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Immigrant MPs in Britain, France and Germany: Roles and Activities

Thomas Saalfeld, Andreas M. Wüst and Constanza Sanhueza Petrarca[1]

Abstract: One of the main premises of representative democracy is that all those subject to political decisions should have a voice in the policy-making process. However, the legislatures of electorally accountable governments often fail to mirror the interests and perspectives of some social groups. In this paper, we are interested in learning more about the presence of immigrant-origin Members of Parliament (MPs) in Britain, France and Germany and the representational bond they create with their constituents. Focusing empirically on behavioural indicators such as issues relating to immigration and the interests of immigrant-origin minorities in written parliamentary questions, we examine the extent to which variables such as party membership and constituency composition 'determine' MPs' parliamentary activities and whether parliamentarians' background as immigrants or descendants of immigrants is of additional explanatory value for voicing concerns relating to immigration and the interests of immigrant-origin minorities. The study analyses the content of written questions regarding migration-related issues in the House of Commons (2005-2010), the Assemblée Nationale (2007-2010) and the German Bundestag (2005-2009). We examine the behaviour of immigrant-origin MPs and contrast it with the behaviour of native MPs from comparable constituencies.

Introduction

The political integration of immigrants and their descendants presents a significant challenge to representative liberal democracies facing sustained and large-scale immigration (Walzer 1983). While some countries allow (some) foreign citizens to vote or to stand for office especially at the sub-national levels of the polity, it is generally still national citizenship that qualifies for fully-fledged political participation at the national level. In this paper, we examine the parliamentary representation of immigrants (first generation) and their immediate descendants (second generation).[2] The main goal is to move the discussion in this area beyond the 'counting' of the number of members of parliament with a migratory background (Messina 2007) and shed some light on their parliamentary activities and 'presence'.

Based on a neo-institutionalist approach, the paper will investigate the extent to which the different political and parliamentary 'opportunity structures' provide different incentives for Members of Parliament with a migratory or visible-minority background and will develop some thoughts about the extent to which variations in behavioural patterns can be explained by variations in institutional structures. In particular, we will ask: What type of politician with a migratory or visible-minority background gets into parliament? What do these MPs do as representatives, once they are elected to Parliament? Do they focus on specific roles, and what are their

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[2] We will refer to these persons as 'immigrants', members of 'visible' or 'ethnic minorities' or persons with a migratory background, depending on the context.

reasons for taking over these roles? Do they show a high level of individual activity in parliament? Do they focus on issues related to immigration or the interests of immigrants and their descendants? A comparative approach is used to bring out some of the peculiarities of immigrant and ethnic-minority representation in Britain, Germany and France shifting the attention from group characteristics (predominant in some works on migration) to the interaction of individual characteristics and preferences on the one hand and institutional variables (such as different parliamentary structures) on the other.

This work is part of a larger comparative project including more than these three countries and extending beyond the national tier of government (including regional, local, supra-national tiers). It is the authors' second comparative analysis on the UK, France and Germany.[3] However, the earlier analysis (Wüst and Saalfeld 2010) covered the last legislative term in these national parliaments only partially, and did not include a contrast group of MPs who were not of immigrant origin. With a complete coverage of the last complete legislative terms in the UK (2005-2010) and Germany (2005-2009) and an update on the current legislative term in France, we now also introduce contrast groups for each country into the analysis. These contrast groups allow us – for the first time – to put the immigrant-origin MPs' behaviour in perspective and analyse individual parliamentary behaviour in comparison to their non-immigrant colleagues.

Immigration and Ethnicity in Normative Theories of Democratic Representation

Although the thrust of this paper is empirical, the topic has considerable implications for the normative theory of political representation with its longstanding debate on whether the 'substantive' representation of certain groups in society requires their 'presence' (Phillips 1995) or 'descriptive' representation in democratic decision-making bodies (for a summary see Mansbridge 1999). In contemporary liberal democracies, political decisions 'are made by elected representatives and implemented by appointed officials to whom the representatives delegate some of the tasks of governing. The representatives decide what citizens must and cannot do, and they coerce citizens to comply with their decisions (Manin, Przeworski and Stokes 1999: 1). With the increasing volume of migration and the continued rise of 'identity politics' in political activism *and* certain types of political theory liberal democracies, it is often said, that liberal democracies are facing a new challenge: If, as Pitkin (1967: 209) in her classic work defines, 'representing … means acting in the interest of the represented, in a manner responsive to them', the question must be posed whether members of minority groups can be 'represented' adequately by (ethnic) majority parliamentarians given historical memories, or 'narratives', of migration, poverty, exclusion, racial discrimination, suppression, colonialism and slavery. After all, whilst Pitkin explicitly states that the representative's action 'must involve discretion and judgment', she

[3] Wüst and Saalfeld (2010) included a fourth country, Sweden, in their first analysis, but since Sweden does not know single-member constituencies that are an important element in the analytical concept of this paper, Sweden is excluded from the analyses presented here.

also emphasizes that representatives 'must not be found persistently at odds with the wishes of the represented without good reason in terms of their interest, without a good explanation of why their wishes are not in accord with their interest (ibid., 209-210). Whilst the present paper will not directly contribute to this normative debate, it will investigate whether (and under what conditions) MPs with a migratory or visible-minority background make their 'presence' as immigrants or descendants of immigrants felt in the three European parliaments that we are considering in this paper.

Despite disagreement over the substance of the activity of representing in the normative literature (which we can only touch on here), there is considerable consensus amongst democratic theorists about the institutional procedures inducing political representation. Manin, Przeworski and Stokes (1999: 3) summarise these procedures as follows: (1) Rulers, those who govern, are selected through elections; (2) while citizens are free to discuss, criticize, and demand at all times, they are not able to give legally binding instructions to the government; (3) rulers are subject to periodic elections. This has naturally re-fuelled the long-standing discussion about 'descriptive' representation in elected bodies where 'representatives are in their own persons and lives in some sense typical of the larger class of persons whom they represent' (Mansbridge 1999: 629). Generally, descriptive representation has not found favour amongst the majority of normative political theorists pointing to the costs of active measures to promote descriptive representation: the risk of recruiting lesser talent; the absence of convincing normative criteria for the selection of specific groups that need to be represented; the risk of reinforcing or even creating conflicts between groups in society; and not least the risk of 'essentialism' assuming that 'members of certain groups have an essential identity that all members of that group share and of which no others can partake' (Mansbridge 1999: 630-641, *verbatim* quote 637; see also Moller Okin et al. 1999). While these normative concerns may be hard to dispute, Mansbridge (1999) argues that there may be specific conditions where descriptive representation may be necessary to achieve adequate substantive representation in *deliberative processes and bodies*. This is obviously of particular interest to students of parliaments. Mansbridge highlights what she refers to as 'contexts of distrust' where a 'history of dominance and subordination typically breeds inattention, even arrogance, on the part of the dominant group and distrust on the part of the subordinate group' (Mansbridge 1999: 641). In this case, higher levels of descriptive representation, as Mansbridge argues (ibid.) 'facilitates vertical communication between representatives and constituents. Representatives and the voters who share some version of a set of common experiences and the outward signs of having lived through those experiences can often read one another's signals relatively easily and engage in relatively accurate forms of shorthand communication.' The same, she claims, is true for 'contexts of uncrystallized interests' when 'issues have not been on the political agenda long, candidates have not taken public positions on them, and political parties are not organized around them. … When interests are uncrystallized, the best way to have one's most important substantive interests represented is often to choose a representative whose descriptive characteristics match one's own on the issues one expects to emerge' (Mansbridge 1999: 643-644).

The normative discussion on the merits and problems of descriptive representation is ongoing and remains controversial. For decades, one of its foci has been the discussion of women in politics. Increasingly the intellectual and political debate has also been extended to (ethnic) minority groups and immigrants, first in the United States and now in many European countries (Bird, Saalfeld and Wüst 2011). The present paper has to be read against the background of such important normative debates, but is primarily empirical in outlook and content. In the empirical literature, a great deal of attention has been devoted to the political opportunity structures (Kittilson and Tate 2004) facing (potential) candidates for elected democratic office, including incorporation regimes (e.g., Freeman 2004), citizenship laws (e.g., Joppke 1999; Nuhoğlu Soysal 1994), electoral systems (e.g., Bergh and Björklund 2003; Togeby 2003; Canon 1999; Lublin 1997; Norris 2004) and the process of candidate selection in the main parties (Geddes 1995; 1998; Norris and Lovenduski 1995; Saggar 2001). Although there have been some studies on the roles played by politicians from visible minorities in the House of Commons (e.g., Nixon 1998; Norris and Lovenduski 1995: 209-225), MPs' activities have not enjoyed the same attention as the parliamentary behaviour of women in parliament (e.g., Childs 2004; Krook and Childs 2010).

