a more integrative approach. The manner in which different variables change across countries with different citizenship regimes, is also important in showing the indirect effects of those political opportunity structures. Departing from the available studies (Bird, 2005; Bird *et al.*, 2011; Celis and Childs, 2014; Saalfeld *et al.*, 2011; Wüst, 2014), I will pay attention to party ideology, gender identity, ethnic and religious background of representatives. Taking the developments within neo-institutionalism into account, the study will also pay attention to discursive opportunities in explaining the political representation of minorities.

Taking all these into consideration, the remainder of the literature review will start with political opportunity structures and their application in the field of immigrant political participation. Studies on the role of political parties will be reviewed after discussing the role of citizenship regimes in the subject area. The literature review will continue with a discussion of the newly emerging understanding of discursive opportunities, and the role of group and individual related variables such as ethnicity and gender.

2.6. Political opportunity structures

Recent literature on the political incorporation of immigrant minorities has benefited significantly from the political opportunity structures approach following the publication of the influential study of Koopmans *et al.* (2005). These scholars introduced a new theoretical framework, bringing the challenges and prospects of

different political systems to their cross-national study on immigrant claim-making (Koopmans *et al.*, 2005; Koopmans and Statham, 2000).¹² However, the political opportunity structures understanding is actually rooted in social movements' research and built on Eisinger's (1973) work which examined why extensive riots for racial equality were taking place in some American cities and not in others (Meyer and Minkoff, 2004). The notion developed its theoretical basis with Tilly's (1978) key recognition that processes and outcomes like the capacity to mobilize, activists' prospects for advancing particular claims, mobilizing supporters, or affecting influence were context-dependent. Tilly underlined the importance of opportunities and constraints within a political setting on the capacity to mobilize and/or to achieve success; unlike the theoreticians of his time, who were largely focusing on the impacts of relative deprivation, the resources of mobilizing agents, or collective action problems.¹³

The theory of political opportunity structures certainly appears to have contributed to the literature in terms of shedding light upon the success and/or failure of political movements across different political settings. As scholars leaning toward political opportunity understanding rightfully claim, activists do not choose goals, strategies and tactics in a vacuum. Rather, the political context, conceptualized fairly broadly, sets the grievances around which activists mobilize, advancing some claims and handicapping others. The wisdom, creativity and outcomes of activists' choices, can only be understood and evaluated by looking at the political context and the rules

¹² For a thorough review see: Eelbode, F. (2010)

¹³ See: Marx, K. and E. Friedrich, *The Communist Manifesto* (New York: Bantam, 1992; Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy, *The Dynamics of Social Movements: Resource Mobilization, Social Control, and Tactics*, (Cambridge: Winthrop Publishers, 1979); Lichbach, M. I. 'Deterrence of Escalation? The Puzzle of Aggregate Studies of Repression and Dissent', *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 31 (1987) respectively for examples of the abovementioned approaches.

of the games in which those choices are made, namely by examining the political structure (Meyer, 2004: 127-28).

Bringing together the main conceptualizations (Brockett, Kriesi *et al.*; Rucht and Tarrow¹⁴) of the dimensions of political opportunities, McAdam (1996) proposes a four dimensional list of political opportunities: the relative openness or closure of an institutionalized political system; the stability or instability of that broad set of elite alignments that typically undergird a polity; the presence or absence of elite allies; and the state's capacity and propensity for repression (McAdam, 1996: 23-40). All these aspects define options for collective action, with chances or risks attached to them, which depend on factors outside the mobilizing group (Koopmans, 1999: 65).

2.7. Political opportunity structures approach in migration studies

The collaborative work of Koopmans and his colleagues (2005),¹⁵ introduced the theoretical investigation of contextual opportunities and constraints (McAdam, 1982; Tarrow, 1994; Kriesi *et al.*, 1995) to the literature on migrant participation. In line

¹⁴ Brockett lists political opportunities as meaningful access points, presence of allies, elite fragmentation and conflict, level of repression and temporal location in cycle of protest. Kriesi *et al.* list political opportunities as formal institutional structure, informal procedures in relation to a given challenge, the configuration of power as regards a given challenger. Rucht lists political opportunities as access to the party system, the state's policy implementation capacity, the alliance structure as regards a given challenger, the conflict structure as regards a given challenger. Tarrow lists political opportunities as openness or closure of the polity, stability of political alignments, presence/absence of elite allies, and divisions within the elite. See: C. D. Brockett, 'The Structure of Political Opportunities and Peasant Mobilization in Central America', *Comparative Politics* Vol. 23 (1991), pp. 253-274; Kriesi, H., R. Koopmans, J. W. Duyvendak, and M. G. Giugni, 'New Social Movements and Political Opportunities in Western Europe', *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 22 (1992), pg. 219-244; Rucht, D., 'National Context and Movement Structures', *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framing* in McAdam, D., McCarthy, J.D. and Zald, M.N. Eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Tarrow, S., *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action, and Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

¹⁵For a thorough review see: Eelbode, F. (2010).

with the general idea behind political opportunity understanding within social movement studies, the basic idea of Koopmans *et al.* (2005) is that migrant mobilization does not directly reflect underlying social structures, or the extent and nature of social problems and circumstances. Instead, each form of mobilization is understood as part of a larger political process and as being shaped by the opportunities and constraints offered by its political environment. The impact of social structures, problems and circumstances such as migration processes and cultural diversification is, in this view, indirect and conditional to the extent that they lead to a reconfiguration of the political context of mobilization and thereby alter the balance of opportunities and constraints for particular collective actors and demands. By following such an approach, Koopmans and his colleagues deviate from much of the literature in the field of migration and ethnic relations, where political mobilization and conflicts are explained in terms of migration patterns and flows, the socio-economic situation in the country of immigration, together with the cultural characteristics and national background of specific migrant groups (Koopmans *et al.*, 2005: 16).

2.8. Citizenship regime as an opportunity structure

Marshall (1950) introduced an egalitarian notion of citizenship in his formative work entitled *Citizenship and Social Class*. Departing from the social, economic and political composition tied to the industrial revolution, Marshall viewed citizenship largely as a political apparatus, encircling different segments of political communities. Although his analysis was constructed with particular reference to English history,

and largely related to the incorporation of lower social classes in the newly emerging political nations, it would seem possible to extend his ideas to the case of migrants in today's increasingly pluralistic societies.

Viewing citizenship as a status bestowed on all those who are members of the community, Marshall states that the status of being a citizen makes all members of a particular state equal with respect to the rights and duties which such status endows (Marshall, 1950: 87). This is the reason why he regards citizenship as a path towards incorporating formerly excluded groups, which in his work are the lower socio-economic classes, into a society. Marshall's work is particularly important in describing how citizenship evolves to try to create an equality of status, which leads to sufficient inclusion in the society to allow individuals to follow their own different lifestyles and choices (Lister and Pia, 2008: 30). Providing opportunities to full entitlement to community participation, the citizenship status turns the newcomers into full members, who are equal to the native population in terms of rights and duties (Fiddle, 1951: 422-23). Kymlicka's contributions to citizenship literature can be seen as another milestone in developing the concept within the context of this study, for his particular reference to the necessity of recognition for ethnic and religious minorities in Europe. In his book: *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (1995); Kymlicka analyses the nature of group rights together with the importance of culture for a community, and effectively criticizes the supposed neutrality of the liberal state. (Lister and Pia, 2008: 45).

Nonetheless, existing political systems have different viewpoints on the legal, political, right-based and participatory grounds of such membership to political and geographic communities, which may be reflected in policies on immigrant minorities. For instance, at least until the 2000s the German point of view adopted an

exclusionary stance against guest workers and their descendants, with its ethnic nationalist viewpoint of citizenship. Other European countries, adhering to a civic nationalism, offered those with migratory backgrounds a greater chance of inclusion. Civic nationalism has also shown diversification in itself with the multiculturalists celebrating ethnic, racial, cultural and religious diversity, whilst the assimilationist approach promotes the adaptation to the culture, values and social behaviours of the country of settlement (Bloemraad *et al.*, 2008: 153). A recently emerging literature on the political incorporation of immigrant minorities, however, criticizes any reliance on clear cut differences between European countries by claiming that a convergence has taken place as a result of the Europeanization process (Joppke, 2007).

A good number of studies indicate a match between patterns of minority political participation and the way in which nation states define the relationship between ethnic minorities and the political community (Koopmans and Statham, 2000). To illustrate, the exclusionary approach of Germany is seen as leading to an organization and identification of immigrant minorities based on national origin, regardless of the fact that such minorities may well have been resident in the country of settlement for several decades. Britain, on the other hand, appears to have allowed groups to mobilize as British Muslims or British Blacks, namely on an individual basis under the general idea of being British. Those with migratory backgrounds make claims on the British state for equal opportunity and multi-ethnic rights in multicultural contexts, paving the way for racial, ethnic and cultural differences.

Giugni and Passy (2004) are among those who view models of citizenship as representing a way to specify the classical political opportunity structure (or at least important parts of it) for a specific substantive field of interest in studies on ethnic relations, citizenship and immigration (Giugni and Passy, 2004: 51-82). Their model

of citizenship is influential in two dimensions. On one side they shape the legitimacy of these groups in participating in national public debates, and hence their overall presence in the national public space. On the other side, citizenship defines the legitimacy of migrants to intervene on the basis of their ethnic identities, hence shaping the content of their claims.

Recent debates on citizenship regimes indicate a shift away from multiculturalism, especially in the case of the Netherlands (For examples see: Meer and Modood, 2009; Entzinger, 2007; Entzinger 2003). Believers in multiculturalism view the increasing emphasis on commonality, cohesion and integration as an altering factor rather than a threat to the established tradition of the peaceful co-existence of differences (Meer and Modood, 2009). According to this point of view, the Dutch understanding of migrant incorporation still appears to rely on plurality, other than during the short period of deviation in the first five years of the 2000s (Andeweg and Irwin, 2005), although empirical conclusions portray the Netherlands as being on the way towards the French assimilationist approach (Vasta, 2007). In fact, a retreat from multiculturalism might not be implying a total shift away from established policies of diversity.

Multiculturalists claim that such emphasis on the incorporation into mainstream society does not necessarily mean a clash with pluralist understanding. Those relying on multiculturalism, view the shift towards communitarianism as only altering existing practices of tolerance towards diversity rather than causing drastic changes (Banting and Kymlicka, 2013; Meer and Modood, 2009). Unique interpretations of equality and diversity, which are institutionalized within the tradition of pillarization, lead to a more inclusive approach towards the beliefs of migrants and their descendants within the Dutch case (Bonjour and Lettinga, 2012). Therefore, claiming

a total retreat from multicultural policies, together with a sharp shift towards assimilationist promotion of a unified culture, might be an oversimplification (Meer and Modood, 2009: 474).

Recent comparative content analyses would seem to offer more sophisticated understandings of European Muslims than earlier scholarly literature. Carol and Koopmans (2013), for instance, support the survival of pluralist policies by making it clear that diversity is not only shaped by current policy changes on citizenship, but also by established traditions built on pre-existing church-state relations, ideologies and citizenship regimes. The authors' comparative analysis still recognizes the Netherlands among pluralist countries when it comes to making space for Muslim practices in the media. Cinalli and Giugni (2013), on the other hand, point out a difference between the Netherlands and the UK in their study, emphasizing the characteristics of the political context within which Muslims have settled. The opportunities provided for Muslim claims in the Netherlands are greater than Switzerland and Germany, but smaller than France and Britain. Their content analysis places the Dutch country far behind in terms of embracing diversity, at least in terms of newspaper coverage. Country specific analysis on the case of the Netherlands further indicates the demise of a traditional group rights approach within the pillar structure (Entzinger, 2006; Koopmans, 2006; Vink, 2007), which might lead to some restrictions in the cultural, religious, and/or political rights and freedoms of immigrant minorities. There might yet be some room for diversity, as is argued by the proponents of multiculturalism. However, it would seem that the Netherlands has put aside the duty of promoting and protecting minority cultures and/or religions, instead choosing to place greater emphasis on employment, national language and shared liberal values (Koopmans, 2006).

Taking all the existing studies into consideration, this study hypothesizes that minority representatives would adopt a more supportive framing when there is a multicultural understanding of citizenship. A citizenship regime, allowing more room for diversification, would enable minority representatives to act more freely in giving a voice to their minority constituencies.

2.9. Taking the discursive approach into account

Widening the focus of interest has not been the only change in the political opportunities approach. Cultural approaches seem to have ended the supremacy of structural explanations, which prevailed in the early days of political opportunity literature (Koopmans and Statham, 2000; Morales and Giugni, 2011; Koopmas and Olzak, 2004: 198-230; Ferree, 2003:310). The contemporary understanding of political opportunity structures, especially within the field of migration studies, encompasses discursive aspects as well.

As Schmidt indicates in his path-breaking work on neo-institutionalism, the exchange of ideas, namely discourse plays a considerable role in shaping the patterns of human interaction (Schmidt, 2010). Institutional opportunities shape rights and duties extended to immigrants, and the resources and institutional channels available to them. Discursive opportunities and constraints, on the other hand, set cultural notions of citizenship and national identity, which have considerable implications for the nature of the relationship between minorities and the majority. Discursive opportunity structures outline which constructions of reality are actually considered realistic, and which claims and collective actors are held as legitimate within the

polity. Together, these institutional and discursive opportunities facilitate the mobilization of some collective actors with certain types of collective identity and specific types of demands, while constraining the mobilization of other actors and the expression of other identities and demands (Koopmans and Statham, 2005: 6).

Existing literature would seem to have little agreement on conceptualizing discursive opportunities. Compared to institutional opportunity structures, the discursive equivalents are much more complex, fluctuating, open, dynamic and imbued with power. To use the words of Feree *et al.*, discursive opportunity structures are rather similar to a field full of hills, valleys, barriers, traps and impenetrable jungles rather than a flat, orderly, and well-marked field in a soccer stadium. This vision of the complicated nature of the setting, however, is not the only thorny issue related to discursive opportunity structures. The contours of the playing field can change suddenly in the middle of the contest because of events that lay beyond the control of the players; and the players themselves can sometimes change the contours through actions that create new discursive opportunities (Koopmans and Statham, 2005: 62). Furthermore, according to Koopmans and Statham, discursive opportunity structures can be defined as those opportunities and constraints that increase or decrease the chances of certain messages becoming publicly visible and that can thereby affect mobilization (Koopmans and Statham, 1999).

2.10. Media as an important field of discursive opportunities and constraints

Mass media comes forth as an important opportunity structure in the relevant literature. As Gamson and Meyer indicate, mass media not only validates movement

ideas and organizations, but can also provide an opportunity for activist groups to affect political debates (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996: 1634). This is indeed the reason why Koopmans *et al.* (2005) prioritize media as a source of primary data, for being the most immediate source of information for society as a whole, and why they operationalize different dimensions of discursive opportunity structures by taking their presence, legitimacy and resonance in the media into account.

News articles, editorials, comments and other relevant texts and visuals in the media provide significant data for those who conduct research on discursive opportunities. Cinalli and Giugni (2011) for instance, analyse media content, together with how frequent and how bold migrants appear as claim-makers in that content, in answering the question to what extent the discursive opportunity structures are open to migrants and their descendants. Referring to their former collaborative study conducted with Koopmans and Statham (Koopmans *et al.*, 2005) Cinalli and Giugni (2011) analyse data on discursive interventions which entered the local¹⁶ public domain through publication in newspapers selected in their study as representative of the wider media. Ferree *et al.* (2002) conceptualize the presence of migrants (and their descendants) as active claim makers in the media as ‘standing’. According to this study, the standing refers to being directly or indirectly quoted in the relevant discourse, gives clues about the key levels in the relevant game, and has a crucial place in bringing migrant interests to the forefront (Ferree *et al.*, 2002: 86-89). Koopmans (2001) also has a similar understanding in his ‘visibility’ approach to migrants in the media. He links visibility to the actions of gatekeepers and operationalizes this very basic dimension as the number of communicative channels in which a message is included and the prominence of such inclusion. This ranges

¹⁶ Cinalli and Giugni (2011) solely focus on participation in local politics in their study.

from 'invisible' messages that are not included in any channel at all, via messages with 'limited visibility' which receive minimal coverage, to 'obtrusive' messages that are displayed prominently by most channels. Koopmans attributes significant importance to visibility as a necessary condition for a message to influence the public discourse since, all things being equal; the amount of visibility that gatekeepers allocate to a message increases its potential to diffuse further in the public sphere (Koopmans, 2001: 3-7).

In a later conceptualization of claim making, Koopmans and his colleagues conceptualize the subject as “collective and public articulation of political demands, calls to action, proposals, criticisms, or physical attacks which, actually or potentially, affect the interests or integrity of the claimants and/or other collective actors” (Koopmans *et al.*, 2005: 24). Such a broad conceptualization is especially valid for analysing mass level political participation, which is the case in the migrant claim making/standing/visibility in mass media in the countries of settlement. Whether it is called migrant claim-making, standing or visibility; the presence of migrants as active participants in the relevant discourse becomes even more important when the openness or closure of the political system dimension of political opportunities in McAdam's list is taken into consideration.

Discursive opportunity structures play quite a significant role by offering favourable access, public resonance and discursive legitimacy to some forms of claim-making, while creating negative stimuli for other forms (Koopmans, 2004). In this regard, Koopmans and Muis (2009) define *discursive opportunities* as the aspects of the public discourse that determine a message's chances of success in the public sphere with a specific emphasis on the visibility, resonance and legitimacy of those messages in the relevant media discourse (Koopmans and Muis, 2009: 645). Although

bringing a unique perspective to the literature with such operationalization, the question marks on resonance and its contradiction with legitimacy seem to have hindered further developments in terms of those variables.

Cultural resonance is problematic due to issues of operationalization. Although referring to the same frame, claim-making actors may indicate totally different, even contradicting viewpoints. Even if one assumes that receiving criticism is a success for a movement in itself, by virtue of the fact that it may make the movement more public, this still does not solve confusion within operationalization since then resonance and legitimacy become two contradictory factors, which are apparently complementary in the above-mentioned work. The loose connection with the original theory of political opportunity structures results in even more complexity in the work of Koopmans and his colleague. As stated in the earlier parts of this proposal, the four main dimensions of political opportunity structures can be listed as the relative openness or closure of an institutionalized political system; the stability or instability of that broad set of elite alignments that typically undergird a polity; the presence or absence of elite allies; and the state's capacity and propensity for repression (McAdam, 1996: 23-40). Visibility can be interpreted as openness or closure of the media system in studies on discursive opportunities. However, it is harder to formulate such links between resonance and legitimacy and the other dimensions.

Framing can be seen as another important dimension of discursive opportunities even though the relevant literature does not deal with framing in detail, aside from a very few instances. Related to the abortion discourse, for instance, Ferree *et al.* (2002) analyse public debates on abortion in terms of foetal life, balancing, women's rights, individual and state, social morality, effects on society, pragmatic

consequences and social justice frames, grouped under three overarching frames of pro-life, pro-choice and neutral (Ferree *et al.*, 2002: 107-08). Koopmans *et al.*'s (2005) variable of positioning towards migrants, that is negative and positive, can be regarded as another reflection of the framing approach within the field of discursive opportunities. In fact, negative or positive positioning towards migrants, which can be linked to generic attitudes in the same context, can be seen as a significant source in explaining migrant political representation within the scope of social movements, as standing for the presence or absence of allies in the above-mentioned list of McAdam (1996: 23-40).

Ferree *et al.* (2002) emphasize the representation of different constituencies playing a significant role in shaping the relevant discourse, which Schmidt describes as the exchange of ideas (Schmidt, 2010). Analysing the representation of women's groups, religious circles and the leftist tradition on the abortion debate, Ferree and her colleagues (2002) examine the actors behind claims in the related discourse and the representation of the different constituencies. Even though there have been no remarkable reviews comparing and contrasting such a conceptualization with others within the discursive opportunities literature, such an understanding overlaps with the party of the claim-making actor idea within the context of Mobilization on Ethnic Relations, Citizenship and Integration (MERICI) data. Like the earlier two connotations, the party identity of the claim-maker can be linked to the dimensions of the original conceptualization of political opportunities.¹⁷ To illustrate, the dominance

¹⁷Koopmans, R. and P. Statham, Codebook developed for MERICI (Mobilization on Ethnic Relations, Citizenship, and Integration) for the Content Analysis of Political Claims Making, pg. 13. The findings based on the above-mentioned codebook were revealed in Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham 'Political Claims Analysis: Integrating Protest Event and Public Discourse Approaches', *Mobilization*, Vol. 4 (1999), pp. 203-222. Tarrow's conceptualization is used for providing a more analytic framework for the contextualization of the 'party of the claim making actor' variable See: Tarrow, S., *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Mass Politics in the Modern State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 85-89.

of a conservative or anti-immigrant frame would seem to imply an elite composition, which in turn would be rather closed to cooperation with migrants in society. A more fragmented discourse, which also allows for liberal and leftist claims, would be more open to claims coming from less powerful segments in a society, including the claims of migrants.

Taking all these into consideration, this research will follow a three dimensional path in operationalizing discursive opportunities. In addition to considering the visibility of migrant claims and tone on migrants in media discourse, this study will benefit from the conceptualization of Ferree *et al.* in terms of making space for the representation of constituencies with different discursive interests (Ferree *et al.*, 2002: 129-79) and will investigate the representation of those constituencies with a positive approach towards immigrant minorities, that is leftist and liberal groups, as one of the three main aspects of discursive opportunities.

2.11. A comprehensive understanding of political opportunity structures

Another important issue at this point is to emphasize the role of political ideologies and group and individual related identity factors within the general scope of political opportunity structures. Political ideologies and citizenship are important denominators in explaining the success and/or failure of immigrant minority achievements in the political field. Ignoring gender identity and ethnic and/or religious backgrounds, however, does not give the full picture. Empirical research on political representation of immigrant minorities shows how those factors shape political representations of minority groups in different settings of opportunities and constraints (Bird, 2005;

Wüst, 2014). Following Eelbode (2010), this study incorporated parties within the scope of institutional opportunity structures. Gender identity and ethnic background, on the other hand, are seen as important individual factors, having influence on the representative patterns of MPs of minority origin.

2.12. Political parties

As stated earlier in this literature review, the relevant literature views the actual presence of minority representatives as an achievement in the legislative process. Empirical works in this regard, however, are critical of taking the link between minority representatives, and those constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them, at face value. Existing studies show that MPs of minority origin might have a stronger attachment to the party and to the country of settlement, than to ethnic and religious groups (Bird, 2005: 44; Durose *et al.*, 2012: 263). Durose *et al.*'s interviews with politicians of minority origin further substantiate this argument by revealing the role of intra-party relations and highlighting the gate-keeping role of the party elite. According to the authors, minority representatives are selected by the party elite on the basis of their conformity to particular aspects of the archetypal candidate, rather than their difference (Durose *et al.*, 2013: 263). The increasing diversification within the legislature does not make these representatives more accountable to the ethnic and/or religious groups, as their political careers mostly depend on their relationships with party elites (Bird, 2005: 44; Durose *et al.*, 2012: 263) rather than the ethnic and/or religious grassroots. Minority representatives would in the main seem to be

exceptionally well-assimilated minorities, who are careful not to demonstrate any outward signs of religious affiliation (Bird, 2012: 439-40).

On the other hand, making the ethnic and/or religious identities of minority representatives salient might not be in the interests of the political parties, as candidates are chosen by the general electorate. It could be unwise for representatives, or their parties, to act in ways that upset the sentiments of members of the dominant groups (Kymlicka, 1989: 148-149). Irrespective of candidate identity, a party will commit its candidates to policies which maximize the party's expected payoff. As Kymlicka rightfully claims, the choice of these policies depends on the party's objective function, together with the relationship between a party's policy choice and its likelihood of winning (Kymlicka, 1995).

The ideological differentiation, mostly based on the income dimension (Pande, 2003) raises questions about the responsiveness of today's democracies to the emergence of ethnically diverse societies (Saggard, 2013). Generally speaking, minority representatives claim standing for ethnic and/or religious constituencies, but appear to be reluctant when it comes to acting for them, as there is little accountability to minority groups (Pande, 2003; Kymlicka, 1995).

In this context, Kathleen *et al.*'s 'electoral blind spot' captures the vulnerability of ethnic and/or religious groups in ascertaining policy positions or when evaluating party performance on their cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms (Kathleen *et al.*, 2012: 571). The Labor response to the new clashes in European countries in the 1980s, which led to an increasing diversification in the ethnic composition of legislatures, can be seen as an achievement in this regard (Saggard and Geddes, 2000: 30). However, the capacity for representing minority ethnic interests is diminished by the appointees' overwhelming allegiance to their

party, together with that party's particular strategy with respect to ethno-religious relations as stated above.

Visible minority representatives are largely disconnected from the ordinary classes of ethnic minorities they are supposed to represent. As Bird rightfully claims, if lucky enough to be designated by the party as an electoral candidate, they serve a pair of essentially contradictory functions that depend upon their paradoxical status as both ethnic minority and indistinguishably integrated citizen. On the one hand, they must appeal to those ethnic voters who have felt excluded and ignored by political parties; on the other, they are expected to draw the support of non-minority voters who view them as a model of successful immigrant integration (Bird, 2012: 439).

Despite questions about the support coming from minority representatives on issues concerning ethnic and/or religious groups, political parties in Western countries respond pragmatically to the changes within the electoral composition. Political parties remove their barriers in order to encourage minority representatives and a greater diversity comes into being, even in the conservative seats in legislative chambers (Bird, 2012; Saggard, 2013: 87). Bird's (2012) cross-country analysis indicates a pattern of high numbers of minority candidacies among center right and right wing parties in Western democracies. Selecting minorities as candidates may indeed be an effective tactic for right-wing parties to court minority voters, as well as counter the criticism that they are immigrant unfriendly. Geisser and Kelfaoui (1998: 27–28), for instance, argue that the conservative parties in France apply a dual strategy in striving to attract the ethnic electorate by using representatives of such groups on the one hand, and purposely selecting assimilated minority representatives unconnected with a mobilized ethnic community on the other hand. The conditions under which visible minority candidates attract the support of visible minority voters

are unclear, and the topic requires much further research as the author claims (Bird, 2012: 456).

2.13. Ethnic background and gender identity

Political movements based on gender, ethnic and religious identities appear to be the most significant challenges to the established norms and values of liberal democracies, which were mostly established by upper class white males. The existing political system is confronted with feminism, challenging gendered family structures, on the one hand and by multiculturalism, striving for the inclusion of non-Western ideals and cultures as well as Western ones, on the other hand (Sterba, 2011; Williams, 1998). Politically disadvantaged groups, however, do not always act together against the 'middle-class white male' as their interests are not always in tune with each other. Some feminists decry multiculturalism for allegedly ignoring the position of women in its focus on justice between groups, and turning a blind eye on the vulnerable members within these groups. Multiculturalism indeed tries to encourage a more egalitarian society by granting rights and freedoms to newcomers. Nevertheless, such emancipation might be in competition with the basic tenets of the feminist school, which largely focuses on limiting or eradicating gender inequality and promoting women's rights, interests and issues in society (Prasad and Pau, 2006: 1). Okin, for instance, criticizes multiculturalism as being a tool for oppressing women, especially when it works to preserve patriarchal values in minority cultures. Feminist ideologies are oftentimes very critical of cultural relativism, which prevents judgment of or interference with the private practices of minorities: female genital

mutilation, forced marriage, compulsory veiling or being deprived of education may be the consequence (Okin, 1999). At this point, ‘multiracial feminism’ can be seen as an important endeavor to define the situation within, as well as challenging the hegemony of feminisms constructed around, the lives of white middle class women and voicing the problems, needs and wishes of the vulnerable members within minority groups (Zinn and Dill, 1996: 321).

