

**Department of Politics**

**ESRC Doctoral Studentship on PATHWAYS project “Beyond numbers: do immigrant-origin MPs speak for immigrant-origin minorities in the UK Parliament?”**

Applications are invited for a 3-year Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) funded PhD Studentship based at the Department of Politics under the supervision of Dr Maria Sobolewska. The studentship comprises an annual stipend of £13,726 (for UK citizens or residents, please see below for details) and payment of fees up to the level charged for UK/EU students (approximately £3900; for UK and EU students; overseas students would need to pay the balance in fees themselves) and is available starting in September 2015.

**PATHWAYS**

The studentship forms part of the ESRC funded PATHWAYS project, which is a seven country study of substantive and descriptive representation of immigrants and immigrant-origin minorities in Britain, Germany, France, Spain, Greece, Italy and the Netherland. The students will have some autonomy to craft their own project within the topic outlined in further particulars, as long as they use the data generated by the project and focus on the project research questions (details in the further particulars).

The project offers an excellent opportunity for the students to develop their skills through working with experienced investigators on a cutting edge research project. The student will be fully integrated into the project, and encouraged to assist the investigators with project development. The student will analyse unique new empirical data and will be supported in any additional data collection they want to conduct. The project provides a chance to form meaningful networks with the other case-study investigators and PhD project students based in other countries as the budget allows the students to travel abroad for team meetings.

The student will work within the world-leading research networks and an active community of post-graduate students of the Department of Politics at the University of Manchester and the Centre on the Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE). Candidates for the studentship should have a strong background in empirical methods and should be open to both quantitative and qualitative analysis (training will be provided), but could be drawn from a range of disciplines, including political science, sociology, geography, social statistics, and economics.

**Admissions Criteria**

Applicants must have a first-class or high upper second-class honours degree (or equivalent qualification), preferably in social science. They must also have an ESRC accredited UK Masters degree (or overseas equivalent)

in a relevant subject, with significant training in relevant quantitative skills. Students from non-native English speaking countries must also satisfy the School's English language requirements which are IELTS score of 7 with 7 in writing or TOEFL IBT score of 100 with 25 in each section. Previous experience with statistical software, in particular STATA and SPSS, is desirable.

**Eligibility for the full award (including an annual stipend) is limited to students who have a settled status in the UK (citizens, permanent residents),** but EU students will have their fees paid. Overseas students will need to top-up their fees themselves. Please consult ESRC for full eligibility criteria: <http://www.esrc.ac.uk/funding-and-guidance/postgraduates/prospective-students/eligibility/>

### **How to apply**

Applicants are required to provide: (i) an initial research proposal of no more than 1,500 words (not including references) setting out how they would like to develop the studentship topic outlined in further particulars; (ii) a short (maximum 2 pages A4) personal statement explaining applicant's interest in this area of research; (iii) a full CV. If the applicant is shortlisted for an interview a sample of academic writing, in English, will also be required.

### **Applications (research proposal, statement and CV) should be emailed to:**

**maria.sobolewska@manchester.ac.uk.** The successful candidate will be required to submit a full University of Manchester on-line application, plus supporting documents (two academic references and degree transcripts) to fulfill the normal admissions process.

### **Deadline**

The deadline for applications is **5 January 2015**. Candidates may be called for interview in late January to early February.

## **Further particulars**

### **Studentship topic**

In accordance with ESRC's guidelines on recruiting Project Students the student will need to develop their PhD on the following topic related to the PATHWAYS project: **“Beyond numbers: do immigrant-origin MPs speak for immigrant-origin minorities in the UK Parliament?”**

Substantive representation of immigrants and citizens of immigrant origin (CIOs) is arguably more important than their descriptive representation. Yet, because of the difficulties in conceptualising, measuring and therefore studying this kind of representation, research in this area is sparse. The few existing studies focus on the CIOs representatives' actions and words, thus to a large extent ignoring a large portion of the substantive representation of CIOs that is done by other (non-CIO) elected representatives. Also, what counts as substantive representation is often arbitrarily decided by the researcher themselves: for example policies are pre-coded as CIO friendly or not, or it is assumed that simply mentioning CIOs in parliament constitutes representing their interests.

This project will go beyond this usual approach by looking at the match between CIOs political interests and attitudes and the activities of an array of representatives: those who are CIOs themselves and those representing CIO electors. This approach to studying substantive representation has been pioneered by Miller and Stokes (1963) and is used to great success in the US. The UK now boasts at least two in-depth surveys of CIOs political attitudes: the 1997 and 2010 Ethnic Minority British Election Studies. This data, in combination with the wealth of Hansard data on parliamentarians' written and oral activities, as well as voting record - including instances of rebellion against the party whip – will form the main basis for the empirical analysis of this PS2.

The data on CIOs' political preferences is especially scarce in most European countries and in this respect the UK is an outlier. The two critical elections of 1997 and 2010 were monitored with special boost samples of minorities (in 1997) and a separate survey of minorities (in 2010), which not only provide in depth measurements of CIOs preferences, but also the possibility to compare those with the general population. The analysis of these sources will be matched by an analysis of a sample of MPs behaviour for signs of match on policy preferences and reflection of interests. The analysis of parliamentary debates, work in Select Committees, voting patterns and parliamentary questions for written answers is the most feasible way to measure substantive representation over such a long period of time, but also their accessibility through an online, searchable database make it the best source of data for a doctoral student. The student will be helped by the fact that the data for the last full legislative term 2005-2010 will be collected as part of the main project.

This form of representation may then, depending on the student's interests, be compared with other, more generally studied forms of representation, such as mentions of policies deemed to be immigrant and minority friendly (Saalfeld and Kyriakopoulou 2011) or mentions of ethnicity (Bird 2011), to establish whether all forms of

representation go together (accumulate) or whether different MPs, or different parties, show a distinctive preference for some forms of representation (Mansbridge 1999, 2003).

This will be primarily a quantitative project involving matching the policy preferences of representatives and minority electorate (including secondary analysis of existing sources on minority political attitudes). However, if the student expresses a wish to do so, some qualitative interviews with minority-origin MPs may be viable in the course of the project. The North West DTC and, particularly, the School of Social Sciences at the University of Manchester are very well equipped in the methods training required for this project to be viable.

#### REFERENCES CITED:

- Bird, Karen (2011) Patterns of substantive representation among visible minority MPs: Evidence from Canada's House of Commons' in Karen Bird, Thomas Saalfeld, Andreas M. Wüst (eds.), *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, Parties and Parliaments in Liberal Democracies*. Abington, New York: Routledge, ECPR, 109-27.
- Mansbridge, Jane J. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent "Yes"." *Journal of Politics* 61(3): 628-57
- Mansbridge, J (2003). 'Rethinking Representation.' *American Political Science Review* 97(4): 515-528.
- Miller, WE and Stokes, DE (1963). 'Constituency Influence in Congress.' *American Political Science Review*, 57(1): 45-56.
- Saalfeld, T and K Kyriakopoulou (2011). 'Presence and behaviour: black and minority ethnic MPs in the British House of Commons.' In: K Bird, T Saalfeld and AM Wüst (eds.): *The Political Representation of Immigrants and Minorities: Voters, parties and parliaments in liberal democracies*. London: Routledge, 230-249.