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A First Approach in Four European Democracies

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Abstract

This paper constitutes a first attempt to disentangle the effect of ‘party’ and ‘personal background’ in the parliamentary behaviour of legislators of immigrant origin on the basis of observational data. Research in this field faces the problem of observational equivalence: When MPs of immigrant origin articulate views that seem to resonate with the wider community of citizens of immigrant origin, it is virtually impossible to tell whether the content of their parliamentary policy statements is shaped by their own social or ethnic group membership, or whether they were selected by their parties precisely because they are descriptively representative of a particular group whose support the party leadership wishes to attract. To what extent do MPs serve as agents of their parties even in matters of ‘identity’? To what extent are they deployed by their parties as a particular ‘type’ that is believed to appear ‘authentic vis-à-vis a particular part of their perceived social or geographical constituency? The problem is further exacerbated by the fact that positions signaled in the chamber are likely to be the result of an endogenous process. We seek to develop strategies building on an institutionalist methodology suggested by Diermeier and Krehbiel (2003) and employed to legislative speech by Proksch and Slapin (2014). However, unlike Proksch and Slapin we cannot rely on candidate surveys to estimate ideological differences. We also do not take references to migration in the parliamentary policy statements of MPs as a positional issue in a spatial model. Rather, we borrow from framing models to investigate whether we find evidence that notions of integration or community cohesion are valence issues where MPs selectively highlight different dimensions. The paper is a first attempt at developing empirical strategies that draw on the entirety of parliamentary questions for written answer as text corpus in the national parliaments of France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom in the most recent complete legislative period. These texts will be used as an empirical base in an attempt to develop strategies that will work across a range of different languages. First indications are that the framing/valence approach is a promising strategy, which will deliver data that can be related to institutionalist theories of action, which should allow us to address the puzzle above to an extent.

Substantive Representation and CIO MPs: A First Approach in Four European Democracies

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1. Introduction

What process is at work when Members of Parliament articulate issues or positions that are of particular salience for constituents of immigrant origin? Are they ‘speaking for’ immigrants in the sense of a ‘delegate’ in the terminology of Eulau and his coauthors (Eulau et al. 1959)? Is he or she substantively ‘responsive’ in the classical ‘one-way conception of representation’ (Druckman and Jacobs 2015: 199), a perspective that was taken in the seminal study of Miller and Stokes (Miller and Stokes 1963)? Or are they – conversely – delegates of their parties signalling specific policy positions to voter groups they seek to attract? After all, recent scholarship has emphasized the extent to which politicians seek to shape the expectations and evaluations of citizens in representative democracies rather than merely following demands (Druckman and Jacobs 2015; Grimmer 2013). Does it matter whether representatives are of immigrant origin when they ‘speak for’ the perceived interests of immigrants – in the ‘one-way conception of representation’ – normatively (Mansbridge 1999) or empirically (Saalfeld and Bischof 2013)? Or will legislators gain a certain amount of ‘leeway’ in policy-making if they share socio-demographic characteristics of their constituents, even if their decisions are not aligned well with those perceived interests (Bianco 1997)?

This paper addresses a number of crucial conceptual and empirical puzzles that have bedevilled the study of representation from its very beginning. Representation is a complex, multi-faceted, two-way activity characterised by latent processes that cannot be observed directly. In this paper we seek to explore the extent to which an institutional methodology (Daniel Diermeier and Krehbiel 2003) can be employed to shed some light on these processes. In this context it builds on recent work on legislative speech (Proksch and Slapin 2014) but seeks to account for the fact that policies relating to immigration and the incorporation of citizens of immigrant origin may have at least as a strong a valence dimension (see generally Ansolabehere and Snyder 2000) as a positional one. We seek to capture this valence dimension through a framing analysis of the parliamentary questions for written answer by British, Dutch, French and German Members of the respective national Parliament in its latest complete legislative term.

Previous studies (especially Proksch and Slapin 2014) used institutional information about the incentives provided by institutions to identify causal mechanisms that are likely to be at work and help to understand the process of representation. We build on this work. However, we depart from it in one respect. Proksch and Slapin’s reasoning

(see also Bäck and Debus 2016) is based on spatial game-theoretic models of party cohesion. Hence, empirically, their work relies heavily on the ability to estimate partisan and individual ideal points in an ideological space and prefers equilibrium analysis to an attempt to disentangle the effects of the party-based and individual signals MPs send. Scaling models used in empirical work in this tradition have the huge advantage that they provide information that crosses the language barrier more easily than qualitative and interpretive studies of speeches. However, such models also have some drawbacks in relation to our research problem: we cannot take for granted that references to immigrant or minority interests are necessarily captured by scales that typically use spatial positions on a left-right scale to estimate the costs of a speech, a policy or a coalition agreement. Frame analysis has been very successful characterising and classifying speeches and legislators based on large quantities of text. However, they have typically been based on single-country studies often using qualitative methods. Although they are far more sophisticated in measuring subtle differences in political discourse and may be able empirically to capture the valence dimension of such issues, they have generally not aimed to systematically incorporate crucial institutional constraints acting on legislators.

This paper does not aim to close this gap. Rather, the authors pursue the more modest but fundamental goals (a) of identifying a suitable model for the analysis of partisan and group-based effects (the latter referring to the immigrant origin of MPs), (b) of conducting some first steps in developing a conceptual framework for frame analysis and (c) in developing a method for the identification of frames that is valid for the questions we are interested in, namely the capturing of group-based frames, of partisan frames and of indicators capturing processes of frame alignment. The emphasis will be on first descriptive steps.

2. Review of the Literature: Citizens of Immigrant Origin Speaking in Parliament – Constraints, Opportunities, Results

Aydemir and Vliegenhart's review of the literature on the substantive representation of migration-related issues through MPs of immigrant origin suggests that 'empirical research on the substantive representation of ethnic and religious minorities is less than conclusive' (Aydemir and Vliegenthart 2016: 75). First studies (Bird 2005; Blätte 2014; Geese, Goldbach, and Saalfeld 2015; Saalfeld and Bischof 2013; Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou 2011; Saalfeld 2011; Schmitz and Wüst 2011; Wüst and Heinz 2009; Wüst and Saalfeld 2010; Wüst 2014) usually employed a dictionary-based approach to count the number of questions mentioning minorities and immigrants, compared them to a matching sample of MPs without immigrant origin but, as Aydemir and Vliegenhart rightly point out are relatively narrow and 'say little on the content of what 'minority representatives' say' (Aydemir and Vliegenthart 2016: 75). A fruitful alternative is work based on the claims-making approach to representation (Celis et al. 2008; Koopmans

and Statham 1999; Saward 2010) addressing the question by whom, under which conditions, where and how claims are made. Aydemir and Vliegenthart's recent (2016) study follows such attempts (Aydemir and Vliegenthart 2016; Bonjour and Lettinga 2012; Bonjour 2013; Vliegenthart and Roggeband 2007) by adopting a framing approach to gain more in-depth focus on how actors shape the relevant debate. In their recent and very comprehensive study on MPs in the Netherlands, Aydemir and Vliegenthart found that – rather than always using a 'supportive' frame, a number of Dutch MPs of immigrant origin 'were restrictive towards cultural and/or religious freedoms of 'immigrant minorities (Aydemir and Vliegenthart 2016: 74) confirming earlier work that, for example, 'such representatives are often more closely engaged with the party elite, rather than larger ethnic and religious groups ... Having little liability to the grassroots, minority legislators often adopt restrictive frames when addressing issues concerning their ethnic, religious or cultural backgrounds. In many other cases, they choose to remain silent.' This also resonates with some earlier theoretical, but empirically far less saturated work (Saalfeld, Bird, and Wüst 2011) as well as some empirical studies on the strategic use of signals by ethnic minority representatives in the United States (Collet 2008).

Few studies have sought to investigate whether there are links between the framing of certain issues in parliament and the way they are framed in the mass media. In general, these studies focus on one particular country and often include parliamentary questions for written answer (e.g., Vliegenthart and Roggeband 2007). Building on an agenda-setting approach van Aelst and Vliegenthart (2014) conduct an analysis of the relationship between press coverage and parliamentary questions in the Netherlands (1995–2010). Their macro-level approach shows 'that the effect of media on written questions is stronger than the reverse. A more detailed micro-analysis of media coverage preceding and following oral questions does indicate that most of the questions can be traced back to coverage in the days before, but that they receive less media attention afterwards. This might initially indicate that the media are leading the dance with parliamentarians, at least when it comes to questioning behaviour. In many instances, however, media are not creating the news that MPs rely on, but rather are transmitters of information that originates from other political and non-political sources' (Van Aelst and Vliegenthart 2014: 392).

None of the important work mentioned above engages systematically with the literature on the institutional conditions and incentives for MPs (including immigrant-origin MPs) to use 'tools' certain parliamentary policy statements (for a survey see Keh 2015b). This is a serious omission, for two reasons: (a) MPs often do not self-select to give speeches or issue other parliamentary policy statements on the floor of the Chamber; (b) authors do not make full use of the opportunities offered by institutional analysis as a methodology to explain legislative behaviour (D. Diermeier and Krehbiel 2003).