The country of origin, or the ethnic identity appears as a widely referenced factor in the relevant literature for being a significant base for organizational gatherings in the country of settlement (see: Fennema and Tillie, 1999; Fennema and Tillie, 2001; Dirk *et al.*, 2004; Vermeulen, 2006; Michon and Vermeulen, 2013; Bloemraad and Schönwalder, 2013).

These studies have shown that immigrant minorities are inclined to adhere to routes shaped by their preceding loyalties and sensitivities in their access to the political system of the new country. Ethnic organizations can act as important mediating structures between newcomers and the host country’s political institutions, if organizational leaders mobilize memberships for political ends, and mainstream political actors reach out to such groups (Bloemraad, 2006).

Fennema and Tillie (1999) had reservations about relying on ethnic variances in the case of the Netherlands due to the Protestant-Catholic divide in the evolution of the Dutch citizenship regime. Yet these scholars still chose the ethnic dimension as being a major source of the common antecedent in current migration history, which leads to similarities in social capital and attachment to civic communities (Putnam, 1993). For example, Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in Amsterdam show significant variance in their patterns of political participation, although they share institutional opportunities, average socio-economic status, similar migratory

experiences and a predominant religion. However, these two ethnic groups differ significantly in terms of their ethnic social capital, continuing a trend identified from the 1990s onwards (Michon and Vermeulen, 2013: 603).

Fennema and Tillie (1999) underline the possibilities of learning from further political integration of ethnic groups, even within political groups displaying some undemocratic traits. The collaborative studies of these authors (1999; 2001) reveal a significant difference in the political participation of Antilleans, Moroccans, Surinamese and Turks in the Netherlands, which are in turn explained by variances in organizational density of these groups and their established networks. Turks, who appear to participate more than other ethnic minorities, have higher civic engagement and social capital (Putnam) which is created in their own ethnic organizations and networks. Dirk *et al.* (2004), however, are doubtful about such a relationship between political activity along ethnic lines and a higher political involvement, despite revealing different patterns of political participation among Moroccans and Turks in the case of Brussels.

Bloemraad and Schönwalder (2013) draw attention to the role of ethnic differences in influencing the distribution of structural resources, such as educational qualifications, income and occupational status (Bloemraad and Schönwälder, 2013: 568). In a similar vein, shared migration experiences, common mother tongues, cultural practices, religious affiliations and other ties can create strong group consciousness and institutional bonds. Common causes such as discrimination or a shared colonial past may also be a trigger factor for ethnicity based mobilization (Dawson, 1994). Maxwell's study reveals different representation patterns across racially discriminated groups (Maxwell, 2012). Anwar's work further verifies this

assumption, by showing a higher degree of solidarity among Pakistani than Bangladeshi immigrants in the case of UK (Anwar, 2001).

However, it would seem that variances in the political participation of minority groups are always the result of a complex configuration of causal elements, in which the host state context has a significant influence (Michon and Vermeulen, 2013: 598). In some contexts, a certain feature may produce higher levels of visible minority representation, whereas in others the same feature may have a seemingly depressive influence or prove insignificant (Bird, 2005: 428). Michon and Vermeulen (2013), claim that the group-based mobilization, which has latterly been no longer openly valued in the Dutch political arena, has a negative impact on the number of seats allocated for candidates of Turkish origin. Moroccans, on the other hand, suffer from the negative public opinion arising from higher rates of violence and delinquency among Moroccan youth (Michon and Vermeulen, 2013: 608).

Opportunities and constraints may show variance across male and female, as well as across representatives having different ethnic backgrounds and party ideologies. The intersection of gender and minority identity is another point that deserves further scholarly attention (Hughes, 2008; Bird, 2005; Bird, 2012; Bloemraad, 2013). One might expect that minority women would have a double disadvantage in pursuing a political career, but empirical research in this regard, albeit a very few number of studies, shows that female candidates of minority origin have a greater chance to climb the political ladder than their male counterparts. Bloemraad draws attention to the double minority status of female MPs of minority origin, which makes them more attractive for political parties wishing to diversify their candidate lists (Bloemraad, 2013: 658-59). Bird, on the other hand, explains this as public

opinion viewing female representatives of minority origin as more likely to assimilate and less likely to be a cultural threat (Bird, 2005: 456).

2.14. Methodology

2.14.1. Operationalization

As it will be explained in detail in the latter chapters, this research abstained from any attempt to solve the convoluted issue of exactly what comprised ‘minority interests’. As with any/all other groups represented in politics, the interests of ethnic and religious minorities can be formulated from a range of different perspectives (Celis and Erzeel, 2012; Celis and Childs, 2012). Rather, the focus was on how often, in what ways and under which conditions minority representatives addressed cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of minorities.

As stated above, this research particularly focuses on parliamentary questions for giving members of parliament greater freedom to articulate their viewpoints (For a similar approach see: Bird, 2005; Saalfeld 2011; Franklin and Norton, 1993; Russo, 2011; Vliegthart and Roggeband, 2007). Other means of political representation, such as taking part in parliamentary debates and/or being a member of relevant committees, together with public related activities such as writing articles to newspapers, conducting interviews, having personal websites and posting on those, writing messages on social media such as Twitter and Facebook; were intentionally omitted due to time and space constraints. Differences between those various forms of representation may itself be an indicator of differences in the claims-making abilities of the focus group.

The word minority is defined according to the official definitions in both countries. According to the Central Bureau for Statistics of the Netherlands minorities are those people, of whom at least one (grand) parent was born outside the Netherlands.¹⁸The British official language, on the other hand, mostly leans towards ethnic background and takes anyone with an ethnic background other than White British as minority.¹⁹

Other than that, this endeavors driving attention to the heterogeneity within migrant groups by referring to their home countries where possible. Still, due to wording issues in some part of the dissertation, I also leaned towards the prevailing pattern in the existing literature (see Banting and Kymlicka, 2010; Entzinger, 2006; Koopmans and Statham, 1993; Michon and Vermeulen, 2013 among others) in referring to the prevailing ethnic identity in the countries of origin to indicate the ethnic backgrounds of these immigrant minorities. A more sophisticated approach, which embraces diverse ethnic compositions in sending countries, would definitely contribute to the explanatory power of the analysis. Still, phrases like immigrants coming from Turkey, Morocco, Pakistan, India, etc. are usually used to indicate a undocumented migration (İçduygu, 2005), which goes beyond the scope of this thesis. Moreover, a detailed analysis on the impact of in-group heterogeneity in this regard has not been possible due to data accession issues on the ethnic differences of MPs of minority origin as well as the constituencies in general.

Regarding the dependent variable, firstly I followed the claims-making approach (Koopmans and Statham, 1999) and investigated the salience of minority

¹⁸Accessed at:

[<http://www.cbs.nl/nlNL/menu/themas/dossiers/allochtonen/methoden/begrippen/default.htm?ConceptID=37>].

¹⁹Gardener, D. and H. Connolly (2005) *Who are the other ethnic groups* London: Office for National Statistics.

related questions. The second step was borrowing the framing approach (Entman, 1993) from the communication literature to analyse the representative model, which was built on the basis of the qualitative analysis conducted in the second chapter. Making a distinction between supportive and suppressive framings used in questions on cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of immigrant minorities, I identified all those cases in which minority representatives are supportive towards cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms as ‘supportive representation’. ‘Suppressive representation’ framing, on the other hand, stood for those cases in which MPs of minority origin adopted a restrictive stance on the subject area.

Independent variables can be basically grouped within three categories: citizenship and party related (political opportunity), media related (discursive opportunity) and group and individual identity related.

Considering the substantial amount of work that has been carried out on the transition towards a more communitarian understanding of citizenship in the Netherlands (Entzinger, 2006; Koopmans, 2006; Vink, 2007), this study assumed that there was less pluralism in the Netherlands than the UK and expected lesser supportive representation in the Netherlands than the UK. Also taking into account the findings of the above-mentioned study on the transition towards a more integrative understanding of citizenship over time in the Dutch country, this study expected less supportive representation in the later years than the earlier years of the time period covered in the research.

Regarding the discursive opportunities, this dissertation hypothesized that representatives of minority origin are more inclined to adopt a supportive representation frame in parliament, when immigrant minorities were visible in media discourse, when there was a positive tone towards immigrant minorities in media

discourse, and when leftist and/or liberal political parties were present in media coverage on minorities.

In line with previous studies of the political party impact on minority representation (Bird 2005; Durose *et al.*, 2012), this research expected a greater supportive representation from MPs of minority origin from leftist and/or liberal parties. I further investigated the role of ethnic and gender identities although refraining from specific hypotheses due to complicated, often contradictory, findings on the subject in the literature. Specific emphasis was paid as to how these variables interacted with the citizenship variable.

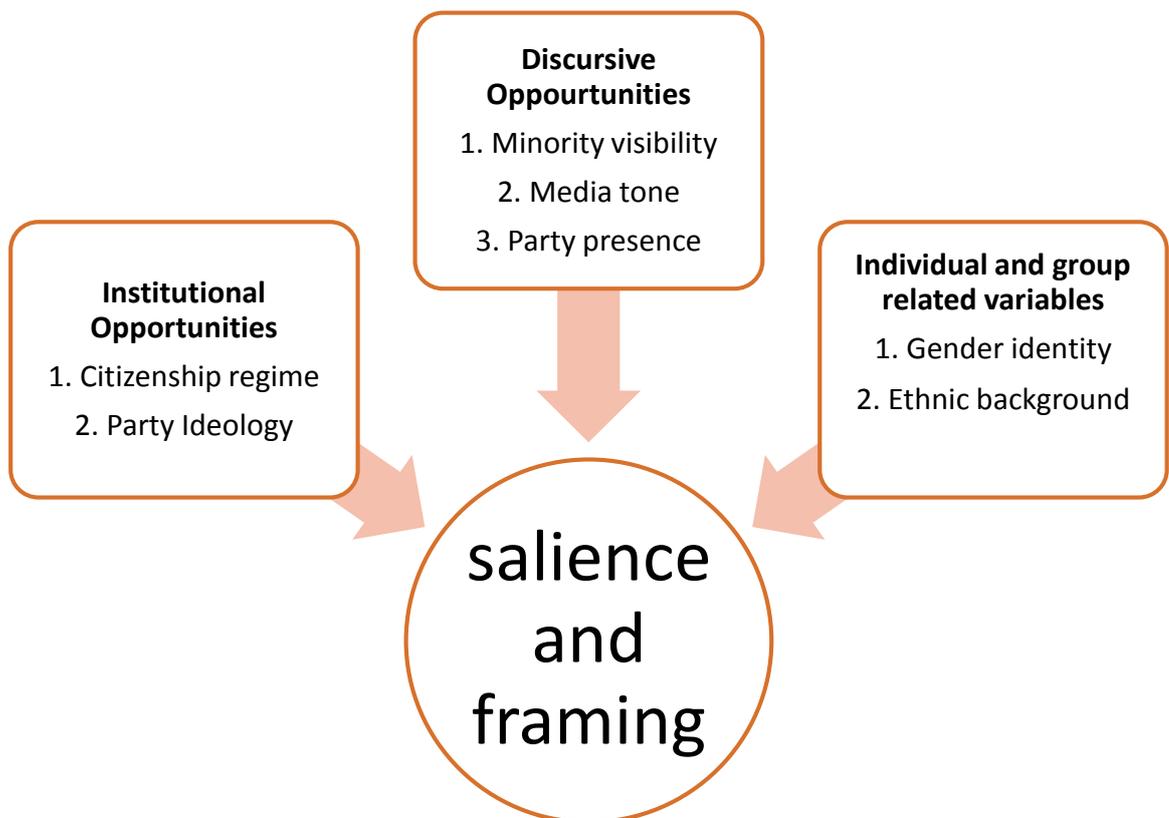


Figure1: Dependent and independent variables

2.14.2. Hypotheses

Bearing in mind the literature discussed above, the following hypotheses were formulated in this dissertation:

H 1: minority representatives are more inclined to use a **supportive representation frame** in **the UK** than **the Netherlands**.

H 2: minority representatives are more inclined to use a **supportive representation frame** in the **earlier years** of the period under consideration than in **more recent years** in the Netherlands.

H 3: minority representatives from **leftist and/or liberal parties** are more inclined to use a **supportive representation** frame than their **right-wing** counterparts.

As the logistic regression did not assess the variance in salience, the salience related expectations were only investigated through descriptive statistics.

H4: Minority representatives are more inclined to address constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them when **immigrant minorities are visible** in media coverage on minorities.

H5: minority representatives are more inclined to address constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them when there is a **positive tone towards immigrant minorities** in media discourse.

H6: minority representatives are more inclined to address constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them when **leftist and/or liberal political parties are present in media coverage** on minorities.

H7: minority representatives are more inclined to use a **supportive representation frame** when **immigrant minorities are visible** in media coverage on minorities.

H8: minority representatives are more inclined to use a **supportive representation frame** when there is a **positive tone towards immigrant minorities** in media discourse.

H9: minority representatives are more inclined to use a **supportive representation frame** when **leftist and/or liberal political parties are present in media coverage** on minorities.

2.14.3. Content analysis – a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches

This dissertation is based on a content analysis of parliamentary and media documents, and benefits from both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The research started with qualitative content analysis on parliamentary contributions of minority representatives. The qualitative strategy enabled me to identify patterns within the text, to extract underlying connotations and to detect the implicit meaning in the contexts of the data. The content analysis method is used in the sense of an endeavor to make systematic interpretations on the basis of a conceptual schema. The

methodological approach of this study is not related to discourse or critical discourse analysis, which is closer to hermeneutics and associated with interpretative social science that originates in religious and literary studies of textual material, in which in-depth inquiry into text, and relating its parts to the whole, reveals deeper meanings (Neuman, 2006: 87).

In this research, a directed approach to qualitative content analysis (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005) was followed. The coding process started with the findings of earlier studies, which presuppose any reference to minorities as advocating for minority interests. Whether those references contained favorable problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral evaluations and/or treatment recommendations about cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms was sought in this first step of analysis. New codes were developed after the interpretations of the underlying context revealed a systematic tendency of MPs of minority origin to frame minority-related issues within a restrictive enclosure.

The qualitative analysis contributed significantly to an in-depth understanding of how MPs of minority origin approached constituencies with whom they share similar backgrounds. In this regard, the present study revealed a more sophisticated conceptualization of the dependent framings of minority related issues in parliamentary questions than is found in existing literature, by identifying variations. A new model of representation was introduced as the data analysis challenged the existing literature, which focused on any reference to ethnic and/or religious minorities almost regardless of content. This new representation model distinguished between supportive and suppressive framings on cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. Those references supporting cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of ethnic and religious groups were placed within the category of supportive

representation. Those cases, where minority representatives act against ethnic and/or cultural rights and freedoms; were categorized as suppressive representation.

At this point, this research extended the operationalizations of the dependent variable by adopting practices from communication literature. Studies following content analysis in the field of political participation are generally inclined to use the claims-making approach (Koopmans and Statham, 1999; Saward, 2006; Celis *et al.*, 2008) in their investigation of by whom, under which conditions, where and how claims are made. This research benefited from the claims-making approach in detecting how often minority representatives addressed constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them. However, the study also adopted the framing approach from communication literature to gain more in-depth focus on how actors shape the relevant debate. This method served as a conceptual tool providing a framework to detect salient aspects in the perceived realities of immigrant minorities; enabled me to see how minority representatives define problems; and provided an analytic tool to analyze their formulation of causal interpretations, moral evaluations and/or treatment recommendations for issues concerning ethnic and religious groups (Entman, 1993).

Quantifying the results of the qualitative analysis further enabled generalization of the outcomes of the qualitative stage, and also clarified different trends within and across the political systems analysed. The quantitative content analysis facilitated the testing of findings from the qualitative examinations. The quantitative analysis started with coding all the parliamentary data according to a structured understanding of coding and a detailed codebook, which had been created in the qualitative stage (See Appendix). The parliamentary data was coded according to the representative model of supportive and suppressive representation, which is outlined above. The results were transferred to an Excel document. (Please see figure

2 on page 78). Thereafter, a logistic regression was conducted to assess the impact of party, ethnic background, gender and time to predict the presence of suppressive framing in a question or intervention. Party, ethnic background and gender were captured by a set of dummy variables, while the year in which the question was posed was included as an independent variable as well. As stated above in the operationalization section; citizenship and party related variables were assessed by departing from the relevant literature review and no specific hypotheses were built on gender and ethnicity related variables. This part of the analysis only covered the variance in framing as the multivariate logistic regression applied did not allow investigate how often minorities addressed constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them. As stated above, a separate model for the salience could not be built due to lacking the total number of parliamentary questions, including other questions than those related to minorities, were not available for the British dataset. Salience was studied through descriptive statistics in the quantitative investigation. Similarly, variance across the two countries, namely citizenship regimes, was studied both by descriptive statistics and by comparing the mean presence of frames.

Documents	Relevancy	Datum	Name	Framing	Party MP	Gender	Ethnicity MP
ah-tk-20062007-2636	Yes	6/12/2007	Arib	Supportive	PvdA	female	Moroccan
ah-tk-20062007-77	Yes	9/8/2006	Arib	Suppressive	PvdA	female	Moroccan
kv-2009203181	Yes	3/9/2009	Griffith	Suppressive	VVD	female	Surinamese
kv-2009203182	Yes	2/20/2009	Karabulut	Suppressive	SP	female	Turkish
kv-2009203346	Yes	2/24/2009	Karabulut	Suppressive	SP	female	Turkish
kv-2009203502	Yes	2/26/2009	Griffith	Suppressive	VVD	female	Surinamese
kv-2009203821	Yes	3/4/2009	Dibi	Supportive	GL	Male	Moroccan
kv-2009203953	Yes	3/5/2009	Karabulut	Supportive	SP	female	Turkish
kv-2009205717	Yes	3/27/2009	Karabulut	Suppressive	SP	female	Turkish
kv-2009205751	Yes	3/27/2009	Dibi	Supportive	GL	Male	Moroccan
kv-2009208844	Yes	5/13/2009	Arib	Suppressive & Supp	PvdA	female	Moroccan
kv-2009210055	Yes	5/29/2009	Dibi	Supportive	GL	Male	Moroccan
kv-2009210080	Yes	5/29/2009	Karabulut	Suppressive	SP	female	Turkish
kv-2009213506	Yes	7/3/2009	Karabulut	Supportive	SP	female	Turkish
kv-2009213596	Yes	7/7/2009	Karabulut	Supportive	SP	female	Turkish
kv-2009213598	Yes	7/7/2009	Arib	Suppressive	PvdA	female	Moroccan
kv-2009213987	Yes	7/15/2009	Dibi	neutral	GL	Male	Moroccan
kv-2009214098	Yes	7/17/2009	Karabulut	Supportive	SP	female	Turkish
kv-2009214149	Yes	7/20/2009	Dibi	Supportive	GL	Male	Moroccan
kv-2009214159	Yes	7/20/2009	Arib	Suppressive	PvdA	female	Moroccan
kv-2009216251	Yes	9/11/2009	Kaya	Supportive	D66	female	Turkish
kv-2009216311	Yes	9/11/2009	Arib	neutral	PvdA	female	Moroccan

Figure 2: An illustration of the coded parliamentary data

A second content analysis was conducted on the newspaper data, which revealed the relevant media tone on immigrant minorities, the presence/absence of immigrant minorities and the presence/absence of pro/anti-migrant political parties in the relevant media discourse. This second content analysis was also coded according to a structured understanding of coding and utilizing a detailed codebook, specifically developed for discursive opportunities related variables, following a preliminary search of the media data (See Appendix 4). Similar to the logic in the parliamentary analysis, the coded data was entered in an Excel document (Please see figure 3 on page 79 for an illustration). After coding the media data, a time series analysis (see Vliegthart and Roggeband, 2007 and Walgrave *et al.*, 2008) which can be seen as a regression analysis conducted to reveal the influence of the media tone, minority visibility, political party presence, in the context of how often and in what ways MPs

of minority origin addressed cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. The time series analysed to assess the salience of minority related issues as well as the framing of cultural and/or religious rights and liberties. This analysis was done on monthly levels by aggregating the data. Lagged values of the independent variables, namely the media related factors, were applied on the dependent variable ensure causality. The analysis is on a monthly level - but for the IDVs I used the mean scores for the previous three months. To illustrate, April performances of minority representatives were predicted by media coverage in January, February and March. The relevant variance in May was predicted by February, March, April media coverage and so forth.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
1	Title of the Document	Date	Relevancy	Newspaper	Tone of the Doc	Visibility of Minor Party						
2	pounds 90,000 settles Asian	2/6/2002	yes	Guardian	positive	no	no					
3	Asian boy's burned body fou	2/21/2002	yes	Guardian	neutral	no	no					
4	Education: If you ask me:	4/9/2002	no	Guardian								
5	French election	5/6/2002	yes	Guardian	positive	yes	other					
6	Asian who killed man in race	6/15/2002	yes	Guardian	positive	yes	no					
7	Special Report	6/18/2002	yes	Guardian	positive	no	no					
8	Cricket: Muslim Britain	6/21/2002	yes	Guardian	positive	yes	no					
9	Treading lightly:	8/1/2002	yes	Guardian	positive	no	no					
10	G2: Can I, a Jew, hear the ec	8/27/2002	no	Guardian								
11	Society: Movie bluff	9/18/2002	yes	Guardian	positive	yes	no					
12	Media:	11/4/2002	yes	Guardian	positive	yes	no					
13	Society:	3/12/2003	yes	Guardian	positive	no	no					
14	Muslim's body desecrated at	4/18/2003	yes	Guardian	positive	yes	no					
15	Media: Star is rising for Britis	6/9/2003	no	Guardian								
16	Weekend: LOOK WHO'S TAK	7/26/2003	yes	Guardian	positive	yes	no					
17	In brief: Mosque will hold 10,	9/10/2003	yes	Guardian	neutral	no	no					
18	Imams join plea for gay tolera	9/26/2003	yes	Guardian	positive	yes	no					
19	Reporter highlights poverty a	10/11/2003	yes	Guardian	positive	yes	no					
20	Islamic weddings leave wom	11/24/2003	yes	Guardian	positive	yes	no					

Figure 3: An illustration of the coded media data

The reliability of the findings was strengthened with a detailed codebook for both parliamentary and media documents. An inter-coder reliability check was conducted on 10% of parliamentary (35) texts and 5% (60) of media documents. The results were satisfactory, with pair wise agreements of 74% for the Dutch case and 80% for the British case. Inter-coder reliability for the media related variables could be assessed by *Krippendorff's alpha* as there was greater diversification in the coded data. The results for the tone on variables were 0.764 and 0.805 for the Netherlands and the UK, respectively. The inter-coder reliability check for the minority visibility on media coverage on minority related issues were 0.92 and 0.798 for the Netherlands and the UK, respectively. No inter-coder reliability check could not have been conducted for the party related media variable as the number of messages coming from political parties was too low. The thorough literature review conducted for the study guarantees the operational and conceptual validity to a significant extent (Neuman, 2006: 192-93). Such validity was further ensured by revisions in the open-coded process of qualitative analysis (Neuman, 2006: 461).

In both stages of the content analysis, qualitative and quantitative, software specially developed for studies on content analysis (NVIVO) was used to speed up the process. For the regression analysis, STATA was employed.

2.14.4. Data

Data for the dependent variable of this research comprised the content of parliamentary questions posed by minority representatives in the parliaments of the Netherlands and the UK, between January 2002 and December 2012. The

parliamentary websites in both countries facilitated access to all the questions asked by minority representatives at a national level.

As stated above, the first dataset consisted of parliamentary questions posed by minority legislatures during the time period analysed for this study. Legislative data was collected in a two-step procedure for the Dutch case. Firstly, all the parliamentary questions of MPs of minority origin were downloaded by entering the names of those MPs to obtain the total number of such inquiries.²⁰ The total number of questions collected after this first search was 6,210. Thereafter, only those documents related to migrant minorities were selected through a second keyword search.²¹ As the website of the British House of Commons did not have a search engine, it was not possible to run a keyword search for the British data. Hence I identified the relevant texts manually by looking at the title of individual parliamentary questions. The total number of parliamentary questions requiring analysis was 252 and 95 for the Netherlands and the UK, respectively.²²

Media data for this research was collected through another keyword search for the selected time frame of three widely read newspapers, representing different political ideologies, from each country. *Volkscrant*, *De Telegraaf*, and *NRC Handelsblad* for the Netherlands, and the *Guardian*, *Daily Mail* and the *Times* were

²⁰The selection of MPs of minority origin was done by a search based on names, surnames and photo images of MPs from the parliamentary website of the Netherlands. The list was thereafter compared with the names provided by the website of the Institute for Public and Politics (Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek): <http://www.prodemos.nl/> (Date of Accession: 15.07.2013).

²¹All the questions posed by MPs since 1995 in the Dutch National Parliament (Tweede Kamer) are available on the following website: https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/zoeken/parlementaire_documenten. The data for this research was collected between 01.08.2013 and 20.08.2013; Search terms: Migrant* OR immigrant* OR minderheden OR niet-Westers* OR allochto* OR Meisjesbesnijdenis OR Imam OR integratie OR moskee OR gezinsher! OR inburgering OR Islamitisch OR Moslim* OR Turk* OR Marokka* OR Surina* OR Antillia* Those keywords are based on a preliminary qualitative analysis on the most frequent words used in the discourse of immigrant/ethnic and/or religious minorities in the Netherlands.

²²15 of those documents are counted twice as MPs of minority origin posed them collaboratively.

chosen for the UK.²³The keyword search was conducted on the headlines of newspaper articles to ensure the utmost relevance of a broad number of articles within the parameters of the study. All the relevant data were retrieved from Lexis Nexis and Factiva databases accessed in their native language. After an initial examination, those articles which were not actually reporting on religious minorities were excluded. Following this elimination, a total number of 731 documents were analysed for the Dutch case and 469 for the British case.

In the case of parliamentary data, the entire text was searched. For newspapers, however, which yielded greater volumes of text, the search comprised looking for keywords in the headlines of the newspaper articles retrieved. After listing all the articles based on this initial keyword search, those articles unrelated to minorities in the countries analysed, were removed by a manual inspection of the articles concerned. Following this elimination, a total number of 1200 was studied.

2.14.5. Case selection

This study compares the British and Dutch cases at national level. These two countries were chosen for several reasons. Both countries have experienced similar patterns of immigration flows. Both received large numbers of migrants from their

²³The keywords used in the search for the Dutch case are: Migrant OR immigrant OR minority OR integration OR non-Western OR *allochtoon*²³ OR genital mutilation OR imam OR mosque OR family reunification OR Islamic OR Muslim OR Turk OR Moroccan OR Surinamese OR Antillean. For the British media data, the search was done with the following keywords: Migrant OR Immigrant OR minority OR Muslim OR non-Western OR Indian OR Pakistani OR Caribbean OR Bangladeshi OR Chinese OR Asian OR African OR Ethnic OR imam OR cleric OR Sheik OR multicultural OR multiracial OR racial OR Afro OR coloured OR mosque OR Headscarf OR hijab OR Islamic. Those keywords are based on a preliminary qualitative analysis on the most frequent words used in the discourse of immigrant/ethnic and/or religious minorities in the countries analyzed.

former colonies, together with guest-worker immigration due to labor shortages from the 1950s until the 1980s. There would also seem to be a widely held view which regards both of these countries as representative of multicultural, pluralist citizenship (Koopmans and Statham, 2000). However, latterly the Netherlands has experienced a clear diversion from its multicultural policies and is now more oriented to an integrative approach. An extra dimension was added to the debate on immigrants and their position in society in the case of the Netherlands, because the debate has been enlivened by several domestic events during the period examined for this study. First and foremost the rise of new politician Pim Fortuyn in 2001-2002, the assassination of Theo van Gogh, and the controversy around politician and Somalian refugee Ayaan Hirsi Ali, which also attracted considerable international attention (Koopmans and Vliegthart, 2010). Relevant literature indicates a clear paradigm shift, where multicultural policy goals have been abandoned for a more restrictive, assimilationist approach towards immigrants in the Netherlands within the last decade (Modood, 2003).

