

# All Women Shortlists Methodology

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# 1 Descriptive Statistics

Data in Table 1 is from House of Commons Library reports (Audickas, Hawkins, & Cracknell, 2017; Kelly & White, 2016). All women shortlists were not used by Labour during the 2001 General Election.

Table 1: Labour MPs and Intakes

General Election	Total MPs	Labour MPs	Female Labour MPs	Labour MPs Intake	Intake Women	Intake Shortlist	Nominated Shortlist
1997	659	418	101 (24%)	177	64 (36%)	35	38
2001	659	412	95 (23%)	38	4 (11%)	0	0
2005	646	355	98 (28%)	40	26 (65%)	23	30
2010	650	258	81 (31%)	64	32 (50%)	28	63
2015	650	232	99 (43%)	49	31 (63%)	31	77

Table 2: Number of Speeches and Words in Dataset

Gender	Speeches	Words
All	657,547	657,547
Female	149,805	149,805
Male	507,742	507,742
<b>Conservatives</b>		
All	285,308	285,308
Female	48,771	48,771
Male	236,537	236,537
<b>Labour</b>		
All	262,000	262,000
Female	84,615	84,615
Non-All Women Shortlists	28,653	28,653
All Women Shortlists	55,962	55,962
Male	177,385	177,385
<b>Liberal Democrat</b>		
All	72,719	72,719
Female	7,552	7,552
Male	65,167	65,167
<b>Other</b>		
All	37,520	37,520
Female	8,867	8,867
Male	28,653	28,653

## 2 Methodology

Previous research on gender differences in political speech patterns has focused on differences between male and female politicians (Yu, 2014) or on variations in Hilary Clinton’s speech patterns (Bligh, Merolla, Schroedel, & Gonzalez, 2010; Jones, 2016). This paper focuses on differences in speech patterns between female Labour MPs nominated through All Women Shortlists (AWS) and female Labour MPs nominated through open shortlists. We examined differences in speaking styles using the **Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count 2015**

(LIWC) dictionary (Pennebaker, Boyd, Jordan, & Blackburn, 2015) and the `spaCy` (Honnibal & Montani, 2017) Parts-of-Speech (POS) tagger. We examined differences in the topics discussed by AWS and non-AWS MPs, using  $\chi^2$  tests for individual words and for bigrams. We trained a Naive Bayes classifier to distinguish AWS and non-AWS speeches. We used structured topic models (STM) to identify the topics discussed by AWS and non-AWS MPs.

To account for the possible effects of age, parliamentary experience and cohort, and in order to compare women selected through all women shortlists to women who were not (but who theoretically had the opportunity to contest all-women shortlists), our analysis is been restricted only to Labour MPs first elected to the House of Commons in the 1997 General Election, up to but excluding the 2017 General Election. Comparisons between MPs of different parties are also restricted to MPs first elected in the 1997 General Election, and before the 2017 General Election. Speeches made by the Speaker, including Deputy Speakers, were also excluded. Words contained in parentheses were removed, as they are added by Hansard to provide additional information not actually spoken by the MP.<sup>1</sup> Speeches and data on MPs’ gender and party affiliation are from a previously assembled dataset (Odell, 2018). Information on candidates selected through all women shortlists is from the House of Commons Library (Kelly & White, 2016). Unsuccessful General Election candidates selected through all women shortlists who were subsequently elected in a byelection are classified as having been selected on an all women shortlist, regardless of the selection process for that byelection. Speeches made by MPs while suspended from the Labour party were classified the same as if they had not been suspended. The dataset includes 408 different Labour MPs, 167 female MPs, 119 elected from All Women Shortlists and 48 elected from open shortlists, along with 241 male MPs.

## 3 Results

### 3.1 Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count

Word classification used the `Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count 2015` (LIWC) dictionary (Pennebaker et al., 2015) and tokenising tools from the `Quanteda` R package (Benoit, 2018). Word counts and words-per-sentence were calculated using `stringi` (Gagolewski, 2018), a wrapper to the ICU regex library.

Following research by Yu (2014) and Newman, Groom, Handelman, & Pennebaker (2008) on gender differences in language, we compared MPs speeches using the following LIWC categories:

- All Pronouns (pronoun)
- First person singular pronouns (i)
- First person plural pronouns (we)
- Verbs (verb)
- Auxiliary verbs (auxverb)
- Social processes (social)
- Positive emotions (posemo)
- Negative emotions (negemo)
- Tentative words (tentat)
- Articles (article)
- Prepositions (preps)
- Anger words (anger)
- Swear words (swear)
- Cognitive processes (cogproc)
- Words longer than six letters (Sixltr)

We also included mean words-per-sentence (WPS), total speech word count (WC) and Flesch–Kincaid grade level (FK) (Kincaid, Fishburne, Rogers, & Chissom, 1975), calculated using `Quanteda` (Benoit, 2018) and `stringi` (Gagolewski, 2018).

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<sup>1</sup>e.g. a reference to “the member for Bethnal Green and Bow” in keeping with Parliamentary convention of identifying MPs by their seat rather than their name would be followed by “(Rushnara Ali)”.

### 3.1.1 Women vs Men

Table 3: Effect Sizes for Male and Female Labour MPs

	Women		Men		Effect Size	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Cohen's D	Magnitude
All Pronouns	10.07	4.60	10.15	4.99	0.02	negligible
First person singular pronouns	1.89	2.41	2.02	2.55	0.05	negligible
First person plural pronouns	0.98	1.42	0.99	1.51	0.01	negligible
Verbs	12.82	5.00	12.67	5.35	-0.03	negligible
Auxiliary verbs	7.91	3.45	7.93	3.69	0.01	negligible
Social processes	8.46	4.81	8.16	5.11	-0.06	negligible
Positive emotions	2.73	2.49	2.57	2.54	-0.06	negligible
Negative emotions	1.15	1.69	1.07	1.78	-0.05	negligible
Tentative words	1.48	1.74	1.58	1.90	0.05	negligible
More than six letters	10.62	3.67	10.26	3.92	-0.10	negligible
Articles	7.64	3.30	7.96	3.55	0.09	negligible
Prepositions	12.58	4.41	12.14	4.73	-0.10	negligible
Anger words	0.23	0.83	0.24	0.79	0.01	negligible
Swear words	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.09	0.01	negligible
Cognitive processes	8.68	4.83	8.82	5.15	0.03	negligible
Words per Sentence	43.99	19.92	41.43	20.30	-0.13	negligible
Total Word Count	402.72	691.10	370.13	647.25	-0.05	negligible
Flesh-Kincaid Grade Level	10.97	7.77	9.91	7.96	-0.13	negligible

There are no categories where gender differences meet the effect size threshold of  $|0.2|$  suggested by Cohen (1988, pp. 25–26) to indicate a small effect. 4 categories – words with more than six letters, prepositions, words-per-sentence and Flesh-Kincaid grade level – exceeded the  $|0.1|$  threshold suggested by Newman et al (2008).

### 3.1.2 Shortlists vs Non-Shortlists

The following plots show changes in the occurrences of selected LIWC terms, words-per-sentence, total word count and Flesch–Kincaid grade level, over the course of an MP's career. There do not appear to be any notable changes in speaking style over the course of female Labour MPs' careers.

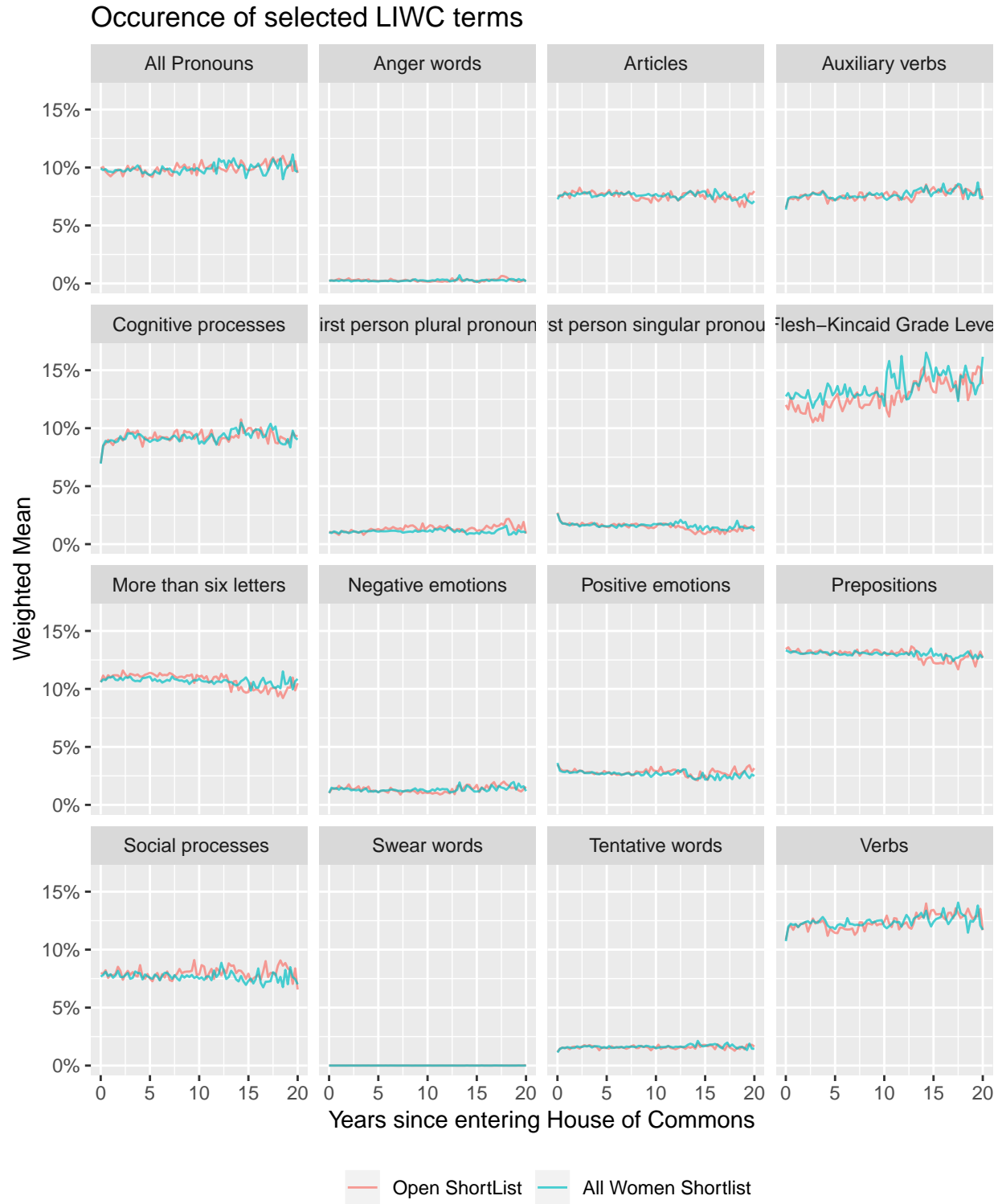


Figure 1: Occurrence of selected LIWC terms

Table 4: Effect Sizes for Female Labour MPs by selection process

	All Women Shortlists		Open Shortlists		Effect Size	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Cohen's D	Magnitude
All Pronouns	10.01	4.66	10.19	4.47	-0.04	negligible
First person singular pronouns	1.86	2.41	1.95	2.42	-0.04	negligible
First person plural pronouns	0.88	1.36	1.16	1.51	-0.19	negligible
Verbs	12.88	5.10	12.69	4.80	0.04	negligible
Auxiliary verbs	7.94	3.49	7.86	3.38	0.02	negligible
Social processes	8.46	4.93	8.44	4.58	0.00	negligible
Positive emotions	2.69	2.52	2.81	2.42	-0.05	negligible
Negative emotions	1.17	1.69	1.13	1.68	0.02	negligible
Tentative words	1.48	1.75	1.49	1.73	0.00	negligible
More than six letters	10.56	3.72	10.74	3.56	-0.05	negligible
Articles	7.69	3.38	7.55	3.14	0.04	negligible
Prepositions	12.55	4.54	12.63	4.14	-0.02	negligible
Anger words	0.23	0.79	0.24	0.91	-0.01	negligible
Swear words	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.05	0.01	negligible
Cognitive processes	8.59	4.90	8.85	4.69	-0.05	negligible
Words per Sentence	44.39	20.69	43.21	18.31	0.06	negligible
Total Word Count	401.70	704.15	404.73	664.87	0.00	negligible
Flesh-Kincaid Grade Level	11.13	8.06	10.64	7.15	0.07	negligible

There are no categories among female Labour MPs by selection process meeting the  $|0.2|$  threshold. Only one category – first person plural pronouns,  $d=0.19$  – exceeded  $|0.1|$ .