Two bodies of scholarship need to be reviewed here, especially where they intersect. The first and most important one is the general literature on institutional restrictions imposed on legislators in the age of 'rationalized parliamentarism' and similar forms of

centralized agenda control across parliamentary democracy (Huber 1996; Koß 2015). The ability of individual MPs to express their preferences or views in the parliamentary arena is severely constrained by restrictive parliamentary rules. This applies to MPs with and without immigrant origin in equal measure. Focusing on plenary speeches, Proksch and Slapin (2014) have proposed and tested a delegation model of control of access to speech time by the parliamentary leadership and tested it for Germany and the UK. They find confirmation for their hypothesis that individual MPs generally find it easier to speak on the floor of the chamber, where two conditions are met: (a) parliamentary leaderships have a high level of control over the selection of candidates (and hence had an opportunity to choose a 'type' of agent that is ideologically close to their ideal point and loyal); (b) the electoral system creates strong incentives to cultivate a personal vote (hence it is beneficial for party leaders and individual MPs that the individual contribution of MPs to parliamentary debates is visible). Proksch and Slapin's model has the huge advantage of offering a rigorous model of parliamentary behaviour that explicitly accounts for variations in the agency relationship between MPs and their parliamentary leaders. However, Proksch and Slapin's comparison includes only two of the countries in our sample and is very much based on a model that is driven by a spatial model of ideological proximity. It remains to be seen whether the latter is sufficiently sensitive to capture any additional dimensions of political discourse. Last but not least, Proksch and Slapin's work is based on the analysis of speeches. Although they found clear variations in their two-country comparison regarding the extent to which individual legislators can access the floor to make speeches, Keh's (2015a; 2015b) studies demonstrate that individual MPs tend to have easier ways of accessing the plenary and get their voices registered on the parliamentary record than plenary speeches.

The fact that MPs may have easier alternatives for accessing parliamentary speech time has recently been demonstrated in a comprehensive attempt to measure the 'centralization' of various instruments available to MPs to make 'parliamentary policy statements' or 'PPS' (Keh 2015b):

'The more centralized the instruments of PPS are, the greater is the impact of centralized actors, such as the leadership of parliamentary party groups, on who is allowed to employ PPS. Conversely, the more decentralized the instruments of PPS are, the greater is the liberty of backbenchers to decide when they make use of the instruments of PPS. For example, if backbenchers can decide themselves to make a statement in a plenary debate, the rules of plenary debates are highly decentralized' (Keh 2015b: 19).

A systematic comparison of legislative standing orders showed that parliamentary debates on the floor are relatively centralized in Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and the UK, at least in comparison to most other channels available to legislators in the respective chambers. Except the United Kingdom, questions for oral answer are also subject to a relatively high degree of centralized control by the party leadership. Parliamentary questions for written answers are subject to the lowest levels

of centralized control in Belgium, Germany, Italy, Spain and the UK, whereas questioning in this mode is relatively centralized in France and the Netherlands (Keh 2015a: 1097). Nevertheless, in most countries in our sample, parliamentary questions for written do allow legislators to express individual preferences. The question is whether parliamentary questions for written answer can be taken to attract sufficient public attention for them to be an important channel of communication between MPs, media and voters.

There is no doubt that oral questions in 'question time' or functional equivalents attract a certain amount of media interest. A sophisticated comparative analysis of oral questions in the parliaments of the Netherlands, France and Germany suggests that oral questions do attract some media attention, conditioned by national institutional features and the amount of media attention for a certain topic preceding the tabling of the question (van Santen, Helfer, and van Aelst 2015). In addition, this analysis demonstrates that in the Netherlands and France voicing criticism towards a member of government in an oral question slightly increases the chances of getting covered by a newspaper (ibid.)

Although oral questions receive far more publicity, there are indications that written questions are often used by MPs as part of a wider campaign to test the government, in which a whole sequence of different tools are used. In a study of the UK, Geese and his co-authors (2015) found that British MPs use parliamentary questions for written answer as a signal to voters and attentive members of the public, to use Dahrendorf's distinction between 'active' members of the public who participate in political life, 'passive' members who are recipients of political communication and 'latent' publics consisting of politically apathetic persons who are disinterested in political signals of any kind (Dahrendorf 1993). The parliamentary questions asked by UK MPs are reported by internet-based monitoring platforms like TheyWorkForYou (www.theyworkforyou.com) along with Members' biographies, voting records in the chamber, expenses, speeches and other information.² More importantly, many MPs themselves actively communicate their questions via their own personal websites, often including the relevant ministers' replies (Geese, Goldbach, and Saalfeld 2015).

What about parliamentary questions for written answer? The growing popularity of such questions among MPs suggests that they are considered to be useful. Wiberg and various co-authors have observed a strong increase in the number of parliamentary questions for written answers across a number of European democracies (for Germany see also Siefken 2010). 'This kind of procedure is extremely useful when asking detailed information or addressing issues that are relevant for specific constituents. Written replies do not attract much attention but are copied in the official parliamentary proceedings and can be shown as a proof that an action has been taken' (Russo and Wiberg 2010: 220). MPs find them increasingly attractive as a way of participating in parliamentary proceedings, preparing policy statements by acquiring the necessary

² Similarly, the web portal The Public Whip. URL: <http://www.publicwhip.org.uk> (13 June 2015).

information, challenging the government expressing views of their constituents and gaining a degree of visibility amongst the parliamentary correspondents of major newspapers and television stations. Wiberg and his co-authors have developed a catalogue of functions that parliamentary questions serve in European legislatures. These can be reduced to two main dimensions: information retrieval both individually and in the competitive relationship between government and opposition and publicity/controversy in the relationship between government and opposition. Although written questions are useful for MPs irrespective of their status as members of a governmental or an opposition party, the preponderance of written questions submitted by the opposition in all countries in our sample suggests they are predominantly instruments in party competition. Such questions rarely 'create elements of excitement and drama', one of the purposes of *oral* questions (Wiberg and Koura 1994). However, floor time for oral questions tends to be as severely restricted as speech time, and many oral questions receive a written response rather than being answered on the floor of the chamber.

Due to the restrictions on, and centralization of, speech time on the floor of the chambers, the number of questions for written answer ('written questions') has increased sharply in many European parliaments. In a series of short case descriptions, Sánchez de Dios and Wiberg (2011) seek to establish the reasons, the 'utility' of written questions for MPs in a variety of institutional environments. In the French National Assembly, the number of written questions has doubled in the last 30 year for at least four reasons: 'a) they can be tabled at any time, b) they are seen as a personal or an individual act of an MP, c) they have no limit and d) they are considered as a 'public service of free information'. However this procedure has been devalued because ministers are only interested in answering the relevant questions 'signalled' by the party leadership ...' (Sánchez de Dios and Wiberg 2011: 362).

In the Dutch Tweede Kamer der Staten-Generaal 'Ministers and state secretaries provide, orally or in writing, the Houses either separately or in joint session with any information requested by one or more members, provided that the provision of such information does not conflict with the interests of the state (Article 68 of the Constitution)' (PARLINE).³ *More on the Netherlands*

In the German Bundestag individual MPs can submit questions to the Federal Government according to paragraph 105 and Annex 4 of the Bundestag's rules of procedure. In every month, each MP is allowed to submit up to two questions for oral answer (during question time) and four questions for written answer. The Government is required to respond to written questions within one week. Oral questions that cannot be answered during question time will receive the Government's written response within a week. This response will be printed in the Bundestag's official record. All parliamentary questions, including individual questions for written answer (our main indicator in this paper) are predominantly a tool used by the opposition parties to

³ http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/CtrlParlementaire/2231_F.htm (accessed 16 April 2016).

extract information and challenge the Government's record. In addition, written questions give MPs an opportunity to take up current political issues in a parliamentary agenda that is very much programmed by the parties and dominated by government legislative business. While written questions do not have the same public resonance as oral questions, they may feed into other, more public, legislative activities (Hierlemann and Sieberer 2014; Siefken 2010).

In the Spanish Congreso de los Diputados, questions for written answer 'must be answered within 20 days following their publication, a term which may be extended for an additional period of up to 20 days. If there is no reply within this period the questioner can request that the question be treated as an oral question of the appropriate committee. By means of administrative reports usually requested to the central administration, MPs try to obtain documents related to the decision process (...). In common with a number of countries the number of written questions has increased constantly in Spain (...). The high number of WQs is due to the fact that there is no limit on the number each MP can table (...). Around 90 per cent of WQs are answered, which is why it is considered a good source of policy scrutiny, but they are typically answered more than 10 weeks after being tabled. WQs are a good resource to fight informational asymmetries, usually related to local districts (...). About 50 per cent of written questions demand an administrative intervention, a further 25 per cent ask about the legal activity of the administration and the remaining 25 per cent look for particular information or requests for reports (...). The large number of WQs requested has overloaded the administrative services. As a result, officials tend to write just a general reply without giving detailed information' (Sánchez de Dios and Wiberg 2011: 364).