This research focuses on the last decade with the premise that the last ten years have been a turning point in the migration history in Western Europe with its paradigmatic transition towards an exclusive approach via different policies within the field of migration: asylum seeking; family reunification; integration and naturalization of ethno-cultural communities of migrant origin. Developed countries in Western Europe have experienced considerable immigration flows, especially since the 1950s. However, only recently have the issues of immigration and integration of minorities been central to political and public debates in most Western European nations. Economic stagnation within European countries in the 2000s, terrorist attacks in the US, Britain and Spain, and the subsequent war on terrorism, led to endless discussions

within the field of migration and integration, which later resulted in profound policy changes (Roodenburg, 2007: 296). The year 2002 is of special importance for the British case since a series of restrictions to immigration policy had come into force in that year, with significant amendments to the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act. Although the Netherlands had put similar amendments into force in 2001, the year 2002 is of particular importance for the Dutch context as that year corresponds to a rise in criticism of the multicultural understanding in migration policies, as well as the rise of Pim Fortuyn as the anti-immigrant politician and his later assassination.

CHAPTER 3

MINORITY REPRESENTATIVES IN THE NETHERLANDS AND THE UK: SUPPORTING, SILENCING OR SUPPRESSING?

Ayaan Hirsi Ali attracted significant media attention within the first half of the 2000s with her statements on the incompatibility of the Muslim religion with the liberal societies of the western world. Becoming a leading figure in the anti-Islam discourse (Sniderman and Hagendoorn, 2008: 2-3), the Dutch MP of Somali origin challenged those attributing a profound role to the representation of ethnic and religious minorities by elected officials from similar backgrounds. Hirsi Ali's publicity considerably personalized the discourse on the issue. However, many other MPs of minority origin demonstrate similar attitudes in dealing with minority related issues or choose to remain silent when it comes to the problems, demands and desires of immigrant minorities.²⁴

²⁴The word minority is defined according to the official definition of the Central Bureau for Statistics of the Netherlands. By minority, this study refers to those people, of whom at least one parent was born outside the Netherlands. Accessed at: [<http://www.cbs.nl/nlNL/menu/themas/dossiers/allochtonen/methoden/begrippen/default.htm?ConceptID=37>], on 10 December 2013. This study follows Michon and Vermeulen (2013) in describing ethnic and religious groups in the Netherlands as 'immigrant minorities'. Please see: Michon and Vermeulen (2013) 'Explaining different trajectories in immigrant political integration: Moroccans and Turks in Amsterdam', *West European Politics*, 36, 597–614.

This chapter focuses on how often and in what ways minority representatives address cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms by analysing parliamentary questions between 2002 and 2012 in the Netherlands and the UK. This part of the dissertation adopts a qualitative perspective in analysing the content of questions posted by minority representatives. I first analysed to what extent, if any, MPs of minority origin highlight minority related issues in their parliamentary questions. Thereafter, the content of those questions is examined in more detail. Unlike much previous research, favourable content is not taken for granted. I introduce the idea of ‘suppressive representation’ to describe those cases in which minority representatives were restrictive towards cultural and/or religious freedoms of immigrant minorities. Representation patterns show differences across group and individual level identities.

Studies on political representation of ethnic and religious sub-groups are usually concerned with the actual presence of minority figures in the political arena. The presence of legislatives of minority origin is an achievement in itself. Yet, such presence does not guarantee the reflection of minority interests in legislation (Celis and Childs, 2014).

To what extent, if any, do minority representatives place issues concerning minority constituencies on the political agenda? Does the minority background automatically lead to a supportive framing that favours ethnic and religious groups? If not, what are other possible framings? What possible explanatory factors might account for variations in the representation of minorities? To answer these questions, the parliamentary work of MPs of minority origin on minority related issues was investigated within the Netherlands and the UK between 2002 and 2012. Content analysis was carried out to detect how minority representatives frame groups sharing similar backgrounds with themselves, and possible reasons for this framing.

Other than the discussions on the salience of minority related issues in the agendas of minority representatives, this chapter endeavours to adopt the framing approach to the studies on political representation of minorities, propose different framings within minority representation, and thoroughly analyse variance in representing immigrant minorities. I develop the idea of suppressive representation to explain those cases in which MPs of minority origin adopt restrictive framings towards cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of immigrant minorities. Occasions on which those MPs support cultural and/or religious freedoms of ethnic and religious constituencies are identified within the supportive representation frame.

The data analysed for this study further revealed the impacts of the retreat from the group rights based understanding of multiculturalism and the transition towards a more integrative form of citizenship for the Netherlands. Dutch MPs of minority origin address minority related issues far more than their British counterparts. Those representatives in the UK, however, are more supportive and eager to promote diversity when they address issues concerning minority constituencies. Party ideology and individual and group related factors such as gender identity and ethnic and religious backgrounds also come into play as significant factors shaping the agendas of minority representatives. The way in which these group and individual related variables operate differs fundamentally across the political systems analysed.

3.1. Studies on political representation of minorities

European literature on political representation has made a significant contribution to our understanding of the descriptive presence of immigrant minorities in decision-making processes (see Bloemraad, 2013; Michon and Vermeulen, 2013; Saggar and Geddes, 2000; Schönwalder, 2013; Thrasher *et al.*, 2013; Togeby, 2008). However, empirical research on the substantive representation of ethnic and religious minorities is less than conclusive. Pitkin (1967) presumes that representatives' activities would be in line with the needs, wishes and interests of the immigrant minorities. Nevertheless, coming from ethnic and/or religious groups does not necessarily lead to supporting minority interests which, within the scope of this study, are described as cultural and religious freedoms. Existing literature views any reference to ethnic and/or religious groups as substantively representing the interests of minorities (Bird, 2005; Saalfeld, 2011; Saalfeld and Bischof, 2013; Saalfeld and Kyriakipoulou, 2010). Those studies include little on the actual content of what minority representatives say. The question of whether MPs with migratory backgrounds act in the interests of ethnic and/or religious groups or not, remains unanswered.

The theory of political opportunity structures (POS) attributes importance to citizenship regimes in explaining the claims made by minority members in public arenas (Koopmans and Statham, 2000). In this regard, recent studies on the Dutch national model of migrant incorporation draw a pessimistic picture with claims for the demise of multiculturalism, or the traditional group rights approach within the pillar structure (Entzinger, 2006; Koopmans, 2006; Vink, 2007). When those studies are

taken into consideration, one would expect that minority representatives feel themselves discouraged from supporting minority constituencies. Rather, those representatives are more likely to remain silent, or lean towards a more integrative contextualization, in cases where they do support immigrant minorities. Following this line of reasoning, minority representatives would target issues hindering incorporation such as socio-economic marginalization, insufficient language and other cultural skills, discrimination, and lack of intercultural contacts (Koopmans, 2006). Bonjour and Lettinga (2012), on the other hand, are critical of casting national models aside. According to their perspective, unique interpretations of equality and diversity, which are fundamental in shaping migrant incorporation policies, are institutionalized within the tradition of pillarization. The authors, however, address political parties and the power relations between them as significant determinants of how migration and integration policies are framed within national models. Other studies verify the role of political party attachment as a route towards supporting minority identities and practices. Empirical studies on claim making abilities of minority representatives show that such representatives are often more closely engaged with the party elite, rather than larger ethnic and religious groups (Bird, 2005: 44; Durose *et al.*, 2012: 263). Having little liability to the grassroots, minority legislatives often adopt restrictive frames when addressing issues concerning their ethnic, religious or cultural backgrounds. In many other cases, they choose to remain silent.

Saalfeld (2011), Saalfeld and Bischof (2013), and Saalfeld and Kyriakipoulou (2010) contribute to the literature on the political representation of immigrant minorities by focusing on the salience of minority related issues on the agendas of minority representatives. The first study reveals that black and ethnic minority MPs are more attentive to ethnic and religious minorities when compared to non-minority

MPs. The later studies underline the role of different contexts and claim that minority representatives choose to emphasize their minority identities when they are speaking to minority constituencies, and to de-emphasize their minority identities when they are facing a broader public audience. While being highly informative, these studies could be criticized for using a limited operationalization of the substantive representation of minority interests. They count any reference to minorities as a significant element within the interests of any one particular representative. Relevant literature overlooks those cases in which representatives with minority background persistently act against minority interests (Anne, 2012). In other words, how minority representatives frame issues concerning minorities, and the underlying reasons, remain to be studied. Investigating possible variations of representation and the possible reasons behind those variations, could not only lead to a more sophisticated understanding of political representation, but should also illuminate how different structures and actors shape such representation.

A group of scholars have used the claims-making approach (Celis *et al.*, 2008; Saward, 2006; Koopmans and Statham, 1999) in their investigation of by whom, under which conditions, where and how claims are made. This chapter benefits from the claims-making understanding but also follows those studies (Vliegthart and Roggeband, 2007; Bonjour, 2013; Bonjour and Lettinga, 2012) and adopts the framing approach to gain more in-depth focus on how actors shape the relevant debate. This method serves as a conceptual tool providing a framework to detect salient aspects in the perceived realities of immigrant minorities; enables us to see how minority representatives define problems; and provides an analytic tool to analyse their formulation of causal interpretations, moral evaluations and/or treatment recommendations for issues concerning ethnic and religious groups (Entman, 1993).

3.2. Political context, data and methods

A content analysis was conducted to identify patterns, underlying connotations and implicit meanings of parliamentary questions. The data consisted of the parliamentary questions of MPs of minority origin in the Netherlands and the UK between 01.01.2002 and 31.12.2012.²⁵ Other than the lively debates on migration and integration throughout the 2000s, the British and Dutch cases are of particular importance for having a high number of MPs coming from ethnic and religious groups. Recently, there has been a substantial increase in the descriptive presence of minorities in the legislative bodies in both countries (Saggar, 2013). According to Bloemraad's recent index of representation, the Netherlands appears as the most proportional country within the western world (Bloemraad, 2013). However, little has been said on reflecting minority interests, wishes and needs through the network of minority representatives.

Data for this study was collected through two key word searches on parliamentary questions in the archives of the parliamentary website for the case of the Netherlands.²⁶ Although legislators can express their policy preferences in many different platforms, parliamentary questions were deliberately chosen since they allow greater freedom to MPs in representing their electorate. Minority representatives are thought to be more independent in expressing their ideas and policy positions in their

²⁵ The year 2002 is of particular importance for the Dutch context as that year corresponds to the rising criticisms against the multicultural understanding in migration policies as well as the rise of Pim Fortuyn

as the anti-immigrant politician and his assassination afterwards.

²⁶ All the questions posed by MPs since 1995 in the Dutch National Parliament (TweedeKamer) were accessed at [https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/zoeken/parlementaire_documenten], accessed between 01.08.2013 and 20.08.2013.

individual questions, when compared to parliamentary debates or other platforms. Firstly, all the parliamentary questions asked by MPs of minority origin were downloaded by entering the names of MPs of minority origin.²⁷ The total number of questions collected from this first search was 6210. Thereafter, only those documents related to migrant minorities were selected via a second key word search. The second search was conducted according to the most relevant and salient issues through a preliminary qualitative analysis using Nvivo software. The keywords used in the second search were: migrant OR immigrant OR minority OR integration OR non-Western OR *allochtoon*²⁸ OR genital mutilation OR imam OR mosque OR family reunification OR Islamic OR Muslim OR Turk OR Moroccan OR Surinamese OR Antillean.²⁹ A keyword search for the British House of Commons was not possible as the website of the British parliament did not have a search engine for the relevant documents. Therefore, the relevant texts were identified by looking at the title of parliamentary questions. The total number of parliamentary questions requiring analysis was 252 and 95 for the Netherlands and the UK, respectively.³⁰

I identified the minority background of the relevant MPs through a combined analysis of birthplace information, physical clues from published photographs and names.³¹ For each MP in the dataset, information on the transition within citizenship,

²⁷ The selection of MPs of minority origin is based on research into the first names, surnames and photo images of MPs from the parliamentary website of the Netherlands. The list was thereafter compared with the names provided by the website of the Institute for Public and Politics (Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek). Available at [<http://www.prodemos.nl/>], accessed [15.07.2013].

²⁸ The word *allochtoon* is used to describe ethnic and religious minorities in the Netherlands.

²⁹ Those keywords were typed as follows in Dutch: Migrant* OR immigrant* OR minderhe* OR niet-Westers* OR allochto* OR Meisjesbesnijdenis OR Imam OR integratie OR moskee OR gezinsher! OR inburgering OR Islamitisch OR Moslim* OR Turk* OR Marokka* OR Surina* OR Antillia*

³⁰ 15 of those documents are counted twice as MPs of minority origin posed them collaboratively.

³¹ For a more detailed discussion on identifying MPs of minority origin, see: Bloemraad (2013), p. 657. The minority background of relevant MPs was further checked from news reports and websites of relevant organizations in both countries. These organizations are the Institute for Public and Politics (*Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek*) in the Netherlands and Operation Black Vote in the UK.

political party, gender identity, and ethnic background of those minority representatives was collected.

A total number of 35 MPs of minority origin served in the Dutch national parliament within the ten year time period, analysed for this study. Out of 35 Dutch MPs of minority origin, 21 were female and 14 were male. The Dutch Labour Party (PvdA) had the greatest number of minority representatives in its composition with 14 minority representatives within the party during this period. The Green Party (GroenLinks) was in second place with 8 minority representatives. Other parties have allocated less space to MPs coming from ethnic and religious minorities. There were 3 MPs from the Dutch Christian Democrats (CDA), 3 from the Dutch Social-Liberal (D66), 3 from the Socialist Party (SP) and 4 from the liberal-conservative People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD).³² The Anti-immigrant List of Pim Fortuyn (LPF) saved one seat for the minority voice (for less than a year) during the 11 year period under consideration. MPs of Moroccan and Turkish background had the largest presence with 13 and 12 MPs respectively. Regarding the ethnic backgrounds of Dutch representatives of minority origin; there were 6 MPs of Surinamese origin, with 4 MPs coming from other ethnic groups.

In the British case, the total number of minority representatives within the time period analysed for this study was 38. The ratio of female representatives of minority origin in the British parliament was lower than its equivalent in the Netherlands. In Britain there were only 11 female minority representatives whereas the number of their male colleagues with migratory backgrounds was 27. Unsurprisingly, the Labour Party accounted for the largest number of minority representatives with 24 seats.

³²Ayaan Ali Hirsi, a Dutch MP of Somali origin, left the Labour Party (PvdA) and became a member of the Liberal Party (VVD) in October 2002.

Within the same time period, there were 13 MPs of minority origin from the Conservative Party and only one from the Liberal Democrats. The ethnic backgrounds of the minority representatives were somewhat diverse. In line with their higher proportion in the ethnic composition of the UK,³³ Indian and Pakistani ethnic backgrounds had the largest presence with 11 MPs each. There were 4 MPs of Ghanaian origin, 2 MPs each of Jamaican, Nigerian and Ugandan origin, Bangladeshi, Guyanese, Iraqi, Kenyan, Somalia and Turkish backgrounds were represented with 1 MP in each case.

MPs of minority origin asked questions on a wide range of issues such as childcare, employer rights, education, environmental issues, fiscal structure, foreign policy, healthcare, science, trade and the like. A comparison between the interest in cultural and religious rights and/or freedoms between minority representatives and non-minority representatives goes beyond the limits of this study. Nevertheless, the second keyword search illustrates that minority representatives showed a limited interest in minority related issues. Only 261³⁴ of the original 6210 questions, namely 4%, were related to immigrant minorities for the case of the Netherlands. A content analysis on these final 261 questions facilitated the explanation of different representative patterns on issues related to minorities. Not all MPs of minority origin were seemingly interested in minority related issues, with 11 of the aforementioned minority representatives refraining from asking any question specifically related to minorities. 18 of them asked less than ten questions on issues concerning minority constituencies. 68% of all the questions analysed for this research were produced by 5

³³According to the official statistics, Indians are the largest ethnic minority group in the UK with 1, 4 million people (2, 5% of the total population). Pakistanis come as the second largest ethnic minority group with 1, 2 million people (2 % of the total population). Information accessed at: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_290558.pdf, on 27.04.2015

³⁴15 of those documents are counted twice as MPs of minority origin posed them collaboratively.

female and 1 male MP, with Turkish or Moroccan origins and belonging to different parties: Dutch Labour Party, Socialist Party, GreenLeft, D66 and VVD.

In the UK case a total number of 95 questions were related to minorities. As the British parliamentary archives did not have a keyword search mechanism, calculating the total number of questions posted by MPs of minority origin was not possible. However, a limited interest in minority related issues was also apparent in the case of the UK. 14 MPs out of the 38 targeted their minority constituencies in the data analysed, and only 6 of those minority representatives asked more than 5 questions on issues concerning minority constituencies. 85% of all the relevant questions were written by those 6 MPs of minority origin, all of them Labour Party MPs. Gender and ethnic background, on the other hand, appeared to have less influence on the interest in minority related issues. 4 of those legislatives were male and 2 were female. The ethnic backgrounds of the relevant MPs were as follows: 1 MP of Guyanese origin, 2 MPs of Jamaican origin, 2 MPs of Indian origin and 1 MP of Pakistani origin.

With regard to a more detailed description of the methodology, a directed approach in qualitative content analysis (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005) was conducted. Initial coding started with the findings of earlier studies, which presuppose any reference to minorities as advocating minority interests. In the first step of the analysis, I sought to establish whether those references contained favourable problem definitions, causal interpretations, moral evaluations and/or treatment recommendations about cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. The interpretations of the underlying context revealed a systematic tendency of MPs of minority origin to frame minority related issues under a restrictive enclosure.

3.3. Cultural and religious rights and freedoms on the agendas of minority representatives

As described above, due to lack of keyword facilities on the British parliamentary website, different data collection procedures were followed for the cases analysed. Nevertheless, it would not be wrong to say that minority representatives in Britain show a higher reluctance in bringing minority related issues to the fore. Only 95 questions make a reference to ethnic and/or religious groups within the country compared to 252 in the case of the Netherlands. Nonetheless, when British MPs of minority origin address constituencies with which they share a similar background, they are more inclined to make positive aspects salient and are more willing to address issues of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. The number of supportive questions posted by British representatives of minority origin composes 57% of the total, whereas this percentage is limited to 39% within the discourse of their Dutch counterparts. In this regard, it would not be wrong to say that the minority representatives in the ‘still multiculturalist’ UK are more supportive of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms than their Dutch counterparts also of minority origin, who function in an integrative political environment.

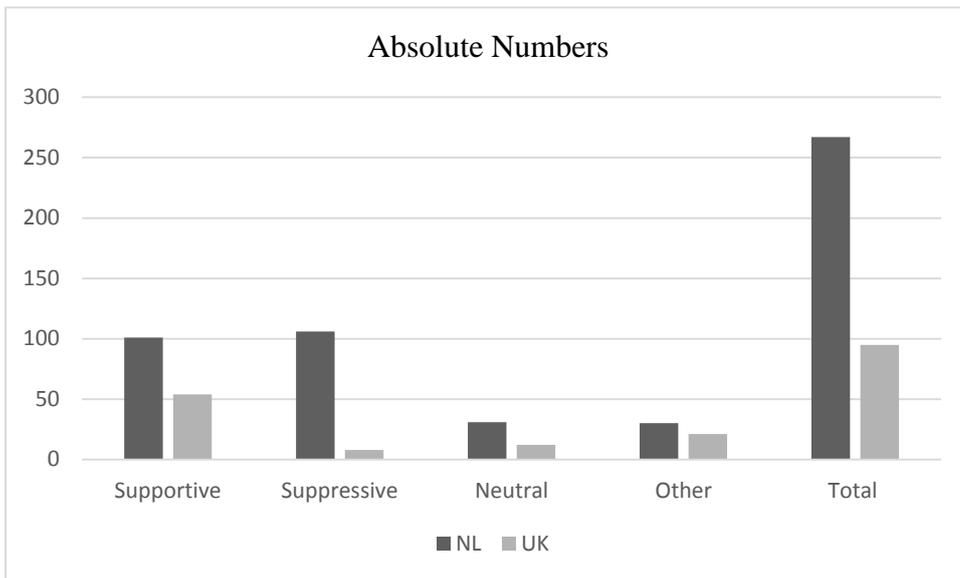


Figure 4: Absolute numbers of supportive, suppressive, and neutral framing in the Netherlands and the UK³⁵

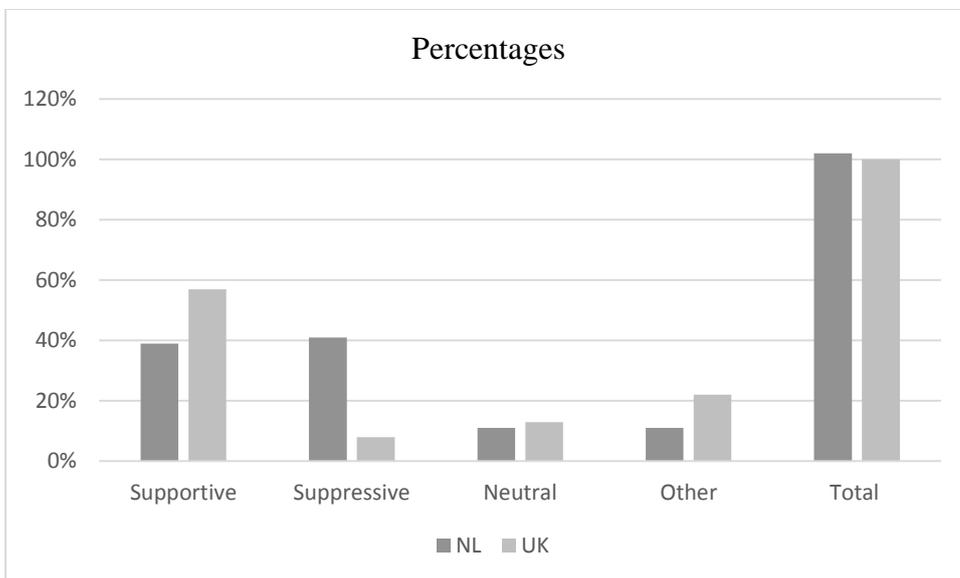


Figure 5: Percentages of supportive, suppressive, and neutral framing in the Netherlands and the UK³⁶

³⁵The sum of questions coded in each category may exceed the total number of questions as the questions are coded more than once when they covered more than one issue or when they had references both to 'supportive representation' frame and 'suppressive representation' frame.

A second category of ‘suppressive representation’ was developed to address those restrictive framings. 41% of the questions portray minority practices and symbols as problematic to the country of settlement and/or calling for strong measures in the case of the Netherlands. This percentage was only 8% for the British data. After obtaining this result, I sought explanations to deduce the underlying reasons for variances in framing cultural and religious symbols and practices of immigrant minorities. Taking the prevailing patterns in the analysed data into consideration, preliminary explanations of contributing factors were formulated. Those preliminary explanations were revised or completely changed when comparison of cases refuted the first explanation (Berg and Lune, 2004: 358-63). This part of the thesis is built on context based interpretations and does not attempt to formulate generalizable conclusions. Nevertheless, the data analysis revealed systematic variance in the use of the different frames, which will be further explored below. Findings from the analysis were quantified as far as possible, to substantiate the qualitative examination of how minority representatives justify their positions. For the sake of clarity, only the numbers and/or percentages of the supportive and suppressive framings are discussed in detail. Neutral framings are only reported in the figures and in the Appendix, which also includes figures for unclassifiable texts. The codebook allowed multiple coding when questions contained supportive and suppressive messages at the same time.

³⁶The sum of questions coded in each category may exceed the total percentage of questions as the questions are coded more than once when they covered more than one issue or when they had references both to ‘supportive representation’ frame and ‘suppressive representation’ frame. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.

3.4. Minority interests and different patterns of minority representation

The data analysis confirmed my initial expectations in terms of revealing variations in framing of minority related issues in the works of MPs of minority origin. Minority representatives are concerned with problems, wishes and needs of people with whom they share similar backgrounds. Nevertheless, the empirical analysis challenges the direct relationship established between coming from a minority background and a more colourful understanding of representation, or sympathy for cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms in parliamentary work.

Taking such variation into account, this research proposes a representation model, which distinguishes between supportive and suppressive framings on cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. Those references supporting cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of ethnic and religious groups were placed within the category of ‘supportive representation’. As stated above, the ‘suppressive representation’ category was proposed to describe those cases in which minority representatives act against ethnic and/or cultural rights and freedoms.

3.5. Supportive on integration vs. suppressive on identity

As stated above, data analysis confirmed my expectations regarding a diversified framing of issues concerning ethnic and religious minorities in the parliamentary work of minority representatives for both countries. With regard to the Netherlands, 39% of the data analysed was coded as supportive representation and 41% as suppressive representation. 3% of the data analysed included references both to

asupportive representation frame and to a suppressive representation frame and was coded twice. 11% had no reference to the promotion or suppression of cultural and/or religious freedoms and was coded as neutral. The remaining 11% was not subjected to analysis on the grounds of not being directly related to the subject area. As for the British case, 57% of all the questions analysed were coded as supportive representation and only 8% as suppressive representation. 13% of the questions coming from British MPs of minority origin had no references to either category. The ratio of questions coded as other was 22% and there was no multiple coding in the UK case.

The data analysis shows that the issue a question addresses can partly account for variations in framing. Minority representatives act as delegates representing minority voters and adopt a supportive framing on daily problems within the country of origin such as fighting against discrimination and strengthening integration in both countries. There are no questions falling within the category of suppressive representation on issues related to discrimination and integration in the British data and the total number of suppressive messages coming from Dutch MPs of minority origin is very small. The same representatives, however, adopt suppressive framings when it comes to religious and/or cultural identities and/or practices, especially in the Netherlands. Minority representatives appear to restrict a ‘fellow feeling’ almost solely to those concerns overlapping the general policy of contribution to integration processes. Just as is the case in the Netherlands; specific issues related to healthcare such as teenage pregnancy or maternal care, together with improving neighbourhoods, community cohesion projects and childcare issues come forth in supportive messages. Another similar inclination is to support language acquisition facilities for ethnic and religious minorities. Nevertheless, the emphasis on civic integration is greater in the

Dutch data as minority representatives in the Netherlands put more emphasis on labour participation and necessity as means of addressing social segregation.

Dutch MPs of minority origin remain silent on issues concerning dual nationality or focus only on the problematic aspects of such citizenships. Unlike their Dutch counterparts, those in Britain do seem to address problems, needs and wishes arising from dual nationality. For instance, on 28 June 2001 the Labor MP Chi Onwurah asked the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs what support and assistance the Department provides for UK nationals with dual citizenship when these people are in the country of their other citizenship.³⁷ In this regard, a less communitarian understanding of citizenship appears to be the case in the relevant discourse of British MPs of minority origin when compared to those in the Netherlands. The Labor MP of Indian origin, Keith Vaz, for instance questioned the exclusionary practices against people who are married to British citizens of minority origin in his question on 26 April 2011.³⁸

Most possibly due to different historical trajectories, condemnation of slavery only appears in the British data. Labor MPs Dawn Butler and Anas Sarwar, for instance posted questions on the commemorations of the abolition of the slave trade and slavery memorial day.³⁹ Still, the representative patterns of both countries converge when it comes to fighting against discrimination. A tough stance against discrimination is especially the case when such discrimination concerns integration to the labour market. 17% of the questions (46 out of 261) focused on discrimination, stigmatization, and/or violence against ethnic and/or religious minorities. 89% of

³⁷Onwurah, Chi. Question Number: 62504, 28 June 2011.

³⁸Vaz, Keith. Question Number: 51857, 26 April 2011.