### 3.1.3 Conservatives vs Labour

Table 5: Effect Sizes for All Labour and Conservative MPs

	Labour		Conservatives		Effect Size	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Cohen's D	Magnitude
All Pronouns	10.12	4.87	10.61	4.84	0.10	negligible
First person singular pronouns	1.98	2.51	2.14	2.56	0.06	negligible
First person plural pronouns	0.98	1.48	1.22	1.70	0.15	negligible
Verbs	12.72	5.24	12.92	5.14	0.04	negligible
Auxiliary verbs	7.93	3.61	8.16	3.58	0.06	negligible
Social processes	8.26	5.02	8.11	4.80	-0.03	negligible
Positive emotions	2.63	2.52	2.85	2.66	0.09	negligible
Negative emotions	1.10	1.75	1.04	1.79	-0.03	negligible
Tentative words	1.55	1.85	1.57	1.88	0.01	negligible
More than six letters	10.38	3.84	10.31	3.75	-0.02	negligible
Articles	7.86	3.47	7.81	3.45	-0.01	negligible
Prepositions	12.28	4.63	12.35	4.49	0.02	negligible
Anger words	0.24	0.80	0.24	0.82	0.00	negligible
Swear words	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.10	0.00	negligible
Cognitive processes	8.77	5.05	8.85	5.06	0.01	negligible
Words per Sentence	42.26	20.22	43.07	20.39	0.04	negligible
Total Word Count	380.64	661.91	336.23	594.06	-0.07	negligible
Flesh-Kincaid Grade Level	10.25	7.91	10.54	7.99	0.04	negligible

There are no categories with effect sizes exceeding  $|0.2|$  between Labour and Conservative MPs, like inter-Labour differences.

### 3.1.4 All MPs Gender Differences

There are no categories with effect sizes exceeding  $|0.2|$  when comparing all male and female MPs elected from 1997 onwards. There is only one category, “Articles”, with an effect size of 0.11, greater than the  $|0.1|$  threshold suggested by Newman et al. (2008).



Table 6: Effect Sizes for Male and Female MPs, All Parties

	Women		Men		Effect Size	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Cohen's D	Magnitude
All Pronouns	1	1	1	1	1	1
First person singular pronouns	2	2	2	2	2	2
First person plural pronouns	3	3	3	3	3	3
Verbs	4	4	4	4	4	4
Auxiliary verbs	5	5	5	5	5	5
Social processes	6	6	6	6	6	6
Positive emotions	7	7	7	7	7	7
Negative emotions	8	8	8	8	8	8
Tentative words	9	9	9	9	9	9
More than six letters	10	10	10	10	10	10
Articles	11	11	11	11	11	11
Prepositions	12	12	12	12	12	12
Anger words	13	13	13	13	13	13
Swear words	14	14	14	14	14	14
Cognitive processes	15	15	15	15	15	15
Words per Sentence	16	16	16	16	16	16
Total Word Count	17	17	17	17	17	17
Flesh-Kincaid Grade Level	18	18	18	18	18	18

### 3.2 POS Analysis

Table 7: Part-of-Speech Effect Sizes for Male and Female Labour MPs

Word Type	Women		Men		Effect Size	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Cohen's D	Magnitude
All Nouns	22.17	9.56	21.67	10.92	-0.05	negligible
Plural Nouns	5.86	3.71	5.04	3.79	-0.22	small
Singular Nouns	15.61	9.81	16.01	11.16	0.04	negligible
Adjectives	9.58	4.77	9.28	5.29	-0.06	negligible
Adverbs	4.91	4.25	5.06	4.91	0.04	negligible
Verbs	20.97	9.52	20.81	10.28	-0.02	negligible

Table 8: Part-of-Speech Effect Sizes for AWS and non-AWS Labour MPs

Word Type	All Women Shortlists		Open Shortlists		Effect Size	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Cohen’s D	Magnitude
All Nouns	22.16	8.72	22.18	9.97	-0.04	negligible
Plural Nouns	6.03	3.59	5.77	3.76	-0.16	negligible
Singular Nouns	15.50	8.93	15.67	10.23	0.03	negligible
Adjectives	9.83	4.58	9.45	4.86	-0.02	negligible
Adverbs	4.95	3.76	4.89	4.49	0.03	negligible
Verbs	20.92	9.02	21.00	9.77	-0.02	negligible

Part-of-speech (POS) tagging was done using **spaCy** (Honnibal & Montani, 2017) and the **spacyr** package (Benoit & Matsuo, 2018). There is one small gender difference ( $d = |0.22|$ ) in the use of plural nouns, which make up 5.86% of the words used by female Labour MPs, compared to 5.04% of words spoken by male Labour MPs. As with LIWC, there are no categories where  $d \geq |0.2|$  when comparing female Labour MPs by selection process.

### 3.3 Tokenising / Keyness

The most commonly used words by both men and women would be protocol decorum expressions, so we calculate the keyness of words to identify gender differences in the choices of topics raised by men and women, and by short-list and non-shortlist women.

#### 3.3.1 Men vs Women

Keyness – a linguistic measure of the frequency of different words in two groups of texts – reveals clear gender differences in the most disproportionately common words used by female and male Labour MPs. Unsurprisingly, despite male MPs saying almost twice as many words (177,385 vs 84,615) as their female colleagues, female Labour MPs were more than two-and-a-half (2.61) times as likely to say “women”. They were also much more likely to use “women’s” and “woman” in parliamentary debate. Female Labour MPs also appear much more likely to discuss “children”, “people”, “care”, “families”, “home”, “parents”, “work” and social policy areas such as “services”, “disabled [people]” and “housing” than their male colleagues. Male MPs were more likely to refer to military topics (“Iraq”, “nuclear”), and to parliamentary process and protocol – “question”, “political”, “conservative”, “electoral”, “house”, “party”, “argument” “liberal” and “point” are far more common in speeches by male Labour MPs than by female ones. This could suggest that male Labour MPs are more comfortable using the traditional language of House of Commons debate, and are more concerned with the rules, procedures and processes of the parliamentary system than their female colleagues.

### Keyness between Labour MPs, by Gender

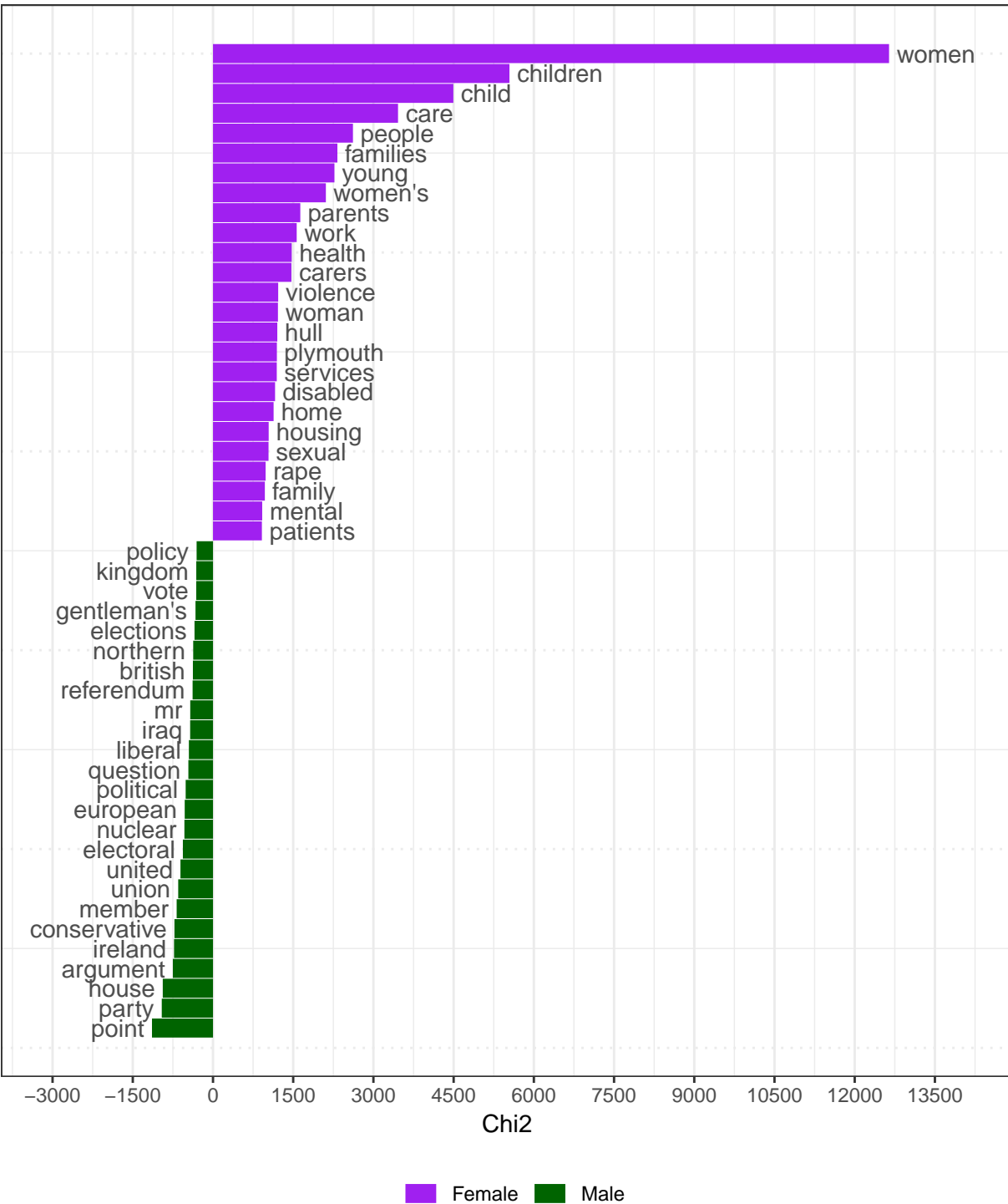


Figure 2: Keyness between Labour MPs, by Gender

#### 3.3.2 Shortlists vs Non-Shortlists

Keyness differences by selection process are not as obviously stereotypical. Nonetheless, the most common words amongst AWS MPs included “carers”, “disabled”, “bedroom” and “sen” (Special Educational Needs).