In the British House of Commons, questions for written answer must be replied to within seven days of the question being tabled. The big increase in the number of questions for written answer has contributed to some concerns regarding overload in government departments. The main reasons for the increase of written questions are: 'a) the rise in the numbers of members' staff, who may see the generation of questions as one of their functions; b) the introduction of e-tabling that makes it easier to table questions (...); c) The fact that MPs have become used to the question as a free research facility and questions are being used to attain information and not to inquire into aspects of government policy; d) the outside pressure from the media and websites that have led to focus on parliamentary activity rates monitoring the number of questions tabled by MPs and e) the fact that the number of tabled WQs serves as an informal means of assessing members' activity' (Sánchez de Dios and Wiberg 2011: 360).

The literature reviewed so far suggests that institutionalists (especially those of the rational-choice variety (Slapin and Proksch 2014; Bäck and Debus 2016) offer rigorous models which seek to explain latent processes such as the interaction between parties and individual legislators by formulating testable hypotheses on the extent to which party leaders have incentives to grant backbenchers speech time on the floor of the legislature. However, it was shown that rationalized parliamentarism generally offers backbenchers little autonomy in making speeches. If legislators wish to shape public

debates, they need to use other means. Parliamentary questions for written answer have become an increasingly popular tool available to individual MPs – and for scholars studying individual parliamentary activity. While written questions do not lend themselves easily for the estimation of ideal points in a policy space (one of the bases of rationalist models), they allow the analysis of frames used by MPs. Studies of framing offer more nuanced ways of subtly expressing questions of identity, but scholars using framing for the study of the legislative behaviour of MPs of immigrant origin have been insensitive to the institutional context within which all MPs operate. Improvements are to be expected, if scholars manage to achieve a combination of the strengths of both approaches. The conceptual difficulties are significant as are the practical difficulties arising from the need to conduct frame analyses across a number of languages.

3. Theory

3.1 Proksch and Slapin's Model of Parliamentary Speech

Proksch and Slapin (2014) start from the assumption that parliamentary debate serves as a form of strategic political communication employed by political parties and individual MPs to take positions (rather than means of persuading other parliamentarians or receiving factual answers from the government). They use speeches and other forms of parliamentary text (such as parliamentary questions) to send signals to relevant voters and explicitly model the interaction between the leaders of the parliamentary party groups and backbench members: 'To the extent that the party leadership wishes the party to send a unified message to the public ... leaders will attempt to control what party members say on the floor' (Proksch and Slapin 2014: Kindle pos. 382). This may imply that certain MPs will be denied access to the floor by the leaderships of their own parties (see below).

Proksch and Slapin use a formal delegation model that drives their explanation of variations in the frequency of legislative speech. Their key argument is institutional:

'Constraints from political institutions translate into a systematic selection of parliamentary speakers. The selection of speakers, in turn, leads to strategic position-taking and affects how political preferences are communicated in parliament. As a result, the model offers a rational explanation for why some MPs are more active than others and why ideological viewpoints are represented more accurately during parliamentary debates in some political systems than others' (Proksch and Slapin 2014, Kindle pos. 382).

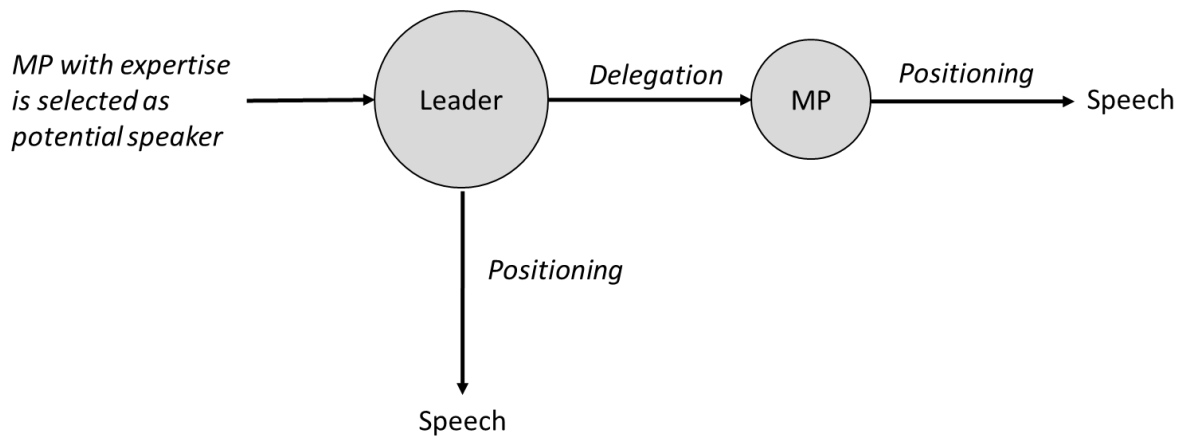


Figure 1: Proksch and Slapin’s Delegation Model of Legislative Speech

Most importantly from our perspective, leaders are in the ‘driving seat’. They are the principals in the delegation game. The MPs are the party’s and party leaders’ agents. In this model ‘floor speeches are the result of a delegation game played between the party leadership and backbenchers. ... rules controlling access to floor time are endogenous; parties design them to give MPs, and therefore the party, the best chance of reelection’ (Proksch and Slapin 2014: ...). They then propose a stylized game played between party leaders and backbenchers, which is based on traditional spatial models of voting with the usual assumptions (e.g., Hinich and Munger 1997; Munger and Munger 2015). The members’ and leaders’ utilities are driven by the spatial distances between the leaders’ position, the members’ position and the position the member will take in the speech. In addition the value members place on party unity (i.e., on faithfully articulating the leader’s position in a speech) and the leaders place on the individual exposure of individual MPs are additional weighting parameters.

On the one hand, the backbencher’s cost of giving a speech is driven by the difference between his or her own ideal point (x_M) and the position he or she is taking in the speech (x_S^i). This position may differ from the backbencher’s own position, if he or she takes the party line into account and the party line is different from x_M . Since the backbencher is fully aware of the electoral value of the party label and possible sanctions for deviating, he or she will also take into account the spatial distance between the position taken in the speech and the leadership’s position (x_L), which is assumed to be the party’s line. Different backbenchers may give different weights to signaling their own position rather than representing the party’s position. From the leader’s perspective there may be a ‘public profile benefit’ if he or she delegates the right to speak on behalf of the party to a member, (e.g., a member with CIO background) – perhaps due to the member’s expertise, or his or her personal assets in electoral competition. Although this is not explicitly mentioned in the model, this may be transferred to our topic as there may be electoral incentives for the party to allow its members with CIO background to articulate an “authentic” voice, even at the expense of party unity. The equilibria Proksch and Slapin identify mathematically,

‘... inform us about the type of party member to whom a party leader is likely to delegate floor time and the position of the speech the member is likely to give. When a member holds an ideological position sufficiently distant from the position of the party leadership, the leader will not delegate floor time to avoid a public intraparty disagreement and will instead give the speech him- or herself. This result, however, is mitigated by the weight that party leaders and members place on party unity. In political systems in which party unity is valued less, the party leader will delegate to a more ideologically diverse set of members. ... Nevertheless, the leader is willing to sustain some policy loss to give members public exposure and to avoid the cost of preparing the speeches him- or herself ... In instances when members place great weight on signaling an individual position over the position of the party ... delegation becomes less likely. The same is true when a party leader places greater emphasis on party unity rather than public exposure of MPs ... Party leaders are more likely to delegate speaking time to members as the benefits to the party from providing members with public exposure increases’ (Proksch and Slapin 2014: Kindle pos. 964 and 971).

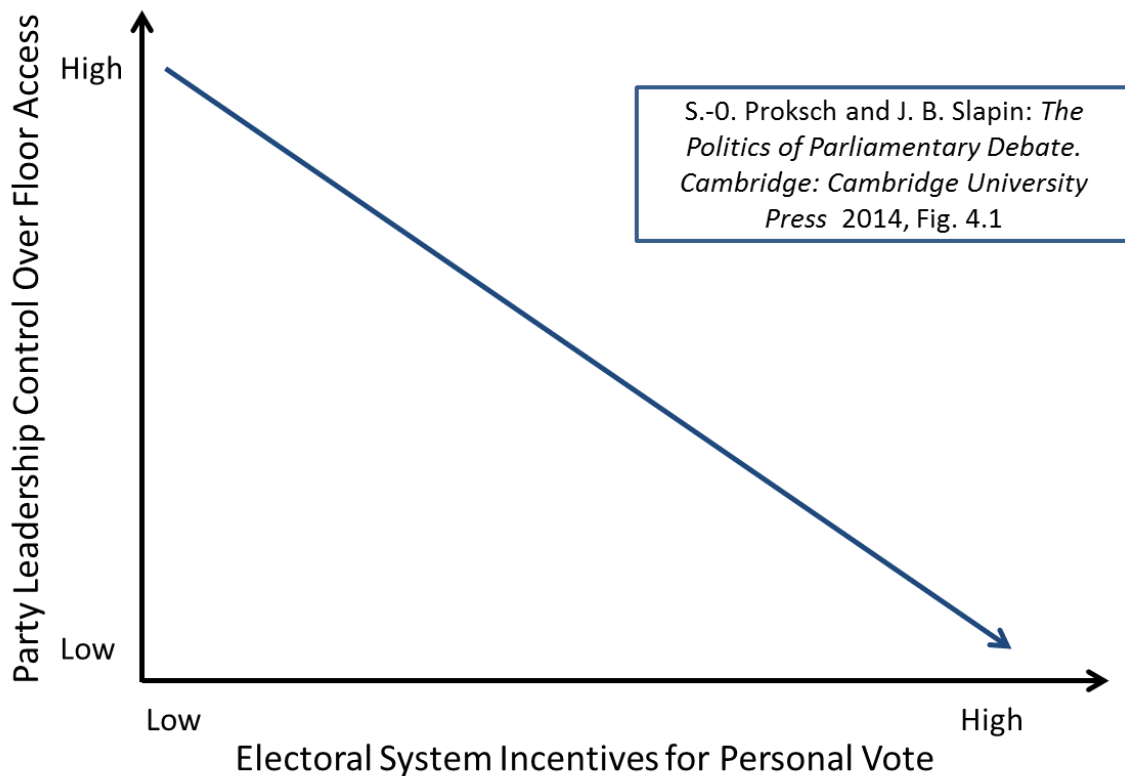


Figure 2: Electoral System Incentives for Personal Vote and Party Leadership Control Over Floor Access