³⁹Butler, Dawn. Question Number: 117867, 20 March 2007; Butler, Dawn. Question Number: 129790, 23 March 2007; Butler, Dawn. Question Number: 144545, 20 June 2007; Butler, Dawn. Question Number: 145286, 25 June 2007, Sarwar, Anas. 122627, 17 October 2012.

these (41 out of 46) were coded within the ‘supportive representation’ frame for the case of the Netherlands. The ratio of questions on the same topics is 15% for the British case (14 out of 95). All of these questions are coded within the supportive frame. Many of these supportive questions included calls for action from relevant agencies or social institutions. Relevant data emphasizes the labour participation of minority woman in both countries.⁴⁰ For instance, on 9 November 2007 a labour MP of Moroccan origin criticized the Public Prosecutor for discriminating on ethnic and cultural grounds by addressing young people of Moroccan origin twice as often as those coming from the native part of the population.⁴¹ Another minority MP, from the social-liberal party D66, addressed institutional discrimination against police agents of minority origin in her question submitted on 24 August 2006.⁴² An MP of Turkish origin from D66 addresses discriminatory practices in the application process⁴³. Another MP of Turkish origin from the Socialist Party, targets a supermarket chain (Albert Heijn) for having an exclusionary attitude towards employees of Moroccan origin.⁴⁴ A Green MP of Moroccan origin bases her arguments on a report asserting the existence of an exclusionary attitude in the job market as follows: ‘...38% of companies do not employ the New Dutch and most of the employers do not want to employ minorities of Turkish and Moroccan origin because they consider the (minority) culture too strange and see these employees as less motivated...’⁴⁵

Increasing the number of police officers from ethnic and/or religious groups appears to be a widely addressed issue within the supportive messages in both

⁴⁰ Increasing the labor participation of minority women. Abbott, Diane. Question Number: 140849, 18 June 2007; Köşe Kaya, Fatma. Question Number: 2009Z22172, 20 November 2009.

⁴¹ Bouchibti, Samira, Question Number: 2070804510, 9 November 2007.

⁴² Koser Kaya, Fatma., Question Number: 2050617970, 24 Augustus 2006; Azough, Naima., Question Number: 2040506800, 24 January 2005; Koser Kaya, Fatma., Question Number: 2060702800, 9 November 2006; Karabulut, Saadet., Question Number: 2009Z14098, 17 July 2009.

⁴³ Koser Kaya, Fatma., Question Number: 2060702800, 9 November 2006.

⁴⁴ Karabulut, Saadet., Question Number: 2009Z14098, 17 July 2009.

⁴⁵ Azough, Naima., Question Number: 2040506800, 24 January 2005.

countries.⁴⁶ Still, the British data differs from the Dutch data in terms of also being enthusiastic about making space for minorities in the justice system. Diversification within the higher ranks of the justice and punishment system is widely addressed within the relevant discourse of British representatives of minority origin.⁴⁷ The British records also differ from those analyzed for the Dutch case in terms of highlighting equal opportunities for different ethnic and/or religious groups when they encounter problems in seeking employment, Dutch MPs of minority origin, on the other hand, appear to problematize the issue at an individual level whilst maintaining a deliberate silence on group identities.⁴⁸

20% of the analysed data (52 out of 261 questions) focused on integration and targeted issues such as educational disadvantages, low socio-economic status, difficulties in accessing healthcare and neighbourhood segregation for the case of the Netherlands and 38% for the case of the UK. British numbers. In both countries, minority representatives adopt an ambassadorial role when it comes to obstacles on the route towards a more integrated society. 73% (38 of these 52 questions) were coded as supportive representation whereas only 12% (6) were deemed to be suppressive representation in the case of the Netherlands. With regard to the variance in the British data, 33 out of 34 questions on integration were coded as supportive representation and only 1 as neutral.

Particular attention was paid to the integration of minority children to the education system as full and active participants, or the diversification of student populations in schools in both countries. Minority representatives drew attention to

⁴⁶Abbot, Diane. Question Number: 127600; 19 November 2012; Abbot, Diane. Question Number: 110927, 8 November 2012, Köşe Kaya, Fatma. Question Number: 2050617970, 24 Augustus 2006.

⁴⁷Abbott, Diane. Question Number: 140848, 5 June 2007; Vaz, Keith. Question Number: 184997, 18 February 2008.

⁴⁸Abbott, Diana. Question Number: 140849, 18 June 2007.

increasing the school participation of minority children, improving their grades at school, making university education more popular amongst minority youth and increasing their language capabilities. Minority representatives in both countries have a converging pattern of behaviour when it comes to the necessity of providing facilities for language acquisition, which they regard as an important step on the path to integration into the education and labour system of the country of migration.⁴⁹

Low levels of advice on schooling and ‘black schools’, which are schools with a high percentage of minority pupils, together with language issues, are all presented as important problems to be solved.⁵⁰ For instance, a British MP from the Labour party posts his question on the education levels of students from ethnic backgrounds with the following words: “...*what his (the Secretary of State for Business, Innovation and Skills) most recent estimate is of the proportion of school leavers from ethnic minority groups entering higher education...?*”⁵¹ A Dutch MP from the Dutch Labour, for instance, demands specification from the Ministry of Education about an ‘urgent call’ to make minority children study at higher schools on a question posed in March 2003. The MP also criticizes the government for lowering the chances of minority children by increasing university tuition costs.⁵² A Turkish MP from the labour party criticizes undervaluation of the capacities of minority children as follows: “...*Teachers often address failures in school performance of immigrant children by addressing low levels of commitment and say that you should do your best. The failures of native*

⁴⁹ Abbot, Diane. Question Number: Question Number: 110928, 23 January, 2007; Karabulut, Saadet. Question Number: 2010Z01975, 2 February 2010.

⁵⁰ Ten, Tjon A., QuestionNumber: 2020309250, 23 March 2003; Celik, Metin., Question Number: 2012Z10458, 24 May 2012; Azough, Naima., Question Number: 2030420210, 27 Augustus 2004.

⁵¹ Umunna, C. Question Number: 17773, 14 October 2002.

⁵² Ten, Tjon A., QuestionNumber: 2020309250, 23 March 2003.

*children, however, are attributed to psychological factors, such as concentration problems or anxiety... ”*⁵³

In another question posed in August 2004, a Green Left MP demands an explanation for the lower levels of exam results of pupils of Turkish origin compared to other pupils.⁵⁴ Such an integrationist tone, unsurprisingly, is not very supportive of faith schools isolating Muslim children from the rest of the society within the integrating Netherlands. Framings in the discourse of British representatives of minority origin, on the other hand, put greater significance in diversifying the composition of those faith schools rather than putting restrictive formulations forward. For instance, on his related question on 29 April 2009 the Labor MP of Indian origin, Ashok Kumar, asks the relevant authorities on the progress made towards achieving the target that at least 25 per cent of pupils in faith schools should not be affiliated to the same faith as the school.⁵⁵

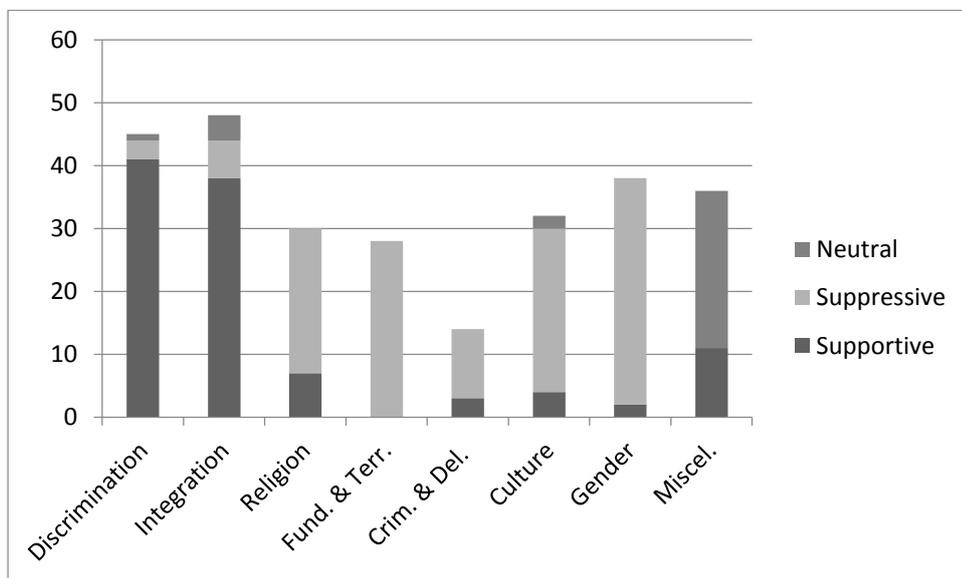


Figure 6: Distribution of issues and their framing in the Netherlands

⁵³ Celik, Metin., Question Number: 2012Z10458, 24 May 2012.

⁵⁴ Azough, Naima., Question Number: 2030420210, 27 Augustus 2004.

⁵⁵ Kumar, Ashok. Question Number: 271354, 29 April 2009.

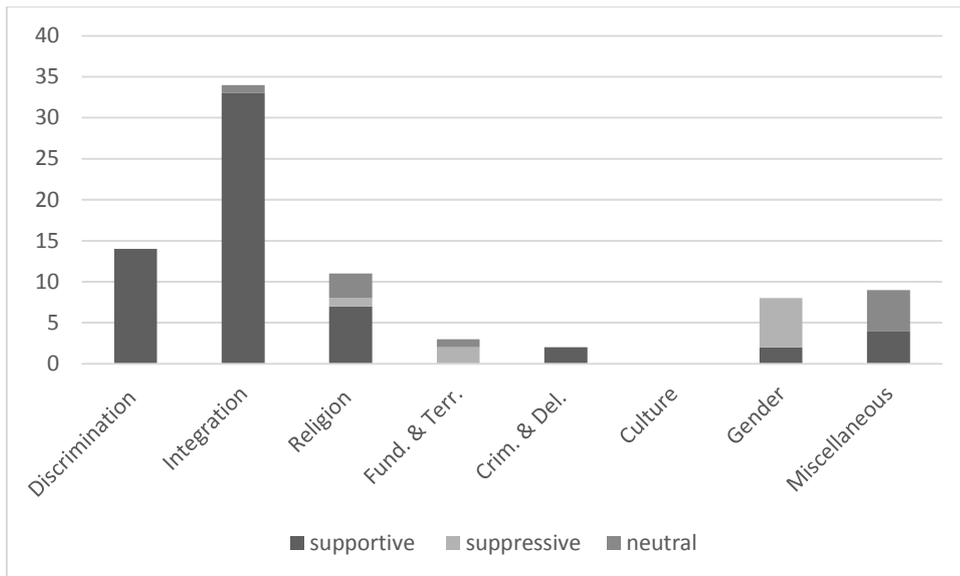


Figure 7: Distribution of issues and their framing in the UK

Minority representatives, however, tend to remain silent or become restrictive regarding group based rights, which usually require institutionalized arrangements not only in the Netherlands but also in the UK. At this point, the Muslim background of minority representatives hardly adds to the representation of Muslim minorities in the country. Due to difficulties in operationalizing religious identity, this paper intentionally abstains from quantitative analysis on the impact of the representative's religious background when framing questions related to religious rights and freedoms. Indeed, religious identity may remain hidden even among MPs who are supportive of minority constituencies. Minority representatives are active in fighting discriminatory practices against ethnic and/or religious groups. Those representatives, however, become silent when it comes to the promotion of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. Unlike their British counterparts, the Dutch MPs of minority origin also adopt suppressive framings when it comes to institutional arrangements such as building mosques and maintaining religious associations. 11% (31 out of 261) of questions analysed referred to religious rights and freedoms. Of those, some 23

questions addressing minority religion made confrontational aspects salient and proposed restrictive policies, namely they adopted the suppressive representation frame. Only 7 questions discuss those rights and freedoms within a supportive frame. The questions on religious rights put together 12% (11 out of 95) of the total number of questions in the case of the UK. 7 of them are coded as supportive and only one as suppressive.

Analysed texts in this regard target Dutch officials as well as minority organizations, such as faith schools and mosques, for opening the way to ‘parallel societies’ in the country. Sharia marriages appear to be under close scrutiny at this point with the accusation of forming parallel laws. For instance, a female MP of Moroccan origin, criticizes Dutch officials for turning a blind eye to marriages solemnized in mosques according to Sharia principles with the following words: *“Will you put Dutch law into practice at this point? If not, why do you think it is socially irrelevant to refer to the current law? Do you agree that these informal Islamic marriages will lead to the acceptance of polygamy and toleration of the inequality between men and women within Muslim communities if there are no criminal investigations held on these marriages?”*⁵⁶

A significant number of texts analysed for the Netherlands, portrayed minority religion as causing problems in the Netherlands and recommended restrictive policies, which was not the case in the British data. Dutch representatives coming from Muslim backgrounds show a general tendency to associate Muslim minorities, or the Muslim belief per se, with fundamentalism, radicalism, extremism and violence. Minority representatives are concerned with issues such as inviting fundamentalist figures from Islamic countries, building mosques, implementing sharia marriages and establishing

⁵⁶Arib, K. and J. Dijsselbloem, Question Number: 2070811190, 11 February 2008.

faith schools. Those addressing religion portrayed Islam as a dangerous faith, or highlighted those sects that are more inclined to use violence, and described existing Muslim minorities as carriers of such violence to the Netherlands.⁵⁷ The liberal MP Hirsi Ali's call for extra protection of artisans and intellectuals from 'extremist Muslims' on 1 May 2006⁵⁸ is a typical example of many other questions asking for protection from radical Islamists. This critical stance sharpens when there is an institutional connection with the countries of origin, or other Islamic states. For instance, a Turkish MP from the Socialist Party (SP) appears to be quite critical of Muslim associations in the country, such as the *Gülen Movement*, the *Süleymanî Movement*, *Millî Görüş* and the Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs. The relevant MP accuses Dutch institutions of working together with such institutions and thus contributing to the creation of rifts within Dutch society. In her question on 15 April 2010, she blames the Ministries of Integration and Education for concealing religious orthodoxy in the Dutch education system with the following words: "*Why is there not any reference to the close link of the Cosmic Montessori Lyceum with the sectarian movement of Fettullah Gulen? Do you agree that the school needs to inform parents and students about such a link? ... If so, how will you ensure that this information will be provided to the parents? If not, why must orthodoxy remain hidden...?*"⁵⁹ Not only was the salience on fundamentalism and terrorism related questions at a seemingly lower level, but also the content of such questions would seem to be more positive in the British data. There were only three questions (out of 95) on fundamentalism and terrorism, of which 2 are coded as suppressive representation and 1 as neutral. In the

⁵⁷ Griffith, Laetitia. Question Number: 2060705880, 19 January 2007; Ali, Hirsi. Question Number: 2050612530, 1 May 2006; Karabulut, Saadet., Question Number: 2010Z06778, 15 April 2010.

⁵⁸ Ali, Hirsi. Question Number: 2050612530, 1 May 2006.

⁵⁹ Karabulut, Saadet., Question Number: 2010Z06778, 15 April 2010.

case of Britain, the emphasis was on addressing radicalization and proposing measures that should be taken to prevent security problems and promote safety.⁶⁰

11% (28 out of 261) of the questions analysed for the Netherlands addressed religious fundamentalism and terrorism. All of these were coded within the suppressive representation frame. Yet, safety and security problems are not restricted to threats emanating from religious extremism. 5% of the data analysed (12 questions out of 261) referred to criminality and delinquency among immigrant minorities. 11 out of those questions problematized the minority identity, whereas 3⁶¹ also had a positive connotation. With regard to British questions on criminality and delinquency among minorities in the UK, only 2 made reference to the issue. Both of these questions were coded as supportive representation due to their emphasis on improving living conditions in minority neighborhoods.

Those messages favouring cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms in the Dutch dataset were usually formulated on an individual basis with a deliberate silence on group based privileges or the traditional structure of Dutch pillarization. In those supportive interpretations, various recommendations were proposed for strengthening rights and freedoms such as wearing headscarves at the office, making healthcare more intercultural and fighting against discrimination as a route towards a more diverse society. The British data, on the other hand, was more open to group based organizations on ethnic as well as religious grounds.⁶² For instance, the appearance of questions on the medical service given to Muslim citizens of Britain during their Hajj

⁶⁰Abbott, Diane. Question Number: 165837, 22 November 2007.

⁶¹Only absolute scores are given in those cases with small numbers. Texts are coded more than once when there was a reference to more than one category.

⁶² Kumar, Ashok. Question Number: 124538, 21 March 2007; Kumar, Ashok. Question Number: 122249, 30 April 2007; Kumar, Ashok: 124538, 21 March 2007; Lammy, David. Question Number: 77956, 8 November 2011; Lammy, David. Question Number: 82420, 5 December 2011.

pilgrimage in Saudi Arabia, indicates a more liberal attitude towards minority loyalties and their right to public services.⁶³

Dutch MPs present a communitarian approach, stressing the attachment to the country of origin whilst also being restrictive against ties with the country of origin, such as institutional structures founded by the country of origin, dual nationality and cultural and/or religious practices. In such contexts, ethnicity is usually addressed with ‘suppressive connotation’. The country of origin is almost always described as a threat to the well-being of those of minority origin in the Netherlands. However, ethnic identity is seldom addressed other than in those cases in which it is closely associated with religion. In line with a religiously coloured notion of ethnicity, Morocco and Turkey are described as causing problems and/or disadvantages. These countries are portrayed at the forefront of paternalistic cultures and ‘oppressive religious practices’ such as child kidnapping, forced marriages and issues hindering female emancipation and women’s rights. A holistic understanding of cultures, together with a clear preference for the Dutch culture featured prominently in the data analysed. Cultural and religious rights and freedoms are only welcomed when they have a symbolic meaning, which does not contradict the general norms and value system of the country of settlement, and which could be expected to strengthen incorporation to the mainstream society. As for the British case, suppressive representation on the lines of ethnicity is almost absent other than within a few questions posted by the Labour MPs Keith Vaz and Ashok Kumar.⁶⁴

⁶³ Vaz, Keith. Question Number: 112115, 30 January 2007; Sarwar, Anas. Question Number: 19875, 1 November 2010.

⁶⁴ Kumar, Ashok. Question Number: 182535, 30 January 2008; Kumar, Ashok. Question Number: 182534, 30 January 2008; Kumar, Ashok. Question Number: 198005, 21 April 2008. Vaz, Keith. Question Number: 241225, 16 December 2008; Vaz, Keith. Question Number: 241225, 17 December 2008.

Gender suppressive practices come to the fore in questions posed in both countries.⁶⁵ However, in Britain the emphasis is more on raising awareness about access to assistance for suspected victims in this regard rather than culturally based evaluations, whilst Dutch MPs of minority origin also voiced ethno-culturalist accusations. In fact, in issues concerning women's rights, MPs of minority origin hardly appear as ambassadors representing ethnic and/or religious minorities especially in the case of the Netherlands. Instead, minority representatives portray oppressive practices against females (and in a few cases homosexuals) as salient, and call for restrictive policies to save women from threats emanating from minority culture and religion. Minority traditions and values are described as harmful to the emancipation of minority women, and stronger integration to Dutch values and norms is proposed as the remedy. In almost all cases, MPs refer to Islamic figures as extremists and perceive them as representatives of Islam as a whole. 15% (39 out of the 261) of the questions analysed addressed gender issues such as forced marriage, female circumcision, genital mutilation, incest, domestic violence, honour killings and intolerance of homosexuality. 36 of the 39 questions referring to women's rights were coded within the frame of suppressive representation, whereas only 2 of those questions frame minority culture and/or religion within the frame of supportive representation. In this context, the findings of the content analysis verified earlier studies (Bird, 2005; Roggeband and Verloo, 2007) with regard to the gendered nature of debates on immigrant minorities within host societies. Patriarchal behaviour and instances of oppression are salient in the data concerning minority women. Minority identity and culture are defined as problematic, and damaging to basic values and

⁶⁵ Kumar, Ashok. Question Number: 182535, 30 January 2008; Kumar, Ashok. Question Number: 182534, 30 January 2008; Kumar, Ashok. Question Number: 198005, 21 April 2008. Vaz, Keith. Question Number: 241225, 16 December 2008; Vaz, Keith. Question Number: 241225, 17 December 2008.

freedoms such as equality between men and women. Minority cultures and religions are portrayed as being the source of oppression and discrimination based on gender. As stated above, gender related issues are framed extensively within a suppressive context throughout the eleven-year period for the case of the Netherlands.

3.6. A gendered portrayal of ethnicity and religion in the Dutch case

Female representatives appear to be more active than their male counterparts in the case of the Netherlands. Female MPs of minority origin posted 74% of the total number of questions (192 out of 261) analysed for the case of the Netherlands, whereas their male colleagues asked a mere 26% (69 questions). The situation is the reverse in the case of the UK where 78% (74 out of 95) of the questions were asked by male representatives of minority origin with female representatives accounting for only 22% (21 out of 95 questions).

The variation of framings across different genders also differs between the cases analysed. For the Dutch case, males were more supportive of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms than females. In the Dutch data, 50% of the questions (35 out of 69) posted by male MPs of minority origin were coded as supportive whereas this percentage was 34% (66 out of 191) for female MPs of minority origin. Similarly, the percentage of questions coded as suppressive was 28% (19 questions) for males and 45% (87 questions) for females. An ethnocentric selection of gender suppressive practices in minority societies on the agendas of female MPs of minority origin can possibly be considered as an explanation for this phenomenon in the increasingly integrationist Netherlands. The stereotypic discourse on Muslims would

appear to shape the corresponding discourse on Muslim women. Parliamentary questions in general often refer to the speeches of extremist representatives of religious groups in their home countries regarding gender relations, and draw attention to their negative impact on the integration and emancipation of minority groups in the Netherlands. MPs studied for this research have a tendency to show a complete adoption of ‘the Dutch culture’ as the only solution to ‘the emancipation problem’. There were numerous questions calling for Dutch officials to take action against ‘foreign intervention’. Such emphasis on gender related issues leads to significant differences between the content of questions posed by male and female MPs of minority origin. Female representatives of minority origin in the UK, appear to positively shape the relevant discourse with their general focus on healthcare issues concerning pregnancy and maternal care.

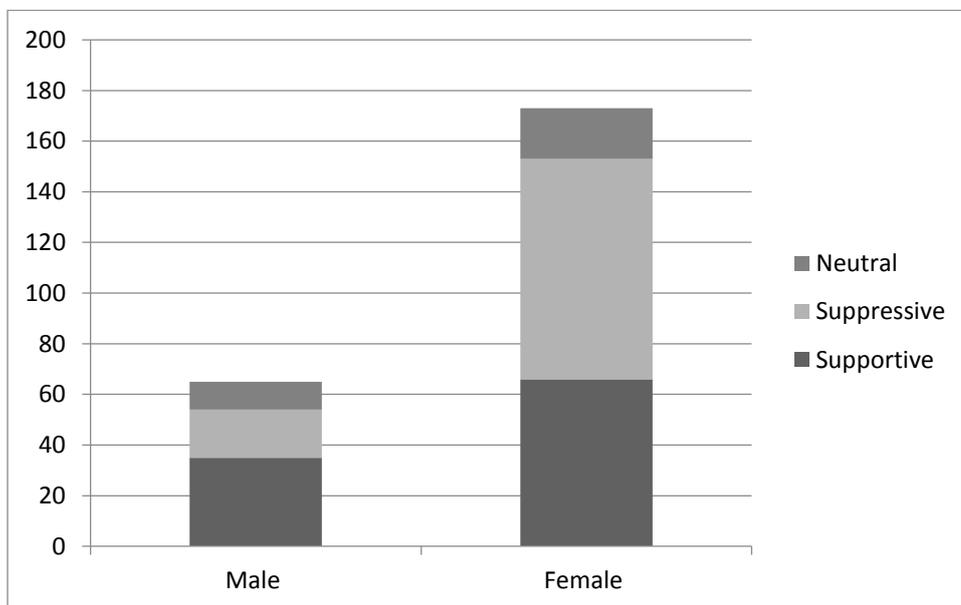


Figure 8: Questions posted by males and females and their framing in the Netherlands

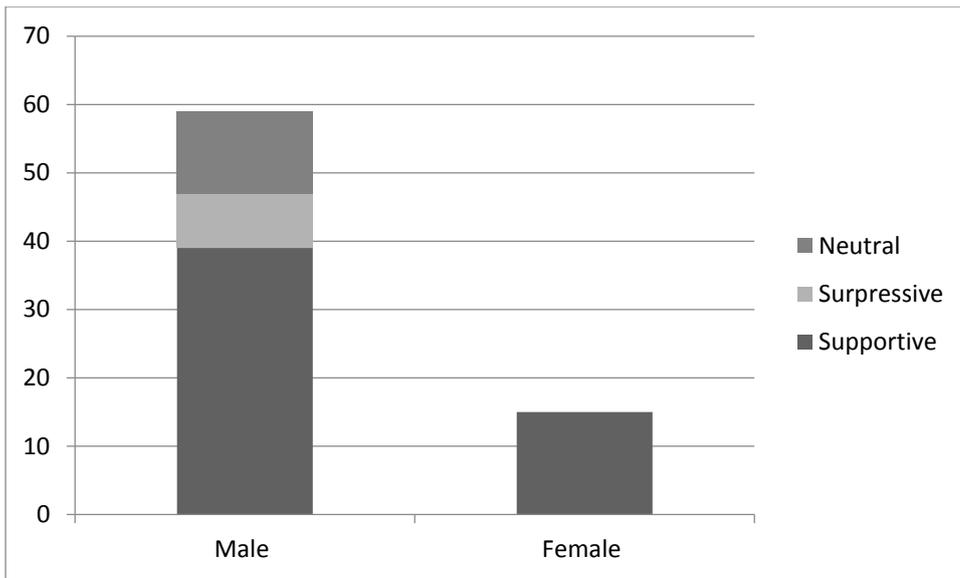


Figure 9: Questions posted by males and females and their framing in the UK

3.7. The party dimension

In line with being the party with the largest number of minority representatives, the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA) posted the largest number of questions on immigrant minorities with 36% (93 questions out of 261). The Greens and Socialists emerged as the second and third most interested parties on minority constituencies by posting 23% (61 questions) and 21% (54 questions) of the total number of questions, respectively. Surprisingly, the Dutch Labour party was not more supportive than conservative parties within the Dutch political spectrum (see below). 39 (42%) of all questions from Labour MPs were coded as supportive and 38 (41 %) as suppressive. Furthermore, the higher salience of minority related issues within the socialist party did not lead to stronger support for cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. Despite the fact that they are situated on the left side of the political spectrum, the Dutch Socialist and Labour Parties score quite similarly to the Christian Democrats on

the ratios between supportive and suppressive representations. Only 15 (28%) of the 54 questions posted by the Socialist party members were coded as supportive whereas 30 (56%) called for a restriction of rights and freedoms that put them firmly in the suppressive camp.

The Christian Democrats only posted 5% (12 out of 261 questions) of the total number of questions. Of these 5 were coded as suppressive and 7 as supportive. The social-liberal D66 Party appeared to frame minority related issues most supportively, with 12 of the 15 questions from this party supporting cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. Only 1 question from D66 was coded within the suppressive representation frame. The Greens can also be grouped under supportive parties. 28 of the 61 questions by its parliamentarians were supportive whereas only 8 of them were coded within the suppressive representation frame. Green parliamentarians were the only ones addressing cultural and religious freedoms within the supportive scope. No MPs other than those from the GreenLeft formulated the stigmatization of Muslims as a problem at the height of the anti-terrorism debates. Again, citizenship rights relating to family (re)unification and cultural and religious freedoms, with special focus on practicing cultural and religious rituals, appear in a few exceptional questions posed by figures from GreenLeft. Azough, for instance, is the only MP defending the right to wear the headscarf in her question posed in 2003.⁶⁶ Another important note at this point is that representatives from the Greens abstain from addressing minority culture or religion as the source of gender related problems. Azough endeavoured to support gay rights within minority societies in her question on 7 June 2004. The MP criticized budget cuts on organizations supporting gay rights and asked for the promotion of debates bridging minority religion with the gay rights movement. Her exceptional

⁶⁶ Azough, Naima., Question Number: 2020305610, 14 January 2003.

understanding would seem to be of particular importance in a discourse which proposes the restraint of minority cultures and religions as the only remedy to gender issues and gay rights.⁶⁷

The single MP of minority origin from the anti-immigrant party LPF (List of Pim Fortuyn) was largely absent in our data. She posted only one question, which was coded as suppressive. Data analysis points to the liberal VVD as the most suppressive party on cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. 23 of the 25 questions coming from the VVD were coded as suppressive. There was not a single supportive question. This is even the case in issues concerning incorporation to the labour market. For instance, a liberal MP of Surinamese origin, Griffith, deviated from the general pattern of stimulating a more diversified labour market. She described the presence of police employees of minority origin as a problem, by referring to statistics on family members with criminal backgrounds in her question on 30 January 2009.