As far as we are aware, there is no fully developed *empirical theory* of ethnic minority behaviour in the legislatures of parliamentary systems of government. Research on the US Congress and state legislatures has produced a rich body of empirical evidence on the legislative behaviour in the context of a presidential system (e.g., Bratton and Haynie 1999; Fenno 1978; Grose 2005; Haynie 2002; Meier, Juenke, Wrinkle et al. 2005; Mixon and Ressler 2001; Orey 2000; Patoja and Segura 2003; Preuhs 2006; Swain 1993; Tate 2001). In the context of European parliamentary democracies, there has been some research into the representation of longer-standing ethnic minorities and conflicts (e.g., Alonso and Ruiz-Ruffino 2007). Yet, the representational activities of MPs with a migratory or visible-minority background are underresearched both empirically and theoretically. Nevertheless, there is a rich theoretical literature on legislative institutions, roles and behaviour that can be drawn on.

Empirical Theory: Roles, Institutions and Representation

One key theoretical tool *empirically* to describe the activities of Members of Parliament can be derived from research on legislative roles, which has experienced a certain revival in the sociological and rational-choice varieties of the new institutionalism (Blomgren and Rozenberg 2011; Müller and Saalfeld 1997). For the purposes of this paper we employ Strøm's (1997: 155) definition of representational role as 'behavioural patterns or routines that legislators adopt', which 'can be viewed as strategies for the employment of scarce resources towards specific goals' (ibid.) and are 'conditioned by the institutional framework in which parliamentarians operate' (ibid., 157). This definition (for a broader discussion of alternative definitions see Blomgren and Rozenberg 2011) definition allows a systematic exploration of the interaction between

preferences, patterns of legislative behaviour and institutional incentives. For the purposes of this study, roles are behavioural patterns that are used to describe the representational behaviour of immigrant-origin MPs, whereas key institutional and contextual factors are our main independent variables.

The main purpose of this section is to present a concise taxonomy of legislative roles, which we largely derive from Searing's (1994) study on the British House of Commons. In a second step, we will provide a very brief description of some of the key institutional factors, which are generally thought to shape behavioural choices made by legislators in parliamentary systems of government. These variables will predominantly relate to the electoral system and legislative organization.

Typology of Legislative Roles

While basic variations in the legislative behaviour of immigrant-origin MPs could be captured by Wahlke et al.'s (1962) classic distinction of 'delegate', 'trustee' and 'politico' as possible types of legislative roles, we use Searing's (1992) more comprehensive typology, which was inductively generated through interviews with British Members of Parliament during the 1970s. Searing distinguishes between 'position roles' and 'preference roles'. Position roles are 'closely tied to, and highly defined by, prominent positions in the institutional structure' (Searing 1991: 1255). Examples of such roles are cabinet minister or chief whip. In contrast, preference roles 'allow considerable scope for individual preferences to shape role interpretations' (ibid., 1253). He considers backbench MPs as falling under the rubric of 'preference roles'. Backbenchers, in particular, have the opportunity to shape their roles to some extent themselves, although this always occurs within an institutional environment constraining this role interpretation.

Table 1 near here

According to Searing, the roles backbenchers can choose to adopt 'have nearly as much to do with their preferences as they have to do with the established rules of their institution' (Searing 1995: 419). He identifies a number of fundamental types of backbench roles and a few sub-types. These types are well-known and summarised in Table 1. Amongst those MPs performing backbench roles, 'policy advocates' chiefly attempt to influence government policy. Searing identifies three sub-types of policy advocate: Whereas 'ideologues' try to promote abstract and often radical political ideas, 'generalists' are more concerned with specific issues, but do not specialise too much. Coming to grips with the details of policy is left to 'specialists', who aim to influence policy through specialisation and the development of expertise in particular policy areas. 'Ministerial aspirants' consider parliament mainly as the recruiting ground for government positions and concentrate on strategies

that are likely to lead to promotion to government office. 'Constituency members', by contrast, seek to provide services to their constituencies. These may be of a collective or a more individual nature. 'Parliament men' devote most of their resources to the conduct of business in Parliament, although they may have varying degrees of involvement, ranging from the sub-role of 'spectator, who is content watching the political drama as it unfolds, to the 'good House of Commons men', who tend to have a good record of attendance in the chamber and are essential for the conduct of parliamentary business.

Leadership roles are more tightly defined through institutional imperatives than backbench roles. 'Parliamentary Private Secretaries' are a specifically British role and constitute the first, unpaid step on the way to a ministerial career. This role involves support of a minister (junior ministers as well as cabinet ministers). Ministerial aspirants often become Parliamentary Private Secretaries. These MPs are still backbenchers, but at least those fulfilling the sub-role of 'apprentice' are seen as the pool from which ministers are recruited.

In the United Kingdom, junior ministers and ministers are the leading members of their parliamentary parties (insofar they are MPs). This role is obviously irrelevant (as a legislative role) in countries with incompatibility between ministerial office and membership of parliament (e.g., The Netherlands). Amongst junior ministers, Searing distinguishes between 'journeymen', that is, those with aspirations of being appointed to a cabinet position and so-called 'placemen'. Amongst ministers, there are the sub-roles of 'administrator' and 'politician'. 'Politicians', in particular, remain important links between executive and Parliament.

The role of 'whip' is of considerable importance in the management and leadership of all parliamentary parties. They are in charge of liaison between government and backbenchers, they manage the parliamentary parties as well as the parliamentary agenda and are indispensable in maintaining party discipline. In the UK case, most senior government whips fulfil ministerial roles providing them with a ministerial salary. In other parliaments, there is a stronger separation of government and management of the parliamentary party.

Legislative Organization, Parliamentary Incentive Structures, Preferences and Roles

Empirical role analysis deals with 'legislators' use of their scarce and consequential political resources, such as their voting power, time, attention, media access or money under their control' (Strøm 1997: 162). The allocation of these scarce resources is largely conditioned (a) by the MPs' preferences and (b) by the institutional environment, which constitutes a structure of parliamentary incentives and opportunities constraining and enabling certain types of role behaviour.

Following recent rational-choice models of legislative behaviour, we assume that MPs care about policy, but that their policy preferences – given conditions of scarcity and competition for scarce resources – can only be achieved if they gain access to political office. Access to political office, in turn, requires success in electoral competition, at least in liberal democracies (see Müller and Strøm 1999). We follow Strøm's (1997: 160)

assumption that MPs have four main types of goals related to their legislative service: *(a)* reselection or renomination through the relevant bodies of their respective parties, *(b)* reelection through the voters, *(c)* the attainment of party office and *(d)* the attainment of legislative office. Strøm's distinction between 'party' and 'legislative office' may need explaining: The term 'party office' refers to leadership positions within the respective parliamentary or extra-parliamentary party leadership, including 'frontbench' status (i.e., ministerial office in the government party). He uses the term 'legislative office' to characterise offices requiring election by parliament as a whole or by some cross-partisan sub-set of the chamber. In particular, he refers to the speaker or committee chairs. Strøm (1997: 161) also assumes that these preferences can be ranked in a hierarchical fashion:

> 'The first goal, which is often necessary for any further ambition, is to gain ballot access, most commonly by receiving one's party's nomination. Once nomination has been secured, election is the next higher goal. Both of these are critical for any further goal achievement. Once elected, parliamentarian may to some extent be able to choose between party and legislative career objectives. To the extent that these are interrelated, partisan office is probably more likely to be a precondition for advancement in legislative office, rather than vice versa. Yet the hierarchy between these objectives may be much less strict than in the Westminster model.'

The main institutional constraints facing parliamentarians in representative democracies pertain to the electoral process (rules for candidate nomination and electoral system) and legislative organisation (rules for achieving party or legislative office; for a summary of quite an extensive body of scholarship see Strøm 1997: 161-171).

Rules constraining the process of candidate selection could be classified in terms of the locus of decision over an MP's renomination. The power of selecting (or reselecting) candidates for parliamentary office could be highly centralised (e.g., in a party's national executive), or it could rest with the MP's local constituency party. Candidate selection procedures for the national parliaments are quite decentralized in all three countries with national party elites having more influence on nomination in France and in the UK than in Germany (see Strøm et al. 2003). In Britain, the Labour Party National Executive retains a limited veto vis-à-vis candidates selected by a local party. Prior to the 2010 election, the Conservative Party's leadership drew up a so-called 'A list' of parliamentary candidates it wanted to see nominated by the constituency parties. This list included a number of immigrant-origin minority candidates and may have contributed to the dramatic increase in the number of successful Conservative minority candidates in the 2010 general election (Sobolewska 2011). In France it seems to be quite common especially for big parties to 'parachute' members of the party's national elite into provincial constituencies. Nevertheless, like in Germany, the decisions are generally taken by local constituency parties. The institutional incentives arising from rules for candidate nominations would seem to give British and French MPs with a migratory and/or visible-minority background the strongest incentives to adopt the role of a 'constituency member' advocating ethnic-minority interests, if they do not have a preference

for a ministerial career (which gives the national party leadership significant leverage) and if there is a very strong presence of visible minorities amongst the voters in the MP's constituency and constituency party.