In institutional terms, the probability of a backbench MP (in general) being entrusted with a speech on the floor depends on the incentives to cultivate a personal vote arising

from the electoral system (Carey and Shugart 1995; Proksch and Slapin 2014). A second factor is the centralization of candidate nomination. If party leaders have a high level of control over the nomination of candidates for legislative office, they will choose candidates that are ideologically close to the leadership. Given the ideological similarity, the cost of delegating will be smaller.

3.2 Framing

Our model adopts Proksch and Slapin's (2014) starting point of an agency relationship between party leaders and parliamentary party group member as sketched in Figure 1. Nevertheless, much research in social psychology about values and norms suggests that the spatial assumptions that drive their model may empirically not be entirely convincing as communication is a more complex interpersonal process. Many of the issues involved in immigration may be 'valence' rather than 'positional' issues. A few authors (inspired by empirical media studies) have begun to show that frame analyses may offer sophisticated additional insights into representative behaviour (Van Aelst and Vliegenthart 2014; Aydemir and Vliegenthart 2016). They build on work that considers frames and frame selection as an important way for groups to maintain a collective 'identity', achieve collective goals, overcome collective action problems and 'negotiate' a common position in political competition. We are not using the constructivist concept of frame popularised by Erving Goffman for whom frames help to organize experience and guide action, whether individual or collective. A frame 'allows its user to locate, perceive, identify and label a seemingly infinite number of concrete occurrences defined in its term' (Goffman 1974: 21). Rather, our notion of 'frame' is informed by social psychology where a 'frame'

'is a mental model which consists of cognitive elements. What are the cognitive elements of a mental model or frame? ... A mental model first comprises concepts ... These expressions refer to real phenomena. ... Furthermore, mental models consist of cognitive beliefs A frame also includes norms, values, attitudes, and goals. These are non-cognitive beliefs. ... Discontents, normative justifications ... and attributions of causality ... are among the cognitive elements of a mental model as well' (Opp 2009: 235).

'The major premise of framing theory', as Chong and Druckman point out, 'is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. Framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue' (Chong and Druckman 2007: 104). In particular, each person has a specific set of dimensions that affect his or her evaluation and constitute their 'frame in thought' (Chong and Druckman 2007: 105). 'For example,' they continue 'if an individual believes that free speech dominates all other considerations in deciding whether a hate group has the right to rally, that individual's frame in thought is free speech. If, instead, he or she gives consideration to free speech, public safety, and the

effect of the rally on the community's reputation, then his or her frame in thought consists of this mix of considerations' (Chong and Druckman 2007: 105-106). Hence, politicians seek to mobilize voters, activists or fellow politicians behind their policies 'by encouraging them to think about those policies along particular lines. This is accomplished by highlighting certain features of the policy, such as its likely effects or its relationship to important values ... In so doing, the speaker is invoking a "frame in communication"' (Chong and Druckman 2007: 106).

How might such strategies used by Members of Parliament? Much can be learned from the literature on framing through social movement organizations (Benford, Snow, and Snow 2000; Snow et al. 1986). For example, MPs of immigrant origin may want to express particular concerns arising from their personal migratory experience by aligning them with frames that are widely shared within the party. *Frame alignment* involves the linkage of individual and collective interpretive orientations and can be achieved in a variety of ways: Firstly and most commonly, frames can be aligned through *'frame bridging'*, which is 'the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem' (Snow et al. 1986: 467): fellow MPs will be told that their own frames and those of the Member of immigrant origin coincide. *'Frame amplification'* is a second technique. Frames can be amplified either by referring to values that seem to be important to the party as a whole or by referring to core beliefs of the party. Whereas values refer to the goals of a party, beliefs are cognitive elements that 'support or impede action in pursuit of desired values' (Snow et al. 1986: 470). Beliefs, in turn, can refer to 'the seriousness of the problem, to the attribution of causality or blame, to "stereotypic" properties of antagonists, to the efficacy or probability of change of collective action, and to the necessity of "standing up."' (Opp 2009: 238). A third technique is *'frame extension'*. If an MP's goals are not rooted in existing party ideology or may appear to have little if any bearing on the political situations of fellow MPs, the MP will have to demonstrate that his or her frame is congruent with the political situation and interests of others. The fourth and most difficult strategy is *'frame transformation'* or *'reframing'* which may be necessary if the programmes, causes, and values that some MP promotes does not resonate with, and on occasion may even appear antithetical to, existing and conventional interpretive frames. This transformation can be either domain-specific or global. The difference is that the scope of the changes required is larger in the latter case (Snow et al. 1986: 472-475).⁴

⁴ Chong and Druckman (2007: 108-109), for example, provide illustrations of how "[t]raditional" issues can ... potentially be transformed into "new" issues by reframing. In the 1980s and 1990s, ... proponents of hate speech regulations on college campuses made considerable headway by drawing a parallel between racial harassment in the university and sexual harassment in the workplace (...). They argued that without speech code regulations, universities could become hostile educational environments in which some students were deprived of an equal opportunity to thrive (...). Thus, by arguing that hate speech was not a traditional First Amendment issue, they shifted the value dimension corresponding to the issue and reframed the debate in terms of whether hate speech violated the civil rights of women and racial and ethnic minorities.'

The creation and use of frames are strategic decisions, often by political entrepreneurs, where several options exist. This does not imply that one person can control the creation or spread of frames. Instead, the decisions of many actors and their interactions are involved (Noakes and Johnston 2005: 24). Political entrepreneurs such as Members of Parliament 'continuously revise and modify frames, attempting to find new ways to connect with potential supporters and to reach new audiences' (McVeigh, Myers, and Sikkink 2004: 655). As vote-seeking politicians attempt to extend their influence across many communities, 'intimate knowledge of the values and concerns held by potential supporters in those communities can be extraordinarily valuable' (McVeigh, Myers, and Sikkink 2004: 655). Building up on this general theoretical frame we formulate the following observable expectations.

The extent to which frames may be used by politicians of immigrant origin to signal concern for issues relating to immigration and align their own position and background with the broader 'narrative of their parties' can be illustrated by a look at the section of the personal website of Sadiq Khan MP, the Labour Party's candidate for the office of Mayor of London in the 2016 mayoral election. The section on 'My Story' is particularly interesting in this context:

Figure 3: Sadiq Khan MP: My Story (personal website, 2016)



I was born in London and have lived here all my life. My wife's a Londoner too and we're raising our two daughters here. Our family story is one of how London has helped us succeed.

My parents moved to London from Pakistan in the 1960s. My dad got a decent job as a bus driver and my parents were able to get an affordable council home so they could save a deposit to buy a place of their own.

My brothers, sister and I all got a fantastic state-school education in Tooting and the opportunity to go on to higher or further education without having to run up huge debts. I got a university place based on my talent rather than my ability to pay. My brother got a high-quality apprenticeship.

As a human rights lawyer, I defended people who were discriminated against, and ended up helping run a firm of 50 employees. I saw first-hand the impact discrimination can have on people's lives - and this has made me determined to fight it wherever I see it. The Human Rights Act is one of the Labour Party's proudest achievements and it appals me that the Tories want to scrap it.

In 2005 I was elected MP for Tooting and it was one of the proudest moments of my life. To represent the area where you grew up is a great privilege and one I have relished.

My first ministerial post was as Minister for Community Cohesion, working with people of all faiths to promote greater understanding, including tackling anti-Semitism and Islamophobia.

As Minister of Transport I became the first Muslim and first Asian to attend Cabinet. I was Crossrail Minister and helped ensure the project, which is vital to London's transport needs, became a reality.

I headed up the Labour Party campaign in London in the 2015 General Election. On what was a dark day for Labour across the country, in London we actually increased our vote and won seats from both the Tories and the Liberal Democrats.

My life is not all politics. I spend as much time as I can with my family and I'm lucky enough that my brothers and sister all still live near me in South London so I can see them quite a lot.

I am also a big sports fan, especially football, boxing and cricket. I ran the 2014 London Marathon, and I'm pleased to have raised more than £20,000 for the Evening Standard's Dispossessed Fund in doing so.