Also of note is AWS MPs making more references to their “constituency” and its “constituents”, suggesting that AWS MPs may draw on the fact they were elected by their constituents as a source political legitimacy, at least more than non-AWS MPs.

Keyness between Female Labour MPs, by Selection Process

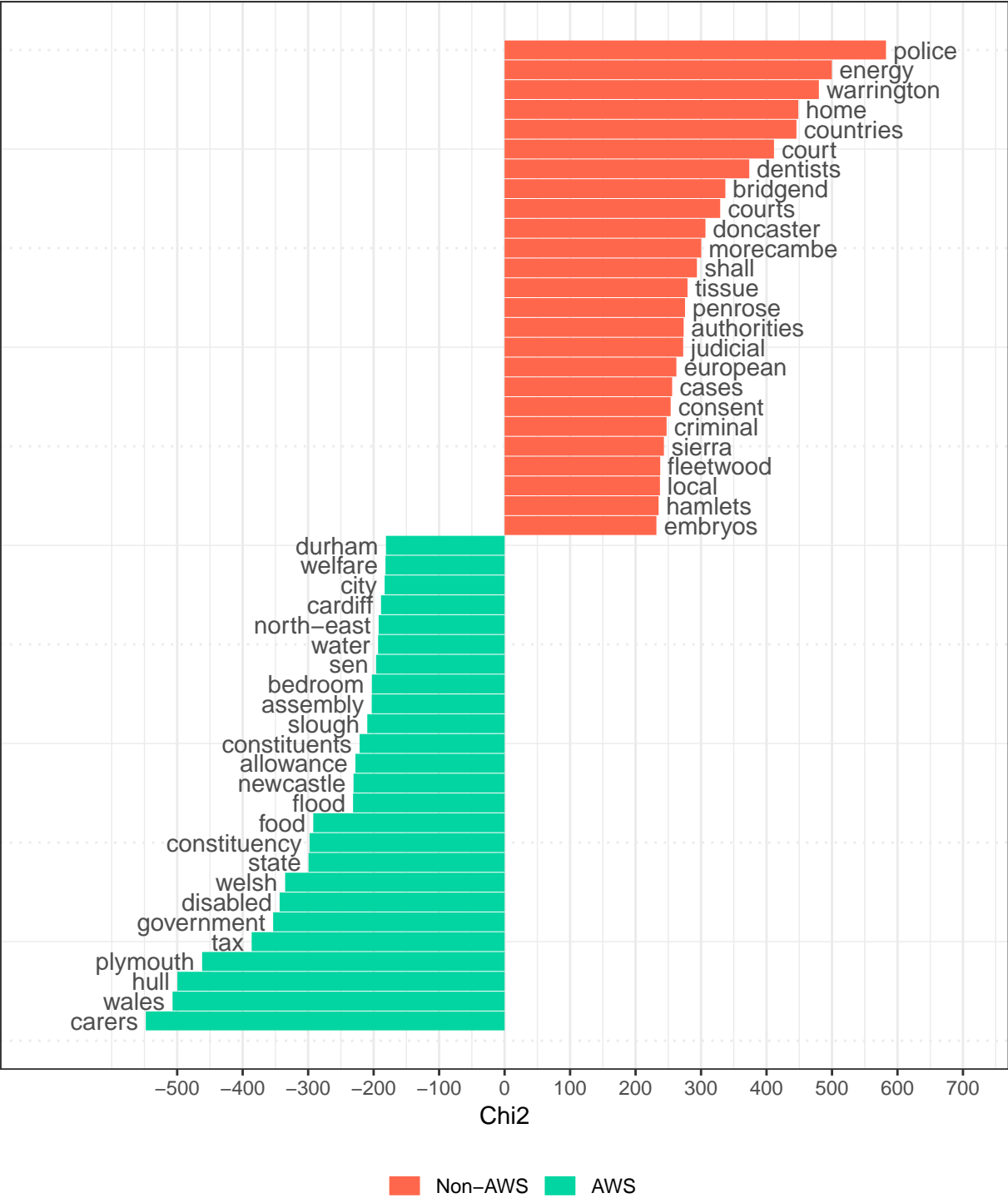


Figure 3: Keyness between Female Labour MPs, by Selection Process

### **3.3.3 Labour vs Conservative**

The keyness differences between Labour and Conservative MPs are much greater than gender differences within Labour. The very high use of “Lady” by Conservative MPs is reflective of the greater proportion of female MPs in other parties, as it is often used to refer to comments by other members of the house. It may also represent a greater use of traditional house decorum by Conservative MPs.

# Keyness between Labour and Conservative MPs

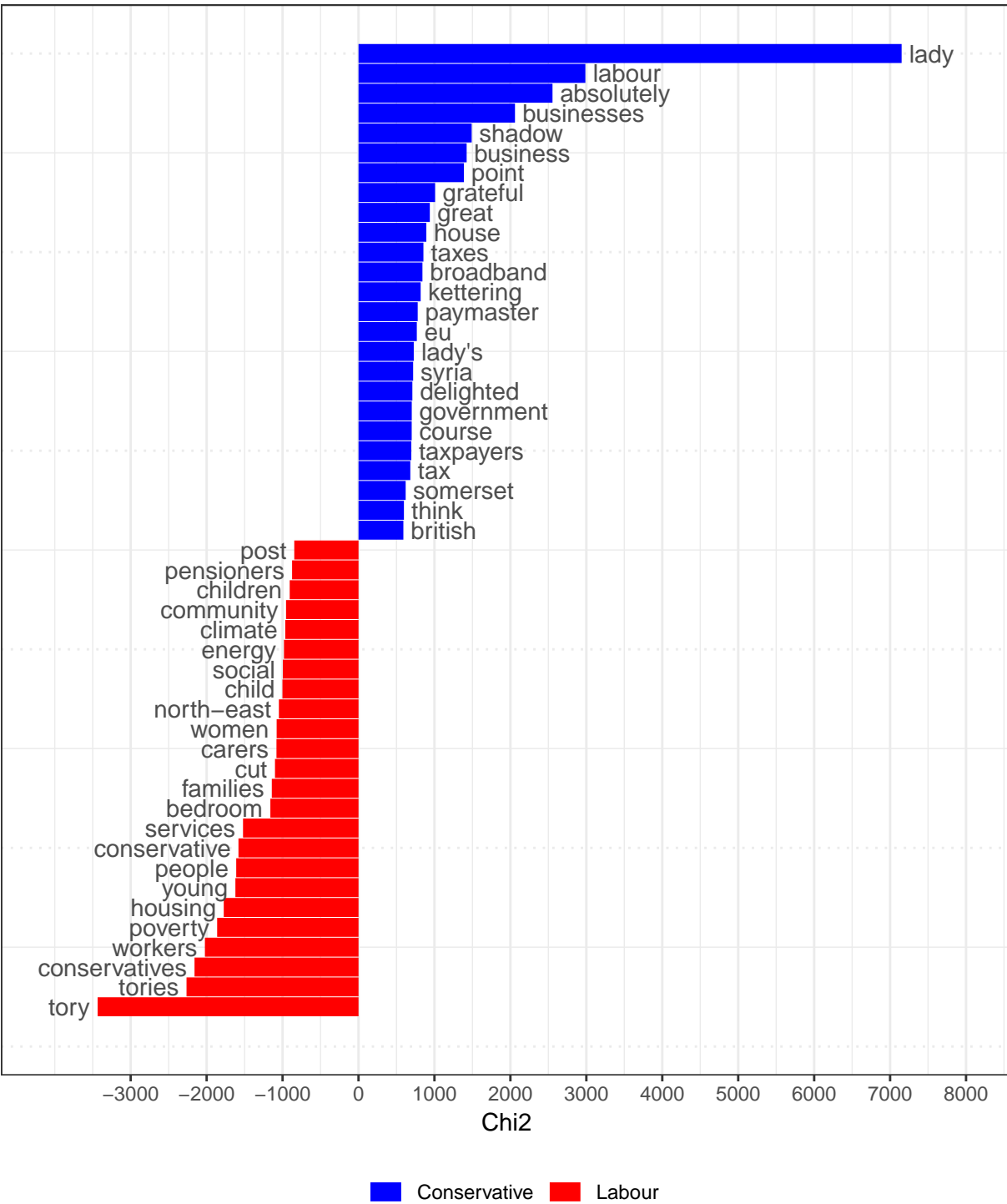


Figure 4: Keyness between Labour and Conservative MPs

### 3.4 Bigrams

We created bigrams of all first person plural and singular pronouns for female Labour MPs. As above, AWS MPs are far more likely to make references to their constituency or their constituents.