Whether or not the electoral system offers incentives and opportunities to articulate visible-minority views, depends on the extent to which *(a)* they allow a 'personal vote' (Cain, Ferejohn and Fiorina 1987), *(b)* electoral competition is strong and *(c)* the MPs feel their re-election chances can be improved by highlighting their ethnicity or migratory background in their parliamentary behaviour to such an extent that it shapes their 'role' in the above-mentioned sense. Finally *(d)* incentives to emphasise the role of 'constituency MP' should be strong only (this is a necessary condition), if the MP does not aspire to party, ministerial or legislative office. Generally, we would expect MPs elected under proportional representation (such as German MPs elected from party lists) to have weaker incentives to prioritise constituency work in the sense of local 'welfare officers' or 'promoters'. They will also generally have fewer incentives to highlight their ethnicity in their choice of parliamentary roles.

MPs aspiring to party office will have to be responsive to the national party leaderships and are generally expected to play a broad national rather than a local or narrow interest-based role. Roles such as 'constituency member', 'ideologue' or 'specialist' in Searing's (1994: 32) terminology would be generally unsuited, if an MP wanted to advance his or her chances to rise to the party leadership (or remain part of the party leadership). Also, the demands on their time – the scarcest resource constraining MPs in their activities – would not allow to prioritise such roles. Rather, backbenchers aspiring to party leadership positions can be expected adopt the role of a 'ministerial aspirant' or 'policy advocate'. Ministerial and other leadership roles are 'positional' – i.e. institutionally determined – in Searing's (1994) terminology and therefore allow far less freedom of manoeuvre. This logic should apply to MPs with a migratory or visible-minority background as much as it applies to any other MP.

We would expect significant differences between the UK (and France) and Germany in this respect. The British House of Commons is highly majoritarian in its rules and organisation. This is further accentuated by a relatively extreme degree of legislative agenda control through the government. Being in opposition is equivalent to being out of power. There are no permanent legislative committees in Britain, and only eight rather broad committees in France's Assemblée Nationale. Germany, by contrast, has a full set of departmental specialised legislative committees. In Britain, the permanent and specialised department-based Select Committees are pure oversight committees feeding information back to the floor of the House, but having limited involvement in legislation.[4] Opposition MPs, therefore, have relatively weak incentives to become policy 'specialists' in committees. There is a much stronger incentive to attack the government's record on the floor of the House, ask parliamentary questions or to prioritise the role of 'constituency member'.

[4] However, the Public Bill Committees introduced in 2006 may at least take evidence, unlike their predecessors, the Standing Committees.

Government backbenchers, by contrast, have relatively good chances to be promoted to government office. The total number of party leadership positions a prime minister can offer is over 100 (this includes parliamentary private secretaries, whips, junior ministers and ministers). Policy seekers on the government side of the House have very strong incentives to be ministers or adopt the role of a ministerial aspirant. This is in stark contrast to Germany where opposition experts may have a significant amount of policy influence and peer recognition through the specialised legislative committees. Committee work dominates the time budgets of MPs. They are much more likely to be 'specialist' or 'generalist' policy advocates in the parties' working groups and departmental committees than 'ministerial aspirants' or 'constituency members'. Even on the government side, the number of executive positions is much smaller than in the UK (in addition, portfolios usually have to be shared among coalition parties).

In addition to leadership roles within or through their parties, MPs may aspire to legislative office, that is, roles involving 'the execution of important legislative responsibilities … which are predominantly non-partisan or cross-partisan in nature' (Strøm 1997: 169). The traditional role 'parliament man' In the British House of Commons would provide good chances to be appointed to the Speakership, the Deputy Speakership or the chair of a select committee. Arguably, the incentives to engage in such cross-partisan roles are limited in modern 'party democracies. The role is ill-defined (Searing 1994: 161). If committee chairs are included in this category, the role need not be a traditional 'status seeker', 'spectator' or 'club man', although such persons exist in all parliaments. The most significant role may be the 'specialist' or 'generalist' sub-type of Searing's role of 'policy advocate'. These roles are unlikely to create incentives for MPs with a migratory or visible-minority background to articulate their ethnicity in a strong and consistent way as committee chairs are expected to be able to create a consensus amongst members across party lines. We would therefore expect MPs adopting this role to be responsive to party leaderships and other policy experts. This type of role is more likely to be viable in systems with proportional representation where policy experts can be 'secured' in their reelection by reserving places high up on party lists for them – or for MPs in very safe single-member districts, whose status may then be enhanced further as a result of their cross-party role. Mohammad Sarwar's and Keity Vaz's (both Labour) chairmanships of the UK Scottish Affairs Committee and the Home Affairs Committee in the 2005-2010 UK Parliament may be example where the high status of this role actually extends an MP's electoral appeal beyond his party and the ethnic group he originated from.

Figure 1 near here

A Basic Model of Individual Parliamentary Activities of Immigrant-Origin MPs

As we showed, different individual activities of MPs in parliament can be captured by various parliamentary roles. To a large extent, these roles and activities depend on opportunities and constraints MPs face in

parliament and within their parliamentary groups. In conceptualising individual activities of immigrant-origin MPs, we presume that these are shaped by the same opportunities and constraints faced by all MPs. Hence, an immigrant-origin MP of an oppositional party in a preference role is likely to show a higher degree of individual activity than his immigrant-origin colleague of a governing party in a parliamentary position role. Figure 1 captures the general influence of opportunities and constraints on individual parliamentary activities. These opportunities and constraints may vary by country and potentially also by constituency (contextual factor), especially if we compare the regional and constituency MPs in the German case.

In our model, we are nevertheless open to main migration-related factors that may also shape the individual activity pattern of an MP. However, this openness is rather of exploratory nature, since we do not expect immigrant-origin MPs to generally differ from 'native' MPs in their selection of roles and activities. We do nevertheless expect migration-related personal characteristics to affect migration-related individual activities. As Figure 1 shows, in addition to party ideology, immigrant origin and a visible-minority background should cause a higher degree of migration-related activities if the 'politics of presence' approach holds. Further, MPs' activities are influenced by the concern for their constituents: we consider the share of immigrants or minorities in a constituency to be a predictor for a higher degree of migration-related parliamentary action.

Table 2 near here

In quantitative analyses of the factors outlined, we rely on contrast groups that reflect the parties and the types of constituencies of the immigrant-origin MPs to determine whether personal characteristics are significant factors for explaining migration-related activities and maybe even individual activities of MPs as such. We have drawn stratified random samples (by foreign/non-white population quartiles and the parties of constituency winners) of about an equal number of non-immigrant MPs in each subgroup. Table 2 documents the distribution of the immigrant-MPs by party and immigrant population quartiles and the respective number of MPs in the contrast group.

Case Selection

We analyse the individual parliamentary activities of immigrant-origin MPs in the United Kingdom, France and Germany. While the three countries are the major immigrant-receiving societies in post-war Europe, this fact alone was not decisive for case selection. The selection is primarily based on three considerations. First, despite a certain degree of convergence in recent years, the three countries represent different variants of 'immigration and integration models' developed for Europe: While Germany has traditionally been viewed as a

'guestworker' country with a very exclusive citizenship regime, the UK and France have both been referred to as 'post-colonial' countries of immigration, but with different integration regimes (Castles and Miller 1993; Freeman 2004; Joppke 2005). While France represents a 'Republican' or assimilationist model, Britain can be located between a Republican and a 'multicultural' model resembling traditional policies in the Netherlands or Sweden (Castles and Miller 2003: 249ff.; Koopmans and Statham 2000: 18ff.). Even if there has undoubtedly been some convergence of these immigration and integration traditions in the past few years (Joppke 2007), the very different patterns in immigration and integration policy in the 20th century should still not be ignored pertaining to case selection.

The second consideration is variation in what Yasemin Soysal (1994) called 'membership models'. She considers the UK to be a fairly clear-cut example of the liberal 'membership model', emphasising the individual as the source of legitimate political action and authority. While she may have underestimated the highly centralised nature of policy making in the UK, she is right to emphasize that 'local authorities play an active role in developing and implementing policy concerning the citizens' social welfare. Voluntarism at the local level compensates for public functions not performed by the centralized authority and structures' (Soysal 1994: 38). Immigrants are incorporated in such liberal incorporation patterns mostly as individuals. While the latter is also true for France, Britain and France represent different membership models. In Soysal's typology, France represents the 'statist model' characterized by 'much more state involvement', a 'centralized nature of politics' and, particularly contrasting the liberal British model, by a 'top-down' mode of operation (Soysal 1994: 39). These differences might have several implications for immigrant incorporation, the most obvious one being probably the difficulty for non-naturalised aspirants to enter politics. Germany, Soysal argues, is characterized by a combination of characteristics of the 'statist' and a 'corporatist' model: 'Germany's membership model combines the corporatist and the statist patterns; 'despite its federative political system …. the public sphere is centralized and bureaucratic. Highly centralized semi-public bureaucracies, trade unions, churches, welfare institutions, business organizations, and professional chambers actively take part in formulating public policy, and have strong links to the state' (ibid.). Other authors have developed similar classifications of incorporation models (see Koopmans and Statham 2000) or political opportunity structures (Geddes 1995; Freedman 2000; Ireland 2000; Kittilson and Tate 2004).