Political party affiliation plays a significant role in both countries; however, this role is very different in Britain and the Netherlands. The Dutch political parties differ in their content according to ideological differences, mainly in line with the liberal versus traditional distinction. In Britain such differences are more related to salience. MPs from the Conservative Party do not appear as suppressive voices, but their almost total absence from the relevant data would seem to indicate a lack of interest in reflecting minority voices in the legislative process. Conservative MPs address minority related issues on a mere three occasions during the eleven year time period analysed for this study. One of those questions is coded as 'other', with the other two questions being coded as neutral and supportive. An overwhelming number

⁶⁷Azough, Naima., Question Number: 2030415440, 7 June 2004; Griffith, Laetitia. .Question Number: 2080911390 30 January 2009.

of questions coming from Labour MPs of minority origin are supportive with 53 out of the 92 being coded as supportive representation. Only 5 of the questions coming from Labour members are coded as suppressive representation.

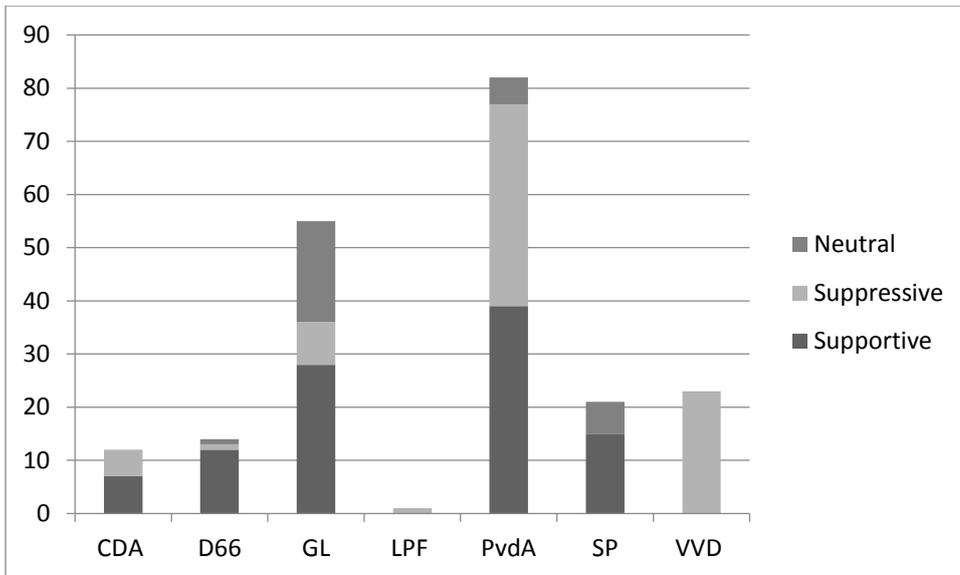


Figure 10: Questions posted by minority representatives from different parties and their framing in the Netherlands

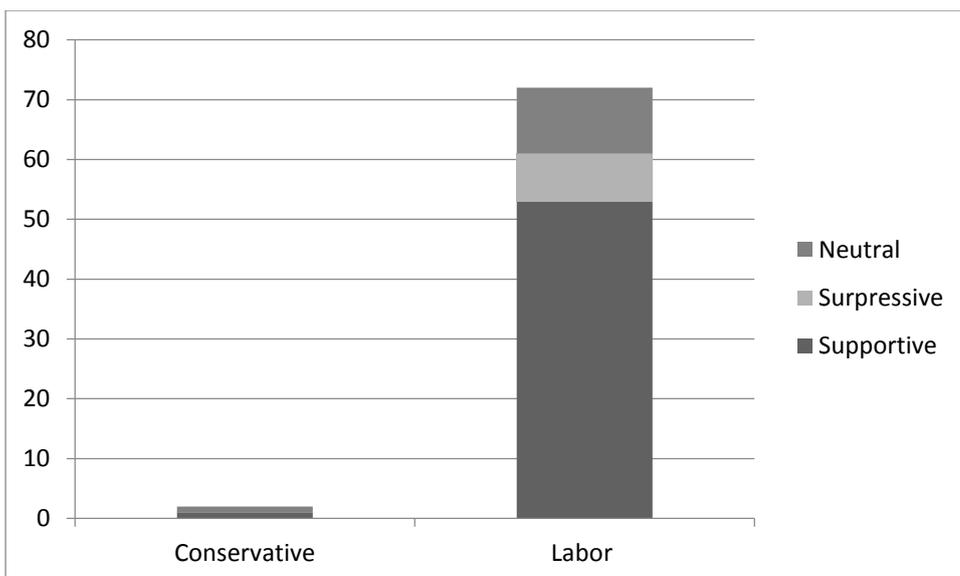


Figure 11: Questions posted by minority representatives from different parties and their framing in the UK

3.8. Ethnicity and religion

In the Netherlands, as previously stated, those of Moroccan and Turkish backgrounds have the largest numbers of seats in the period analysed with 13 and 12 MPs respectively. 6 MPs of Surinamese origin, together with 4 MPs from other ethnic groups, served in the Dutch national parliament between 2002 and 2012. Representative patterns show difference across ethnic groups. However, the data analysis hints at a complex set of identity related variables, closely linked with ethnic background rather than signifying ethnicity as a key variable on its own. Despite the intense debates on Muslims in the last decade, Muslim communities are better represented than non-Muslim minorities. There is a greater number of MPs from Muslim groups with no history of colonial experience with the Netherlands, than ethnic minorities from other religious backgrounds having a colonial past. Such a difference can also be seen in the number of questions posted by representatives from each ethnic background within the Dutch parliament.

Representatives with Muslim backgrounds also have a less restrictive approach when the relatively low percentage of suppressive framings in their parliamentary work is taken into account. MPs of Surinamese origin scored highest in this category, with 53% of all their questions coded as suppressive. MPs of Turkish origin came second with 41%, whilst MPs of Moroccan origin appeared to be the least suppressive ethnic group with 35% restrictive questions. Nevertheless, differences in the salience of minority related issues on the agendas of MPs of Turkish and

Moroccan origins challenge such simplistic explanations of their behaviour. Although Moroccan and Turkish immigrants had similar numbers of parliamentarians in the time period under consideration, MPs of Moroccan origin posted the largest proportion of the questions analysed with 61% (158 out of 261 questions). In comparison, MPs with a Turkish background produced 28% (74 out of 261 questions) of the data analysed. Those of Surinamese origin posted only 6% (15) of the total number of questions. 5% (14) of the questions on immigrant minorities were from MPs coming from other ethnic backgrounds. The relative correspondence of the supportive framing distribution among those of Moroccan, Turkish and Surinamese origin requires more in-depth investigation of the background, attitudes and motives of the respective MPs, which lies outside the limits of this study. 41% of all questions coming from MPs of Moroccan and Turkish origin were supporting cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. The percentage of supportive questions from MPs of Surinamese origin was 40%.

As stated above, in the British case the ethnic composition of the minority representatives is rather diverse. In line with their higher proportion in the ethnic composition of the population of the UK,⁶⁸ members of Indian and Pakistani ethnic background had the largest presence with 11 MPs each. There were 4 MPs of Ghanaian origin, 2 MPs of Jamaican origin, 2 MPs of Nigerian origin and 2 MPs of Ugandan origin. The Bangladeshi, Guyanese, Iraqi, Kenyan, Somalia and Turkish backgrounds were represented by 1 MP for each of these countries of origin.

⁶⁸According to the official statistics, Indians are the largest ethnic minority group in the UK with 1, 4 million people (2, 5% of the total population). Pakistanis come as the second largest ethnic minority group with 1, 12 million people (2 % of the total population). Information accessed at: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_290558.pdf, on 27.04.2015

In parallel with the larger presence of people of Indian ethnic background in the British society, MPs of Indian origin appear to have asked the largest number of questions in the dataset analysed with 56 questions. However, the low number of questions coming from representatives of Pakistani origin challenges an automatic link between larger ratios in the composition of society and being represented with a larger number of questions in parliament. That the only suppressive messages come from MPs of Indian and Pakistani origin echoes the above-mentioned overlap between ethnic background and religious identity. Still, the Islamic backgrounds of Guinean minorities, together with the large population of Muslims in the Nigerian group, argue against simplistic assumptions on this issue.

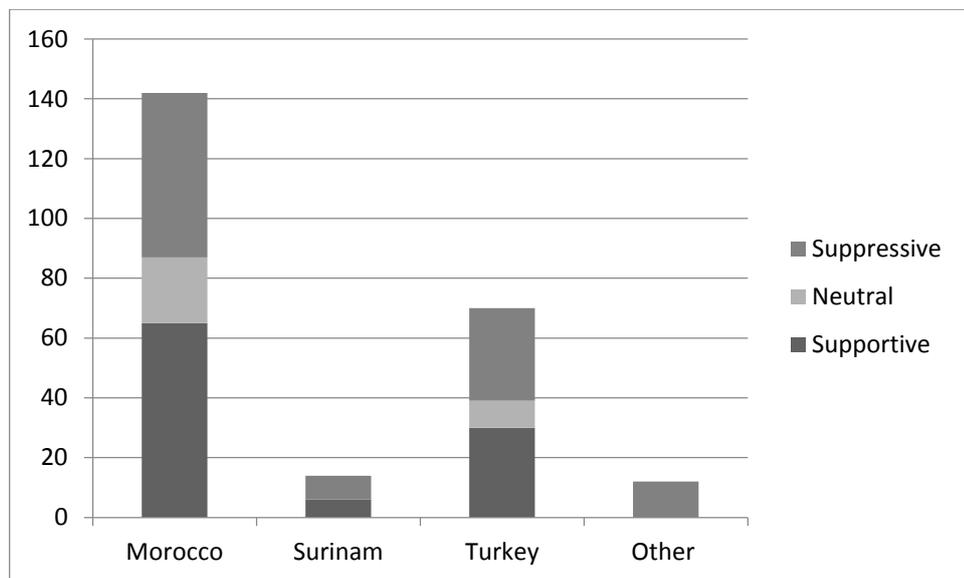


Figure 12: Questions posted by minority representatives of different ethnic origin and their framing in the Netherlands

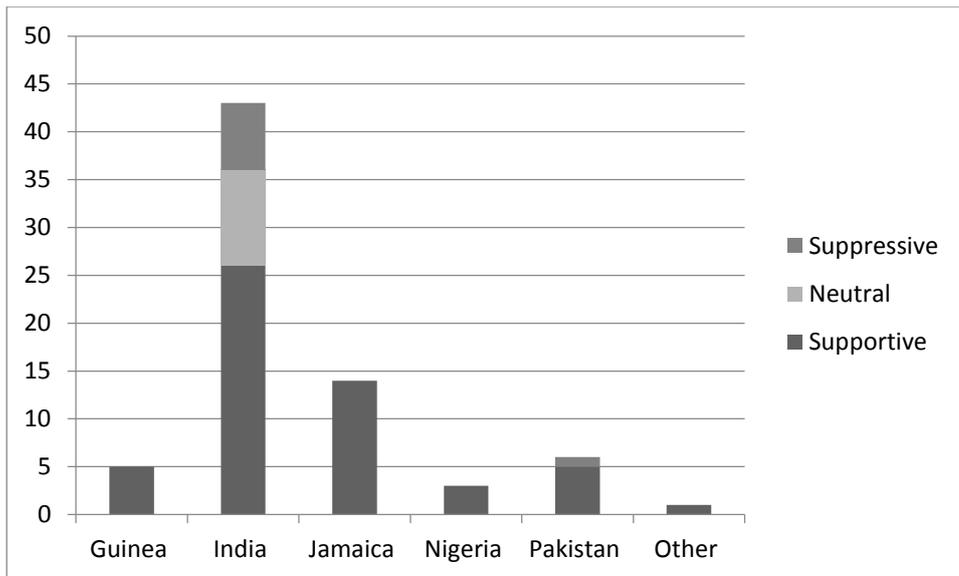


Figure 13: Questions posted by minority representatives of different ethnic origin and their framing in the UK

3.9. Conclusion

This chapter investigated patterns within the questions asked by minority representatives in the political representation of minorities in the Netherlands and the UK. Taking the difference across countries, the data analysis verifies the literature on the demise of Dutch multiculturalism, which leads to an end to the promotion of differences and group based rights. This part of the dissertation implies a transition towards a more integrative understanding of immigrant incorporation for the case of the Netherlands, at least within the scope of the relevant data. There is a greater emphasis on individual equality and inclusion, rather than the promotion of difference and/or group rights, within the parliamentary discourse of Dutch MPs of minority origin; whereas their British counterparts are less reluctant in advocating identity based rights and freedoms.

Other than that, findings discussed in this chapter show that minority representatives are rarely interested in cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. A very small number of questions directly make references to constituencies with whom they share similar backgrounds. The data analysis also reveals a sophisticated understanding of the content of messages on ethnic and/or religious constituencies. Minority representatives do not always automatically support the cultural and religious rights and freedoms of constituencies with whom they share identical similarities. Contrary to the common belief, MPs of minority origin often adopt restrictive framings, especially in the Netherlands, which is on the way towards adopting a more integrative understanding of citizenship (Entzinger, 2006). This chapter endeavoured to contribute to the existing literature by claiming the existence of varied perspectives on cultural and/or ethnic issues in this regard. To map these differences, I introduced a representation model, which distinguishes between supportive and suppressive framings.

Data analysis revealed the transition towards a more integrative form of citizenship regime, with both group and individual related identities as important factors behind variances in framing cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms in the parliament. The shift from a multicultural to a monolithic understanding of citizenship, leads to a reluctance to formulate moral evaluations sympathetic towards group based rights and/or treatment recommendations consolidating minority identities. Minority representatives in the Netherlands generally refer to ethnic and/or religious rights and freedoms in a supportive representation frame, when those rights and freedoms are exercised at an individual level, and when they can be incorporated within the general idea of a more integrated country. Minority representatives in both countries are usually sympathetic to minorities when the subject area is related to

enriching the country of settlement as a whole: through improving the socio-economic situation of ethnic and religious groups, fighting against discrimination and increasing the frequency of intercultural contacts (Koopmans, 2006). Nonetheless, the stance becomes quite restrictive when it comes to issues concerning institutions and the group-based exercise of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms in the Netherlands. British MPs of minority origin, on the other hand, appear to be less reluctant to give direct references to ethnic and/or religious identities in their supportive messages.

Suppressive representations are encumbered with a heavily gendered debate of culture and religion in the Dutch dataset. Questions addressing minority women usually lay emphasis on patriarchal practices and propose the restriction of minority traditions as treatment recommendations in their interpretations of immigrant minority groups. The ethnic origins of immigrant minorities are usually addressed to denote religious identity rather than leading to a discussion in itself. In this context, coming from a Turkish or Moroccan background is used interchangeably with being Muslim. Ethnic origin per se does not appear to be a salient subject area. Party membership appears to have a significant impact in shaping the relevant discourse. Representatives from liberal and leftist parties, usually favouring immigrant minorities, are supportive towards cultural and religious rights. Minority representatives from the Dutch Labour Party or the Dutch Socialist Party do not divert from the mainstream rightist parties in framing minority related issues. Such influence operates in a different way in the case of the UK. The minority representatives from the British Conservative Party hardly address minority related issues at all, and their absence in shaping the relevant discourse can be interpreted as party pressure. Almost all the British dataset is composed of questions from the Labour Party with 97, 5%. Although generally

adopting supportive framings, Labour MPs of minority origin not unusually use suppressive framings when addressing minority constituencies.

The research is not without its shortcomings. First of all, the focus is limited to questions asked by MPs in the respective parliaments. This is only one of the many activities in which parliamentary MPs are engaged, and one that is argued to be mainly symbolic in nature and most often without any policy consequences (Walgrave and Van Aelst, 2006). Further research is needed to show whether results hold up across a broader range of political activities carried out by MPs of minority origin. Different trajectories followed in the data collection process in the two countries analysed, due to the lack of keyword search facilities in the UK parliament, and stylistic differences in writing parliamentary questions, impede a perfect comparison across the Netherlands and the UK. Other than that, the qualitative design of this part of the research leads to difficulties in making generalizations and comparisons. However, this chapter is a preliminary endeavour aimed at raising the levels of understanding of political representation of ethnic and religious minorities in the countries analysed. The findings presented in this chapter will be quantitatively tested in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

QUANTITATIVE EXAMINATION OF POLITICAL AND DISCURSIVE OPPORTUNITIES

The last part of the analysis investigates under which conditions minority representatives are sympathetic to the rights and/or freedoms of ethnic and/or religious groups and under which conditions they adopt restrictive discourses. Departing from the representative model built into the qualitative analysis, this chapter questions these approaches, which take the favourable content of the work of MPs with migratory backgrounds for granted. Rather, I distinguish between messages that support and suppress ethnic and/or religious minorities.

This chapter consists of two main analyses. Firstly, the role of the retreat from multicultural policies in the Netherlands and the UK, together with the differing influence of party ideology and individual and group related variables, are examined. Findings reveal a complex set of relationships by indicating a more supportive frame in the UK on the one hand and a steady pattern in the Netherlands across time on the

other hand. The effects of gender, political party, and ethnic background differ across the two cases.

The analysis continues by shifting the focus on discursive opportunities. Recent literature on discursive opportunities appears to have a broad agreement on the role of media discourse in determining the success of minority mobilization. However, such a role in the more formal forms of political participation remains less than conclusive. Even less is said on how such influence differs across political systems. The latter part of this chapter examines to what extent, if any, media discourse on immigrant minorities has an impact on the parliamentary activities of minority representatives in the Netherlands and the UK. The study investigates whether the media salience and tone on minorities has an impact in shaping how often and in what ways minority legislatures address ethnic and/or religious constituencies. In other words, the possible impacts of the media visibility of minorities are examined as a dependent variable. In order to do so, two separate content analyses on the parliamentary and media documents were conducted between 2002 and 2012 in the British and Dutch cases. Multivariate analyses reveal that in the Netherlands a more negative tone in the media results in more suppressive framing in parliament.

4.1. Reluctance in representing minority constituencies and political opportunities

As stated in the earlier parts of this thesis, the presence of representatives with migratory backgrounds in the legislative realm is seen as a significant achievement in the political representation of immigrant minorities (Mansbridge, 1999; Bloemraad

2013). However, members of parliament (MPs) of minority origin are often criticized for failing to support policies which favour voters with similar ethnic and/or religious backgrounds. Representatives from politically disadvantaged groups are argued not only to remain silent on policies concerning constituencies sharing a similar background with them, but often even pursue conservative policies favouring the dominant, white, upper-class perspectives (Durose et. al., 2012).

The first part of this chapter focuses on the framing of minority related issues by minority representatives in parliament and tries to answer the following questions: Does the minority background of representatives guarantee a support for the rights and freedoms of ethnic and/or religious constituencies? Under which conditions do they adopt supportive framings? What are the underlying grounds for the restrictive framings? What differences exist between the Netherlands and the UK – the two cases considered here? Are we indeed witnessing a change across years with the transition towards a more ‘integrative’ understanding of citizenship in the Netherlands? Are there systematic differences between variances in framing that can be accounted for party membership and group and individual related variables such as gender and ethnic backgrounds of MPs within and across cases?

Following the methodological choices throughout this dissertation, a content analysis of the parliamentary questions posed by MPs of minority origin on minority related issues is conducted and the framing approach from communication literature is used to systematically analyse the content of the questions. A multivariate analysis on the outcome of the content analysis was directed to systematically investigate the variation in framing.

4.2. Studies on political representation of minorities

As discussed in previous chapters, research on political representation of immigrant minorities in Europe mainly focuses on descriptive representation, namely the presence of minority individuals within decision making bodies (Bloemraad, 2013; Martiniello, M., 2005; Michon and Vermeulen, 2013; Pero and Solomos, 2010; Saggat and Geddes, 2000; Schönwalder, 2013; Thrasher, M., Borisyuk, M., Rallings, C. and Shears, M., 2013; Togeby, 2008; Vertovec, S., 1999). Unlike the Northern American studies in the subject area (Banducci, Donovan and Karp, 2004; Minta, 2011; Owens, 2005; Preston, 1978), European studies pay little attention to how minority representatives act when they come to office. A lack of definitive answers to the questions of exactly who are the minorities and what are their interests, could be seen as one of the significant obstacles to the development of a more sophisticated approach. Indeed, definitional complexities in the context of ‘the outsiders’ complicate the already convoluted designation of political interests. Different citizenship regimes, the relatively new history of guest workers, and various ethnic and religious backgrounds can be listed as factors obstructing further progress in this context (Bloemraad, 2013). Hence, the interests of the immigrant minorities of Europe cannot be classified as unitary and straightforward as they might, for example, be in the case of the civil rights movement in the US. The embedded nature of minority related issues in numerous areas, ranging from healthcare to family-reunification, necessitates labour intensive studies on the content of the relevant debates.

Nonetheless, a blind focus on the presence of MPs from ethnic and/or religious groups might lead to ignoring the significance of carrying minority voices to the parliament (Pitkin, 1967). The recent scholarly attention to the content of the

parliamentary work of such representatives raises hopes for a more comprehensive approach to the issue. Following in the footsteps of Pitkin (1967), a group of European academics emphasize the issue of substantive representation and question the correspondence between issues, policies and legislation a representative pursues, and the interests, needs and wishes of those being represented. Relevant studies (Saalfeld, 2011; Saalfeld and Bischof, 2013; Saalfeld and Kyriakopoullou, 2011; Wüst, 2014) indicate a higher priority being given to minority related issues on the agendas of MPs of minority origin. In other words, the possession of a minority background appears as a factor leading to higher salience of minority related questions.

Saalfeld, Wüst, and Petrarca (2011) underline the role of party ideologies and citizenship regimes in their comparative study across Germany, France and the UK. Party membership also appears as a significant factor explaining the salience of minority related issues in Wüst's (2014) content analysis on German parliamentary data. Unsurprisingly, MPs from right wing parties are more reluctant to address minority related issues than their leftist counterparts. Bird (2005) contributes to the literature by constructing a comprehensive theoretical approach merging the citizenship regime and political party factors within a broader frame of opportunity structures. From Bird's point of view, political parties from the left and center right allocate space for immigrant minorities regardless of the citizenship regime. Gender and ethnic identity come forth as other factors in Bird's conceptualization of political opportunity structure. Minority women, who tend to be viewed as more successful models of integration than ethnic men (Bird, 2005: 440), have wider opportunities to become more visible in politics than their male counterparts, despite the fact that their 'substantial contributions' would not seem to be that different from those of the men.

Although ethnic background is not a salient issue in studies on substantive representation, literature on descriptive representation (see: Fennema and Tillie, 1999; Fennema and Tillie, 2001; Vermeulen, 2006; Michon and Vermeulen, 2013) indicates that ethnic group identity plays a significant role in the political representation of immigrant minorities. Ethnic background largely predetermines accession to the political system in the new country, through shaping political behavior on the one hand and socio-economic matters on the other.

4.3. Questions left aside

All these studies make substantial contributions to the field with their findings on substantive representation within the context of Europe. However, it would seem that these studies can be criticized for their somewhat simplistic operationalization of the core concept of substantive representation. The above-mentioned studies on substantive representation operationalize their dependent variables by references made to minority related issues. Such conceptualization, however, does not take into account the content of those references. There is little research on what minority representatives actually say when they refer to ethnic and religious groups.

When approached from a trustee perspective (Wahlke *et al.*, 1962), any reference to minorities could be considered as a substantial contribution to the well-being of ethnic and religious groups. Nevertheless, the inclination for supporting cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms is diminished by the overwhelming allegiance of the representatives to their party and their party strategy on ethnic and religious issues, especially in countries making less space for diversification. As Bird

(2005) claims in her study on substantive representation of minorities in European countries, visible minority representatives are largely disconnected from the ordinary classes of ethnic minorities they are supposed to represent. Their political legitimacy owes little to grass-roots support or community activism. They are exceptionally assimilated minorities, who are careful not to demonstrate any outward signs of religious affiliation (Bird, 2005: 440). Durose *et al.*'s research, introducing the notion of 'acceptable difference', would seem to be particularly apt at this juncture. According to their interview-based research, conformity to particular aspects of the archetypal candidate is no less important than being different in the context of the political careers of minority representatives (Durose *et al.*, 2012: 263).

Thus, there are no guarantees of support for cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms by MP's coming from ethnic and/or religious groups. Differences among minority groups and intra-party pressures hinder individual choices of MP's of minority origin, shaping and constraining their inclination and capacity to act for those who share the same background. This does not only result in such representatives keeping silent on minority related issues, but may also lead to stricter stances on minority issues by MPs of minority origin (Celis, 2007; Celis *et al.*, 2008).

A representative is likely to utilize his/her own judgment when formulating the interests of the represented. However, the principal's wishes must be potentially there and potentially relevant (Pitkin, 1967: 154-55) and the representative should not be constrained by other factors to act accordingly. Available studies merely shed light on those instances when 'minority legislatures' speak or remain silent on issues related to a constituency sharing a similar background. Studies in this field overlook those cases in which representatives from a minority background 'persistently act against' cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. Much less has been said about

the conditions making minority representatives adopt different strategies when addressing ethnic and/or religious constituencies. Existing studies would appear to be deficient when it comes to clarifying factors leading to variation in how minority representatives approach minority constituencies.

4.4. Minority interests and different patterns of minority representation

As stated above, the majority of existing studies adopts a content blind approach and do not analyze the content of the acts of minority representatives. This study follows the first chapter in questioning the favourable content of all messages posted by minority representatives for granted. Minority representatives are anticipated to address the rights and freedoms of minority constituencies using different frames. Minority representatives may not always act in favour of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. Quite to the contrary, representatives with migrant backgrounds themselves, may be suppressing the cultural and/or religious freedoms of groups sharing similar ethnic and/or religious backgrounds with those representatives (Aydemir and Vliegthart, 2015).

At this point, it is important to be reminded of what is meant by different patterns in minority representation in this research. First of all, the author abstains from any attempt to solve the convoluted issue of exactly what comprises ‘minority interests’. As with any/all other groups represented in politics, interests of ethnic and religious minorities can be formulated from a range of different perspectives (Celis

and Erzeel, 2012; Celis and Childs, 2012). In line with this, MPs coming from these groups might have different viewpoints on the subject area.

This research focuses on how minority representatives frame cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of minorities. Following the model created in the qualitative analysis part, all those cases in which minority representatives are supportive towards cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms are identified as supportive representation. Suppressive representation framing, on the other hand, stands for those cases in which MPs of minority origin adopt a restrictive stance on the subject area. A single question can contain elements of both categories, and none.

Political representation of minorities often goes hand in hand with the representation of certain intersecting elements of identity such as gender, occupation and age. Rights and freedoms of several of those cross cutting identities are different (Bird, 2005; Celis and Erzeel, 2013; Donovan, 2012) and can even be in contradiction with each other. To illustrate, politicians might denounce some cultural practices for oppressing youth in their endeavour to ‘emancipate’ the young. Statements in this regard might indeed protect the rights of the young within minority groups, but may reproach minority culture and/or religion. In fact, empirical research already shows that the protection of cross-cutting groups within ethnic and/or religious minorities may lead to ethno-cultural accusations (Wade, 2011). A debatable understanding of emancipation, which suppresses the ethnic or religious identities, is often the case, when it comes to minority women (Roggeband and Verloo, 2007, 271). This study views representations of the relevant intersecting identities, such as gender and youth, as significant values in their own right. However, for the sake of clarity, the focus is limited to the representation of the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of immigrant minorities.