Bigram Keyness in Female Labour MPs by Selection Process

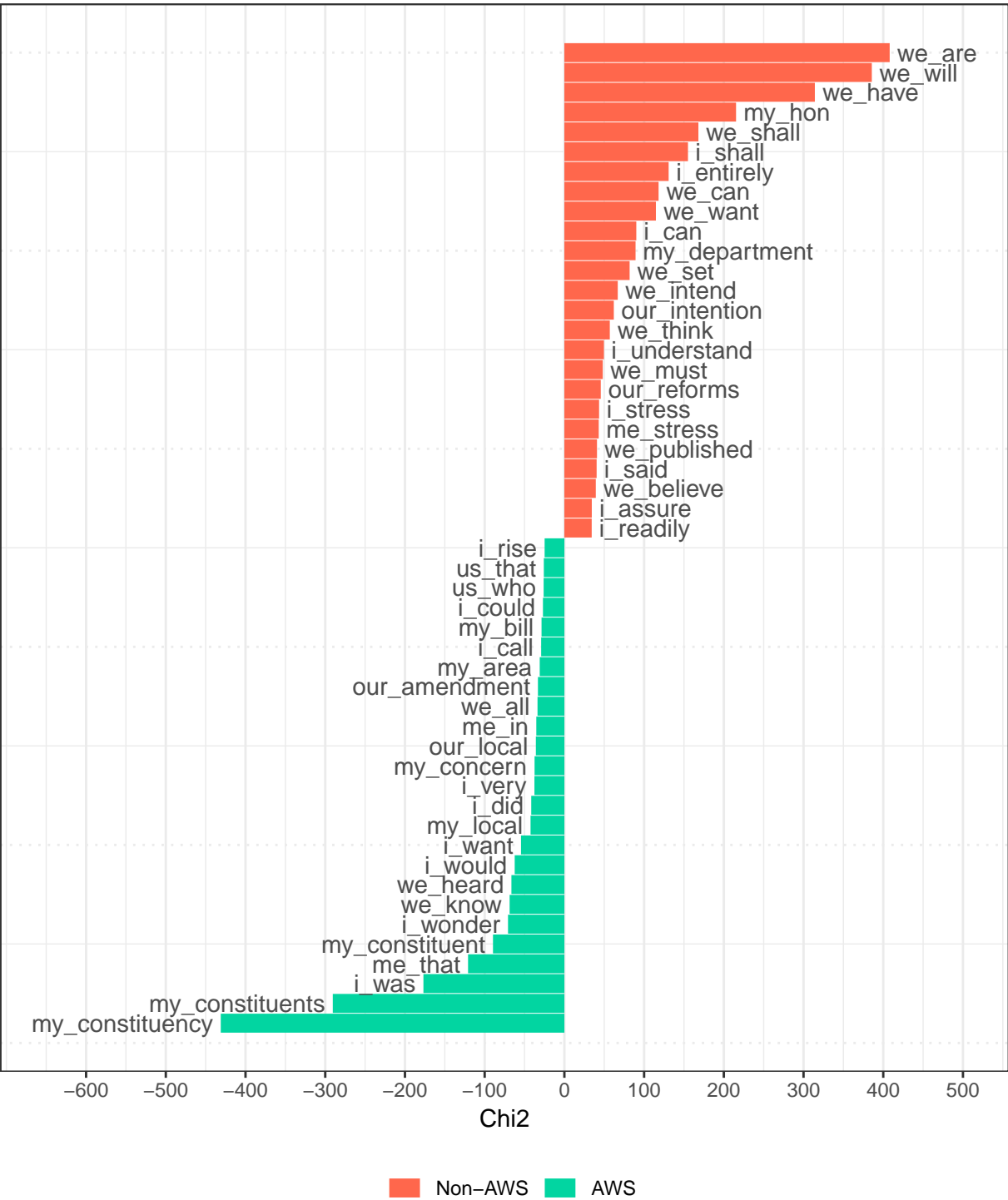


Figure 5: Bigram Keyness in Female Labour MPs by Selection Process

### 3.5 Naive Bayes classification

We trained a Naive Bayes classifier with document-frequency priors and a multinomial distribution to predict the gender of speakers when given speeches by all Labour MPs in our dataset, and the selection process when only given female Labour MPs. The accuracy of both models were roughly equivalent, 70.67% accuracy when predicting gender and 71.22% when predicting shortlists. By contrast, the classifier could distinguish between Labour and Conservative speeches with 74.23% accuracy.

### 3.6 Topic Models

Using topic models to classify text is widely used in social sciences (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013), as, when combined with the large volume of plain text data available, it allows for a rapid and consistent method of analysis. Topic modelling and other statistic methods of textual analysis are not a substitute for reading the texts themselves, but can augment other analysis or – as in this case – analyse and classify larger amounts of text than would be feasible using human coders (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013). Topic models classify a series of documents (in this case individual speeches) into one of a given number of topics, identifying terms that are common in some documents but rare in others. When developing topic models, there is a trade-off between high precision in the classification of each document with broader topics when using smaller numbers of topics, or lower precision in individual speech classification with more finely-grained topics when using larger numbers of topics. Grimmer & Stewart (2013) also highlight the importance of validating unsupervised topic models when applied to new sets of texts.

The R package `stm` (Roberts, Stewart, & Tingley, 2018) implements a structured topic model (STM) (Arora et al., 2013; Roberts, Stewart, & Airoldi, 2016). An STM incorporates data about the writer or speaker into the topic classification algorithm. This differs from traditional topic modelling methods using latent variables to identify topics (e.g. with latent Dirichlet allocation Blei, Ng, & Jordan, 2003), and then comparing proportions of each topic to one or more external variables. STM allows us to incorporate the variables we are interested in to the topic model itself using a generalised linear model; i.e. the proportion of speeches classified as belonging to each topic can vary as a function of the AWS and gender variables.

We incorporated the AWS status of speakers and their gender as covariates into our topic model, using all speeches by Labour MPs.



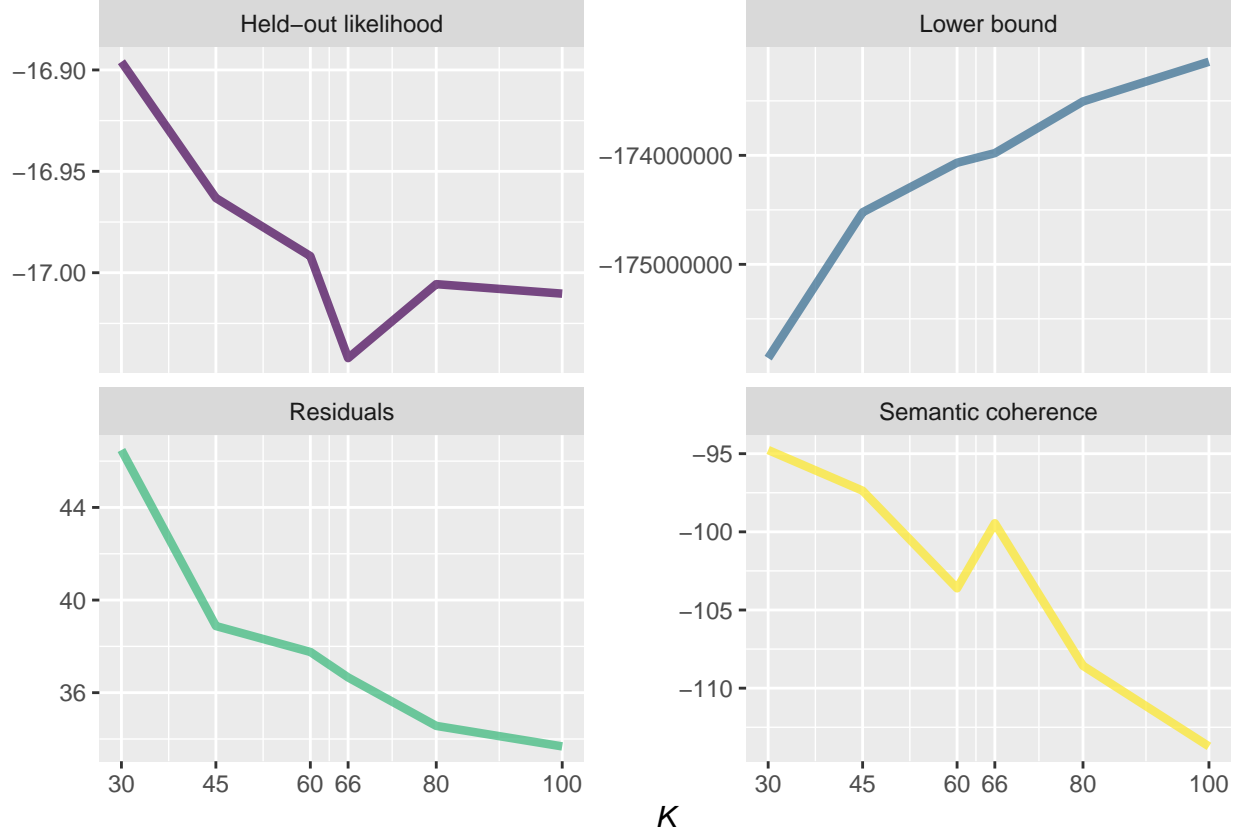


Figure 6: Topic Model Selection

To identify the best number of topics, we created six topic models with different numbers of topics ( $K$ ). We created models with 30, 45, 60, 80 and 100 topics, and used an algorithm developed by Lee & Mimno (2014), implemented in the `stm` package (Roberts et al., 2018), which resulted in  $K = 66$ . As seen in Figure 6, the algorithm from Lee & Mimno (2014) appears to produce the best result, a topic model with 66 topics, across 251,072 speeches with a dictionary of 241,625 words. All models were created using the “spectral” method developed by Arora et al. (2013), implemented by Roberts et al. (2018). One of the topics – Topic 66 – was identified as a possibly topic, but was never the most likely topic in the matrix of number of documents by number of topics – labelled  $\theta$  by Roberts et al. (2018), and so while it is included in the model, assignment of single topics to speeches uses the highest  $\theta$  for each speech.

- refer to other papers that use these kinds of methods - Grimmer, King, Quinn, etc

### 3.6.1 Shortlists vs Non-Shortlists

We created a Fruchterman-Reingold (Fruchterman & Reingold, 1991) diagram (Figure 7) to show the connections between different topics. Larger vertices indicate more common topics, and the plot uses a colour scale to indicate the proportion of speeches classed in that topic made by AWS and non-AWS female Labour MPs. The space between vertices indicate the closeness or distance of two topics. E.g. closer vertices represent topics with more overlapping words than more distant topics. (There are no women with speeches in topic 66?)