The third consideration is based on the expected effects of different electoral systems, especially on the relationship between constituents and representatives. All three countries apply majoritarian voting systems in single-member constituencies (SMC). In the UK and Germany, parliamentarians are elected by relative majority (first-past-the-post) and in France by absolute majority with a possible run-off (relative majority). In Germany, FPTP only applies for the election of half of its Bundestag members, the rest of its Members is drawn from regional party lists on the level of the 16 federal states. This mixed-member proportional electoral system allows researchers to compare the behaviour of the 'constituency MPs' elected by first-past-the-post in single-member districts with those MPs elected via party lists.

However, the countries' national parliaments also follow different institutional models. The oldest parliament in our sample, the British House of Commons, is still very much an 'arena parliament' in Nelson Polsby's terminology. In this type of parliament the primary focus of activity is on discussion and debate on the floor of the chamber. The youngest of our parliaments, Germany's Bundestag, is characterised more strongly by a committee-based working mode with at least some elements of a 'transformative' legislature where the primary focus of legislative activity is on the deliberation and amendment of legislative proposals. To be sure, the German Bundestag is a mixed type and not a fully-fledged 'transformative' legislature such as the US Congress. But due to the prevalence of coalition government, the internal differentiation of parliamentary parties and the frequent need for de-facto supermajorities in legislative politics (resulting from Germany's bicameralism), legislative decision making is far less centralised and hierarchical than in the UK's arena parliament and also less focused on the public clash between government and opposition. The time budgets of German MPs are strongly dominated by legislative work, committee deliberations and involvement in the parliamentary parties' working groups (cf. Saalfeld 1998; 2000). This provides an opportunity structure for representational behaviour that differs significantly from the conditions and incentives in the British House of Commons. France's Assemblée Nationale is characterised by what has been referred to as 'rationalised parliamentarism' with strong agenda control by the government through restrictive procedures (Huber 1996). While floor debates are constrained by governmental agenda control, legislative and oversight committees have not achieved the same degree of specialisation as is the case in Germany and the United Kingdom (in the latter case this refers to departmental oversight committees). The rights of legislative committees are far more constrained than in the German case and resemble, in this respect, the UK Public Bill Committees, reducing incentives for committees to become a focus for MPs to articulate and pursue matters relating to immigration and minority concerns (Mattson and Strøm 1995).

Minority Status and Constituency Effects

Predictions of the type suggested above rely on the notion of 'personal vote', which is not immediately plausible in the parliamentary democracies included in our sample. The mechanisms of electoral accountability in these systems are strongly dominated by political parties competing against each other on the basis of relatively broad-based manifesto pledges. To what extent is there a link between constituency preferences (especially in constituencies with relatively high shares of immigrants and members of visible minorities) and the chances of MPs with a migratory or visible-minority background to get nominated as party candidates and elected?

Table 3 near here

Of the 52 MPs with a migratory background in the three countries we selected, 44 were elected (by absolute or relative majority) in a constituency rather than via a party list. Only the majority of the German immigrant-origin MPs (8) are 'list MPs', all others are winners in a constituency. If there were to be evidence of a link between candidate characteristics and constituency preferences, the incentive for a politician with a migratory background to run in a constituency and the incentive for a party to nominate such a person, should be higher in districts with a relatively large share of persons with a migratory and/or visible-minority background. In order to test this proposition, we compared the constituencies held by 'majority' MPs without a migratory background with the constituencies won by MPs with a migratory background in all three countries (Table 3). As tested earlier (Wüst and Saalfeld 2010: 319) running a logistic regression analysis for the three countries in our present sample plus Sweden, the share of persons with a migratory or minority status is higher in constituencies represented by at least one MP with such a background. This is especially the case in the UK, but (on a lower level) also in the three other countries with France showing the smallest difference. Thus, we do find a small but statistically significant link between relevant socio-demographic constituency properties and the success chances of candidates with a migratory or visible-minority background. Although these findings are based on aggregate-level data representing the outcome of relative complex processes, they do suggest a link at least at the behavioural level. It may be possible to turn a candidate's migratory background into an electoral asset under certain institutional conditions (the possibility of a 'personal vote' in a country's electoral system). The most important conclusion for our paper is that there are reasons to expect some positive statistical association at the aggregate level between the variable MP minority status and parliamentary behaviour where the electoral system creates incentives to cultivate a personal vote.

Table 4 near here

Parliamentary Context: Immigrant-origin MPs, Their Parliamentary Roles and Individual Activities

United Kingdom

Both Houses of the United Kingdom Parliament have included immigrants or descendants of immigrants amongst their Members throughout the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The first Member of Parliament (MP) of Indian origin was elected in 1892, but he remained one of a handful of such cases before

the Second World War.[5] In the inter-war and immediate post-war years, MPs who were immigrants themselves, or whose parents were immigrants, had often moved to the United Kingdom to escape persecution or war in Continental Europe.[6] From 1946 onwards, the UK recruited workers from Ireland and increasingly from the Commonwealth (former colonies in the Caribbean, the Indian subcontinent and Africa), most of whom enjoyed the right to vote and get elected from the beginning. While a number of White immigrants or their descendants were able to get elected to Parliament, the conditions for visible-minority aspirants were more difficult. Born in Grenada, the physician David Pitt was the first Black UK parliamentary candidate since the end of the Second World War to stand in a general election as a Labour candidate in 1959. He was defeated in this, and in the 1970, general election, but was created life peer and joined the House of Lords in 1975. It was not until 1987 that the first cohort of four members of British visible-minority groups was elected to the House of Commons: Diane Abbott, Paul Boateng, Bernie Grant and Keith Vaz. They were all Labour politicians, three of whom were born outside the United Kingdom. The general election of 2005 saw 15 members of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) groups returned to the House of Commons, in addition to nine further members who were first-generation White immigrants or White sons or daughters of immigrants to the United Kingdom. The generational change triggered by the 2010 general elected boosted the number of immigrant-origin MPs to 27, including 11 on the Conservative benches.[7]

In the window of observation used for the current study (the 2005-2010 Parliament), politicians whose ancestors originated from South Asia constituted the largest group of immigrant-origin MPs. Approximately eight out of ten immigrants and their descendants (whether 'visible' or White) in the House of Commons were members of the Labour Party. Table 4, which includes immigrant-origin MPs in the 2005-2010 Parliament, illustrates that the vast majority of them were elected since the general election of 1997. The general election of 2005 saw the election of the first two Conservative Members from visible minorities since 1900 (Afriyie and Vara), whose presence in the Conservative parliamentary party increased more than five-fold to 11 after the 2010 election.

Table 5 near here

[5] The MP in question was Dadabhai Noaroji, Liberal MP for Finsbury Central (1892-1895). Others included Sir Mancherjee Merwanjee Bhownaggree, Conservative MP for Bethnal Green (1895-1906), and Shapurji Dorabji Saklatvala, elected as Labour MP for North Battersea (1922-23) who sat as a Communist between 1924 and 1929 (Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou 2011: 230).

[6] Some of them rose to the top ranks of British politics: For example, the father of Michael Howard, leader of the Conservative Party between 2003 and 2005 and cabinet minister under prime ministers Margaret Thatcher and John Major, was a Romanian Jew who settled in the United Kingdom in 1937. The historian Timothy Garton Ash (2005) described Howard as 'an example of outstandingly successful immigration to Britain'. Edward Miliband, the current leader of the Labour Party is the son of a Polish-born mother and the late Belgian-born Marxist theorist Ralph Miliband.

[7] This constitutes a dramatic increase from 2 in the 2005-2010 Parliament.

In the Labour Party, which was in government during the 2005-2010 Parliament, even relatively new members had relatively good chances to achieve roles that Searing describes as 'ministerial aspirant' or 'minister'. Peter Hain (Secretary for Work and Pensions and Secretary for Wales 2005-2008), David Miliband (Foreign Secretary) and Edward Miliband (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster 2007-2008, Secretary for Energy and Climate Change 2008-2010) were senior cabinet ministers. A number of further Labour Party MPs from visible minorities were appointed to position roles as junior ministers or junior whips: Dawn Butler, Parmjit Dhanda, Sadiq Khan, David Lammy, and Shahid Malik are cases in point (see Table 5). Many other MPs from visible minorities served as parliamentary private secretaries of ministers, a backbench position that often represents first step on the ladder to a career in the government. Searing (1994) speaks of the backbench role of 'apprentice' in this context. Amongst the ministers in position roles, only Shahid Malik's position as junior minister in the Departments of International Development and, later, as Minister for Race, Faith and Community Cohesion could be considered strongly related to migration-related policy areas. As predicted on the basis of Searing's work, the position role of minister is highly constrained and does not provide any incentives to prioritise the promotion of minority issues.