Source: http://www.sadiq.london/my_story, accessed 22 April 2016

In a number of formulations Khan (like many other British MPs of immigrant origin) seeks to tell his personal story as one of a person from a working-class background who rose to elite positions as a result of opportunities the British welfare state afforded to him. This 'story', or frame, is aligned very closely with the welfarist ideology of the Labour Party. Public educational institutions allowed him to make a career based on ability, despite his disadvantaged background. He also very clearly highlights his stance against discrimination. His explicit reference to his constituency in Tooting is simultaneously a reference to an area of London with a very large Pakistani community.

4. Research Design, Data and Methods

4.1 Data acquisition

Besides methodological issues that arise when conducting text analysis to compare questions for written answer across several languages, another challenge of this work is to collect data for all countries in the first place.

Questions for written answer are not available in form of a unified dataset or on a centralized internet platform. Instead, the process of data acquisition differs for every country. Data for the United Kingdom and Italy can be accessed by application programming interfaces, which enable specific programmatic queries to extract information. For France and the Netherlands, questions for written answer are available online in proper format, but nevertheless have to be extracted by programmatic procedures. For the remaining countries a combination of web scraping and automated pattern matching procedures are necessary.⁵ This is due to the fact that in most cases questions for written answers are contained within PDF documents for parliamentary records. After acquiring these documents in a first step, they need to be converted to plain text afterwards. Subsequently questions for written answers are located within texts using automated procedures and then combined with additional metadata, like identifiers for Citizens of Immigrant Origin.

The whole process of data acquisition is iterative in nature, with several qualitative data inspections leading to further refinements of programmatic matching procedures. Both, the process of data extraction as well as the iterative process of finding matching patterns and quality inspections, require linguistic skills for the corresponding language as well domain-specific knowledge to understand the structure of parliamentary records.

4.2 Identification of Frames

Previous dictionary-based studies (Saalfeld and Bischof 2013; Saalfeld 2011) have shown that MPs in the British House of Commons rely on two basic frames when debating immigration and its consequences: an 'equality and diversity' frame highlighting the equal rights of immigrants and conceptualizing them as ethnic minorities with full political and social citizenship rights and a more 'defensive' frame highlighting negative externalities of uncontrolled ethnic diversification like ethnic conflicts, the loss of national identity, increases in (cross-border) crime and terrorism. In the former frame, topics often revolve around questions of welfare and equal

⁵ Depending on the country the automated web scraping process required thousand requests. In each case, we tried to contact corresponding server administrators and distributed our programmatic requests over admissible time periods to avoid server overloads.

opportunities. In the latter, issues of national identity, increases of (cross-border) crime and homeland security are in the foreground.⁶

In this paper, we will use a text corpus consisting of all parliamentary questions for written answers in four European democracies across an entire legislative term (Germany 2009-2013, France 2007-2012, the Netherlands 2010-2012 and the United Kingdom 2010-2015; approximately 350,000 documents) as a source to investigate whether MPs of immigrant origin use frames that differ from those used by their colleagues who do not share their immigrant origin. We will also investigate the extent to which differences in the MPs' use of both frames are partisan rather than based on MPs' migratory background.

In order to identify the two frames we will use computerised text mining techniques in a three step-approach. In a first step, we will define dictionaries to identify relevant 'core' terms ('tokens') which characterise the two frames and 'travel' across different languages (which is one of the major challenges of this work). First, to catch WQs using the 'equality and diversification' frame, we have read hundreds of questions and defined in each of the four languages those words that are commonly used to address immigrant-origin communities (e.g. 'minority ethnic' in the UK). Second, in order to capture WQs using a 'defensive' frame, we also defined 'tokens' in each language which refer to illegal immigration, to the extradition of those immigrants and to the threat of terrorist attacks.

However, this work presents particular challenges, because these (basic) linguistic analyses are being carried out across four different languages. Hence in a second step, we are seeking to validate how well the WQs assigned to the two frames actually match them conceptually. To do so, we will visualise and examine the most frequent words used *in combination* with those core tokens, i.e. their 'lexicographic environments'. This procedure will allow us not just to assess the dictionaries' validity but also to readjust them by defining 'exclusion tokens' in a third step, i.e. tokens indicating a dictionary's 'by-catch' of documents which are irrelevant to the frames. In the UK, for example, the token 'terror' is also related to a "Northern Ireland Conflict" frame, such that 'Ireland' appeared in the 'lexicographic environment' of the 'defensive' frame dictionary. Thus, in order to fine-tune the measurement of the 'defensive' frame, we defined 'Ireland' as an exclusion term with the consequence that WQs which include the word were excluded. Thus, we propose to develop dictionaries to extract frames from documents in an iterative fashion which is an innovation in the field of research conducted with parliamentary questions. Doing so depicts a technical advance to previous studies which typically relied only on prima-facie evidence by reading the extracted documents (Aydemir and Vliegthart 2016; Geese, Goldbach, and Saalfeld 2015; Saalfeld 2011).

⁶ These will have to be validated further. There are several ways of doing this. One way is a comprehensive review of media content establishing all frames that are 'culturally available' in each country included. In addition, it would be advisable to complement such sources by asking samples of individuals to record the considerations that come to mind on immigration and ethnic minorities, using open-ended questions (Chong and Druckman 2007a: 107, 2007b).

One problem of such validation approaches is that they are difficult for succeeding researchers to replicate, given the need to read the documents again which involves considerable transaction costs. The advantage of our approach is that the validation procedure is inter-subjectively reproducible and understandable. Taken together, we will treat those tokens as the core components of the relevant frames.

Defining and measuring the two frames in this way will then allow us to investigate whether MPs of immigrant origin are more or less likely to use either of the two frames in quantitative terms. In addition we will break all MPs down by party and re-run the analysis with a view to establish whether any differences between MPs with and without immigrant origin are due to their party membership rather than their migratory history.

When comparing groups we employed the following definition of ‘immigrant origin’: We coded all those individuals as being of immigrant origin who were either born abroad as foreign nationals (‘first generation’) or have/had one parent of foreign nationality at birth (‘second generation’). Hence our definition is independent of ethnicity and not confined to immigrants from specific regions. It is related to, but does not fully overlap with, the concept of ‘ethnic minorities’ or ‘immigrants’.

5. Results

Before deciding about which frame to use when writing a WQ, MPs have to make the decision whether they should at all author a WQ or leave the pen in the draw instead. Since this decision is an important precondition of substantive representation we first describe and interpret the amount of parliamentary activity that MPs with and without immigrant-origin dedicate. For this purpose Table 1 presents how many WQs are authored by those two groups of MPs broken down by party families in the four countries under study. Given that legislative terms differ in length across countries, we standardised the figures as the average number of WQs tabled by MPs over the course of one year to facilitate cross-country comparisons. For example, the top row depicts that a German Social Democratic MP of immigrant-origin authored 15.5 WQs on average over the course of one year.

Striking cross-country differences seem to appear when looking at Table 1. Overall, MPs tend to table significantly more WQs in the UK, followed by France, the Netherlands and Germany. However, inferring from those numbers that MPs in the UK are more active might be wrong, since WQs also differ in length across countries as Figure 1 suggests: Dutch MPs use on average 1,300 characters for one WQ, while in France, Germany and the UK this amounts to approximately 1,050, 350 and 200 characters respectively. Thus, if we based our analysis solely on the number of WQs asked, we would conclude that MPs from the UK are four times more active than Dutch MPs, which could suggest that the personal vote-seeking incentives deriving from the electoral system translate into more individual legislative activity. However, if we also take into account that Dutch MPs

use on average four times as many characters to author WQs compared to British MPs, we have to concede that MPs from both countries are equally active. This, however, would rather deprive our confidence in a causal nexus between personal-vote seeking incentives and individual parliamentary activity.

Turning back to Table 1 the averages in the last row, which don't take into account party differences, suggests that immigrant-origin MPs tend to author considerably more WQs than their non-immigrant colleagues in Germany, the UK and the Netherlands, while in France the opposite is true. Furthermore, within those countries we observe that MPs of left parties –no matter whether with or without immigrant-origin with the exception of France- tend to table more WQs than liberal and right parties. However, it is not clear whether this is due to ideological differences or due to the government-opposition divide, given that at the time the four countries' governments consisted of Conservative or Christian Democratic parties who in Germany and the UK coalesced with a liberal party.

What regards the differences between MPs with and without immigrant-origin, a patchy picture emerges from Table 1. In Germany, MPs of immigrant-origin tend to be more active authors in the Social Democratic and New Left party, while in the Green party this relationship reverses. The relationship is also reversed for Christian Democratic and Liberal MPs of immigrant-origin who hardly ask any WQs. In the UK, the picture is much clearer with MPs of immigrant-origin being noticeably more active in all parties. It is puzzling that in France immigrant-origin MPs of the Socialists are less active compared to their fellow party colleagues while they are more active as members of the governing Conservative party. In the Netherlands, immigrant-origin MPs are more active as members of Social Democratic, Green and the Christian Democratic party, while the opposite is true for immigrant-origin MPs of the New Left, the Liberal and Far Right parties.

Hence, contrary to our expectations, it seems that immigrant-origin MPs differ significantly with regard to how many WQs they table as compared to their fellow party members without immigrant-origin. Moreover, no clear picture emerges that would suggest that those differences are due to different electoral rules or the status as opposition or government MPs.