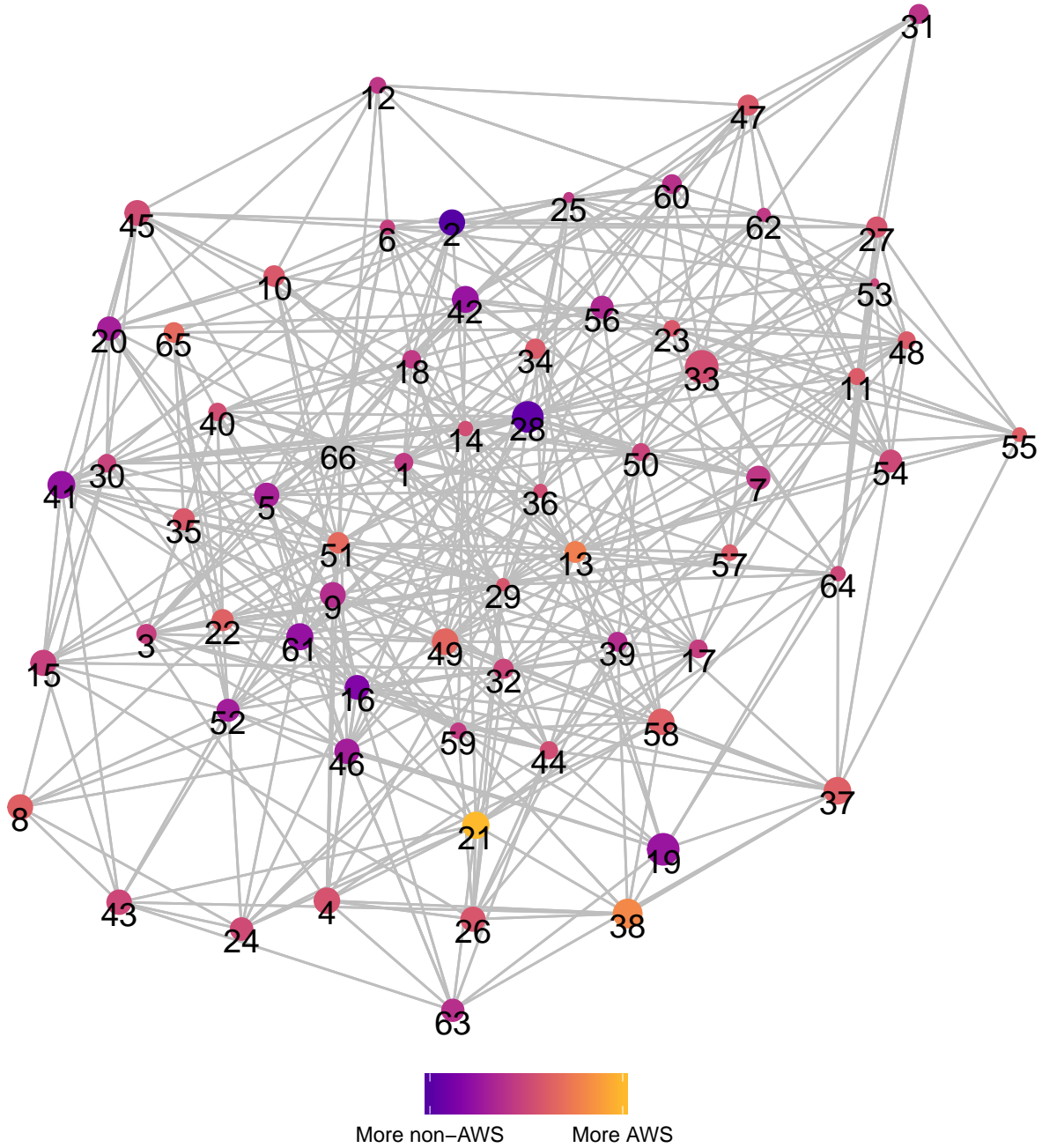


Figure 7: Fruchterman-Reingold plot of k0 Network

Table 9: Count and Distribution of Topics – k0

Topic Number	AWS Speeches	Percent of AWS Speeches	Non-AWS Speeches	Percent of non-AWS Speeches	Male MP Speeches	Percent of Male MP Speeches
Topic 1	453	0.84%	260	0.93%	2,154	1.27%
Topic 2	866	1.61%	1,098	3.94%	3,882	2.29%
Topic 3	558	1.04%	298	1.07%	2,141	1.26%
Topic 4	1,384	2.57%	664	2.38%	2,416	1.43%

Table 9: Count and Distribution of Topics – k0 (*continued*)

Topic Number	AWS Speeches	Percent of AWS Speeches	Non-AWS Speeches	Percent of non-AWS Speeches	Male MP Speeches	Percent of Male MP Speeches
Topic 5	1,046	1.94%	710	2.55%	3,349	1.98%
Topic 6	221	0.41%	66	0.24%	604	0.36%
Topic 7	1,049	1.95%	492	1.77%	3,885	2.29%
Topic 8	1,368	2.54%	522	1.87%	3,780	2.23%
Topic 9	1,105	2.05%	746	2.68%	4,628	2.73%
Topic 10	793	1.47%	280	1%	3,999	2.36%
Topic 11	376	0.7%	85	0.31%	1,081	0.64%
Topic 12	290	0.54%	161	0.58%	2,026	1.2%
Topic 13	874	1.62%	241	0.86%	2,085	1.23%
Topic 14	242	0.45%	68	0.24%	417	0.25%
Topic 15	1,258	2.34%	702	2.52%	553	0.33%
Topic 16	932	1.73%	709	2.54%	2,712	1.6%
Topic 17	385	0.72%	287	1.03%	1,742	1.03%
Topic 18	422	0.78%	219	0.79%	1,212	0.72%
Topic 19	2,146	3.99%	1,489	5.34%	4,684	2.76%
Topic 20	861	1.6%	687	2.47%	3,722	2.2%
Topic 21	1,890	3.51%	317	1.14%	2,100	1.24%
Topic 22	846	1.57%	317	1.14%	2,627	1.55%
Topic 23	299	0.56%	140	0.5%	1,720	1.02%
Topic 24	976	1.81%	455	1.63%	3,503	2.07%
Topic 25	33	0.06%	9	0.03%	136	0.08%
Topic 26	1,230	2.29%	527	1.89%	2,980	1.76%
Topic 27	788	1.47%	230	0.83%	4,069	2.4%
Topic 28	1,619	3.01%	1,721	6.18%	6,743	3.98%
Topic 29	125	0.23%	30	0.11%	227	0.13%
Topic 30	454	0.84%	203	0.73%	946	0.56%
Topic 31	526	0.98%	317	1.14%	2,294	1.35%
Topic 32	537	1%	322	1.16%	1,491	0.88%
Topic 33	2,816	5.24%	1,049	3.76%	9,128	5.39%
Topic 34	661	1.23%	225	0.81%	2,659	1.57%
Topic 35	845	1.57%	336	1.21%	2,359	1.39%
Topic 36	163	0.3%	47	0.17%	446	0.26%
Topic 37	1,615	3%	665	2.39%	5,568	3.29%
Topic 38	2,148	3.99%	691	2.48%	4,557	2.69%
Topic 39	453	0.84%	363	1.3%	1,795	1.06%
Topic 40	434	0.81%	186	0.67%	1,690	1%
Topic 41	1,409	2.62%	925	3.32%	3,075	1.82%
Topic 42	1,198	2.23%	931	3.34%	4,538	2.68%
Topic 43	1,174	2.18%	631	2.26%	1,299	0.77%
Topic 44	434	0.81%	175	0.63%	1,418	0.84%
Topic 45	1,285	2.39%	587	2.11%	4,539	2.68%
Topic 46	1,051	1.95%	711	2.55%	3,687	2.18%
Topic 47	758	1.41%	240	0.86%	4,309	2.54%
Topic 48	423	0.79%	128	0.46%	1,365	0.81%

Table 9: Count and Distribution of Topics – k0 (*continued*)

Topic Number	AWS Speeches	Percent of AWS Speeches	Non-AWS Speeches	Percent of non-AWS Speeches	Male MP Speeches	Percent of Male MP Speeches
Topic 49	1,518	2.82%	547	1.96%	4,169	2.46%
Topic 50	390	0.73%	182	0.65%	1,116	0.66%
Topic 51	786	1.46%	276	0.99%	1,170	0.69%
Topic 52	745	1.39%	592	2.12%	1,468	0.87%
Topic 53	1	0%	NA	NA%	4	0%
Topic 54	882	1.64%	439	1.58%	5,053	2.98%
Topic 55	180	0.33%	79	0.28%	860	0.51%
Topic 56	768	1.43%	554	1.99%	3,945	2.33%
Topic 57	299	0.56%	126	0.45%	1,111	0.66%
Topic 58	1,424	2.65%	587	2.11%	4,158	2.45%
Topic 59	230	0.43%	183	0.66%	793	0.47%
Topic 60	524	0.97%	275	0.99%	4,965	2.93%
Topic 61	1,303	2.42%	854	3.06%	2,478	1.46%
Topic 62	108	0.2%	95	0.34%	866	0.51%
Topic 63	862	1.6%	520	1.87%	1,185	0.7%
Topic 64	208	0.39%	103	0.37%	928	0.55%
Topic 65	741	1.38%	189	0.68%	2,812	1.66%

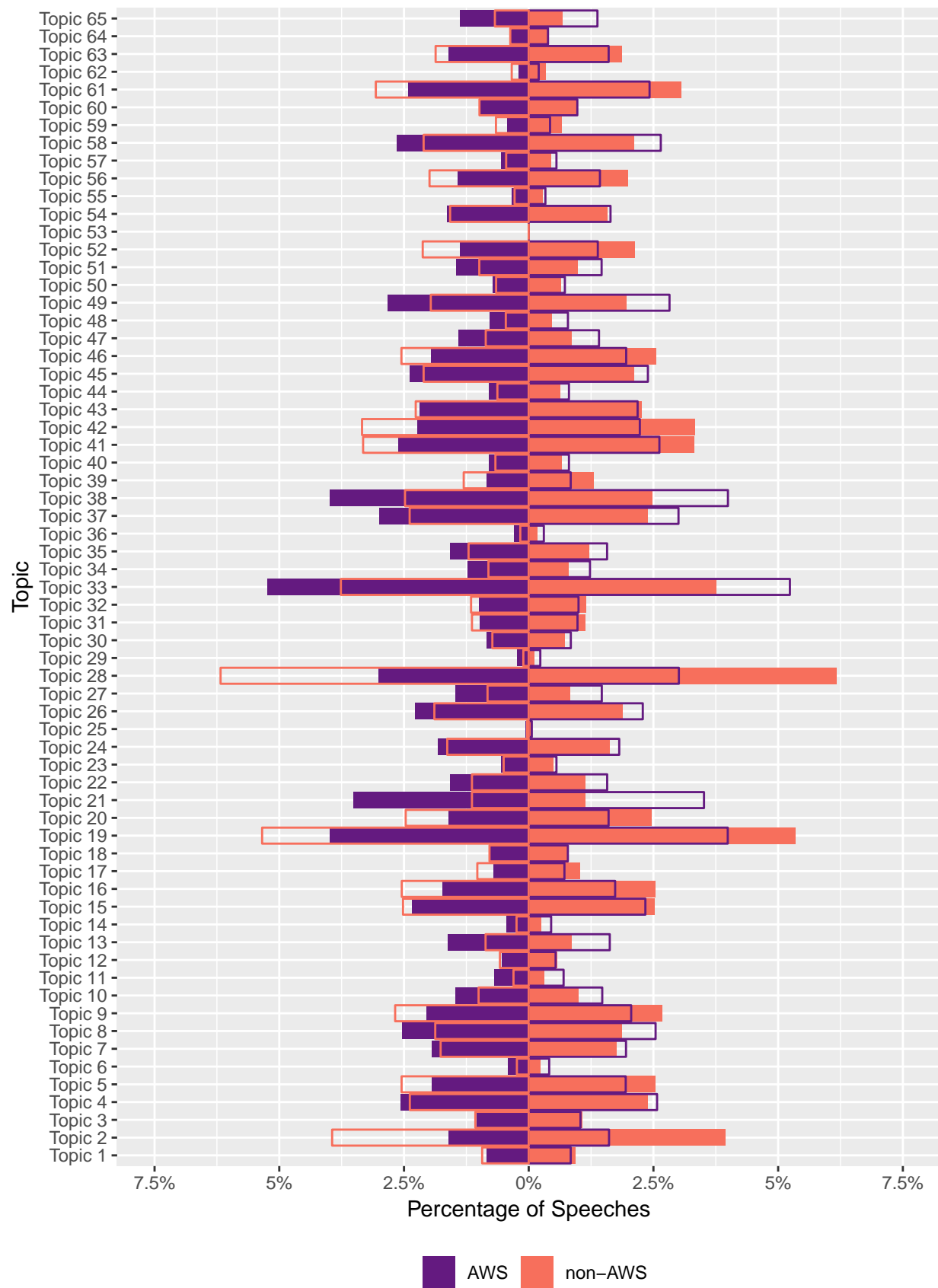


Figure 8: k0 Pyramid Chart

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## Warning: Removed 1 rows containing missing values (geom\_bar).