The roles associated with membership in the Departmental Select Committee (oversight committees, generally without legislative functions) are not normally seen as a step towards a parliamentary or executive leadership position or even a good opportunity to secure reselection and reelection. On occasion, committee chairs are considered to be a career alternative unsuccessful ministerial aspirants or former ministers. Former junior minister Keith Vaz's chairmanship of the Home Affairs Select Committee could be interpreted in this way. Committee chairs may also reflect an MP's role as 'parliament man'. Mohammad Sarwar's chairmanship of the Scottish Affairs Committee may be an illustration of this. The need to establish and maintain a certain degree of cross-party consensus and the breadth of topics covered by the Scottish Affairs Committee makes this position an unlikely candidate for the salient articulation of minority interests. Generally, there is little evidence that committee memberships of immigrants and descendants of immigrants are used to demonstrate 'presence' in parliamentary deliberations. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Table 6.1 does not reveal any patterns to suggest a correlation of migratory or minority background and using committee membership in order to specialise in a particular policy area. Despite the small number of cases on which this analysis is based, the House of Commons differs from the German Bundestag in this respect and reflects the institutional differences between the two chambers.

Parliamentary questions are used much more frequently to articulate immigration-related issues and problems relating to ethnic minorities. There are two main types of parliamentary questions: Questions for oral answer have become 'a monthly opportunity for a series of mini-debates on topics of current interest within the remit of the department concerned. However, the time available for questions for oral answer is relatively limited (usually up to one hour per department and month, with Prime Minister's Questions lasting 30 minutes every week). Therefore, many questions that cannot be answered orally within the time limits set, are given a written

answer by the minister, which is printed in the Commons Official Report ('Hansard'). By contrast, there is no limit to the number of questions a Member may table for written answer whose purpose of questions for written answer tends to be slightly different from questions for oral answer: The vast majority of parliamentary questions are tabled for written answer.[8] Nevertheless, they are often very detailed, asking the government to provide information on its performance across the entire range of executive responsibilities. Some Members make very little use of this instrument, others ask the government hundreds of questions in every Parliament. Ministers are expected to answer questions within a working week and their responses are printed in Hansard. Very occasionally, Ministers deny responsibility or refuse to answer. Written questions are generally considered to be 'a parliamentary (and published) alternative to a non-parliamentary (and unpublished) letter to a minister' (Blackburn and Kennon 2003: 520-529, verbatim quote p. 529).

Questions receiving a written answer are a very important activity for some British MPs. The number of questions tabled by MPs with a migratory or visible-minority background in the 2005-2010 Parliament exceeds 5,700 (out of a total of well over 330,000 questions in that Parliament). The extent to which this instrument is used varies. Some MPs received written answers from ministers to well over 1,000 questions, others do not use this instrument very much. Ministers never ask questions. A detailed tabulation (not shown) demonstrates that the questions asked by MPs identified as immigrants or immediate descendants of immigrants frequently relate to home affairs, justice, health, education, foreign affairs and environmental issues. The largest number of questions relating to migration was put to Home Office ministers. Other policy areas with a large number of immigration and minority-related questions are immigration controls, human rights, EU affairs, justice, employment and education.

There are clear differences between MPs with a migratory and visible-minority background and White MPs with a migratory background both in terms of the policy areas covered and in terms of the percentage of question within each policy area that has an explicit link to immigration or problems of ethnic minorities. Amongst MPs with a visible-minority background, there is a strong preponderance of questions on home affairs, health and education, with a significant share of these questions explicitly relating to the interests of immigrants and ethnic minorities. Amongst White immigrants and descendants of immigrants, by contrast, the majority of questions relate to energy, transport, foreign affairs, health and agriculture, with fewer of these questions addressing issues explicitly pertaining to migration or ethnic minorities. These data show that British backbench MPs from a visible-minority background generally do use parliamentary questions to articulate and represent ethnic and minority issues. Most backbench MPs asking such questions could be classified as 'constituency members', 'parliament men' or 'policy experts' in Searing's terms – and this indicator provides clear evidence of a 'politics of presence' in an 'arena legislature'.

[8] The 1999-2000 Parliamentary session is a fairly representative example: Ministers answered 2,106 questions orally and 42,528 in writing (Blackburn and Kennon 2003: 374).

The findings suggest that MPs the 'role behaviour' of British MPs with a migratory or visible-minority background do not differ fundamentally from those displayed by other British MPs. There is some evidence that those MPs adopting backbench roles such as 'constituency member' or 'policy advocate' do respond to the electoral incentives provided by Westminster's first-past-the-post system and – insofar they represent constituencies with a significant share of ethnic-minority voters – articulate issues raised by members of such groups perhaps in constituency surgeries in parliamentary questions. As predicted, MPs with leadership roles are less likely to place a heavy emphasis on specific interests in their parliamentary activities. As most members in the UK sample represent the governing Labour Party, there is a relatively large number of MPs that could be classified as 'ministerial aspirants' or ministers – and whose minority-related activities are limited or have low visibility.

Tables 6.1 to 6.3 near here

Germany

In the German Bundestag, twelve of its members in the 16th legislative term (2005-2009) had a migratory background. Most of them (7) were immigrants themselves, and the vast majority (8) was male. There is a clear left-right divide with just one MP of migratory background in the parliamentary group of the CDU/CSU and none in the group of the neo-liberal FDP. Each four migrant MPs belonged to the Greens and SPD, three were members of the Linke. Of the twelve immigrant MPs in the 16th legislative term, two were elected in 1998, five in 2002 and another four in 2005 (Table 4). In 2006, Omid Nouripour replaced former foreign minister Fischer who retired from parliamentary politics. Just four immigrant MPs were elected in constituencies, three of the SPD and one for the CDU. In 2009, nine of the twelve immigrant MPs were able to return to the Bundestag's 17th term. Lale Akgün (SPD), Hüseyin Aydin (Linke) and Hakkı Keskin (Linke) lost their seats. While Akgün failed to retain her majority in the constituency she had won twice before, Aydin had not been recruited as a North-Rhine Westphalian list candidate for the Linke, and he was not able to win a mandate in a constituency of the North-Rhine Westphalian city of Duisburg. Keskin was neither nominated again as a Berlin list candidate nor as a constituency candidate for the Linke. The 2009 Bundestag election did however result in a record high of immigrant MPs elected: In addition to the nine re-elected MPs analysed in this paper, eleven more succeeded in the 2009 election: One more for the SPD, two more for the Greens, four more for the Linke, and a noticeable four for the FDP.

Only a small number of immigrant-origin MPs performed leadership roles in the 16th term of the Bundestag (2005-2009). Unlike the UK, none of them held position roles such as whip or minister. This may partly be a result of the Bundestag's norms of seniority. After all, the most experienced MPs, Sebastian Edathy (SPD) and Ekin Deligöz (Greens) – both in their third parliamentary term – are among the three immigrant politicians

holding position roles in the Bundestag. Edathy chairs the important and prestigious committee on home affairs while Deligöz is deputy chair of the important committee on social policy (Table 6.2). A third immigrant MP, Jerzy Montag (Greens), was elected in 2002 and chairs the justice committee's subcommittee on European law.

There are various parliamentary activities Bundestag MPs can get involved in. In terms of Searing's preference roles, a first indicator for policy advocacy in the context of German parliamentarism is certainly committee membership. Since the Bundestag considers itself not primarily as a 'debating' but as mostly a 'working' parliament ('Arbeitsparlament', Steffani 1979; Thaysen et al. 1990), all MPs belong to at least one parliamentary committee. These memberships are listed in Table 6.2, which shows that there was a disproportionately high share of immigrant MPs in the Justice, EU Affairs and Domestic/Home Affairs committees. All three committees deal with a substantial number of migration-related issues. Thus based on their committee membership, which has far more importance for the role orientations of German MPs than for those of their UK counterparts, it can be expected that the majority of migrant MPs had at least opportunities to advocate migration-related issues.

A more detailed look at the policy areas covered in questions tabled by immigrant MPs, underlines the importance of immigration as such (20% of all questions), domestic/home affairs (15%) and foreign affairs (12%). Many questions on EU affairs, human rights, justice, employment and social policy also contain explicit links to immigration. Questions covering home affairs, foreign affairs, the EU and human rights were predominantly related to migration.