In line with those studies highlighting the role of political opportunity structures in examining migrant mobilization (Koopmans and Statham, 2000), the author hypothesizes that minority representatives will support cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms more when there is a multicultural understanding of citizenship. A citizenship regime, opening more space for diversification, would enable minority representatives to act at more liberty in voicing their minority constituencies.

Therefore, this research expected more supportive content in the UK than the Netherlands, the latter considered as shifting away from its traditional multiculturalism.

This led to the formulation of the following hypothesis to be investigated:

H 1: Minority representatives are more inclined to use a supportive representation frame in the UK than in the Netherlands.

Utilizing the same argument, the author hypothesizes that there would be a more supportive framing in the earlier years of the period under consideration in the Netherlands, as the country's move away from multiculturalism took place in the later years. Hence the second hypothesis to be considered was as follows:

H 2: In the Netherlands, minority representatives become less inclined to use a supportive representation framing over time.

As the abovementioned literature indicates, a more supportive framing from leftist parties are expected and the following hypothesis on the party dimension is formulated:

H 3: Minority representatives from leftist and/or liberal parties are more inclined to use a supportive representation frame than their right-wing counterparts.

However, the author refrained from formulating specific hypotheses on the gender and ethnicity dimensions due to the complicated, often contradictory, findings on the subject. Instead, a rather exploratory approach is adopted. Other than these, this part of the quantitative chapter investigates whether relations between group and/or individual related identities and framing of the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of minorities are different in the two countries, which are assumed to differ in their understandings of citizenship.

4.5. Methods and data

A quantitative content analysis was conducted on the parliamentary questions of MPs of minority origin in the Netherlands and the UK between January 2002 and December 2012.⁶⁹ For the Dutch case, data was collected via two key word searches on the parliamentary questions in the archives of the relevant parliamentary websites.⁷⁰ Firstly, all parliamentary questions of MPs of minority origin were downloaded by entering the names of all such MPs. Thereafter, only those documents

⁶⁹ The year 2002 is of particular importance in the Dutch context as that year corresponds to increasing criticism of a multicultural understanding in migration policies as well as the rise of Pim Fortuyn as the anti-immigrant politician and his later assassination.

⁷⁰ All the questions posed by MPs since 1995 in the Dutch National Parliament (Tweede Kamer) are available on the following website: https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/zoeken/parlementaire_documenten. The data for the Netherlands were collected between 01.08.2013 and 20.08.2013. The parliamentary questions asked between 2006 and 2012 in the British House of Commons were gathered from <http://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/hansard/commons/by-mp/>. British data between 2002 and 2006 were collected from <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/2000s>. The British data were collected between 20.08.2013 and 20.10.2013.

related to migrant minorities were selected through a second key word search.⁷¹ As the website of the British House of Commons did not have a search engine, it was not possible to run a keyword search for the British data. Hence the relevant texts were identified by looking at the title of parliamentary questions. The total number of parliamentary questions requiring analysis was 252 and 95 for the Netherlands and the UK, respectively.⁷²

I identified the minority background of the relevant MPs through a combined analysis of birthplace information, physical cues from published photographs and names.⁷³ For each MP in the dataset, information on the (transition within) citizenship, political party, gender identity, and ethnic background of those minority representatives was collected. Analyses were conducted separately for the UK and the Netherlands. To look at changes over time (hypothesis 2), the year in which the question was asked or the intervention was made was utilized as an additional independent variable. Political parties included in the analyses were Christian Democratic Appeal (*CDA*), D66, Green Left, List of Pim Fortuyn (*LPF*), Dutch Labour Party (*PvdA*), and People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (*VVD*) for the Netherlands; and Conservative and Labour Parties for the UK. The largest four ethnic groups: Antillean, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Turkish; were signified for the Netherlands. All the other ethnic groups were categorized in a fifth category which

⁷¹Search terms for the Netherlands: migrant* OR immigrant* OR minderheden OR niet-Westers* OR allochto* OR Meisjesbesnijdenis OR Imam OR integratie OR moskee OR gezinsher! OR inburgering OR Islamitisch OR Moslim* OR Turk* OR Marokka* OR Surina* OR Antillia*; search terms for the UK: migrant OR immigrant OR minority OR Muslim OR non-Western OR Indian OR Pakistani OR Caribbean OR Bangladeshi OR Chinese OR Asian OR African OR ethnic OR imam OR cleric OR sheik OR multicultural OR multiracial OR racial OR Afro OR coloured OR mosque OR headscarf OR hijab OR Islamic OR imam OR cleric OR sheik* OR multicultural* OR multiracial OR racial OR Afro OR coloured OR mosque OR Headscarf* OR hijab OR Islamic NOT India NOT Pakistan NOT Bangladesh

⁷²15 of those documents are counted twice as MPs of minority origin posed them collaboratively.

⁷³For a more detailed discussion on identifying MPs of minority origin, see: Bloemraad (2013), p. 657. The minority background of relevant MPs was further checked from news reports and websites of relevant organizations in both countries. These organizations are the Institute for Public and Politics (*Instituut voor Publiek en Politiek*) in the Netherlands and Operation Black Vote in the UK.

was named as 'other'. Similarly, only the largest four ethnic groups: Indian, Jamaican, Nigerian, and Pakistani, according to their parliamentary presence were coded in the parliament for the British case. Like the case of the Netherlands, all the other ethnic groups were categorized in a fifth category which was named as other. The gender of the representative was coded in two categories as male and female. These factors were then utilized as independent variables in a logistic regression analysis to predict the likelihood of using supportive framing.

Quantitative content analysis facilitated examination of different patterns of representation within the final sample of 347 parliamentary questions. The relevant data was coded as supportive, suppressive, or neutral according to the system outlined above. As explained throughout the previous chapter, existing literature on the political representations of immigrant minorities mostly follows the claims-making approach (Celis *et al.* 2008; Koopmans and Statham 1999; Saward, 2006). Still, I chose to borrow the framing approach from communication studies to enable me to see the variances across what minority representatives said. The framing approach facilitated the detection of salient aspects in the perceived realities of minority representatives besides investigating how those MPs define problems, formulate causal interpretations, moral evaluations and/or treatment recommendations for cultural and/or religious right and freedoms (Entman, 1993). As stated in different parts of the earlier sections, due to methodological concerns, these two approaches of claims making and framing could not be combined for the quantitative examination in this part.

Those cases not containing any elements from the supportive and suppressive categories were coded as neutral. A fourth category of 'other' made it possible to identify those questions falling outside the subject area of cultural and/or religious

rights and freedoms. For the sake of clarity and concision, I only refer to supportive and suppressive categories within the text (For more detailed information on the absolute numbers and percentages, please see Appendix 2 and Appendix 3).

A detailed codebook and two pilot studies contributed to the inter-coder reliability of this research. An inter-coder reliability check was conducted on 25 of the texts in the Netherlands and 10 of the texts in the UK. Inter-coder reliability for representation (based on differentiation between ‘substantive’, ‘suppressive’, ‘neutral’ and ‘other’) was satisfactory, with pair wise agreements of 74% for the Dutch case and 80% for the British case.

To assess the impact of party, ethnic background, gender and time, logistic regressions were employed to predict the presence of suppressive framing in a question or intervention. Party, ethnic background and gender are captured by a set of dummy variables, while the year in which the question was posed was included as an independent variable as well.

4.6. Cultural and religious rights and freedoms on the agendas of minority representatives

4.6.1. Roots of variation in the framing of minorities in parliament

First of all, the data analysis confirms the role attributed to the citizenship regime in terms of leading to a more supportive framing in the UK, which is assumed to be more multicultural than the Netherlands (H1). The percentage of supportive questions

in the British example is considerably higher than those in the Dutch case. 57% of all the questions analyzed for the case of the UK are coded supportive representation in comparison to only 39% coded as supportive framings in the case of the Netherlands. The percentages of suppressive framings further verified the first hypothesis. Only 8% of the British data is coded as suppressive representation whereas this measure was 41% of the Dutch data.

The impact of the citizenship regime becomes more apparent when the mean presence of supportive and suppressive representation frames is compared across countries. The mean presence of supportive framings in the Netherlands equals 0.38 while such value reaches 0.57 in the case of the UK. In other words, British MPs of minority origin bring a more substantial contribution in representing constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them by asking more supportive questions than their Dutch counterparts. Still, the difference between the political systems analyzed becomes more apparent when the mean presence of suppressive representation is taken into consideration. Whereas the mean presence of suppressive messages extends to the value of 0.40 in the case of the Netherlands, such value only equals 0.08 in the British case. British MPs of minority origin appear to be reluctant in addressing constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them. Still, they appear to be far less restrictive if they do so. That the mean presence of supportive and suppressive representations differ significantly in the case of the Netherlands and the UK, which verifies the expectations regarding a more pluralist parliamentary discourse in the still multicultural UK.

The analysis on the change across time in the Netherlands, however, does not indicate a strong influence emanating from the shift away from the traditional understanding of Dutch multiculturalism. The multivariate regression analysis that

considers variation in suppressive framing in the Netherlands (see Table 2), shows there is no negative evolution within the case of the Netherlands across time while the country shifts toward a more integrative citizenship regime. The transition towards a more monolithic understanding of citizenship does not have a significant influence on the distribution of supportive and suppressive framings over time in the Netherlands (H2): the influence of the year variable in the model is insignificant. Thus, hypothesis 2 is rejected.

4.6.2. Gender

Maybe unexpectedly, the gender of the MP, played a key role in explaining the framing of parliamentary questions within the Dutch case. As stated above, existing literature (Bird, 2005: 440) signifies the female identity as a contributory factor on the way toward representing minority groups. The analysis, however, shows that female representatives of minority origin in the Netherlands are more likely to use a suppressive frame on cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. Female MPs of minority origin are significantly more likely to highlight negative aspects and propose restrictive policies in the Dutch case. Although individual parliamentarians such as Hirsi Ali may have an impact on higher number of suppressive texts coming from women MPs, the results could be linked to a more integrative understanding of citizenship.

The British data shows no difference in the minority representative and the use suppressive or supportive framing of minority related issues between women and men (Table 3). The absence of a clear association between the gender identity and

suppressive representation might indicate that the gender discriminatory practices and traditions are less salient in the perceived realities of British MPs of minority origin than their Dutch counterparts.

Table 1: Predicting use of suppressive framing in the Netherlands

	B	Standard error
<i>gender MP</i> ¹		
Female	1.325***	.366
<i>ethnicity MP</i> ²		
Turkish	2.242*	.959
Moroccan	1.119**	.367
Surinamese	-1.580	1.197
<i>political party</i> ³		
D66	-3.144**	1.159
GroenLinks	-1.540**	.478
LPF	21.464	40192.969
PvdA	-.736+	.390
VVD	21.256	8210.297
Year	.000	.000
Constant	-31.597	22.664
Nagelkerke R² = .449		

Note. *** p<.001; ** p<.0; * p<.05'+ p<.10 N=259; ¹ 'Male' is reference category; ² 'Other' is reference category; ³ 'CDA is reference category.

Table 2: Predicting use of suppressive framing in the UK

	B	Standard error
<i>gender MP¹</i>		
Female	-17.880	20235.090
<i>ethnicity MP²</i>		
Indian	18.169	14470.178
Jamaican	17.247	26612.670
Pakistani	19.018	14470.179
Guianian	-.343	21877.657
Year	.000	.000
Constant	197.726	14485.189
Nagelkerke R² = .163		

Note: *** p<.001; ** p<.0; * p<.05'+ p<.10 N=95; ¹ 'Male' is reference category; ² 'Other' is reference category

4.6.3. Party

Regarding the Netherlands, the model puts greater emphasis on the liberal vs. traditional distinction than the right – left one. Minority representatives from the Dutch Labour Party or the Dutch Socialist Party do not show significantly different patterns from the mainstream right parties in framing minority related issues. The absence of a statistically significant difference between the Labour party and the Christian Democratic Appeal further challenges the prevailing belief of Labour sympathy towards cultural and/or religious minorities in the Netherlands. MPs from liberal Dutch parties, the Green Left (Greens) and the D66, appear to be the most

supportive. The single question from the minority MP, who served within the anti-immigrant party LPF (List Pim Fortuyn) for less than a year, makes LPF hardly noticeable within the scope of this research. Unsurprisingly, the conservative-liberal VVD, known for its restrictive stance against cultural and religious diversity, appears as the most suppressive.⁷⁴ Overall, these results thus partly confirm the third hypothesis.

The party dimension does not lead to a significant difference in the distribution of supportive vs. suppressive framings for the British case. This is likely a consequence of the mere fact that the overwhelming majority of questions were asked by MPs from the Labour Party. MPs of the Conservative Party hardly address minority related issues at all. British Conservative MPs of minority origin are almost completely absent from the parliamentary discourse on cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. Only 3 parliamentary questions out of 95 UK questions analysed for this study came from Conservative MPs.⁷⁵ Labour MPs, on the other hand, generally make the ‘right to be different’ more salient and formulate liberal treatment recommendations when they address cultural and/or religious practices, traditions and symbols. Because of the small number of questions asked by non-Labour parliamentarians, I refrained from adding the party variable to model (Table 3).

⁷⁴Although been founded on the liberal principles of *laissez-faire* in the nineteenth century, and still viewed as liberal on certain social or ethical questions, such as abortion and euthanasia, VVD is seen as the most conservative of the major Dutch parties within the scope of the twentieth-century. D66 is regarded as progressive-liberal, in contrast to the conservative-liberal VVD. For more information see: Andeweg, R. B. and G. A. Irwin (2002), *Governance and Politics of the Netherlands*. New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, pg. 54.

⁷⁵There are no questions from other parties as there are no minority representatives in these parties.

4.6.4. Ethnicity

The difference between Dutch and British understandings of multiculturalism (Bosswick and Husband, 2005: 76), together with the emphasis on a more mainstream identity in the Netherlands, appears to have an impact on the dynamics of formulating minority related issues. Ethnic identity leads to little variation in framing cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms within the scope of Britain. In line with the British approach in formulating group rights and freedoms at the individual level, British MPs of minority origin do not favour any one particular minority group in their questions. The idea of group-based rights and freedoms within the pillar structure of Dutch multiculturalism and the recent shift towards a more integrative approach of immigrant incorporation, however, leads to differences among MPs coming from different countries. Moroccan MPs of minority origin appear to formulate the subject of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms most negatively in the Dutch parliament. Those of Turkish origin come as the second most suppressive group in putting cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms into context.

Taking the problems of operationalizing religious identity, this research intentionally abstained from drawing conclusions on the Muslim identity of minority representatives. Still, an overlap in terms of suppressive framing among representatives of Moroccan and Turkish origin on the one hand and more supportive framings of MPs of Surinamese origin on the other hand, might well imply the impact of an Islamic identity. In this respect, the research shows a more restrictive tendency in framing minority related issues among representatives with Muslim backgrounds. Departing from the literature on differences in political participation by levels of social capital among different groups of minorities, one can also understand such

variation looking into socio-economic differences among ethnic groups. According to official statistics, Surinamese immigrants are the most advantaged group in terms of socio-economic well-being and language acquisition in the Netherlands.⁷⁶

4.7. The role of discursive opportunities

Recent literature has benefited from the notion of discursive opportunities in explaining political mobilization and participation of immigrant minorities within Western Europe. The neo-institutionalist turn (Schmidt, 2010) in this regard has shown that discourses that are prevalent in the public domain play a considerable role in shaping opportunities and constraints in the political participation of ethnic and/or religious minorities. Relevant empirical studies provide valuable evidence on how public discourse matters in offering opportunities and constraints for immigrant minorities on the way toward political participation (Koopmans and Statham, 1999; Koopmans and Olzak, 2004; Koopmans *et al.*, 2005; Giugni, 2011; Cinalli and Giugni, 2013).

Existing studies, however, are mostly limited to claims-making analysis of media and leave out the question of how such discourses shape the success and failure of political mobilization and participation in other platforms. In earlier studies, the tone of media coverage on minorities would be expected to have an impact on minority visibility in public discussions (Koopmans *et al.*, 2005; Giugni, 2011) or salience of issues related to them (Cinalli and Giugni, 2013). This part of the analysis

⁷⁶Data was accessed from the following link: <http://www.cbs.nl/NR/rdonlyres/E6878ED8-0347-4ED0-8A8D-360AB79022B2/0/jaarrapportintegratie2014pub.pdf> on 14.04.2015.

aims to widen the research focus on political participation of immigrant minorities, by shifting the emphasis towards representative patterns of minority representatives with respect to cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. The possible influence of the media coverage on how often and in what ways minority representatives act is investigated with a particular focus on cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms.

Other than that, the current literature limits the conceptualization of discursive opportunities to a simplistic positive–negative tone on minorities. A more comprehensive conceptualization of the notion, which encompasses the visibility of minority voices and salience of minority related issues in the media as independent variables, could improve the explanatory power of discursive opportunities. Including the visibility of parties with pro/anti-immigrant positions as another dimension of discursive opportunities would further enable thorough evaluations in this regard.

To reach this aim, another content analysis on media documents other than the one on the parliamentary documents was conducted. Thereafter, the impacts of the media data on the representative patterns were searched through a regression analysis on the outcomes of the inquiry on the content of those datasets.

4.8. Studies on the role of discursive opportunities

Institutionally anchored ways of thinking considerably shape the success and/or failure of political undertakings through providing relative political acceptability of some ideas and dismissal for others. In this regard, the work by Koopmans and Olzak (2004) on the rise of right-wing violence can be seen as of particular importance for

incorporating the neo-institutionalist turn in political mobilization studies within the scope of Europe. Their theoretical endeavor to link the political opportunity structures approach with the framing understanding constitutes a straightforward conceptualization of discursive opportunities. Viewing media as a ground for opportunities and constraints, the authors define discursive opportunities in terms of three selection mechanisms that affect the probability of an offered message or framing being picked-up and diffused. *Visibility* refers to the extent to which a message is covered by the mass media; *resonance* stands for the extent to which others: allies, opponents, authorities and so on, react to a message; and *legitimacy* is the degree to which such reactions are supportive.

Such conceptualization of discursive opportunities, however, can be criticized for a number of reasons. The cultural resonance is problematic due to the difficulties of operationalization. Although referring to the same frame, claim-making actors may indicate totally different, even contradicting viewpoints. Even if one assumes that receiving criticism is a success for a movement in itself for making it more public, this still does not solve the problems of operationalization of this concept. Resonance and legitimacy may not complement each other in order to determine the success or failure of a political movement. This may be the reason why Koopmans leaves out resonance and legitimacy as independent variables and focuses on the visibility of minority voice as a dependent variable in his later studies.¹

Later studies followed this operationalization and viewed positioning towards migrants (positive or negative) as a proxy for discursive opportunities. Cinalli and Giugni (2013), for instance study the role of such media standing in a recent work analyzing the role of political opportunities on Muslim movements within Western European countries. According to their study, media tone on Muslims and Islam plays

a crucial role in the success of Muslim movements, which they operationalize as media visibility of Muslims on the one hand and saliences of issues of Muslim concern by any actor in the relevant coverage on the other hand.¹

As stated above, relevant literature conceptualizes the success of immigrant political participation with their visibility in media or the salience of issues related them. The impact of discursive opportunities on different forms of political participation is less than conclusive. The work of Bolognani and Statham (2013) appears to be an exceptional study in terms of broadening the scope of these studies and exploring how perceived discursive opportunities shape the construction of collective identities of Muslim organizations in Britain based on interviews with activists.¹ Available studies would benefit from alternative conceptualizations of minority success in political participation such as advocating cultural and/or religious rights and/or freedoms in legislative mechanisms.

All in all, departing from the existing studies on the relationship between the discursive opportunities and political success, I formulate the first group of hypotheses as follows:

H 4: ‘Minority representatives’ are more inclined to address constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them when there is a greater visibility of these ethnic and/or religious groups.

H 5: ‘Minority representatives’ are more inclined to address constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them when there is a positive tone in the media on these ethnic and/or religious groups.

H 6: ‘Minority representatives’ are more inclined to address constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them when leftist and/or liberal political parties are more visible in the relevant media coverage.

Still, the salience of minority related issues in the agendas of minority constituencies is only one aspect of examining the substantive contributions to minority representation. As discussed in the earlier sections, this study criticizes the existing literature for adopting a content blind approach and operationalizing ‘substantial contributions’ to the representation of minority constituencies only with the salience of minority related issues (Saalfeld, 2011; Saalfeld and Bischof, 2013; Saalfeld, T. and K. Kyriakopoulou, 2011; Wüst, 2014). The content of the acts of minority representatives remains rather understudied. By departing from the representative model created in the qualitative section of the study, the notion of the favourable content of all messages posted by minority representatives was questioned. Minority representatives are anticipated to address the rights and freedoms of minority constituencies using different frames. As seen in the earlier parts of the dissertation, minority representatives do not always act in favour of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms when they address them. Quite to the contrary, representatives with migrant backgrounds themselves, may be suppressing the cultural and/or religious freedoms of groups sharing similar ethnic and/or religious backgrounds with those representatives.

At this point, unlike the claims-making understanding (Celis *et al.*, 2008; Koopmans and Statham 1999; Saward, 2006) used in the first group of hypotheses, I adopted the framing approach in the latter part of the analysis on discursive opportunities. The framing approach facilitated detecting salient aspects in the perceived realities minority representatives as well as investigating how those MPs define problems; formulate causal interpretations, moral evaluations and/or treatment recommendations for cultural and/or religious right and freedoms (Entman, 1993).

The content related hypotheses were formulated as:

H 7: Minority representatives are more inclined to use suppressive representation framing when there is a lesser visibility in the media of these ethnic and/or religious groups.

H 8: Minority representatives are more inclined to use suppressive representation framing when there is a negative tone in the media on ethnic and/or religious groups.

H 9: Minority representatives are more inclined to use suppressive representation framing when conservative political parties are more visible in the relevant media coverage.

Cross-national searches (Koopmans, 2004; Cinalli and Giugni, 2013) show how discursive opportunities differ across political systems. According to Cinalli and Giugni (2013), the Netherlands and the UK differ significantly with respect to discursive opportunities provided for Muslim claims in the Netherlands. The Dutch discursive space in this respect is greater than Switzerland and Germany but smaller than France and Britain. Their content analysis denotes the Dutch country as being far behind the UK in embracing diversities, at least in newspaper coverage. Another interesting point of their analysis is a mismatch between the public and policy domains, the latter of which appears more embracing. Still, Carol and Koopmans (2013), support the ‘survival of pluralist policies’ by showing that diversity is not only shaped by the current policy changes on citizenship, but also by the established traditions built on pre-existing church-state relations, ideologies and citizenship regimes. The authors’ comparative analysis designates the Netherlands among the pluralist countries when it comes to making space for Muslim practices in the media.

Taking the complexity of the dynamics by which the media influences how often, and in what ways, minority representatives address minority constituencies; I refrain from formulating specific hypotheses. However, a difference between the Netherlands and the UK is expected with the Netherlands moving towards a more integrative understanding of citizenship, whereas the latter country is still claimed to be closer to the multicultural understanding.

4.9. Methodology:

As stated above, the findings are based on a regression analysis on the results of two different content analyses, namely on parliamentary and media inquiries. Other than the first dataset explained above, this part of the analysis benefits from a content analysis on newspaper coverage. Media data for this research was collected through another keyword search on the selected time frame of three widely read newspapers, representing different political ideologies, from each country. *Volkskrant*, *De Telegraaf*, and *NRC Handelsblad* for the Netherlands, and the *Guardian*, *Daily Mail* and the *Times* were chosen for the UK.¹ The keyword search was conducted in the headlines of newspaper articles to ensure utmost relevance of a broad number of articles with the subject of the study. All the relevant data were retrieved from Lexis Nexis and Factiva databases as printed in their native language. After an initial examination, those articles which were not reporting on religious minorities were excluded. Following this elimination, a total number of 731 documents were analysed for the Dutch case and 469 for the British case.

The entire document was searched for the parliamentary data. For newspapers, however, only keywords in the headlines of newspaper articles were sought to ensure utmost relevance of a broad number of articles with the subject of the study. After listing all the articles based on this keyword search, those articles unrelated to minorities in the countries analyzed were opted out through a manual inspection of the articles. Following this elimination, a total number of 1200 was studied.

As stated in the earlier sections, two separate codebooks for parliamentary and media analyses contributed to the reliability of the findings. An inter-coder reliability check was conducted on 10% (35) of the parliamentary texts and 5% (60) of the media documents. As stated above, inter-coder reliability for representation (based on differentiation between ‘substantive’, ‘suppressive’, ‘neutral’ and ‘other’) was satisfactory, with pairwise agreements of 74% for the Dutch case and 80% for the British case. Inter-coder reliability for the media related variables could be assessed by Krippendorff’s alpha as there was greater diversification in the coded data. The results for the tone on variables were 0.764 and 0.805 for the Netherlands and the UK, respectively. The inter-coder reliability check for the minority visibility on media coverage on minority related issues were 0.92 and 0.798 for the Netherlands and the UK, respectively. No inter-coder reliability check could have been conducted for the party related media variable due to the low number of messages coming from political parties.

Finally, a regression analysis was conducted on the outcomes of these two different content analyses to see the influence of the media tone on minorities on the performances of minority legislatives in politics. For this analysis, a time series design was employed. The data was aggregated to monthly levels (see Vliegthart and

Roggeband, 2007; Walgrave *et al.*, 2008 for a similar approach) and investigated to show to what extent visibility, measured by the number of articles on a given topic, tone and presence of minority voices, both indicated by mean scores, in newspaper coverage influenced subsequent parliamentary activity, both in terms of visibility of the topic measured by the number of questions asked, and the amount of suppressive framing which is the share of all questions posed in one month that include suppressive framing. In order to ensure causality and correct temporal ordering, lagged values for the media were used in the models. More specifically, the lagged value of the mean scores of the previous three months was applied since previous research has shown that this type of modeling most adequately reflects the way media exert an influence on politics (see Walgrave *et al.*, 2008). To deal with autocorrelation in parliamentary data, a lagged dependent variable was included and tested in all cases for the absence of autocorrelation in the residuals (using the Ljung – Box Q test). Indeed, no additional autocorrelation was detected.

4.10 Results

Table 3: Predicting salience and content of parliamentary questions in the Netherlands

	suppressive framing		salience	
	B	SE	B	SE
suppressive framing	-0.059	0.087		
parliamentary salience			0.017	.087
minority visibility	-0.419	0.255	1.055	1.267
tone	-0.198*	0.100	-1.578**	0.491

Constant	0.400**	0.124	2.257**	0.633
R-squared	.066		0.097	
N	132		132	

Note: All independent variables are the mean scores for the three previous months. For the dependent variable a lag (t-1) is included; * p<.05; ** p<.01

Table 4: Predicting salience and content of parliamentary questions in the UK

	suppressive framing		salience	
	B	SE	B	SE
suppressive framing	0.075	0.122		
parliamentary salience			0.024	0.120
minority visibility	0.016	0.129	-0.645	0.983
tone	0.010	0.063	-0.177	0.485
Constant	0.032	0.073	0.603	0.563
R-squared	0.006		0.090	
N	71		71	

Note: All independent variables are the mean scores for the three previous months. For the dependent variable a lag (t-1) is included; * p<.05; ** p<.01

The results reveal different outcomes for the countries analyzed. According to the data analysis, media coverage on minorities has a limited impact on the representative patterns in the Netherlands while there is no statistically significant impact in the case of the UK. Although not all the separate coefficients are significant, the tone of coverage significantly influences the amount of supportive and

suppressive representation they use in those questions. Substantially, the results show that the more positive media coverage, the more supportive representation will be used for the Netherlands. A more negative tone in the media results in more negative parliamentary questions asked by minority representatives on minority issues. If, for example, the mean tone changes from neutral (0) to completely negative (-1) in the three previous months, this results in an additional 19.8 percent of questions that include suppressive framing.