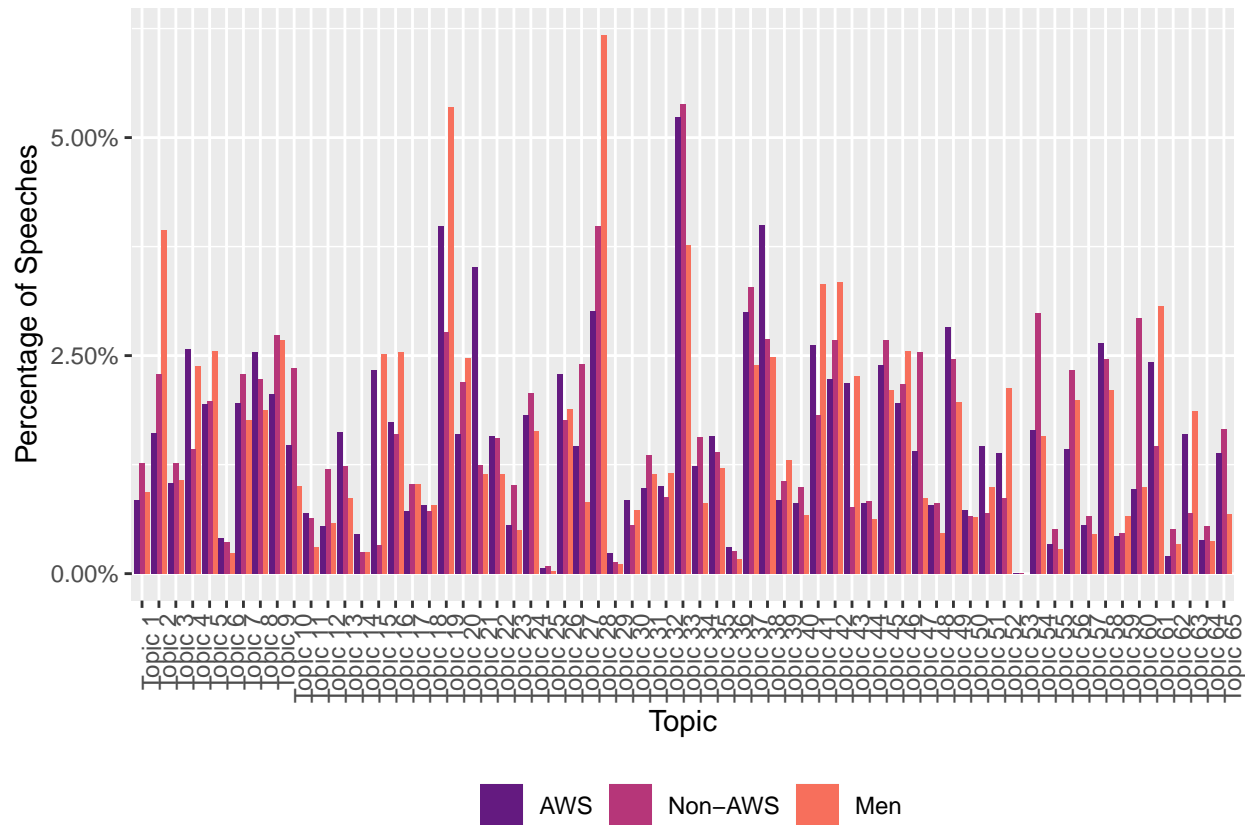


Figure 9: k0 Bar Chart

3.6.1.1 Word Occurences

The table below shows the twenty most common words in each topic, and the ten words with the highest FREX score, a measure that uses a harmonic mean of word exclusivity and topic coherence (Airoldi & Bischof, 2016).

Table 10: Words in topic - k0

Topic Number	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
Topic 1	rights, workers, law, human, civil, trade, union, employers, protection, act, employment, unions, safety, employees, work, service, staff, employer, legislation, protect	tupe, blacklisting, acas, rights, gangmasters, civil, dispute, protections, unions, dismissal, servants, disputes, human, workers, employer, num, certification, employees, tuc, employers

Table 10: Words in topic - k0 (*continued*)

Topic Number	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
Topic 2	cases, court, legal, case, justice, law, courts, evidence, lord, appeal, system, criminal, judicial, investigation, judge, aid, prosecution, circumstances, trial, lawyers	judicial, attorney-general, court, judges, prosecutor, carlile, defendant, extradition, cps, judiciary, admissible, pre-charge, jury, solicitors, lawyers, solicitor, courts, lawyer, detention, judge
Topic 3	road, planning, site, land, sites, car, vehicles, residents, roads, safety, use, driving, vehicle, park, development, traffic, drivers, area, cars, speed	bikes, cyclists, pedestrians, gypsy, off-road, cycling, encampments, parking, highways, masts, drivers, belt, roads, highway, road, gypsies, vehicles, site, vehicle, bike
Topic 4	housing, homes, social, affordable, property, home, properties, london, accommodation, building, private, houses, tenants, rent, need, council, landlords, sector, buy, people	tenants, rent, landlords, rented, homelessness, rents, leaseholders, leasehold, tenancy, commonhold, hmos, housing, one-bedroom, homeless, properties, right-to-buy, affordable, sleepers, fulham, landlord
Topic 5	police, officers, crime, policing, service, fire, prison, home, force, chief, community, officer, staff, forces, neighbourhood, probation, prisons, safety, prisoners, resources	policing, firefighters, constables, pcsos, probation, csos, prisons, fire, constable, hmic, constabulary, officers, police, prison, prisoners, reoffending, neighbourhood, metropolitan, fires, ipcc
Topic 6	make, sure, progress, northern, decisions, ireland, difference, towards, future, process, contribution, statement, responsibilities, easier, responsibility, must, departmental, belfast, friday, choices	sinn, fein, make, sure, belfast, northern, progress, ulster, difference, ireland, ruc, decisions, patten, dissident, departmental, antrim, taoiseach, imc, chastelain, dpps
Topic 7	committee, report, review, commission, independent, government, select, process, evidence, inquiry, scrutiny, recommendations, role, board, set, work, reports, public, published, parliament	committee's, select, inquiry, scrutiny, committee, recommendations, committees, independent, recommendation, panel, pre-legislative, report, chairman, review, reviews, scrutinise, inquiries, conclusions, publication, findings
Topic 8	schools, school, education, teachers, pupils, primary, children, standards, educational, special, secondary, parents, free, teacher, teaching, head, academies, academy, curriculum, good	schools, teachers, pupils, academies, pupil, grammar, classroom, leas, school's, academisation, school, teacher, bsf, academy, headteachers, ofsted, literacy, curriculum, lea, classrooms
Topic 9	energy, climate, change, fuel, carbon, gas, power, emissions, waste, nuclear, prices, wind, green, environmental, electricity, oil, industry, efficiency, renewable, price	energy, carbon, electricity, renewable, renewables, solar, ofgem, greenhouse, co2, ccs, feed-in, biofuels, microgeneration, fossil, sellafield, decarbonisation, chp, shale, mw, bnfl
Topic 10	defence, forces, armed, afghanistan, service, military, personnel, army, security, troops, support, ministry, royal, veterans, british, force, capability, iraq, equipment, also	armed, veterans, mod, regiment, legion, servicemen, reservists, helmand, battalion, ta, hms, gurmhas, regiments, marines, gurmha, fusiliers, ex-service, eurofighter, isaf, afghan

Table 10: Words in topic - k0 (*continued*)

Topic Number	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
Topic 11	house, leader, motion, commons, therefore, parliament, petition, parliamentary, government, urge, present, signed, table, notes, library, behalf, remain, floor, westminster, request	petitioners, declares, petition, house, motion, urges, commons, serjeant, recess, notes, leader, motions, lobbyist, thursday, e-petitions, early-day, house's, tuesday, session, lobbying
Topic 12	united, states, agreement, kingdom, foreign, treaty, council, security, us, nuclear, president, co-operation, convention, nations, national, policy, article, russia, international, position	lisbon, ratification, treaty, non-proliferation, treaties, qmv, veto, ratified, gibraltar, ukraine, russia, protocol, agreement, states, united, ratify, kingdom's, russian, hague, disarmament
Topic 13	secretary, state, statement, ministers, today, confirm, department, government's, explain, yesterday, home, plans, announcement, government, welcome, chief, state's, urgent, ministerial, announced	secretary, state, state's, confirm, ministers, yesterday, announcement, ministerial, explain, statement, expects, urgent, intends, assurances, yesterday's, secretaries, secretary's, update, leaked, cabinet
Topic 14	made, clear, number, decision, impact, changes, recent, assessment, effect, level, discussions, likely, proposed, colleagues, potential, representations, implications, analysis, effects, result	made, clear, decision, assessment, recent, changes, impact, representations, implications, effect, discussions, analysis, assess, implementation, estimate, level, number, negative, outcome, colleagues
Topic 15	women, men, violence, equality, domestic, age, discrimination, women's, equal, pay, woman, girls, gender, sexual, sex, female, gap, government, maternity, male	women's, gender, transgender, breastfeeding, refugees, women, abortions, fgm, shortlists, female, male, equality, girls, all-women, gay, equalities, lesbian, men, pregnancy, fawcett
Topic 16	new, development, future, programme, national, strategy, government, regional, key, plan, department, welcome, paper, set, ensure, commitment, support, improve, need, deliver	strategy, regional, programme, projects, paper, plan, project, deliver, white, key, development, delivering, develop, priorities, partnership, improve, framework, new, priority, improving
Topic 17	office, post, bank, banks, rural, offices, services, service, royal, banking, network, mail, closure, access, areas, broadband, card, staff, account, closures	offices, mail, sub-postmasters, sub-post, superfast, post, postwatch, postcomm, consigna, broadband, rbs, office, mail's, banking, bank, lloyds, ons, branches, uso, banks
Topic 18	british, uk, rules, home, immigration, citizens, asylum, identity, status, country, overseas, application, indicated, applications, apply, border, abroad, cards, migration, entry	passports, nationality, dissent, immigration, passport, indicated, points-based, identity, asylum, nationals, visa, dependencies, migration, migrants, biometric, overseas, citizen, entry, abroad, monarch



Table 10: Words in topic - k0 (*continued*)