Returning to the preference roles and the various subtypes, it seems that the Linke MPs Sevim Dağdelen and Hakki Keskin were most ideological ones in their activities – a fact that is strongly correlated with the programmatic position of their party. In addition, these two MPs had the strongest focus on migration-related issues. Only one other MP, Josef P. Winkler of the Greens, came close in this respect. 'Career MP' Ekin Deligöz of the Greens provides a maximum contrast. Her questions were not at all migration-related. The few questions she tabled also show a high degree of specialisation. Given the nature of the German Bundestag as a 'committee parliament', leadership positions in committees may very well be a springboard for 'ministerial aspirants'. In this respect Deligöz is similar to Sebastian Edathy of the then governing SPD. He would certainly fall into the category of a ministerial aspirant and has not asked a single question in the respective Bundestag period. Jerzy Montag of the Greens is a specialised 'policy advocate' who differs from Deligöz by having a stronger focus on appearances on the floor of the Bundestag (he gave 121 speeches, followed by Dağdelen (59) and Winkler (56)). The most generalised MPs were Sevim Dağdelen and Omid Nouripour. This may, however, have more to do with their newness to parliament than with a choice of role. And there are also potential constituency members: the winners of a constituency mandate. These were Michaela Noll (CDU),

Lale Akgün (SPD), Swen Schulz (SPD)[9] and, once again, Sebastian Edathy (SPD). Akgün clearly performed like a 'home style' MP, being more visible in the Cologne area of her district than nationally. Noll might also fall into that category, but generally kept a low profile. Schulz appeared to behave like a 'policy advocate' in his main area education and research than focusing on his own constituency. Edathy seemed to try to be visible both nationally and locally. Interesting enough, Josip Juratovic, a SPD list MP of Baden-Württemberg with a rather low profile also focused on 'his' constituency as a 'local promoter'. More detailed analyses on constituency activities are necessary to come to empirically saturated conclusions.

France

The 13th Legislative term of the French Assemblée Nationale (2007-2010) was composed of sixteen MPs with a migratory background from which only five have immigrated to France themselves. The latter do all stem from Western Europe: Spain (3), Belgium (1) and Greece. The majority is of the 2nd generation - in stark contrast to Germany where first-generation immigrants dominate. Among the migrant MPs only Patrick Devedjian representing the 13th district of the Hauts-de-Seine has been identified as a visible minority. Most immigrant MPs in the Assemblée are male (12) and belong to left-wing parties: Socialists (10) and PCF (1). Only five belong to the UMP. Table 4 shows that only six of the current MPs with migratory background were elected between 1973 and 1993. The majority was elected for the first time in 1997 and 2002 where five and four MPs with migratory background respectively became part of the Assemblée (Table 4). Etienne Pinte from the UMP was the first immigrant MP to become member of the Assemblée Nationale in 1973 and Marietta Karamanli from the PS was the last one to get elected in 2007. During the last legislative term two MPs of immigrant origin interrupted their parliamentary activities. Patrick Devedjian was appointed minister for the recovery plan launched by the government to reduce the negative effects of the economic crisis between December 2008 and November 2010; afterwards, he re-integrated into the Assemblée. Fenech finished his mandate in March 2008 after the Conseil Constitutionnel accused him of using more resources than allowed during the campaign and later invalidated his election.

Unlike the German Bundestag – but similar to the UK's House of Commons – there is little emphasis on committee work in the Assemblée Nationale. There are only eight broadly-based permanent parliamentary committees providing fewer opportunities for legislative specialisation and the adoption of the role of policy 'specialist' in Searing's terminology. These are Cultural Affairs and Education, Economic Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Social Affairs, Defence, Sustainable Development, Finance and Justice committees. None of the MPs with a migratory background chairs a parliamentary committee. Looking at committee memberships in more detail (Table 6.3) we observe that six of the immigrant MPs are member of the Cultural Affairs and the Social committee, six work for the Justice and Foreign Affairs committees, four for Finance and Budget and one for

[9] Schulz was missing in earlier analyses, since his second generation immigration background was unknown to the authors.

the Sustainable Development committee and none of them is member of the Defence committee. Especially the lack of immigrant MPs in the Defence committee resembles the results from Germany.

The parliamentary questions tabled by immigrant MPs primarily fall into the policy domains of health (15%) followed by the family-related policy domains (14%), the economy (10%) and education (9%). Interestingly, three of the four female MPs are the ones that asked more questions among the immigrant MPs and together asked 49% of the questions analysed for this period. Yet, the questions asked by the immigrant MPs hardly showed a clear migration pattern: only 1.2% were questions on immigration, and only 1.5% of all questions had a link to migration. Similar to the German parliament, less experienced parliamentarians ask more questions than more experienced ones and these also asked most migration-related questions. Furthermore, the majority of the questions that dealt directly with immigration were asked by MPs from the left (PS and PCF). A distinction between generalists and specialists is not too easy to draw, not least because highly specialised parliamentarian committees are missing in the Assemblée. Most immigrant MPs predominantly ask questions on issue areas that fit into their respective parliamentary committees.

A cross-country analysis of individual activities

For a cross-country analysis of the parliamentary questions (PQs) for written answer, the number of PQs and the number of PQs that were migration-related were summed up for each MP. Since the lengths of parliamentary service in the chamber differ by country and person, these numbers were adjusted to the usual length of a mandate in the Bundestag (48 months) and rounded. The latter was done to maintain counting variables. Since our dependent variables show over-dispersion, we decided to employ negative binomial regression models. Two regressions each have been run to explain the number of PQs for each MP and the number of migration-related questions. Due to the overall low number of cases, we decided to run all regressions including the contrast groups; however, the main results are the same when the contrast groups are excluded from the analyses. The results are shown in Tables 7.1 and 7.2.

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 near here

The first model does not use any migration-related predictors to explain the number of PQs each MP asked. The main outcomes of our analysis are not at all surprising: Despite the adjustment in mandate length, significant differences between countries remain. The instrument of a PQs is most popular in the House of Commons and least used in the Bundestag with the Assemblée Nationale coming closer to the British that to the German parliament. And it is MPs of opposition parties that ask significantly more questions than those of governing parties. Finally, MPs of right-wing parties seem to ask fewer PQs – however, given the fact that we are just analyzing one legislative term in each of the three countries, we would not predict this result to also

hold over time. One surprising finding is that a position role has no significant (negative) effect on the number of PQs asked in our multivariate model. Moving to model 2 where we added the main migration-related variables, the results are also in line with our expectations: Neither immigrant-origin MPs as a whole nor such immigrant-origin MPs with a visible-minority background differ significantly in their frequency of asking PQs compared to MPs who are not immigrants or immediate descendants of immigrants. At least based on our contrast analysis, there is no 'immigrant exceptionalism' in the use of the instrument of PQ well established in our three parliaments analysed.

Yet, if we concentrate on migration-related PQs (Table 7.2), migration-related factors *do* contribute to our understanding of why such questions are asked. All the factors we identified as significant in explaining the number of PQs asked in general are also significant for the occurrence of migration-related PQs. And it is not immigrant origin per se that goes along with a higher number of migration-related PQs asked in parliament, but whether the immigrant-origin MP is visible as being of immigrant-origin. Further, the non-minority population share (z-standardized for each country) has a positive effect on the number of migration-related PQs asked in the three national parliaments. The results hold if we replace the institutional factors by the sheer number of PQs asked (model 4).

Some Tentative Conclusions

Based on a sample of MPs from migratory and visible-minority backgrounds in three European democracies (France, Germany and the United Kingdom), we examined the extent to which the increasing 'descriptive' representation of such social groups in the respective parliaments has had consequences for the level of 'substantive' representation. In methodological terms, we sought to do so by examining the degree to which the parliamentary activities of MPs from such backgrounds are coloured by their personal backgrounds irrespective of their placement in three different political systems and their membership of different political parties. We conceptualise the articulation of immigration or ethnic-minority related issues as the salience of such issues in an MP's parliamentary activities, especially the prominence they give to migration-related and minority-related issues in parliamentary questions. In this context, we compared MPs with migratory backgrounds to a sample of their colleagues without such a background.

Our definition of MPs with a migratory background is formal. It includes all persons who were born as non-nationals outside the relevant country of residence or who have at least one parent who was born abroad as a non-national. In all three countries covered in the present paper, this includes all members of visible-minority groups as well as 'White' immigrants. In some countries in our sample (e.g., the UK), it already begins to make sense to focus on members from 'ethnic' or 'visible' minorities, because their ancestors' immigration goes back further than two generations although they retain distinctive cultural and political orientations.

In our more narrative parts, we use Searing's (1994) taxonomy of legislative roles as descriptors of behavioural patterns that apply to parliamentarians with migratory and visible-minority backgrounds just as much as they apply to any other MP. Departing from Searing's approach, we follow Strøm's (1997) conceptualisation of legislative roles as behavioural patterns MPs choose to make use of their scarce and consequential political resources, such as their voting power, time, attention, media access or money under their control. The allocation of these scarce resources is largely conditioned *(a)* by the MPs' preferences and *(b)* by the institutional environment, which constitutes a parliamentary opportunity structure constraining and enabling certain types of role behaviour.