Table 1: Written Parliamentary Questions Tabled By MPs (year-wise averages) in France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, ca. 2010

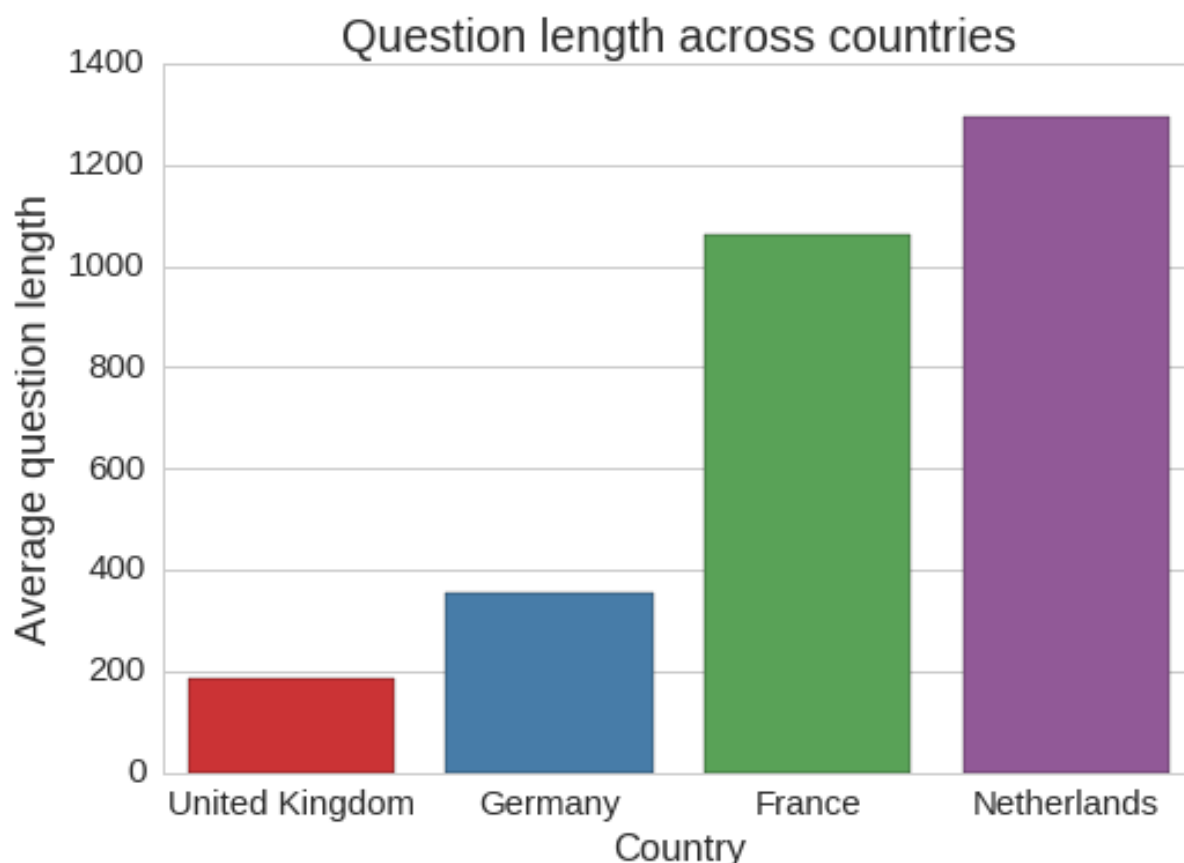
Party families	Germany (2009-13)	United Kingdom (2010-15)	France (2007-12)	The Netherlands (2010-14)
Social Dem./ Socialists ^b				
~of immigrant-origin	15.5	108.2	31.8	26.7
~not of immigrant-origin	12.6	79.8	48.3	20.8
Communists ^c				
~of immigrant-origin				
~not of immigrant-origin				
New Left ^d				
~of immigrant-origin	22.9			24.9
~not of immigrant-origin	17.9			40.4
Green/Ecologists ^e				
~of immigrant-origin	14.8			29.1
~not of immigrant-origin	19.9			16.2
Christian Democrats ^f				
~of immigrant-origin	1.5			19.1
~not of immigrant-origin	4.1			9.8
Conservatives ^g				
~of immigrant-origin		72	45	
~not of immigrant-origin		39.3	41.6	
Liberals ^h				
~of immigrant-origin	0	91.5		13.1
~not of immigrant-origin	2.9	37.6		25.1
Agrarian Parties ⁱ				
~of immigrant-origin				
~not of immigrant-origin				
Far right ^j				
~of immigrant-origin				13.8
~not of immigrant-origin				16.2
All				
~of immigrant-origin	17.2	96.7	35.6	22.2
~not of immigrant-origin	12.4	58.6	43.4	17.1

Source: Extracted from ...

Note: Figures relate to MdBs who have authored at least one written parliamentary question over the course of the legislative period under study: Germany: 2009-2013; UK: 2010-2015; France: 2007-2012; Netherlands: 2010-2012. ^a Immigrant-related Parliamentary Questions were identified by using a set of dictionaries described in Appendix 1. ^b category includes: SPD (Germany), Labour (UK), PS (France), PvdA (Netherlands). ^d category includes: Die Linke (Germany), SP (Netherlands). ^e category includes: Bündnis90/Die Grünen (Germany), GroenLinks (Netherlands). ^f category includes: CDU/CSU (Germany), CDA (Netherlands). ^g category includes: Conservatives

(UK), UMP (France). ^h category includes: FDP (Germany), Liberal Democrats (UK), D66(Netherlands). ^j category includes: PvdV (Netherlands).

Figure 4: Average length of Written Parliamentary Questions in France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, ca. 2010



Source: Extracted from ...

Note: Figures relate to MdBs who have authored at least one written parliamentary question over the course of the legislative period under study: Germany: 2009-2013; UK: 2010-2015; France: 2007-2012; Netherlands: 2010-2012.

Figure 5 presents the lexicographic environments of the equality and diversity frame (left column) and the defensive frame (right column) that we have extracted from the 4 countries' corpora using the dictionaries described in Appendix 1. Those visualisations offer the opportunity to validate whether the WQs extracted actually match our frames conceptually as explained in the data and methods section. Displayed are the 40 most frequent word stems which occur in conjunction with the tokens defined in our final dictionaries after fine-tuning, which means after some of the dictionaries were complemented by exclusion words. For all visualizations we rely on stemmed word terms. The technique of stemming aims to reduce tokens to corresponding word stems, such that tokens like 'discussion' and 'discussant' are reduced to the common stem

'discuss'. The procedure is algorithmic in nature and in some cases can lead to overstemming effects, where aggressive word truncation leads to stems that are hard to interpret. Nevertheless, for our purpose of capturing terms with similar semantic meaning in the context of frames, stemming provides superior results in comparison to applying no postprocessing.⁷ In addition to stemming we removed terms which do not carry any semantic meaning from the visualizations. These so-called stopwords consist of common language-dependent terms like 'and' or 'the', but also of subject-dependent terms like 'department' or the corresponding stem 'depar'. For each country analysed in this paper subject-dependent stopwords are also shown in Appendix 1. Terms shown in the lexicographic environments are scaled in size according their frequencies across all documents analysed within one frame. As an example, consider the stemmed term 'ethnic' occurring 500 times in all questions identified within the equality and diversity frame by our dictionary procedure. This term is then displayed in larger size than another term 'black' which occurs only 200 times in all these questions. There are alternatives for weighting terms, like the tf-idf method, short for term frequency-inverse document frequency. Tf-idf weighting is commonly applied for information retrieval and dimensionality reduction methods, but for our dictionary based approach we do not consider document frequencies as relevant.

The lexicographic environments suggest that the dictionaries did a good job in capturing the 'equality and diversity'. Of course, it is not surprising that the tokens defining those dictionaries also depict the most prominent word-stems here. Besides those pre-defined word-stems however, we can spot many word stems associated with a social dimension. In the German case those are for example "arbeit" (labour), "bildung" (education), "integration", "jugend" (youth) and "geschlecht" (gender). In the UK words which we didn't pre-define but which are typically used to address minority communities like "black" and "asian" appear as well as words of social meaning like "women", "education", "university", "work", "discrimination" and "civil". Similarly, in the French case words like "travailleur", "social" and "intégration" seem to feature prominently to the 'equality and diversity frame', which is also true for words like "kinder" and "vrouw" in the Dutch case.