Topic Number	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
Topic 19	health, nhs, hospital, service, patients, services, mental, trust, staff, hospitals, care, trusts, patient, primary, waiting, doctors, nurses, e, gp, emergency	in-patient, helier, nurses, chcs, nhs, ccgs, ccg, sha, hospital's, hospital, fundholding, pct, hospitals, mental, gp, healthwatch, orthopaedic, walk-in, trusts, reconfiguration
Topic 20	international, countries, world, aid, development, government, developing, africa, global, uk, support, trade, poverty, country, india, assistance, un, need, also, nations	zimbabwe, dfid, burma, congo, cdc, kenya, burmese, doha, uganda, mugabe, sub-saharan, g8, zimbabwean, dfid's, gleneagles, african, sri, lanka, Cancun, nigeria
Topic 21	people, benefit, work, benefits, disabled, support, allowance, welfare, employment, disability, system, government, help, universal, credit, reform, get, vulnerable, plus, living	incapacity, dla, esa, jobcentre, disabled, jobseeker's, jsa, disability, allowance, dwp, claimants, atos, benefit, plus, claiming, pip, motability, benefits, deaf, bedroom
Topic 22	city, centre, town, sport, football, community, liverpool, sports, club, constituency, clubs, culture, london, great, facilities, one, bid, games, towns, regeneration	football, olympic, museum, museums, stadium, athletes, cricket, paralympic, games, gospels, sports, club, sporting, fans, cup, rugby, arts, olympics, sport, galleries
Topic 23	history, former, world, tribute, great, day, never, proud, first, remember, new, john, campaign, century, parliament, pay, also, war, today, sir	maiden, miners, memorial, predecessors, tony, hillsborough, martin, james, john, william, andrew, margaret, anniversary, peter, alan, fought, memories, harold, churchill, edward
Topic 24	education, skills, students, university, training, higher, young, universities, college, learning, science, apprenticeships, colleges, fees, student, funding, research, system, qualifications, courses	universities, student, apprenticeship, fe, graduates, ema, graduate, students, colleges, diploma, apprenticeships, vocational, leitch, esol, qualifications, courses, university, undergraduate, tuition, sixth-form
Topic 25	point, agree, country, making, makes, absolutely, whole, much, good, part, friend's, entirely, completely, kind, sense, giving, rather, share, precisely, parts	agree, absolutely, makes, friend's, point, precisely, making, entirely, completely, kind, whole, sense, direction, mentions, refers, gentleman's, describes, powerful, danger, exactly
Topic 26	scheme, pension, credit, pensions, insurance, schemes, pensioners, payments, compensation, fund, payment, money, financial, paid, savings, debt, retirement, government, pay, income	pension, annuity, policyholders, annuities, auto-enrolment, insurance, retirement, loan, payments, payday, scheme, compensation, equitable, premiums, payment, pensions, means-testing, lenders, savers, pensioners
Topic 27	question, order, mr, put, speaker, deputy, point, grateful, read, agreed, record, time, minutes, may, call, standing, correct, apologise, madam, interventions	speaker, mr, madam, question, forthwith, deputy, apologise, order, o'clock, read, minutes, adjourned, accordingly, interventions, hansard, tomorrow, grateful, misled, correct, courtesy

Table 10: Words in topic - k0 (*continued*)

Topic Number	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
Topic 28	important, issue, can, issues, take, ensure, hope, need, matter, consider, possible, place, also, concerns, deal, particular, course, taken, concern, raised	issues, issue, important, concerns, consider, possible, discuss, concern, particular, matter, considering, carefully, assure, understand, extremely, raised, addressed, obviously, address, expressed
Topic 29	many, constituency, constituents, problems, welcome, particularly, people, often, hard, face, others, feel, especially, country, worked, pay, concerned, represent, thousands, large	many, constituents, problems, hard, mine, difficulties, worked, represent, faced, feel, constituencies, thousands, hundreds, face, greatly, often, constituency, especially, worried, particularly
Topic 30	action, taking, community, steps, taken, communities, take, actions, society, prevent, faith, groups, minority, church, black, ethnic, religious, freedom, race, diversity	religion, faiths, sikh, steps, racial, faith, sikhs, religious, priests, synod, beliefs, church, racism, taking, action, anglican, ethnic, hate, clergy, hatred
Topic 31	clause, amendment, amendments, new, lords, section, 1, tabled, 2, clauses, line, 3, leave, act, shall, move, beg, 4, page, schedule	insert, nos, subsection1, amendmenta, amendment, subsection5, 1a, schedule, amendmentsa, amendments, subsection2, subsection6, clause, tabled, paragrapha, subsection, subsection3, andc, paragraphb, clauses
Topic 32	year, since, report, number, figures, official, march, april, published, 1997, figure, statistics, 15, 30, show, january, 2010, july, june, december	vol, october, march, official, february, july, january, november, june, april, 2011, statistics, since, 2009, 2007, december, 2005, figures, 2013, figure
Topic 33	people, want, get, one, go, can, think, see, need, know, say, things, much, like, good, problem, going, done, something, put	things, get, something, go, lot, want, talking, thing, trying, talk, think, really, quite, bit, else, happen, away, getting, enough, idea
Topic 34	wales, scotland, scottish, england, welsh, assembly, parliament, devolution, uk, devolved, government, powers, kingdom, national, english, united, glasgow, executive, snp, edinburgh	scotland, scottish, welsh, snp, scotland's, cymru, barnett, plaid, perth, wishart, holyrood, perthshirepete, wales, snp's, assembly, devolved, dundee, scots, devolution, calman
Topic 35	food, industry, alcohol, licensing, products, smoking, shops, shop, tobacco, advertising, health, standards, pub, pubs, high, buy, drinking, supermarkets, problem, retailers	tobacco, pubs, gambling, betting, labelling, drinks, cigarettes, casinos, smokers, cigarette, groceries, lap-dancing, vending, drinkers, supermarkets, fluoride, smoking, pubcos, retailers, pub
Topic 36	thank, south, north, constituency, excellent, join, congratulate, manchester, area, yorkshire, north-west, reply, visit, greater, visited, also, bristol, giving, nottingham, region	thank, wrexham, reddish, tameside, congratulating, newport, yorkshire, stockport, blaenau, derbyshire, south, north-west, stoke-on-trent, denbighshire, denton, nottingham, bristol, newingtonms, welcoming, congratulations

Table 10: Words in topic - k0 (*continued*)

Topic Number	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
Topic 37	million, budget, year, billion, cuts, chancellor, spending, cut, increase, money, government, 1, funding, extra, next, investment, deficit, financial, crisis, growth	deficit, obr, billion, spending, budget, real-terms, forecast, million, borrowing, cuts, gdp, chancellor, cut, 2.5, chancellor's, forecasts, 2010-11, 1.2, 1.5, finances
Topic 38	tax, pay, rate, income, wage, families, minimum, living, low, poverty, working, vat, increase, government, paid, national, paying, credits, average, poorest	tax, millionaires, 50p, vat, taxes, credits, wage, taxation, avoidance, incomes, rate, zero-hours, wages, 45p, earning, revaluation, income, richest, earners, regressive
Topic 39	companies, company, market, financial, industry, competition, consumers, interest, consumer, assets, services, profits, markets, ownership, regulator, share, corporate, interests, customers, societies	mutuals, shareholders, provident, company, companies, competition, profits, corporate, shares, societies, company's, co-operative, fsa, profit, co-operatives, directors, rock, regulator, assets, asset
Topic 40	environment, sea, fishing, marine, fisheries, industry, natural, fish, port, environmental, water, ports, rural, coastal, protection, conservation, fishermen, areas, management, area	fishing, fisheries, fishermen, cod, seas, whitby, coastguard, broads, cfp, angling, seafarers, anglers, inshore, discards, mmo, under-10, sssis, dredging, cockle, aonbs
Topic 41	crime, behaviour, victims, offence, criminal, serious, abuse, offences, antisocial, home, use, measures, drugs, drug, enforcement, offenders, problem, tackle, law, justice	sentences, asbos, cannabis, antisocial, offences, offence, trafficking, gangs, behaviour, penalty, sentencing, sentence, theft, criminals, custodial, offending, knife, heroin, offenders, convicted
Topic 42	bill, legislation, act, new, powers, provisions, regulations, power, place, provision, duty, apply, statutory, necessary, allow, provide, set, already, introduce, require	provisions, bill, bill's, definition, legislation, regulations, statutory, passage, seeks, requirement, drafted, draft, statute, intention, safeguards, purpose, consult, legislative, amend, covered
Topic 43	children, child, parents, families, children's, support, poverty, family, young, needs, parent, start, adoption, adults, vulnerable, early, contact, must, need, autism	autism, csa, looked-after, adoptive, child, adopters, children's, autistic, cafcass, nspcc, children, child's, parent, dyslexia, adoption, kinship, childcare, intercountry, parents, lone
Topic 44	public, private, sector, money, costs, cost, risk, value, management, service, water, government, contracts, contract, system, audit, flood, systems, agency, taxpayer	id, flood, nao, ofwat, public, contracts, auditor, private, purse, contractors, audit, pac, pfi, flooding, floods, taxpayer, contract, comptroller, defences, tendering
Topic 45	security, government, peace, war, foreign, people, iraq, terrorism, international, conflict, threat, support, must, un, military, syria, israel, resolution, terrorist, refugees	syria, israel, palestinian, israeli, gaza, palestinians, syrian, saddam, arab, hamas, saudi, daesh, palestine, isil, israelis, hussein, lebanon, atrocities, assad, two-state

Table 10: Words in topic - k0 (*continued*)

Topic Number	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
Topic 46	local, authorities, council, authority, areas, government, funding, area, councils, communities, county, grant, planning, community, central, formula, borough, locally, level, resources	local, authorities, councillors, councils, authority, unitary, county, formula, grant, lga, localism, locally, swindon, allocations, allocation, deprived, council, parish, authority's, deprivation
Topic 47	vote, political, parliament, electoral, election, elections, elected, parties, people, voting, referendum, democracy, register, system, registration, democratic, commission, party, votes, majority	electoral, voters, turnout, voter, all-postal, votes, vote, voting, polling, first-past-the-post, av, referendums, elections, unelected, registration, ballot, candidates, electors, electorate, elected
Topic 48	members, debate, speech, heard, today, hope, opportunity, speak, hear, chamber, great, wish, support, time, pleased, debates, sides, like, follow, subject	debate, speech, members, debates, speeches, speak, heard, listened, sides, debating, hear, speaking, tonight, pleasure, chamber, thoughtful, listening, afternoon, queen's, cross-party
Topic 49	london, transport, rail, bus, services, line, network, travel, airport, train, air, service, passengers, trains, railway, station, east, capacity, passenger, heathrow	rail, bus, passengers, trains, passenger, heathrow, railways, fares, freight, crossrail, hs2, high-speed, runway, electrification, airlines, gatwick, caa, baa, sra, thameslink
Topic 50	whether, information, may, answer, asked, ask, questions, response, available, advice, received, data, know, press, written, letter, department, meeting, details, officials	answer, information, questions, answers, data, written, details, letter, write, ask, officials, answered, asked, whether, informed, press, website, correspondence, response, requests
Topic 51	family, life, families, lives, constituent, death, home, people, told, case, one, man, died, lost, mrs, person, mother, day, marriage, suffered	husband, mum, daughter, married, constituent, mrs, son, mother, marriage, died, father, wife, same-sex, death, loved, dad, suicide, funeral, bereaved, sister
Topic 52	research, treatment, cancer, medical, disease, health, drugs, condition, can, use, drug, patients, screening, risk, also, conditions, evidence, group, diseases, diagnosis	screening, asbestos, tissue, embryos, cancers, hepatitis, genetic, prostate, epilepsy, cloning, pleural, fertilisation, embryo, embryonic, ivf, anaemia, embryology, piercing, hfea, bowel
Topic 53	back, come, look, forward, bring, moment, coming, comes, side, later, brought, along, bringing, round, looking, box, see, putting, sit, dispatch	come, back, look, moment, coming, forward, dispatch, comes, side, box, oh, surprise, bring, round, hoping, bringing, sooner, straight, along, sit
Topic 54	government, labour, conservative, party, opposition, policy, previous, liberal, conservatives, government's, support, election, tory, front, democrats, coalition, benches, policies, general, fact	conservative, conservatives, liberal, democrats, lib, tory, democrat, benches, tories, opposition, manifesto, party's, labour, benchers, dem, opposition's, front-bench, party, spokesman, bench
Topic 55	us, said, just, let, say, now, tell, says, yet, saying, told, know, going, nothing, wrong, even, wants, words, minister's, today	tell, says, let, wants, actually, us, saying, minister's, telling, truth, wrong, wonder, thinks, nothing, promise, afraid, mistake, blame, admit, honest