We formulated predictions for the influence of reelection motives and incentives induced by the electoral system in relation to backbench roles and the extent to which MPs with a migratory or visible-minority background articulate minority interests. The evidence presented in the paper suggests that hardly any MP in our sample pursued an aggressive minority-related strategy. The behavioural profiles of all MPs in our sample suggest that the preferences of the relevant median voter at constituency, party or national level is firmly on these representatives' minds. This is also largely true for the non-minority MPs representing constituencies with large minority-population shares. Nevertheless there is a statistically significant link between a candidate's status as immigrant (or immediate descendant of immigrants) or member of a visible minority on the one hand and his or her re-election chances in constituencies with a high share of such minorities on the other. Under certain institutional rules (electoral systems allowing a personal vote) and political conditions (composition/preferences of the electorate, selectorate and parliamentary party), there are electoral incentives for Members from minorities to promote minority-related issues, especially in the context of general discussions about issues such as home affairs, health, education, labour market or justice.

Both our descriptive and multivariate analyses suggest that immigrant-origin MPs respond systematically to the parliamentary structure of incentives and opportunities as well. In the German committee parliament, for example, we find a certain amount of evidence for the engagement of immigrant-origin MPs in parliamentary committees that deal with relevant policy issues. In the UK 'arena parliament' this is not the case to the same extent. In contrast, British MPs use their scarce resources more frequently to ask parliamentary questions for written answer. These questions often arise directly from the MP's constituency work, and answers are reported back to constituents both by the MPs themselves (e.g., on their personal websites) and the local media.

In a final step, we analyzed whether party ideology, parliamentary opportunities and constraints are sufficient predictors to learn about individual parliamentary activities of immigrant-origin MPs. Therefore, we have complemented these factors with personal and contextual factors pertaining to migration-origin. And our multivariate analysis of migration-related PQs (Table 7.2) demonstrates that migration-related factors *do* contribute to our understanding of why such questions are asked. All the factors we identified as significant in

explaining the number of PQs asked in general (country and party effects) are also significant for the occurrence of migration-related PQs. And it is not immigrant origin per se that goes along with a higher number of migration-related PQs asked in parliament, but whether a MP is visible as being of immigrant-origin. Further, the non-minority population share has a positive effect on the number of migration-related PQs asked in the three national parliaments, suggesting a significant electoral connection, at least for those MPs representing urban constituencies with large numbers of immigrants.

We are aware that some of our findings may be dependent on the selection of countries and on the time period analyzed. Therefore, it is of course desirable to extend the number of countries and the time period studied, and we are continuing in building up a broad and longitudinal database on immigrant-origin MPs and their parliamentary activities. Yet, we are quite optimistic that our main results are robust and that they can easily be replicated. Thinking about future research in this area, we consider especially fruitful to intensify the study of the interrelationship between parties, constituencies and MPs with and without immigration background. This may be done in various ways, and the parliamentary perspective we offered in this paper is just one aspect of the representation process in which immigrant-origin MPs may play a special, but not necessarily exceptional role.

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Table 1: Searing's (1994) Typology of Backbench roles in the British House of Commons

General category	Roles	Sub-roles	Further sub-types
Backbench roles ('preference roles')	Policy advocate	Ideologue Generalist Specialist	
	Ministerial aspirant	High flyer Subaltern	
	Constituency member	Welfare officer Local promoter	
	Parliament man	Status seeker Spectator Club man	Club man: a) 'Part-timers' including 'knights of the shires' b) 'good House of Commons men'.
Leadership roles ('position roles')	Parliamentary Private Secretary	Apprentice Auxiliary	
	Whip	Chief Whip Deputy Chief Whip 'Senior' Junior Whips Junior Whips	
	Junior minister	Journeymen Placemen	
	Minister	Cabinet minister Minister Minister of State	Administrator Politician

Source: Searing (1994: 32, 198)

Figure 1: A Basic Model of Individual Parliamentary Activity

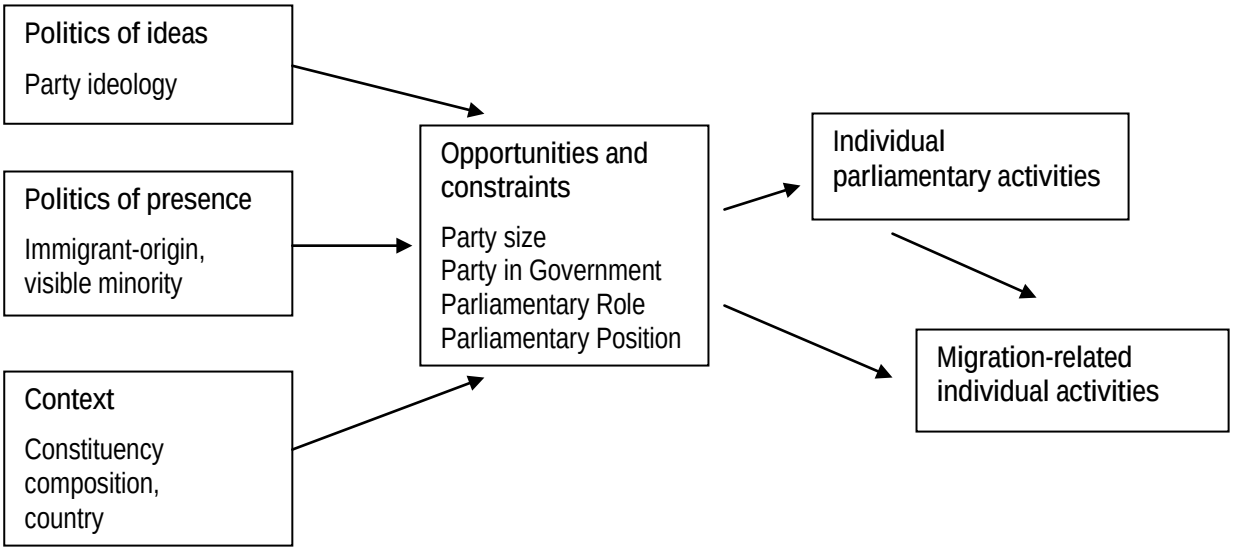

Table 2: Immigrant MPs' distribution by party and constituency (first entries) and contrast MPs (in parentheses)

			Foreign population share in constituency (quartiles)*			
Country	Party of immigrant MPs	Immigrant MPs per party	Low	Medium-low	Medium-high	High
Germany SMC	CDU	1		1 (2)		
	SPD	3	1 (2)		2 (2)	
Germany list	CDU	0				
	SPD	1		1 (2)		
	GRÜNE	4	3 (3)	1 (1)		
	LINKE	3		2 (2)	1 (1)**	
United Kingdom	LABOUR	20	4 (4)	2 (2)	4 (4)	10 (10)
	CONSERVATIVE	4	3 (3)	1 (1)		
	LIBDEM	1	1 (1)			
France	UMP	5		(2)	5 (4)	0 (1)
	PS	10	3 (4)	3 (3)	3 (3)	1 (0)
	PCF	1			(1)	1 (1)

* For Britain: non-white population as functional equivalent. One constituency in the 'high' category was double-counted: Piara Khabra, a first-generation immigrant, died and was replaced by Virendra Sharma, another first-generation immigrant.
** there was not more than one contrast MP available.

Table 3: Share of Minority Population in Constituencies With and Without an MP Having a Migratory Background

Country	constituencies of ...	N	Mean	Range	Minimum	Maximum
Germany*	non-migrant MPs**	304	8.4	26.6	1.1	27.7
	migrant MPs**	10	10.8	7.5	6.3	13.8
	GRÜNE migrant MPs	4	9.5	3.7	7.7	11.4
	LINKE migrant MPs	3	11.7	3.1	10.7	12.8
	SPD migrant MPs	4	11.1	6.8	6.3	13.2
	CDU/CSU migrant MP	1	11.0			
United Kingdom***	non-migrant MPs	547	7.8	65.8	.5	66.3
	migrant MPs	21	23.1	64.0	.6	64.6
	LABOUR migrant MPs	16	29.3	63.6	1.0	64.6
	CONS migrant MPs	4	4.0	6.9	1.6	8.5
	LIBDEM migrant MP	1	.6			
France*	non-migrant MPs	537	5.4	27.1	.4	27.5
	migrant MPs	16	6.1	13.0	2.2	15.2
	UMP migrant MPs	5	6.0	4.6	3.7	8.3
	PS migrant MPs	10	5.3	10.4	2.2	12.6
	PCF migrant MP	1	15.2			

* Foreign Population; constituencies with 3rd generation migrant MPs neglected.
** 299 SMCs and 16 MMCs; constituencies are not classified by candidacy, but by mode of success of each migrant MP; in two MMCs, two migrant MPs were elected.
*** non-White population; migrant MPs of England and Wales only.