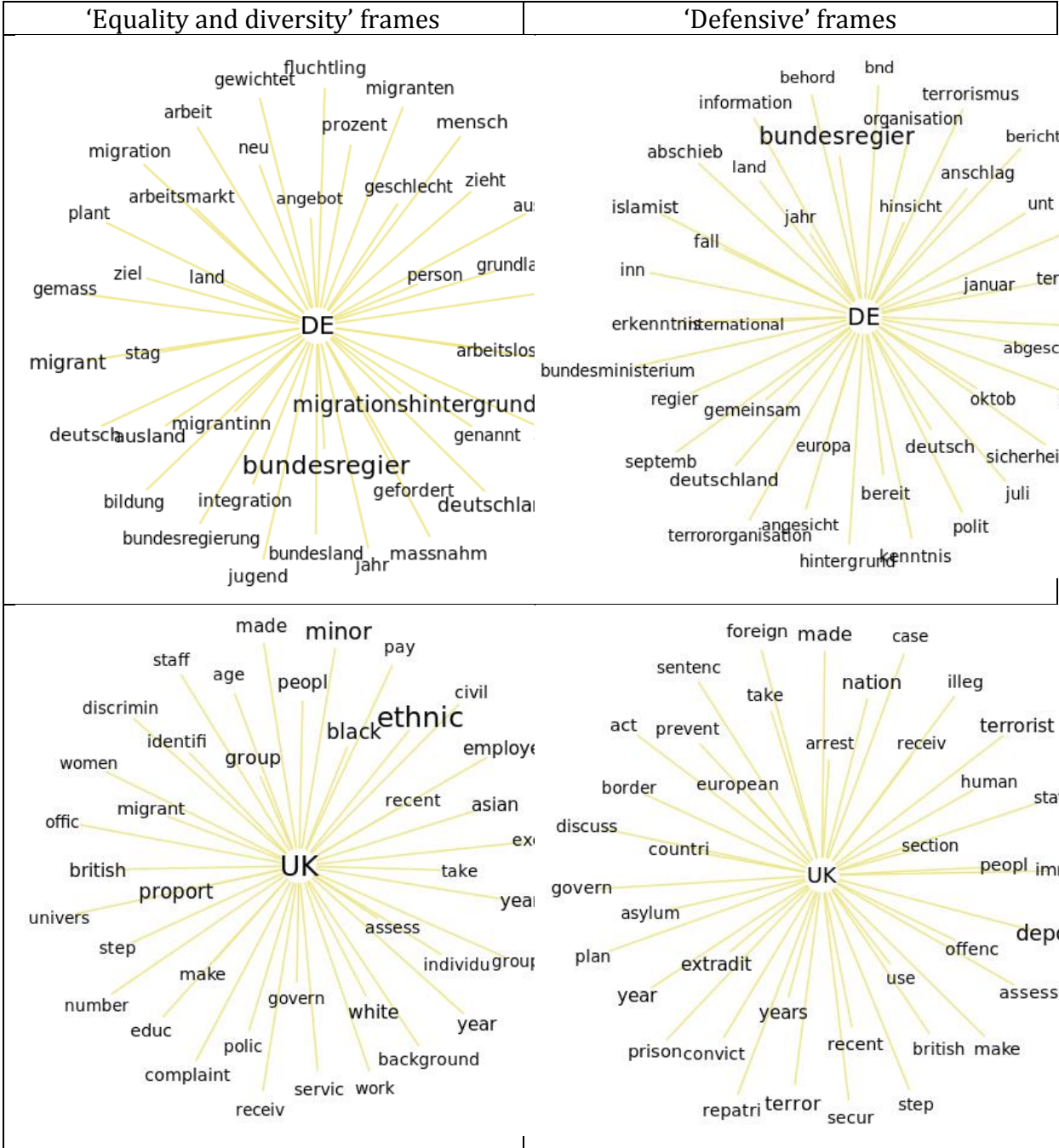
With regard to the 'defensive' frame, in Germany words related to the security agencies of the state like "bnd" (abbreviation of Bundesnachrichtendienst, the German Intelligence), "behörde" (state agency), and "sicherheit" (security) seem to feature prominently. In the UK the 'defensive' frame seems to relate to domestic crime ("prison", "sentence", "convict", "offence", "arrest") as well as to issues of border protection and national security ("security", "border", "asylum").

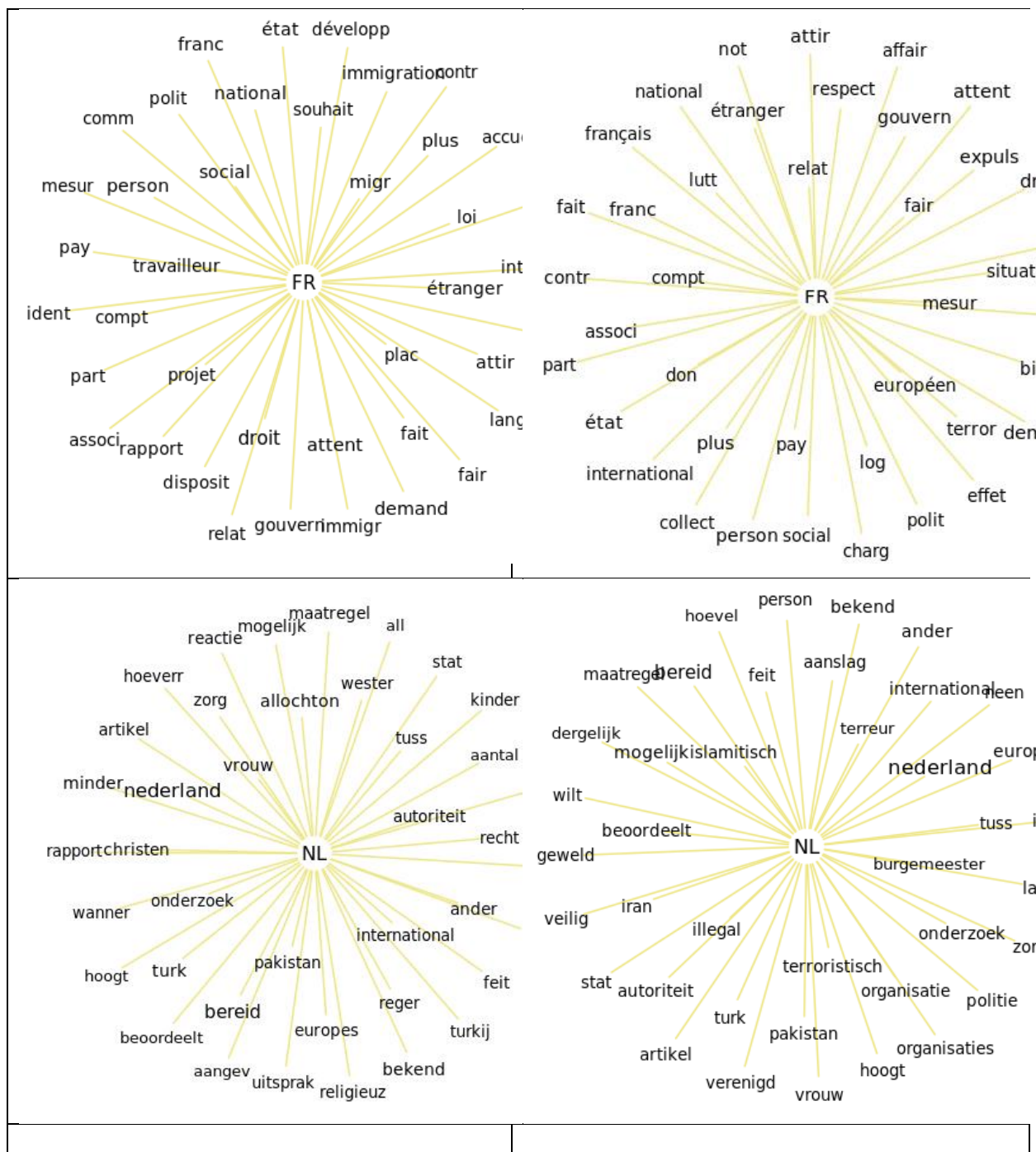
(Due to the author's lack of knowledge of the French and Dutch languages, all reported evidence for those countries with regard to both frames is preliminary at best. In future

⁷ An alternative for stemming words is lemmatization, where words with the same semantic meaning are identified using a dictionary approach. In the context of this work however, we would require lemmatization dictionaries for every language analyzed, which, to the best of our knowledge, are not accessible yet.

iterations of this chapter, we will have to rely more on the judgements of colleagues who are native speakers in those languages.)

Figure 5: Lexicographic environments of ‘equality and diversity’ and ‘defensive’ frames in France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, ca. 2010





Source: Extracted from ...

Note: The two frames per country were identified by using a set of dictionaries described in Appendix 1.