As mentioned above, media variables do not have a role in the variance of salience and framings of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms on the agendas of British minority representatives. In the UK, there was no evidence for any of the hypotheses. There is not a classical agenda setting effect with regard to the presence of minority voice since media visibility of minorities has no influence in any of the two countries. Furthermore, the explained variance remains relatively low, with scores below .10 for all cases. This means that there is still much unexplained variation in the characteristics of parliamentary questions asked by minority MPs. That the presence of minority voice has no influence in any of the two countries challenges claim making approach. Furthermore, the explained variance remains relatively low, with scores below .10 for all cases. This can be interpreted as another indication of the weak influence of the prevailing media discourse on minorities on the salience and framing of questions asked by minority MPs.

4.11. Discussing the role of discursive opportunities

As stated above, the media analysis challenges the existing literature with regard to the role attributed to the media coverage of minority related issues for the cases analyzed, at least with respect to their representation in the parliament. According to the data analysis, Dutch MPs with migratory backgrounds are more inclined to adopt an advocating role on minority related issues only when there is a more positive tone in the media. In the case of the Netherlands, there are more supportive framings of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms (H8) only when the media is more positive about the issue involved. In terms of the Netherlands, this can be interpreted to the reluctance of Dutch MPs of minority origin to stand for minorities, when there is an overall negativity on ethnic and/or religious groups in this country. The analysis on the media tone, however, falsifies H5, namely my expectations on the impact of the media tone on salience of minority related issues in the parliamentary agenda of minority representatives. Minority representatives address minority constituencies less when media is positive on the issue. Media tone on ‘immigrant minorities’ has no statistically significant influence for the British case. Again, this can be interpreted to the reluctance of Dutch MPs of minority origin to stand for minorities when there is an overall negativity on ethnic and/or religious groups in this country.

As briefly stated above, the data analysis encounters those studies attributing significance to the media visibility of minorities (H4 and H7). Normally speaking, one would expect a greater inclination to use the representative role to promote cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms when immigrant minorities are stronger in the public realm. The investigation on the relationship between media and parliamentary data shows no significant impact of media visibility of minorities on how often and in

what ways minority representatives address constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them. In other words, this study questions the emphasis put on media visibility of minorities as a political success, which is supposed to strengthen the hands of minorities in other dimensions of political participation. That the visibility of liberal and/or leftist political parties on the one hand and rightist/conservative parties on the other hand does not lead to a change in the salience or framing of minority related issues and their cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms falsifies H6 and H9. In other words, the presence of parties with different viewpoints on migration and integration on the relevant debate has no significant impact on how often and in what ways MPs of minority origin bring minority related issues in the agenda through their parliamentary questions.

4.12. Conclusion

This chapter is comprised of two parts. In the first of these, the role of political opportunities, together with individual and group related variables, on the framings of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms by MPs of minority origin in the Netherlands and the UK was investigated. Attention was then shifted to the discursive opportunities and their role on the salience of minorities and the framing of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms which were examined thereafter.

Special emphasis was paid to transition within the citizenship regime, the role of party identity, ethnic background, the gender of those MPs involved and the media coverage on minorities. As expected, the findings show considerable differences between the Netherlands and the UK, the former of which is claimed to be shifting

away from multiculturalism. In line with the hypothesis built on the retreat from multiculturalism in the Netherlands, the British MPs of minority origin are not only more supportive towards but also far less suppressive against the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of minority constituencies. The content analysis, however, reveals no less supportive framing for the Netherlands over time. In this regard, the empirical conclusions partly confirm the significance attributed to the citizenship regime in the political representation of minorities on the one hand, and challenge straightforward explanations on the other. Cross-national differences are more prone and outspoken than over-time differences in a single country.

Remarkable is the absolute difference in the number of immigration related questions posed in the Netherlands and the UK: the reluctance of British minority representatives (especially those from the Conservative Party) to address minority related issues might be due to the electoral system. The British electoral system might be leaving little opportunity for minority representatives to address, let alone support cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms in white-dominated constituencies. In this respect, proportional representation might be a factor enabling minority representatives to act more freely in the Netherlands, than the majoritarian system in the UK. Future studies might investigate whether proportional systems serve as an opportunity for minority representatives in addressing minority constituencies with larger number of cases.

The content analysis draws a complex set of interrelationships between party ideology and individual and group related identities such as gender and ethnic background on the one hand and citizenship regimes on the other hand. The dominance of suppressive messages in the discourse of female representatives in the Netherlands can be traced back to the gendered notion of minority and integration

policies within this country (Roggeband and Verloo, 2007). A detailed discussion on the content of the relevant discourse goes beyond the limits of this research. Nevertheless, discussions around cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms are often locked by ethnocentric selections of gender suppressive practices and traditions (Roggeband and Verloo, 2007). The absence of such relationship between the gender identity and the framing of ethnic and/or cultural rights and freedoms in the UK, with its still multicultural citizenship regime, further substantiates the argument on a gendered understanding of ethno-culturalism in the Netherlands.

The higher number of suppressive framings on the agendas of representatives of Moroccan and Turkish origin in the Netherlands substantiate the arguments for a more integrative, if not restrictive, understanding of Islam as a distinct religious identity. The higher number of supportive messages of MPs of Surinamese origin, on the other hand, can also be traced back to the higher socio-economic status and language competencies of the Surinamese immigrants in the Netherlands, which should be further investigated in future studies. The absence of statistically significant variation across ethnic groups within the British case might well be a consequence of the broadly shared British understanding of multiculturalism, embracing diversity as a right of the individual – in contrast to the group-based understanding in the Dutch case. In general, the absence of significant effects of any of the independent variables in the UK might well be a consequence of the fact that the framing is hardly ever suppressive (8 questions in total), resulting in little variation in the dependent variable.

The findings of this study signify political parties as a major factor in the framing of the subject area. Coming from conservative parties leads to a greater silence and suppression on cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. Minority

representatives from the British Conservative Party appear to have distanced themselves from constituencies with whom they share similar backgrounds. Those legislatives are almost totally absent from debate on cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. Representatives from conservative parties in the Dutch parliament speak more on minorities than their British counterparts. However, they usually adopt suppressive framings. The Dutch case reveals a sophisticated outcome going beyond a left–right difference with regard to political parties making space for immigrant minorities, as Dutch Labour members or Socialists do not differ significantly from rightist parties in framing cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms.

The data analysis on discursive opportunities challenges those attributing significance to discursive opportunities as playing a determining role in the political mobilization of minorities – at least with respect to their official representation in legislative bodies. The migrant visibility in the relevant media discourse does not have a statistically significant impact on how minority representatives present cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms in the actual parliamentary chamber. The tone of media coverage of minorities leads to a more supportive representation and less salience within the Dutch context and has no impact in the case of the UK. The presence of political parties with different viewpoints on the issue does not bring a statistically significant change in how often and in what ways minority representatives address constituencies sharing similar backgrounds with them.

This study has endeavoured to investigate variance of representative patterns of minority representatives with regard to ethnic and/religious constituencies in the Netherlands and the UK. It is remarkable that the framing in the UK is so much more homogenous compared to the Netherlands. Even though the difference is in line with my expectations, the null findings in the explanatory analysis for the UK might be at

least partly due to a lack of variation in framing. Future research might need to go into more detail to lay out the different ways minority representatives talk about minority rights. Still, lacking an impact on the salience related variables in the British case further implies the necessity of searching for other explanatory variables for the British case. Future research should include additional countries, which differ in their electoral systems, to further unravel the varying impacts of citizenship, gender, ethnicity and party membership on the MPs' framing of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. For any such future research, I propose larger N studies, including cases with differing electoral systems to further unravel the varying impact of citizenship.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND IDEAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

“... We will find a language reaching to everything. We will not walk around in the world so wordless, so antagonistic, so in pieces like this...” Yaşar Kemal

There would seem to be an increasing diversity in legislative mechanisms in terms of reflecting today's heterogeneous societies in general, and particularly focusing on immigrant minorities. This scenario has led to the corridors of power becoming more accessible, with increasing integration on the one hand together with a more welcoming tone from the parties on the other. Even conservative and far-rightist parties allocate seats for MPs with migratory backgrounds. However, such numerical presence does not always automatically lead to an inclusionary understanding within the decision-making process. Being present in parliament is a significant achievement in itself, but how much it contributes to actually hearing the minority voice is less than conclusive.

This study was designed to examine the substantive contribution of the presence of minority representatives in legislative mechanisms. After thoroughly reviewing the relevant literature, I have attempted to shed light upon how often and in what ways MPs of minority origin address issues concerning constituencies with a migration background, with a focus on possible reasons for potential variance across the representation of minorities. In line with neo-institutionalism, great attention was paid to citizenship regimes and discursive opportunity structures in explaining the abovementioned variance.⁷⁷ The research intentionally focused on the cases of the Netherlands and the UK to see the impact of the shift towards an integrative approach in the Dutch case. The influence of media coverage on the political representation of immigrant minorities was analysed in detail with a specific focus on the relevant media tone, the media visibility of immigrant minorities and the media visibility of different progressive and conservative political parties. The study also attributed significant importance to variances across party ideology and group and individual related variables such as gender identity and ethnic and religious minority origins.

I first took an inductive approach in investigating how often and in what ways MPs with migratory backgrounds addressed constituencies with which they shared similar backgrounds. A new model of political representation differentiating between supportive and suppressive approaches was formulated in the first phase of the empirical investigation. A quantitative investigation followed this initial inquiry to test this model and assess the role of the above mentioned institutional opportunities, discursive opportunities and group and individual level identities.

⁷⁷ Eline Severes' paper titled '*Visible minority representatives and substantive representation: Claims-making in the Brussels-Capital Region*' at the ECPR Conference in Postdam in 2009 and Saalfeld's proposed research session (2011) have been sources of inspiration in formulating the research question.

5.1. Empirical findings

The conclusions of this research are based a set of different empirical inquiries. The analysis began with a qualitative content analysis on 347 parliamentary questions in total. This exploratory first stage revealed a pattern of minority representation, which is not addressed in the relevant studies on the immigrant minorities of Europe. As the existing literature claims, minority representatives act for minorities in some cases and chose to remain silent in others. However, the qualitative content analysis revealed a different strategy, which is not addressed in the existing literature, in that MPs of minority origin often used restrictive framings when addressing constituencies with whom they share common backgrounds.

The concept of ‘suppressive representation’ was added to describe such a restrictive stance on the rights and freedoms of minorities by representatives with minority backgrounds themselves. Rather than leaning on an overall concept of substantive representation, which is operationalized as any reference to minorities in the relevant literature, this research builds a sophisticated model of representation. I make a difference between those cases in which minority representatives support and those cases in which they suppress constituencies with which they share similar backgrounds. As stated in the earlier parts of this thesis, supportive representation refers to any content supporting cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of ethnic and religious groups, whereas suppressive representation means acting against those rights and freedoms. The qualitative stage of the content analysis was mostly exploratory in character. Nevertheless, inductive explanations on the relationship between the representative patterns of MPs of minority origin, and the opportunity

structures together with group and individual related variables, were made with reservations on generalizing the conclusions.

A quantitative content analysis on the parliamentary data was made to test the conclusions derived in the third chapter. Firstly, all the parliamentary questions are coded on the base of a detailed codebook. Thereafter, a regression analysis was conducted on the quantified results of this content analysis to observe the impact of the transition within the citizenship regime, party membership and gender identity. Based on the qualitative investigation as well as the descriptive statistics and the mean presence of the frames, I conclude that differing opportunity structures across the Netherlands and the UK has a clear impact on how often and in what ways minority representatives address the cultural and/religious rights and freedoms of minority constituencies. There is a clear preference for integrationist policies in the relevant content. A supportive approach is the case when the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms are not seen as driving minorities away from the mainstream society. Wearing headscarves at workplaces, adjusting working hours in Ramadan according to specific eating times, and inter-culturalization of the health service can be listed as specific examples.

In line with the transition towards a more integrated citizenship regime, the salience of integration related issues is higher in the Netherlands than in the UK. Issues concerning dual citizenship together with the institutional structures necessary for cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms, are either ignored or enclosed within restrictive settings, especially in the case of the Netherlands, whereas the British content is more supportive on such issues. Despite a variance across the Netherlands and the UK, there appears to be no change over time in the Netherlands with the shift

away from the traditional multiculturalist approach, which refutes simplistic explanations on the basis of the citizenship regime.

Analysis of the impact of political party identity verifies the statement that the legitimacy of the representatives is more related to the party elite than to minority constituencies. Minority representatives are usually seen as making claims for minority constituencies. However, the data analysis portrays the act of representation merely as a career, entailing calculations on the basis of future prospects emerging from being a member of a party. Political parties appear to play a key role in shaping the representative patterns of MPs of minority origin with regard to issues concerning constituencies with which they share similar backgrounds. Both qualitative and quantitative analysis on the parliamentary questions asked by minority representatives, as well as the regression analysis on the outcome of the content analyses, indicate the party as a key variable in shaping how often and in what ways minority representatives address minority constituencies in their questions. Furthermore, this role of the political parties differs substantially in the Netherlands and the UK.

Minority representatives from the British Conservative Party appear to have clearly distanced themselves from constituencies with whom they share similar backgrounds. Minority representatives from the conservative side of the Dutch political spectrum are more interested in minority related issues. However, their interests do not necessarily bring a supportive approach to the relevant discourse. The analysis in the case of the Netherlands further indicates a difference beyond the traditional left-right distinction. Dutch Labour Party members or Socialists do not differ significantly from rightist parties in framing references to cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. Only Greens and Liberals (D66) adopt supportive

framings in the Netherlands, which has been clearly distancing itself from the tradition of multiculturalism since the early 2000s.

The last part of the empirical investigation investigated the influence of media coverage on how minority representatives framed minority related issues in their parliamentary questions. To do this, another content analysis on 1200 media articles on immigrant minorities was conducted. This content analysis on media coverage was quantitative in character and was conducted according to a detailed codebook, which was prepared after a preliminary investigation. A time series analysis was conducted to see the influence of media related variables on the relevant discourse of MPs of minority origin. To ensure causality, lagged values of the media related documents were taken.

The analysis of discursive opportunities revealed that they had a more modest impact than had been expected- both in terms of salience and framing of minority related issues. The visibility of immigrant minorities and the presence of leftist/liberal or rightist/conservative parties in the relevant media coverage does not have any statistically significant impact on the salience in both cases. Dutch MPs of minority origin addressed minority related issues more frequently and used more supportive frames when the media displayed a positive tone on the subject area. Such a tone did not lead to any variation in the case of the UK.

Data analysis conducted for this academic endeavour points to a complex set of relationships between party membership, gender identity and ethnic background on the one hand and citizenship regimes on the other. In line with the highly gendered integration discourse in the case of the Netherlands, female representatives of minority origin appear to be more critical than their male counterparts when

addressing minority constituencies and their related issues. There is no such variation between male and female representatives in the case of the still multicultural UK. As stated in the earlier parts of this thesis, representatives coming from Muslim countries appear to be more suppressive in the more integrative, if not restrictive, Netherlands. Ethnic differences do not lead to statistically significant variance in framing minority related issues in Britain, which would seem to approach differences on the basis of individual freedoms and rights.

5.2. Theoretical and methodological implications

Many relevant studies in the field focus on whether immigrants merely cast their ballots on Election Day, or whether those immigrants take an active part in associations that are concerned with political issues in the country of settlement. This study is among the few studies endeavoring to extend the scope of research by asking the question as to whether a descriptive representation of migrants indeed makes a difference in representation mechanisms. This research is one of the few works investigating the substantive contributions of the numerical presence of minorities in the decision-making process, within the scope of Western Europe. To my knowledge, it is the first study addressing the restrictive approaches adopted by ‘minority representatives’ in addressing ‘minority constituencies’.

As underlined in earlier parts of the thesis, the foremost contribution of this research is its introduction of a new model of political representation of minorities. The representative patterns of minorities do not only vary between keeping silent or speaking on minority related issues, but may also change within the supportive and

suppressive framings those representatives use when they speak. Arriving at such a conclusion has been mainly possible due to the application of a different methodological approach in investigating the parliamentary work of minority representatives. The limited number of extant works on substantive representation would seem to lean towards frequency counts of minority related key words. In the main, existing literature on the political representations of immigrant minorities takes the claims-making approach (Celis *et al.*, 2008; Koopmans and Statham 1999; Saward, 2006). I benefited from the claim-making approach in detecting the salience of minority related issues in the agendas of minority representatives. However, I also added to field in this regard by borrowing the framing approach from communication studies to facilitate identification of the variances within what was actually said by minority representatives. The framing approach facilitated the detection of salient aspects in the perceived realities of minority representatives, as well as investigating how those MPs define problems: formulate causal interpretations, moral evaluations and/or treatment recommendations for cultural and/or religious right and freedoms (Entman, 1993).

In addition to the above-mentioned contributions, this study is one of the first to make space for discursive opportunities within the general frame of institutional structures. This study is the first to encompass three different dimensions of discursive opportunities: visibility of migrant claims in the media; attitude towards migrants in the media; representation of liberal and leftist constituencies. Revealing the modest impact of discursive opportunities on the representative patterns of minority representatives as well as linking these discursive dimensions of opportunity structures to the original theory of social movements are other contributions made by this work to the relevant literature.

Comparison of the Netherlands and Britain revealed the differences between the current citizenship regimes, which were once seen as identical in terms of their multicultural understanding. Not many studies compare these two countries despite the theoretical arguments on the increasing deviation from multiculturalism in the case of the Netherlands. Comparison within cases facilitated further testing of the explanations within the respective citizenship regimes.

5.3. Policy implications

Political representation is in itself a problematical concept as it is based on the core predicament of representing those who are actually not present. Representatives must always tread a fine line between the elite and the masses, and the increasing diversification of today's democracies further complicates the already difficult issue of the act of political representation. Even advanced democracies appear to have problems in employing democratic channels as a means to progress minority claims, wishes and needs. There would seem to be a growing tension between immigrant minorities and their descendants turning into full citizens on the one hand, and increasing xenophobia on the other. The Muslim background of many of the immigrant minorities studied in this research would seem to add further complexity to the representation of minorities, especially following the events of 9/11. Minority viewpoints emanating from Muslim minorities are not always welcomed by those adhering to established ideas on the democratic legitimization of representative claims. Increasing trans-nationalism, together with technology-based stronger links

with the country of origin, further complicate the issue by producing loyalties which go beyond the borders of nation states.

Public opinion would seem to become more optimistic in line with the growing numbers of minority representatives. This research, however, questions the taken for granted relationship between having representatives of minority origin and substantively representing their interest. Earlier scholarly work indicates a broad ignorance of the concerns of constituencies (Phillips, 1995, pp.145-51). MPs from Muslim communities were mostly silent on specifically Muslim-related subject areas such as the French riots in 2006, the upheaval over the Danish cartoons depicting the prophet Muhammad, and the headscarf and/or hijab issue, among many others. This research goes one step further and claims that the result of having minority representatives might even be counter-productive, in that representatives of minority origin themselves, may restrict the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of minorities. As shown in the earlier parts of this research, it is not unusual for minority representatives to adopt restrictive framings when addressing the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of minorities. Being an insider often introduces minority representatives to the 'unquestionable authorities' who legitimize controversial policies against ethnic and religious groups.

This research aims to contribute to the quality inclusiveness of today's diverse democracies, by revealing the silence and/or restrictive patterns of minority representatives on issues concerning constituencies with which they share similar backgrounds. The study endeavours to add to existing knowledge of one of the most sensitive issues of contemporary democracies, through a comprehensive and in-depth examination. Existing representative patterns of minority legislatures add little to the feeling of being represented. A better reflection of minority viewpoints will not only

be more representative of society as a whole in the decision-making process, but could also foster political integration of minorities through increasing political efficacy and trust.

In this regard, new models for democracy with specific parties for minorities, or independent representatives, might add to the quality of representative democracies. Being present in established parties is an important achievement in itself and contributes to the political integration of immigrant minorities. However, party structures might lead to suppressing cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms, by choosing candidates who are acceptably different (Durose *et al.*, 2012) on the one hand and putting pressures on minority representatives on the other hand.

5.4. Limitations and recommendations for future research

This research generated more questions than it has answered and would seem to be just the beginning of a very complicated puzzle. Posting parliamentary questions is just one of many activities in which parliamentarians are engaged. Parliamentary questions can be seen as an opportunity for independence, as the representative is less supervised than in other activities such as engaging in parliamentary debates and voting. However, parliamentary questions are argued to be mainly symbolic in nature and most often without any policy consequences (Walgrave and Van Aelst, 2006). Further research is needed to show whether results remain valid across a broader range of political activities carried out by MPs of minority origin, such as introducing new laws on immigrant minorities.

This research endeavoured to investigate the variances in framing of the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of MPs of minority origin in the Netherlands and the UK. However, the very essence of perfect comparisons across countries is open to debate in this context as it includes framings made by people, in front of audiences, utilizing different means and languages. Furthermore, different trajectories were followed in the data collection process in the two countries analysed, due to the lack of keyword search facilities for the UK parliament, and stylistic differences in writing parliamentary questions further impeded a perfect comparison between the Netherlands and the UK. As stated earlier in this thesis, it is remarkable that the framing in the UK is more homogenous than that of the Netherlands. Even though the difference is in line with initial expectations, the null findings in the explanatory analysis for the UK might be at least partly due to lack of variation in framing. Future research may need to go into more detail, to truly explore the different ways in which minority representatives talk about minority rights.

Moreover, despite the important similarities between the Netherlands and the UK, the two countries differ significantly in terms of their electoral regimes. For future research, I would propose larger N studies, including cases with differing electoral systems to further unravel the varying impacts citizenship, gender, ethnicity and party membership have on the MPs' framing of cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms. Existing literature on such impacts would seem to be mostly related to citizenship regimes. More emphasis needs to be paid to unraveling to what extent, if any, electoral rules influence the descriptive presence of minorities in parliaments, as well as the incentives of minority representatives in engaging in substantive representation.

This study mostly focuses on the representative side of the act of group representation. Political representation of minorities, however, is multi-dimensional and more emphasis needs to be paid to the ‘represented’ side of the subject area. Departing from the one-dimensional approach prevalent in the existing literature, I focused on minority representatives. However, centering the representative within the act of representation brings a simplified understanding, overlooking those who are allegedly being represented. Further research can expand our understanding of representation through agent-based methodologies such as focus groups, interviews and surveys.

This study limits its focus to the outcome of political representation. Nevertheless, the outcome is just one side of the act of political representation. Representation is a process as well as being an outcome in itself. More emphasis should be paid on the procedural norm of being accountable to the represented, as well as the differences between process and outcome. In this regard, I plan to address indicators like committee memberships and the frequency of contacting minorities in my future research on the political representation of minorities.

Comparing the relevant discourse in regional parliaments with the one taking place in national parliaments was a research idea in the early stages of this thesis, with the intent to explore whether or not migrants find more space for themselves in regional or in national parliaments. However, this path was abandoned when preliminary research revealed that there were very few references to minorities in the regional parliament of London, and no references at all in the regional parliament of Amsterdam. Future research on substantive representation might address such discrepancies, as well as formulating other dimensions worthy of investigation based on salience and framing of minority related questions. Investigating the supranational

– EU – level of political representation of minorities could also be another possible research idea in this context.

Too much reliance on given definitions of minorities might be hindering the existing studies, including this one, from grasping the realities of the shaky ground on which the minority identity and interests are founded. Minority identity is a constructed identity as well as being a given. This research mostly tends towards the accepted official definitions of minorities for the sake of conceptual clarity. This could be seen as approaching the subject area from a statistical perspective, whereas the idea of political representation of minorities is itself situated on shaky ground. Who actually are the minorities and what comprises their shared interests, are points to be investigated on a longer journey, which should definitely be borne in mind for future studies on the political representation of minorities. Other than that, this research has not been able to analyze ethnic and sectarian differences within the countries of origin, which might have had an impact on the dependent variable. Future research can sophisticate existing knowledge at this point.

There might also be an indirect relationship between the actual number of representatives of minorities, and pro/anti minority approaches of political parties and systems. Whether there is a similar trend between the numerical presence of the minority representatives and the general approach of political parties and systems, is another issue to be explored by future research.

Political representation studies mostly cover minorities in Western European and Northern American countries. How different countries engage with democracy and how different minorities, such as indigenous groups, are represented might expand our understanding of representative democracy. In this regard, a focus on how MPs with an ethnic Kurdish background formulate issues concerning Kurdish

constituencies in Turkey, might add to our knowledge of the Turkish case, as well as the literature on political representation in general.

5.5. In lieu of conclusion

This research was inspired by the emphasis given to the idea of substantive representation in the ground-breaking work of Hanna Pitkin. Qualitative and quantitative content analyses enabled me to examine in what ways and to what extent minority representatives made substantive contributions in terms of taking the minority perspective to the decision-making process. The inductive process in the qualitative inquiry and the regression analyses on the quantified discourse of minority representatives, shed light on the conditions yielding to variance in how often and in what ways those representatives addressed constituencies with whom they share similar backgrounds. Citizenship regimes, discursive opportunities, gender identity and ethnic background appeared to have an influence on the contributions of minority representatives, both as individual and inter-related factors. However, party membership appeared to be the strongest factor in shaping the relevant discourse. Political representation is based on the idea of making claims for others, but it is also a career, hence the significant dependency on the party elite. This overlaps with the pessimistic conclusions of Hanna Pitkin, almost forty years after her seminal work ‘The Concept of Representation’ (1967) in the study entitled: ‘The Uneasy Alliance of Democracy and Representation’ (Pitkin, 2004). After a productive career on the concept of representation, the scholar concludes that there is nothing necessarily

democratic about representation. Quite the contrary, democracy may even mean the rule 'instead of the people' and not as so often touted 'by the people'.

The presence of representatives of minority origin in decision-making bodies does not necessarily mean that their viewpoints are reflected. Whilst such presence does indeed contribute to the representation of minorities in bringing supportive content to matters concerning cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms, a supportive stance in this regard is highly dependent on political parties, citizenship regimes, gender identities, ethnic background and the relevant media coverage. This research has in fact shown that such presence can even lead to the uttering of the most intense criticisms of the cultural and/or religious symbols, practices and identities of minorities. The latter pattern is conceptualized as 'suppressive representation'.