Table 4: Year of First Election of Immigrant-Origin UK Members of the 2005-2010 House of Commons, German Members of the 2005-2010 Bundestag and French members of the 2007-2010 Assemblée Nationale (number, election years in bold face)

Year of first election or appointment	House of Commons	Bundestag	Assemblée Nationale
1973			1 (Pinte)
1978			2 (Asensi, Bapt)
1981			1 (Kucheida)
1983	1 (Howard)		
1986			1 (Devedjian)
1987	2 (Abbott, Vaz)		
1991	2 (Hain, Kumar)		
1992	(Khabra, deceased 27)		
1993			1 (Idiart)
1997	5 (Singh, Stuart, Vis, Sarwar, Öpik)		5 (Baert, Imbert, Jung, Moscovici, Touraine)
1998		2 (Edathy, Deligöz)	
2000	2 (Hendrick, Lammy)		
2001	4 (Dhanda, Lazarowicz, Mahmood, D. Miliband)		
2002		5 (Akgün, Montag, Noll, Schulz, Winkler)	4 (Diefenbacher, Marland-Militello, Valls; Fenech: disqualified)
2005	7 (Afriyie, Butler, Kawczynski, E. Miliband, Vara, Khan, Malik)	4 (Aydin, Dagdelen, Juratovic, Keskin)	
2006		1 (Nouripour)	
2007	1 (Sharma, replacing Khabra)		1 (Karamanli)
Total	24	12	16

UK: Compiled from Dod's Parliamentary Companion and personal website (3 February 2011).
Germany: Deutscher Bundestag (www.bundestag.de; continuous observation).
France: Retrived from the Assemblée Natioanale website www. Assemblee-nationale.fr (1 February 2011).

Table 5: Immigrant-Origin Members of the 2005-2010 House of Commons in 'Position Roles'

Name	Executive appointments
Butler	Assistant Whip 2008-2009, Minister for Young Citizens and Youth Engagement 2009-2010
Dhanda	Assistant Whip 2005-2006, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Children, Young People and Families 2006-2007; Parliamentary Under-Secretary in the Department of Communities and Local Government 2007-2008.
Hain	Secretary of State for Wales 2002-2008; Leader of the House of Commons 2003-2005; Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (2005-2007); Secretary of State for Work and Pensions (2007-2008).
Howard	Leader of the Opposition (2003 to December 2005)
Khan	Assistant Whip (2007-2008); Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Department for Communities and Local Government (2008-2009); Minister of State for Transport (2009-2010).
Lammy	Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Department of Health (2002-2003); Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Department for Constitutional Affairs (2003-2005); Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Department for Culture, Media & Sport (2005); Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State in the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills (2007-2008); Minister of State for Higher Education (2008-2010).
Malik	Parliamentary Under-Secretary, Department for International Development (2007-2008); Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Justice (2008-2009); Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State in the Department at the Department for Communities and Local Government (Minister for Race, Faith and Community Cohesion, 2009-2010).
Miliband, David	Junior minister (Department for Education and Skills, June 2002-2004), Cabinet Office Minister (2004-2005), Minister of State for Communities and Local Government (2005-2006), Secretary of State for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (2006-2007); Foreign Secretary (2007-2010).
Miliband, Edward	Cabinet Office (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 2007-2008); Secretary of State for Energy and Climate Change (2008-2010).

www.TheyWorkForYou.com with further links (accessed 3 February 2011).

Table 6.1: Immigrant-Origin Memberships of Select Committees in the 2005-2010 House of Commons

Name	Party	Committee	Chair
Afriyie	Conservative	Science and Technology	No
		Social (Children, Schools and Families)	No
Butler	Labour	Other (Modernisation of the House of Commons)	No
		Social (Children, Schools and Families)	No
Kawczynski	Conservatives	Justice	No
		Development and Aid	No
Khan	Labour	Finance/Budget	No
Lazarowicz	Labour	Other (Modernisation of the House of Commons)	No
		Environment	No
Malik	Labour	Environment	No
Sarwar	Labour	Domestic/Home Affairs (Scottish Affairs)	Yes
Sharma	Labour	Justice	No
Singh	Labour	Development and Aid	No
Stuart	Labour	Foreign Affairs	No
Vaz	Labour	Domestic/Home Affairs	Yes

www.TheyWorkForYou.com, accessed 9 April 2008.

Table 6.2: Immigrant Members of Standing Committees in the German Bundestag

Name	Group	Committee	Chair or Deputy Chair
Akgün	SPD	EU Affairs	No
		Domestic/Home Affairs	No
Aydin	Linke.PDS	Economic Affairs	No
		Foreign Affairs	No
		Human Rights	No
Dağdelen	Linke.PDS	Justice	No
		EU Affairs	No
		Domestic/Home Affairs	No
Deligöz	Green	Family, Youth, Women, Senior Citizens	Deputy Chair
		Justice	No
Edathy	SPD	Domestic/Home Affairs	Chair
		Justice	No
Juratovic	SPD	EU Affairs	No
		Employment	No
Keskin	Linke.PDS	EU Affairs	No
		Culture	No
Montag	Green	Justice	No
		(Justice Subcommittee on European Law)	(Chair)
Noll	CDU/CSU	Domestic/Home Affairs	No
		Justice	No
		Family, Youth, Women, Senior Citizens	No
Nouripour	Green	EU Affairs	No
		Justice	No
		(Budget Subcommittee on EU)	(No)
Schulz	SPD	Education	No
		Sports	No
Winkler	Green	Culture	No
		Domestic/Home Affairs	No

Source: Deutscher Bundestag (www.bundestag.de).

Table 6.3: Immigrant Members of Standing Committees in the 2007 Assemblée Nationale

Name	Party	Committee	Chair
Asensi	PCF	Cultural Affairs	No
Baert	PS	Cultural Affairs	No
Bapt	PS	Finance/Budget	No
Devedjian	UMP	Finance/Budget	No
Diefenbacher	UMP	Finance/Budget	No
Fenech	UMP	Finance/Budget	No
Idiart	PS	Foreign Affairs	No
Imbert	PS	Foreign Affairs	No
Jung	PS	Justice	No
Karamanli	PS	Justice	No
Kucheida	PS	Justice	No
Marland-Militello	UMP	Justice	No
Moscovici	PS	Social	No
Pinte	UMP	Social	No
Touraine	PS	Social	No
Valls	PS	Sustainable Development	No

Source: Assemblée Nationale (www.assemblee-nationale.fr, visited on February 1, 2011).

Table 7.1: Negative Binomial Regressions of the Number of Parliamentary Questions Asked

	Model 1			*Model 2*		
	B (SE)	Sig.	Wald-chi²	B (SE)	Sig.	Wald-chi²
Politics of ideas						
right-wing party (d)	-.885 (.2971)	.003	8.879	-.877 (.3009)	.004	8.505
small party (d)	-.007 (1.0500)	.995	.000	-.016 (1.1148)	.988	.000
Context						
list MP (d)	1.353 (1.2471)	.278	1.177	1.326 (1.3544)	.328	.958
Germany (d)	-3.038 (.5408)	.000	31.556	-3.017 (.5479)	.000	30.317
France (d)	-.551 (.2609)	.035	4.468	-.556 (.2974)	.061	3.501
Restrictions						
position role (d)	.003 (.4549)	.995	.889	.036 (.4659)	.938	.877
party in opposition (d)	1.252 (.3740)	.001	11.204	1.277 (.3603)	.000	12.552
term of MP	-.042 (.0671)	.531	.393	-.044 (.0674)	.510	.435
Politics of presence						
immigrant-origin (d)				-.061 (.2873)	.833	.045
visible minority (d)				-.085 (.3557)	.812	.057
Constant	2.291 (.6313)	.000	13.171	5.392 (.6066)	.000	79.009
(negative binomial)	1.540 (.1917)			1.537 (.1915)		
Log-Likelihood	-627.683			-627.574		
Likelihood-ratio-chi²	223.836	.000		224.053	.000	
N	112			112		

(d) dummy variable.

Table 7.2: Negative Binomial Regressions of the Number of Migration-related Parliamentary Questions

	Model 3			*Model 4*		
	B (SE)	Sig.	Wald-chi²	B (SE)	Sig.	Wald-chi²
Politics of ideas						
right-wing party (d)	-.873 (.3740)	.020	5.447	-.759 (.3630)	.037	4.369
small party (d)	-.548 (.5943)	.356	.850			
Context						
list MP (d)	1.553 (.9542)	.104	2.649			
Germany (d)	-2.032 (.7794)	.009	6.799			
France (d)	-1.396 (.3025)	.000	21.310			
share of non-native pop. (z)	.398 (.1691)	.013	6.184	.375 (.2072)	0.70	3.277
Restrictions						
position role (d)	.301 (.4616)	.514	.426			
party in opposition (d)	2.232 (.3743)	.000	35.535			
term of MP	.031 (.0693)	.658	.196	.101 (.0703)	.152	2.049
Politics of presence						
immigrant-origin (d)	.113 (.2899)	.697	.152	.066 (.3146)	.834	.044
visible minority (d)	1.521 (.3548)	.000	18.375	1.690 (.4171)	.000	16.411
PQ total				.005 (.0008)	.000	32.729
Constant	.548	.397	.716	-.728	.114	
(negative binomial)	1.963 (.3384)			1.925 (.3374)		
Log-Likelihood	-278.975			-279.352		
Likelihood-ratio-chi²	66.816	.000		66.068		
N	112			112		

(d) dummy variable.
(z) z-standardized values per country.