After we have offered an explanation of the validation of our frames approach, we are turning now to the patterns of frame usage. Table 2 reports those figures by again differentiating between MPs with and without immigrant-origin broken down by party families in the four countries under study. Thus, the numbers depict the average number of authored PQs assigned to a respective frame within the time period of one year in a similar way as in Table 1. Nonetheless in difference to Table 1, we will abstain from examining cross-country differences in absolute terms, i.e. we will not compare whether

German MPs of immigrant-origin use a frame more often than for instance Dutch MPs of immigrant-origin, because it is likely that our linguistic approach does not capture exactly the same underlying dimensions of those frames in the different countries, given that not only language is culture-specific but also that the way issues of immigrants and immigration are politicised is country-specific. Given those obstacles, we are much more comfortable to compare just the relative differences between MPs with and without immigrant-origin across countries. Starting with the last row of Table 3, we observe striking cross-country differences if we take a bird's eye view across all parties in each country. In Germany and the UK, MPs of immigrant-origin are more likely than their colleagues to use either the 'equality and diversity' or the 'defensive' frame, while we do not see any differences in France. Interestingly, German MPs of immigrant-origin tend to use the 'defensive' frame relatively more often than the 'equality and diversity' frame, whereas this seems to be the other way around with regard to British MPs of immigrant-origin. In the Netherlands, MPs of immigrant-origin seem to be more likely to use the 'equality and diversity' frame while they are less likely to use the 'defensive' frame. When examining party differences within and across countries, it seems that those macro differences are a function of party differences within countries. In Germany, MPs of immigrant-origin of the political left use both frames more often than their fellow party colleagues, while there are no differences within the two governing parties of the political right where hardly any MP uses one of the two frames at all. Interestingly, Social Democrats of immigrant-origin are more likely to use the 'equality and diversity' frame in Germany, while immigrant-origin MPs of the Green and New Left Party put more weight on the 'defensive' frame. In the UK, MPs of immigrant-origin across all parties use both frames more often than MPs without immigrant-origin. However, comparing MPs of immigrant-origin across different parties suggest that Labour MPs use the 'equality and diversity' frame considerably more often and the 'defensive' frame considerably less often than Conservatives or Liberals of immigrant-origin. In France, it seems that in both parties MPs put a higher weight on the 'defensive' frame, no matter whether they are of immigrant-origin or not.

In the Netherlands, we observe a patchy picture of party variations, which relates to both, the differences between MPs with and without immigrant-origin inside parties as well as to differences between MPs of immigrant-origin across different parties. While MPs of immigrant-origin in the Social Democratic Party tend to use both frames more often than their fellow party colleagues, this seems to be the other way around within the New Left party. In the Green party, we seem to observe a clear organisation of labour division between MPs with and without immigrant-origin: while the former use exclusively the "equality and diversity" frame, the latter use exclusively - to a very low magnitude though - the 'defensive' frame. Christian Democrats of immigrant-origin tend to use both frames often than their party colleagues. In the liberal party, immigrant-origin MPs rely exclusively on the 'equality and diversity' frame but use this frames even to a lesser extend often than their colleagues without immigrant-origin. Comparing Dutch MPs of immigrant-origins' relative usage of the two frames across different parties speaks in favour of strong party differences along the left-right divide. While

immigrant-origin MPs of the Social Democratic, the New Left, the Green and Liberal parties tend to use the 'equality and diversity' frame more often, Christian Democrats of immigrant-origin use the two frames evenly. In contrast, immigrant-origin MPs in the Dutch Far Right party rely exclusively on the 'defensive frame'.

Table 2: Frames Used Per Year And MP (year-wise averages) To Table Written Parliamentary Questions in France, Germany, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, ca. 2010

	Germany (2009-13)		United Kingdom (2010-15)		France (2007-12)		The Netherlands (2010-14)	
Written Parliamentary questions	Equality and diversity frame ^a	Defensive frame	Equality and diversity frame	Defensive frame	Equality and diversity frame	Defensive frame	Equality and diversity frame	Defensive frame
Party families								
Social Dem./ Socialists ^b								
~of immigrant-origin	0.94	0.25	1.60	0.66	0.10	0.33	0.74	0.59
~not of immigrant-origin	0.05	0.11	0.57	0.35	0.12	0.31	0.17	0.27
Communists ^c								
~of immigrant-origin								
~not of immigrant-origin								
New Left ^d								
~of immigrant-origin	0.50	1.00					0.30	0.00
~not of immigrant-origin	0.09	0.25					0.44	0.55
Green/Ecologists ^e								
~of immigrant-origin	0.50	0.93					0.78	0.00
~not of immigrant-origin	0.09	0.17					0.00	0.07
Christian Democrats ^f								
~of immigrant-origin	0.00	0.00					0.44	0.44
~not of immigrant-origin	0.02	0.01					0.38	0.14
Conservatives ^g								
~of immigrant-origin			0.38	1.08	0.00	0.18		
~not of immigrant-origin			0.19	0.29	0.03	0.19		
Liberals ^h								
~of immigrant-origin	0.00	0.00	0.30	1.70			0.44	0.00
~not of immigrant-origin	0.02	0.03	0.13	0.13			0.50	0.17

~not of immigrant-origin									
Agrarian Parties ⁱ									
~of immigrant-origin									
~not of immigrant-origin									
Far right ^j									
~of immigrant-origin								0.00	1.56
~not of immigrant-origin								0.64	1.33
All									
~of immigrant-origin	0.57	0.76	1.10	0.83	0.07	0.27	0.49	0.36	
~not of immigrant-origin	0.06	0.12	0.35	0.34	0.07	0.24	0.33	0.42	

Source: Extracted from ...

Note: Figures relate to MdBs who have authored at least one written parliamentary question over the course of the legislative period under study: Germany: 2009-2013; UK: 2010-2015; France: 2007-2012; Netherlands: 2010-2012. ^a Frames of Parliamentary Questions were identified using a set of dictionaries described in Appendix 1. ^b category includes: SPD (Germany), Labour (UK), PS (France), PvdA (Netherlands). ^d category includes: Die Linke (Germany), SP (Netherlands). ^e category includes: Bündnis90/Die Grünen (Germany), GroenLinks (Netherlands). ^f category includes: CDU/CSU (Germany), CDA (Netherlands). ^g category includes: Conservatives (UK), UMP (France). ^h category includes: FDP (Germany), Liberal Democrats (UK), D66(Netherlands). ⁱ category includes: PvdV (Netherlands).

6. Conclusions

In recent years many studies have used written parliamentary questions as a means to analyse how the presence of MPs with an immigrant or ethnic minority background impacts on the substantive representation of minority interests in parliament. Although those studies contributed in an important way to our understanding of immigrant-minority representation in Europe, they suffered from the fact that by focussing on single country studies they cannot solve important problems of causality, namely, whether those MPs' parliamentary behaviour is influenced by their immigrant identity or by their party affiliation, whether those two factors interact, and whether one factor is more important in one institutional environment but not in another. Hence, in this study we approach this puzzle by using a comparative country design to analyse written parliamentary questions authored by MPs with and without immigrant-origin in four Western European democracies. This research design allows us to include institutional variables like legislative procedures and electoral rules as explanatory factors and thus to formulate hypotheses about the impact of the factor 'party' the differences between MPs with and without immigrant origin in different countries.

In conceptual terms, we start our research from the previously often reported finding that the substantive representation of immigrant-origin citizens is typically addressed along the lines of two frames: a 'diversity and equality' frame addressing problems of minorities' social well-being and a 'defensive' frame which relates to the perceived risks of ethnic diversification and immigration. Following those works, we measured those frames in each country with country-specific dictionaries. Moreover, we present a procedure to validate the outcomes of those indicators by visualising their 'lexicographic environments' using an automated text mining approach.

First descriptive results suggest that the factor party is important for within as well as across-country differences with regard to frame usage between MPs with and without immigrant-origin. However, those differences do not seem to fit well with our theoretical expectations. This could have to do with either a need for better theories and/or a need to improve our approach to measure those frames, which is particularly challenging in a study which using textual data across four languages (of which the authors are comfortable with two).

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Appendix 1

Dictionaries used to identify frames of Parliamentary Questions relevant to immigrant communities: minority issues vs. security issues

DE

Equality and diversity frame:

Tokens: migrant, migrationsh, migrationsb, einwanderer, zuwanderer, ausländer , aussiedle

Defensive frame:

Tokens: salafist, islamist, terror, abschieb, illegale ein, anschlag

Stopwords used to display lexicographic environments:

http, bzw, laut, welch, wurd, zwisch, seit, fur, dass, bitt, uber, inwieweit, all, vgl, gegenub, sowi, frag, werd, inwief, insbesond, schon, mehr, hoch, hoh, geg, lag, jeweil, entsprech, weit, and, bewertet, ohn, rahm, bundestagsdrucksach

UK

Equality and diversity frame:

Tokens: ethnic, minorit, racial, migrant

Exclusion terms: illeg

Defensive frame:

Tokens: islamist, salafist, terror, deport, repatriat, extradit, illegal immigr

Exclusion terms: ireland

Stopwords used to display lexicographic environments:

sinc, will, member, last, statement, ani, whether, mani, depart, estim, five, figur

FR:

Equality and diversity frame

Tokens: immigrée, issues de l'immigration, migrant, maghrébin

Exclusion terms: militair, terror

Defensive frame:

Tokens: islamist, salafist, terror, expuls, immigration illégal

Stopwords used to display lexicographic environments:

http, ministr, afin, mis, être, tour, donc, mêm, mme, vouloir, dan, ains, tres, autr, san, sant, alor, tout, notr, depuis

NL:

Equality and diversity frame:

Tokens: migrant, minderhe, allochto, niet-west

Exclusion terms: illegal, crimin

Defensive frame:

Tokens: salafist, islamist, terreur, terror, deport, illegale immigr, uitlever, repatr

Exclusion terms: israël, palest, hezbollah

Stopwords used to display lexicographic environments:

waarom, minister, mar, gat, dor, let, zak, teg, wijz, ten, wel, kamer, vrag, waarin, vor, hebb, bent, mening, kunn, word, welk, kent, kunt, zoal, mak, deelt, kennisgenom, bericht, klopt, vindt, dez, war, gen, gan, mer, nar,