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APPENDIX A

BRITISH AND DUTCH MP's OF MINORITY ORIGIN IN THE PERIOD ANALYZED

Table 1: MPs of Minority Origin Served between 2002 and 2012: The Case of the Netherlands

Name MP	Party Membership	Gender Identity	Ethnic Background
Albayrak, N.	PvdA	Female	Turkish
Arib, K.	Pvda	Female	Moroccan
Azmani, M.	VVD	Male	Moroccan
Azough, N.	GL	Female	Moroccan
Bashir, F.	SP	Male	Other
Bergkamp	D66	Female	Moroccan
Bouchibti, S.	PvdA	Female	Moroccan
Celik, M.	PvdA	Male	Turkish
Coruz, C.	CDA	Male	Turkish
Dibi	GL	Male	Moroccan
El-Fassed, A.	GL	Male	Other
Eski , N.	CDA	Male	Turkish
Ferrier, K.	CDA	Female	Surinamese
Griffith	VVD	Female	Surinamese
Gunal Gezer	PvdA	Female	Turkish

Hachchi	D66	Female	Moroccan
Hirsi Ali , A.	Pvda/VVD	Female	Other
Jadnanansing	PvdA	Female	Surinamese
Karabulut, S.	SP	Female	Turkish
Karimi	GL	Female	Other
Klaver	GL	Male	Moroccan, Other
Kortram	PvdA	Female	Surinamese
Kose Kaya , F.	D66	Female	Turkish
Kuzu, T.	PvdA	Male	Turkish
Lazrak	SP	Male	Moroccan
Marcouch	PvdA	Male	Moroccan
Mohandis	PvdA	Male	Moroccan
Orgu , F.	VVD	Female	Turkish
Ozturk	PvdA	Male	Turkish
Ozutok	GL	Female	Turkish
Rabbae	GL	Male	Moroccan
Tjon-A-Ten	Pvda	Female	Surinamese
Varma	GL	Female	Surinamese, Other
Yucel	PvdA	Female	Turkish
Zeroual	LPF	Female	Moroccan

Table 2: MPs of Minority Origin Served between 2002 and 2012: The Case of the UK

Name MP	Party Membership	Gender Identity	Ethnic Background
Afriyie, A.	Conservative	Male	Ghanaian
Abbott, D.	Labor	Female	Jamaican
Ali, R.	Labor	Female	Bangladeshi
Boatens, P.	Labor	Male	Ghanian
Butler, D.	Labor	Female	Jamaican
Christi, R.	Conservative	Male	Pakistani
Dhanda, P.	Labor	Male	Indian
Gill, P. S.	Lib. Democrat	Male	Indian
Grant, H.	Conservative	Female	Nigerian
Gyimah, S.	Conservative	Male	Ghanaian
Hendrick, M.	Labor	Male	Somalian
Javid, S.	Conservative	Male	Pakistani
Johnson, J.	Conservative	Male	Turkish
Khabara, P.	Labor	Male	Indian
Khan, S.	Labor	Male	Pakistani
Kumar, A.	Labor	Male	Indian
Kwarteng, K.	Conservative	Male	Ghanaian
Lammy, D.	Labor	Male	Guyanese
Mahmood, K.	Labor	Male	Pakistani
Mahmood, S.	Labor	Female	Pakistani
Malhotra, S.	Labor	Female	Indian
Malik, S.	Labor	Male	Pakistani

Nandy, L.	Labor	Female	Pakistani
Onwurah, C.	Labor	Female	Pakistani
Patel, P.	Conservative	Female	Ugandan
Qureshi, Y.	Labor	Female	Pakistani
Sarwar, A.	Labor	Male	Pakistani
Sarwar, M.	Labor	Male	Pakistani
Sayeed, J.	Conservative	Male	Indian
Sharma, A.	Conservative	Male	Indian
Sharma, V.	Labor	Male	Indian
Singh, M.	Labor	Male	Indian
Ummuna, C.	Labor	Male	Nigerian
Uppal, P.	Conservative	Male	Kenyan
Vara, S.	Conservative	Male	Ugandan
Vaz, K.	Labor	Male	Indian
Vaz, V.	Labor	Female	Indian
Zawahi, N.	Conservative	Male	Iraqi

APPENDIX B

ABSOLUTE NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF PARLIAMENTARY QUESTIONS CODED IN DIFFERENT CATEGORIES FOR THE CASE OF THE NETHERLANDS⁷⁸

	Supportive Framing	Suppressive Framing	Neutral Framing	Other	Total
	Number of Questions	Number of Questions	Number of Questions	Number of Questions	Percentages Number of Questions
Issues					
Discrimination	41	3	1	1	17%
Integration	38	6	4	4	20%
Religion	7	23	-	1	12%
Fund. and Terr.	-	28	-	-	11%
Crim. and Del.	3	11	-	-	5%
Culture	4	26	2	-	11%
Gender	2	36	-	1	15%
Miscel.	11	-	25	14	20%
<i>Total</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>133</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>111%</i>
Gender					
Male	35	19	11	7	28%
Female	66	87	20	23	75%
<i>Total</i>	<i>101</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>103%</i>
Party					
CDA	7	5	0	1	5%
D66	12	1	1	1	6%
GL	28	8	19	6	23%
LPF	0	1	0	0	0.4%
PvdA	39	38	5	14	37%
SP	15	30	6	6	21%
VVD	0	23	0	2	10%
<i>Total</i>	<i>101</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>100%</i>
Ethnicity					
Moroccan	65	55	22	19	62%
Surinam	6	8	0	2	6%
Turkish	30	31	9	6	29%
Other	0	12	0	3	6%
<i>Total</i>	<i>101</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>103%</i>

⁷⁸ The sum of questions coded in each category may exceed the total number of questions as the questions are coded more than once when they covered more than one issue or when they had references both to supportive representation frame and suppressive representation frame. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.

APPENDIX C

ABSOLUTE NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF PARLIAMENTARY QUESTIONS CODED IN DIFFERENT CATEGORIES FOR THE CASE OF THE UK⁷⁹

	Supportive	Suppressive	Neutral	Other	Total	
	Number of	Number of	Number of	Number of	Percentages	Number of
	Questions	Questions	Questions	Questions		Questions
Issues						
Discrimination	14	-	-	-	15 %	14
Integration	33	-	1	-	36 %	34
Religion	7	1	3	-	12 %	11
Fund. and Terr.	-	2	1	-	3 %	3
Crim. and Del.	2	-	-	-	2 %	2
Culture	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gender	2	6	-	-	8 %	8
Miscel.	4	-	5	-	9 %	9
Other	-	-	-	14	15%	
Total	62	9	10	14	100 %	95
Gender						
Male	39	8	12	15	78 %	74
Female	15	-	-	6	22 %	21
Total	54	8	12	21	100 %	95
Party						
Conservative Party	1	-	1	1	3 %	3
Labour Party	53	8	11	20	97 %	92
Total	54	8	12	21	100 %	95
Ethnicity						
Guinean	5	-	-	1	6 %	6
Indian	26	7	10	13	59 %	56
Jamaican	14	-	-	4	19 %	18
Nigerian	3	-	-	-	3 %	3
Pakistani	5	1	-	2	8 %	8
Other	1	-	-	3	3 %	4
Total	54	8	12	21	98 %	95

⁷⁹ The sum of questions coded in each category may exceed the total number of questions as the questions are coded more than once when they covered more than one issue or when they had references both to supportive representation frame and suppressive representation frame. Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.

APPENDIX D

CODEBOOK FOR THE CONTENT ANALYSIS ON PARLIAMENTARY DATA

This codebook is to give information about the coding of parliamentary documents.

As the graph below illustrates there are two main codes for the parliamentary data, namely the supportive and suppressive representation codes.

Please code the text in one of the codes, i.e. supportive or suppressive, in case there is a match with the criteria illustrated in the boxes.

Please code the texts as both supportive and suppressive when there is a match with criteria illustrated in both categories.

Please code the text as neutral when there is no match with the criteria illustrated in the categories.

Please code the text as other when you think the text is not related to the context below.

Minority Representation

Supportive Representation

Supporting the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of 'immigrant minorities'

Suppressive Representation

Restricting the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of 'immigrant minorities'

Supporting the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of immigrant minorities refers to any references of a supportive stance towards those rights and/or freedoms. Those references may include but are not limited to the following areas: practicing cultural and religious rituals, anti-immigrant discourse, discriminatory discourse and practices, facilities to learn the language of the country of origin, opening space for religious and/or cultural rights and freedoms in education and employment, and fighting against stigmatization/labeling/stereotyping (due to terror/radical/extremist/fundamental activities).

Restricting the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of immigrant minorities refers to any references of a supportive stance towards those rights and/or freedoms. Those references may include but are not limited to the following areas: ideas and activities related to fundamentalism, radicalism, extremism, delinquency, repressing women, domestic violence as a consequence of religious and/or cultural norms, creating danger to or negatively influencing 'Dutch values and norms'(i.e. the division of church and the state, tolerance towards, equality between men and women), creating parallel law enforcement and judicial practices –

mostly through Sharia marriages, opening the way towards foreign (home country) intervention – mostly through dual citizenship and through disseminating perspectives of radical Islamist figures, creating parallel societies, abusing the benefit system, increasing unemployment.

A very tricky question is how the coder will code when the interests of minority members are portrayed at odds with the minority religion/culture or with the country of origin. And protecting the rights of minority members such as women, young people, or children might lead to ethno-cultural accusations as Wade indicates in her article on female genital mutilation.⁸⁰

At this point, it seems important to keep into consideration that representation of women (youth, children) and representation of minorities are differentiated in this research. So, those texts describing minority members, minority culture/religion or the country of origin as the (potential) cause of a disadvantageous situation/problem for (minority) women (youth, children) should be coded as suppressive representation.⁸¹

For instance, Arib's following parliamentary question (2009Z14159) should be coded as suppressive as the text discredits the country of origin although promoting rights of young people (of minority origin).

“... Hebt u kennisgenomen van het bericht dat tientallen allochtone jongeren niet op vakantie durven naar landen van herkomst uit angst uitgehuwelijkt of achtergelaten te worden?...”

⁸⁰Wade, L., 'Learning from "Female Genital Mutilation": Lessons from 30 Years of Academic Discourse', *Ethnicities* Vol. 12: 26 (2011).

⁸¹As the political representation of gender and religious/cultural groups are very much different than each other, this paper chooses to detach the representation of religious/cultural/ethnic minorities from the representation of women. (Please see: Karen Bird, 'The Political Representation of Visible Minorities in Electoral Democracies: A Comparison of France, Denmark, and Canada', *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, Vol. 11 (2005), pg. 425-65.

The following question of Arib (2010Z04229) should be considered as suppressive representation as it addresses minority members (the family) and the country of origin as creating disadvantages for (minority) women:

“Vragen van het lid Arib (PvdA) aan de ministers van Justitie en van Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport over het bekendmaken van de verblijfplaats van slachtoffers van eerderrelateerd geweld... Is het waar dat twee meisjes, die in de opvang verbleven, zijn ontvoerd nadat hun adres bekend werd bij de familie en dat een van de meisjes naar Turkije is ontvoerd? Zo ja, kunt u aangeven wat er is gedaan om deze meisjes terug te vinden? Is een strafrechtelijk onderzoek naar de daders gedaan? Zo nee, waarom niet?...”⁸²

Other Coding Instructions

Unit of Analysis

Please conduct the coding by taking the documents (which is each parliamentary question) as the unit of analysis.

Salience/Sequence of the Issue

Please note that the salience of an issue or its sequence within a document does not have an impact on coding. Whether the coding references construct the main idea behind the doc. or whether the coding references are slightly mentioned in the end of the doc. does not make difference.

Multiple Coding

⁸²Arib, Khadija. Question Number: 2010Z04229, 20.10.2010

Please code the document more than once if there is a reference to more than one codes (for instance if the document refers both to supportive and suppressive representation at the same time.

Differences within the Target Group

Please take into consideration that this codebook does not specify the ‘minority interests’ in advance but adopts a framework which opens room for MP’s of minority origin to define minority interests themselves.

Such a flexible understanding of minority interests takes minority groups as heterogeneous entities rather than portraying them as one single unity with definite interests and problems. Nevertheless, as stated above, if a text addresses the minority culture, religion, minority members (or the home country) as the source of problems of those from a minority group please code that text as suppressive representation. So, when an MP of minority origin supports the rights of any religious/sectarian/cultural/ethnic /other groups; then his/her statement should be taken as promoting minority interests.

Please note that multiple coding is allowed in this research and you can code texts in more than one category if you think that the text is related to more than one categories.

Problem Oriented Structure

Please note that this research follows a problem oriented approach in choosing the appropriate coding of the texts. In this regard, please pay attention to what is presented as the problem in a statement; focus on the factors behind the problem; and what is proposed to solve the problem. For example, do not code a statement as

suppressive representation simply for addressing fundamentalism if that statement tries to solve such a tendency without making any reference to minority culture/religion as the source of the problem.

Oral Questions

Please skip all these records of oral questions because they do not give detailed information on the issue.

Coding Questions:⁸³

Supportive Representation:

- Does the support the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of immigrant minorities?

Please code the text as supportive representation if you answer yes to the question.

Suppressive Representation:

- Does the restrict the cultural and/or religious rights and freedoms of immigrant minorities?

Please code the text as suppressive representation if you answer yes to the question.

Supportive and Suppressive Representation:

- Does the text both adress substantive and supressive representation? Please code the text in both categories.

Other:

⁸³ Please note that you can code texts more than once.

Please code the text as other if it does not cover any of the questions mentioned above.

Issues Discussed in Questions:

Please code the issues discussed in questions in one or more of the following categories: (Multiple coding is possible.)

Discrimination, integration, religion, fundamentalism and terrorism, criminality and delinquency, culture, gender, miscellaneous

Party Identity of the MP of Minority Origin:

Please code the party identity in one of the following categories for the case of the Netherlands:

CDA, D66, GL, LPF, PvdA, SP, VVD

Please code the party identity in one of the following categories for the case of the UK:

Conservative Party, Liberal Democrat Labor Party

Gender Identity of the MP of Minority Origin:

Please code the gender identity in one of the following categories:

Female, male

Ethnic Background of the MP of Minority Origin:

Please code the ethnic background of the MP of minority origin in one of the following categories for the case of the Netherlands:

Moroccan, Surinamese, Turkish, other

Please code the ethnic background of the MP of minority origin in one of the following categories for the case of the UK:

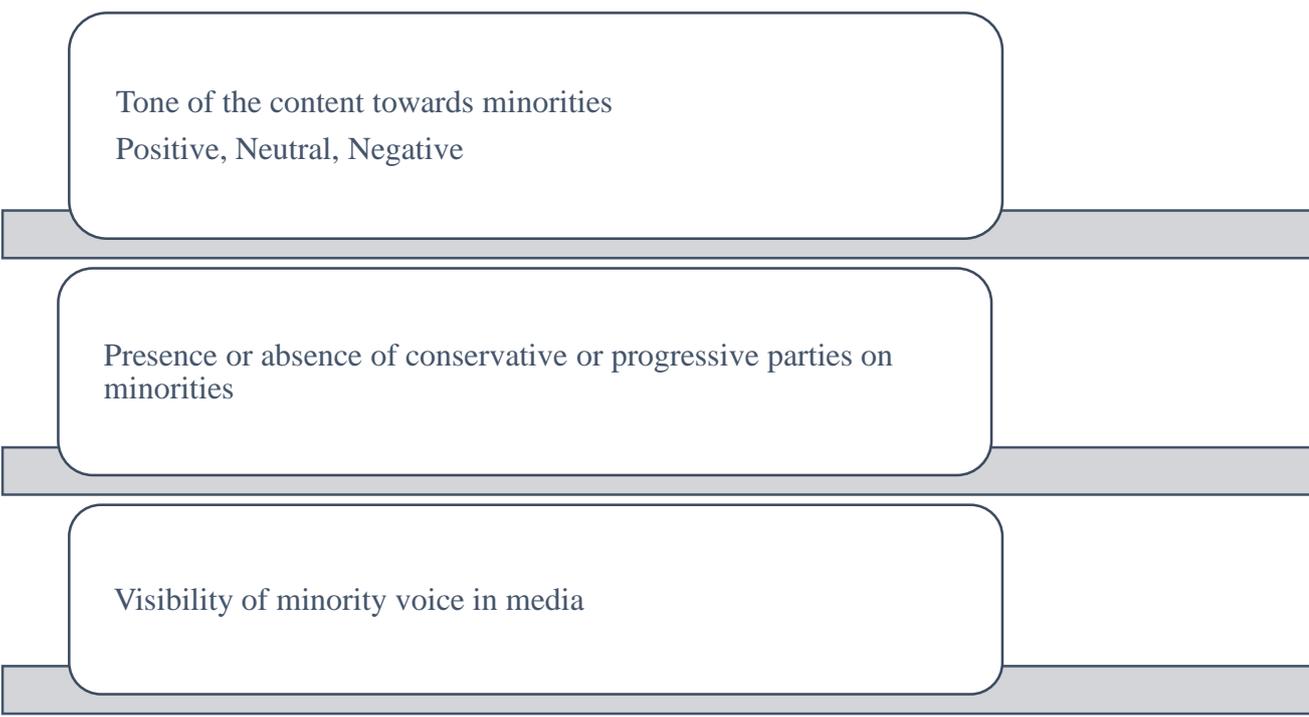
Guinean, Indian, Jamaican, Nigerian, Pakistani, other

APPENDIX E

CODEBOOK FOR THE CONTENT ANALYSIS ON MEDIA DATA

This codebook is to give information about the coding of media documents.

As the graph below illustrates there are three variables, i.e. positive-negative tone media towards minorities, presence or absence of political parties with a pro/anti minority stance, visibility of the minority voice.



Tone of the content towards minorities
Positive, Neutral, Negative

Presence or absence of conservative or progressive parties on minorities

Visibility of minority voice in media

1. Positive – Negative Tone on Minorities

Please consider whether the article has positive, negative, or neutral news/opinion for minorities when coding the tone. Please code the text as both positive and negative when there are references to both categories.

The tone of articles should only be coded with respect to explicit evaluations/reports towards minorities. Evaluations/reports have to be sufficiently explicit to be considered relevant. No subjective interpretations or projections should be made.

Please note that this research follows a problem oriented approach in choosing the appropriate coding of the texts. In this regard, please pay attention to what is presented as the problem in a statement; focus on the factors behind the problem; and what is proposed to solve the problem. For example, do not code a statement as negative simply for addressing fundamentalism if that statement tries to solve such a tendency without making any reference to minority culture/religion as the source of the problem.

When to Code as Positive:

- Please code all those texts denouncing a situation that is disadvantageous for minorities and/ or trying to improve the situation on the benefit of minorities. Such disadvantageous situations may include but are not limited to the following areas: citizenship rights (such as restrictive policies in dual citizenship and naturalization), practicing cultural and religious rituals, anti-immigrant discourse, discriminatory discourse and practices, family (re-) unification, facilities to learn the language of the country of origin, housing, education, employment,

segregation, stigmatization/labeling/stereotyping (due to terror/radical/extremist/fundamental activities).

- Please code all these texts addressing to the contributions of minorities to the Dutch society as positive.
- Please code all these texts referring to an activity and/or a perspective that contributes to the integration. For instance, code those texts referring to the success stories of minority members or those texts on social activities of minority members on the way towards integration as positive.

When to Code as Negative:

- Please code all those texts denouncing minority members/culture/religion/country of origin as causing disadvantages/problems (or having the potential to do so) as negative.
- Please code all these or making any reference to minority activities/perspectives that (may) lead problems in the country of settlement as negative.

Such disadvantages/problems might may include but are not limited to the following: any activities related to fundamentalism, radicalism, extremism, delinquency, repressing women, domestic violence, criminality, unemployment, creating danger to or negatively influencing ‘Dutch values and norms’(i.e. the division of church and the state, tolerance towards, equality between men and women), creating parallel law enforcement and judicial practices – mostly through Sharia marriages, opening the way towards foreign (home country) intervention – mostly through dual citizenship and through disseminating perspectives or of radical Islamist figures, creating parallel societies, abusing the benefit system, increasing unemployment.

- Please code all these texts addressing restrictive policies against minorities in solving those disadvantageous situations/ problems as negative.

When to Code it as both Positive and Negative:

- Please code all those texts carrying both positive and negative references.
- Please code the article as positive or negative when both tones are present but one is more salient than the other.

When to Code as Neutral:

- Please code the text as neutral when there is no evaluation of minorities.
- Please code all those texts as neutral when there is information that is not contextualized. For instance, code those texts about health of minority people as neutral if there is no further context within that article.
- Please remind that news stories based on statistical research mostly fall under this category. Still, please code a text as negative if such statistical data is about a negative issue such as criminality rates, unemployment rate, dependence on social benefits, etc. For instance, please code the following text as negative:

“... Daling werkloosheid allochtonen ten einde: De werkloosheid onder niet-westerse allochtonen is vorig jaar toegenomen. Daarmee is een einde gekomen aan de daling van werkloosheid bij deze groep. Dit meldde het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS) maandag...”⁸⁴

⁸⁴Daling werkloosheid allochtonen ten einde, *De Volkskrant*, 1 March 2003

General Tone of the Article:

Please consider the tone of the news report, opinion piece and/or the interview, etc. in answering questions relating to code and NOT the tone of the actors within that document.

For instance, there are various tones put forward by various actors, i.e. the Islam-critic, Islamic institutions or the judicial organ, say or how they act.

*“... Een Franse rechtbank in Parijs heeft de schrijver Michel Houellebecq (45) gisteren vrijgesproken van smaad en belediging van moslims. Moskeeen in Frankrijk, mensenrechtenorganisaties en moslimgroeperingen hadden de auteur aangeklaagd wegens 'belediging en het aanzetten tot discriminatie, haat of geweld jegens aanhangers van een bepaalde religie' naar aanleiding van een interview in september vorig jaar. **Daarin had hij de islam onder meer 'de stomste godsdienst van allemaal' genoemd...** De rechters vonden de waardeoordelen van de auteur weliswaar niet subtiel, maar zagen ook geen reden tot een veroordeling. Kritiek op oude teksten, betekent nog geen kritiek op de huidige belijders van de islam, zo oordeelde de rechtbank. Het feit dat de schrijver uiting geeft aan zijn persoonlijke afkeer van de islam, is op zichzelf geen belediging van de moslims en zet ook niet tot haat aan jegens de moslimbevolking, aldus het vonnis...”⁸⁵*

2. Coding Instructions for the Visibility of Minority Voice

Visibility of Minorities:

⁸⁵Houellebecq niet schuldig aan smaad moslims, *NRC Handelsblad*, 23 October 2002.

Please code texts as yes ONLY when there is a DIRECT reference to minorities. Code the text as no if there is an indirect reference to minorities. For example, the following text should be coded as no with regard to minority voice:

“...Mohammed, Nursen en Islee turen peinzend naar de landkaart die achterin de klas hangt, op zoek naar het antwoord op de vraag waar Roskilde ligt. Mohammed (50), Pakistaan, is sinds 1984 in Denemarken en werkte als fabrieksarbeider totdat hij zijn baan kwijtraakte. Na al die tijd nog Deens leren...”⁸⁶

The following text, however should be coded as yes with regard to minority voice:

“... Quraishi vindt dat, vooral sinds de aanslagen van 11 september, duidelijk is geworden dat de moslims de nieuwe Deense vijand zijn. 'Wat voor problemen zijn er hier nou, in een van de rijkste landen ter wereld? Het gaat in de discussies nooit over Afrikaanse of Aziatische immigranten, het gaat om de moslims, de nieuwe vijand...”⁸⁷

Research on Minorities:

Research outcome also should be counted within ‘the category of other than minority voice’ even if the data is gathered from interviews or surveys with minorities. Also, please code texts referring to the ‘others’ reports on what minorities do or think as other than minority voice.

The following example should be coded in other than minority voice.

⁸⁶Werkloze migrantenvrouw is de schrik van Denemarken, *De Volkskrant*, 15 Juli 2002.

⁸⁷Ibid.

“...Een paar voorbeelden. Een vrouw met een Marokkaanse achtergrond merkte dat haar oude autochtone burens steeds uit hun tuin vertrokken als zij in haar tuin ging zitten met haar kinderen. Zij besloot dat zij haar burens moest uitnodigen voor gebak en andere lekkernij. De burens kwamen en waren zo ingenomen dat het contact sindsdien goed is. Een mevrouw met een Turkse achtergrond merkte dat als zij nieuwe autochtone burens kreeg, zij steeds achterdochtig naar haar hoofddoek keken. De vrouw besloot om elke nieuwe buurvrouw een bosje bloemen te geven. Het werkte. Een man van Marokkaanse afkomst zag dat zijn dochter ruzie had met de dochter van de nieuwe Nederlandse overburens. Hij ging de volgende dag langs en zei dat het niet goed was. De buurvrouw was het hiermee eens en de dochters werden na verloop van tijd vriendinnen...”

Counting Journalists as Actors of Minority Origin:

Please count journalists of minority origin as actors only when they make a subjective note in news reports and when it is apparent that these journalists are of minority origin.

3. Coding Instructions for the Visibility of Political Parties

- Please code the name of the political party only in those cases when there is a reference to what party members say or do or to the party ideology. Please code all these passive references to these parties by third actors as none in this category.
- Please code all these parties outside the Netherlands and the UK and those not listed in the codebook as other.

General Debates/News about Muslims:

- Please skip all these general debates and news about Muslims around the world and only count those particularly on Muslims in the Netherlands or those Muslim minorities in the Western world.

For instance, do not count the following article as it is related to more general news on Muslims rather than on Muslim minorities in the Netherlands and/or in the West.

*“... **Duizenden moslims protesteren tegen VS ... BEIROET** - In tal van islamitische landen zijn gisteren, na afloop van de vrijdagse gebedsdienst, duizenden moslims de straat op gegaan voor protestdemonstraties. Hun verontwaardiging gold de ontwijding van de koran door Amerikaanse ondervragers in het gevangenkamp Guantanamo Bay, die het heilige boek in de wc gooiden. In Maleisie, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Jordanie, Libanon en Egypte werden Amerikaanse vlaggen verbrand door moslims die wraak zwoeren...”⁸⁸*

Other Coding Instructions

Unit of Analysis

Please conduct the coding by taking the documents (which is each news article) as the unit of analysis.

Multiple Coding

Please code the document more than once if there is a reference to more than one.

Country

⁸⁸Potest tegen de Israëliische terreur, *NRC Handelsblad*, 30 May 2005.

Please code only those statements/ articles which are related to the countries of this research (the Netherlands and the UK) and/or other EU countries (Also Switzerland, the US, Canada and Australia).

Too short articles

Please skip all text if they are too short to give a general idea regarding the coding questions.

Minority culture/religion and the country of origin (practices or figures from the country of origin like animal slaughtering practices, female circumcision, regulations in family law, speeches of religious leaders, etc.) are also included within the framework as most of the time there is a close link associated between minority members and minority culture/religion and between minority members and country of origin. For instance, please also count those negative references to radical/fundamental/extremist imams when there is any connection made between those imams and the minority people/communities in the Netherlands.

Coding Questions:

1. Relevancy:

- Does the take make any reference to minorities within the Netherlands (and/or Western World) please code the text yes if you answer yes to this question and no if you answer no to this question.

2. Positive – Negative Tone on Minorities

- Is there a positive tone towards minorities? Please code the text as positive.
- Is there a neutral tone towards minorities? Please code the text as neutral.
- Is there a balanced tone towards minorities? Please code the text as balanced.

- Is there a negative tone towards minorities? Please code the text as negative.
- Please code the text as other if it does not cover any of the questions mentioned above.

3. Presence or Absence of Pro/Anti Minority Parties

For the Netherlands:

- Does the text make specific reference to CDA? Please code the text as right-wing.
- Does the text make specific reference to CU? Please code the text as right-wing.
- Does the text make specific reference to D 66? Please code the text as leftist/liberal.
- Does the text make specific reference to GL? Please code the text as right-wing.
- Does the text make specific reference to PvdA? Please code the text as leftist/liberal.
- Does the text make specific reference to PVV? Please code the text as right-wing.
- Does the text make specific reference to SGP? Please code the text as right-wing.
- Does the text make specific reference to SP? Please code the text as leftist/liberal.
- Does the text make specific reference to VVD? Please code the text as right-wing.

- Does the text make specific reference to 50+? Please code the text as right-wing.
- Does the text make specific reference to other parties/political figures? Please code the text as other.

For the UK:

- Does the text make specific reference to Conservative Party? Please code the text as right-wing.
- Does the text make specific reference to Labour Party? Please code the text as leftist/liberal.
- Does the text make specific reference to the Liberal Democrat Party? Please code the text as right-wing.
- Does the text make specific reference to other parties/political figures? Please code the text as other.

4. Visibility of Minority Voice in Media

- Do minorities speak for themselves? Please code the text as YES/NO.
- Do others than minorities speak about minorities? Please code the text as YES/NO.
- Please code the text as other if it does not cover any of the questions mentioned above.

** Please note that by minorities this codebook refers to any minority actors like individuals, groups, organizations or institutions.