Table 10: Words in topic - k0 (*continued*)

Topic Number	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
Topic 56	european, eu, europe, union, countries, uk, britain, trade, single, british, negotiations, market, economic, france, germany, country, leave, membership, referendum, world	euro, ttip, brexit, accession, eu, currencies, cypriots, european, eurozone, europe, enlargement, pro-european, spain, currency, esm, france, greece, italy, brussels, isds
Topic 57	member, west, east, north, birmingham, friends, st, spoke, hull, sheffield, talked, leeds, leicester, midlands, upon, newcastle, westmr, eastmr, northmr, southmr	kingston, eastmr, bromley, chislehurstmr, holborn, dorsetmr, northmr, enfield, hull, southmr, chislehurst, stuart, ealing, rees-mogg, leicester, chingford, westmr, southend, greenmr, letwin
Topic 58	jobs, economy, economic, growth, industry, unemployment, investment, government, uk, manufacturing, future, sector, employment, country, job, long-term, steel, north-east, industries, recession	steel, manufacturing, jobs, tata, teesside, economy, unemployment, recession, automotive, downturn, steelworkers, productivity, growth, inward, industries, recessions, nissan, economic, steelworks, double-dip
Topic 59	business, small, businesses, regulation, rates, enterprise, government, finance, support, firms, help, innovation, measures, smaller, regulatory, large, lending, enterprises, burden, larger	smes, medium-sized, businesses, business, enterprises, small, regulation, commerce, enterprise, entrepreneurs, tape, firms, lending, burdens, brs, start-ups, start-up, entrepreneurial, smaller, lend
Topic 60	believe, however, one, might, accept, must, different, case, system, view, change, think, whether, position, argument, rather, simply, reason, basis, although	accept, argument, view, principle, arguments, reason, might, argue, suggest, perfectly, balance, believe, suggesting, different, reasons, necessarily, sensible, disagree, argued, whatever
Topic 61	work, people, young, support, help, can, working, organisations, role, voluntary, ensure, together, good, also, need, important, encourage, opportunities, experience, community	voluntary, charities, organisations, volunteering, young, charity, youth, work, opportunities, helping, encourage, volunteers, encouraging, play, charitable, working, help, ways, valuable, together
Topic 62	member, said, shall, mentioned, earlier, points, lady, comments, referred, learned, intervention, remarks, interesting, raised, pointed, perhaps, gave, say, refer, described	comments, remarks, lady, interesting, points, happily, southwark, referred, bermondsey, referring, somerton, intervention, shall, intervened, mentioned, pointed, learned, earlier, gentlemen, rushcliffemr
Topic 63	care, services, social, carers, people, need, service, needs, support, older, provision, provide, quality, home, centres, elderly, access, provided, providers, homes	carers, hospices, dentists, dental, care, dementia, hospice, dentistry, respite, carer, advocacy, older, elderly, caring, palliative, dentist, milton, social, keynes, cared
Topic 64	years, time, last, two, one, first, now, three, past, week, months, next, ago, every, 10, five, four, weeks, days, six	years, three, two, last, months, ago, past, time, four, week, weeks, six, five, first, next, days, 10, seven, half, now

Table 10: Words in topic - k0 (*continued*)

Topic Number	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
Topic 65	bbc, farmers, digital, television, internet, animals, animal, media, radio, dogs, licence, dog, news, ban, farming, welfare, hunting, fee, online, farm	bbc, dogs, hunting, cull, bbc’s, badgers, badger, bovine, switchover, broadcasters, gm, fur, mink, poultry, circuses, analogue, hare, hounds, puppies, swine
Topic 66	given, can, aware, may, recently, across, welcome, fact, government, well, take, close, result, seeking, indeed, support, responsible, confident, know, including	given, aware, can, recently, may, across, close, fact, welcome, seeking, confident, result, well, take, responsible, indeed, keep, regret, far, reconsider

### 3.6.2 Manual Validation

## 4 Discussion

There do not appear to be substantial or meaningful differences in the speaking styles of female Labour MPs selected through all women shortlists when compared to their female colleagues selected through open shortlists using LIWC. This is possibly due to the speaking style dominant in British parliamentary debate, which is more formal than the speech used in most day-to-day conversation. LIWC was developed by American researchers, and the LIWC dictionary may not be able to capture stylistic differences between American and British English, and may not include words commonly used in formal British English speech, limiting its usefulness in the context of British political debate.

There is more gender distinction in some selected terms and topics. AWS MPs are far more likely to make reference to their constituency and their constituents. In the debate between whether MPs should be “delegates” or “trustees” – the “mandate-independence controversy” outlined by Pitkin (1967) – the references to their constituents and constituencies suggests AWS MPs shy away from the Burkean concept of trusteeship and see themselves more as strict representatives of their constituents. In Andeweg & Thomassen’s (2005) typology of *ex ante/ex post* and above/below political representation, AWS MPs lean towards representation “from below”, although their selection process is *ex ante/ex post*.

AWS MPs refer to their constituents both specifically and in the abstract, particularly when criticising government policy. For example, in debate on 4th March 2015, Gemma Doyle, then the Labour MP for West Dunbartonshire (elected on an AWS in 2010), when asked if she would give way to Conservative MP Stephen Mosley, responded:

No, I will not [give way], because my constituents want me to make these points, not to give more time to Conservative Members.

On 2nd June 2010, during debate on Israel-Palestine, Valerie Vaz, MP for Walsall South:

My constituents want more than pressure. Will the Foreign Secretary come back to the House and report on a timetable for the discussions on a diplomatic solution, just as we did on Ireland?

On 4th April 2001, Betty Williams, member for Conwy from 1997–2010, raised the case of a wilderness guide in her constituency unable to access parts of the countryside due to foot and mouth disease:

Is my right hon. Friend aware that there is continuing concern about the limited access to the countryside and crags of north Wales? May I draw his attention to the circumstances of my constituent, Ric Potter? Like many others, he has had to travel to Scotland, where there is greater access. Will my right hon. Friend help us to enable people such as Ric Potter to find work in outdoor pursuits?

## 5 Appendix

### 5.1 AWS References to Constituents in Context

A random selection of 2% of all references to “my constituency”, “my constituent” and “my constituents”, by AWS MPs, in context.

Table 11: A random sample of KWIC’s

Pre	Keyword	Post
. I was briefed by a vehicle hire company in	my constituency	called Reflex and , quite frankly , if such banking
150 per cent . two years ago .	my constituents	has advised me of an application for an 85 per
Another of	my constituency	in the constituency of my hon .
already begun , for example just over the border from	my constituency	Friend the Member
in which Cornish children study .	my constituency	will be located on the same site , and one
Three secondary schools in	my constituents	are at the end of their tether about the lack
Manchester has been doing a major infrastructure project , and	my constituency	. The hon . Member for South CambridgeshireMr . Lansley
patient at the BRI , and Airedale hospital is in	my constituency	. On Saturday I met a delegation of workers from
, but the reality is there to be seen in	my constituency	, 366 young people who have been unemployed for more
to use their abilities and develop their talents . In	my constituency	is mum . It is mum who fills in the
I believe that the most effective electoral registration officer in	my constituents	, young students in their 20s , died from carbon
can arise from defective gas appliances , because two of	my constituency	are hard-working , entrepreneurial self-employed people , and today is
£ 3.6 million . Some 9 % of people in	my constituency	and its staff and pupils ? The percentage of pupils
my right hon . Friend congratulate Aldercar community school in	my constituents	is bus fares . As I have said , my
n " , " One particular concern for many of	my constituency	and the latest figures now show that just under 2,000
, " Jobs and employment are the biggest issue in	my constituency	and was set up in 1959-it is no coincidence that
otherwise reach . The Psychiatric Rehabilitation Association is based in	my constituents	who are struggling with debt and excessive and escalating charges and the country will never forgive them . \ n
financial inclusion fund . Where would the Minister suggest that	my constituents	. It contains a large outdoor venue called the National
and without the full participation of the British people ,	my constituents	' view , favour the administration of the hospital or
. There is an additional problem that is relevant to	My constituency	and the town in which it is situated has a
if they continue to propose new services that , in		, she will know that many of my constituents are
in red tape . That will be a turn-off .		
With my right hon . Friend’s local knowledge of		

Table 11: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
" , to close a wide range of services at	my constituency's	local hospital , St Helier . Most of the controversy
I am extremely worried for	my constituents	in Ashton-under-Lyne , Droylsden and Failsworth , and for people
One of the shortlisted sites is at Barnard Castle in	my constituency	, and that would produce 1,000 jobs . \ n
making ends meet has been raised with me repeatedly by	my constituents	, including Graeme McGrory , who cares for his partner
One piece of transport infrastructure that	my constituency	and that of the hon . Member for BuckinghamJohn Bercow
A director of Sirius Automotive who lives in	my constituency	would like to take on apprentices , but he has
" Three people who know that better than most are	my constituents	Mark , Joanne and Ben King . In 2011 ,
There are 3,540 women affected by the changes in	my constituency	. Does my hon . Friend agree that the 1995
have been down in the detail of rail provision in	my constituency	, but these are important matters for many of those
just a few examples of the work being done in	my constituency	. I recently had the privilege of accompanying the Gateshead
, but that does not help the large number of	my constituents	who have lost some , if not all , of
was the only mainstream candidate in the general election in	my constituency	who did not have their picture taken while pointing to
was not even in the mortgage application , NatWest told	my constituents	that it was in the process of adding it .
is a measure of the Government's achievement that people in	my constituency	and elsewhere in Northamptonshire can look forward to a secure
clothing company announced the closure of two more factories in	my constituency	and the neighbouring Erewash constituency . A huge number of
my primary care trust in north-east Derbyshire and	my constituency	to find a local solution . These reforms coincide with
dentists in Cross , just a few miles up the road from	my constituency	. That pipe manufacturing works has been taken over by
go ahead . There is huge concern about this in	my constituency	and across the north . Was the Prime Minister told
backgrounds , including poor backgrounds , and is representative of	my constituency	. That is the sort of school that Labour Members
are subject to a TPIM . This information would let	my constituents	know whether potential terrorism suspects had returned to London
. Gentleman for his generosity . Is he aware that	my constituency	is probably the one with the highest number of gas
because I have had direct experience of the issue in	my constituency	. A woman came over here as the wife of
. Let us take the feed-in tariff fiasco . In	my constituency	alone , we are losing many jobs , because a



Table 11: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
What practical advice can the Secretary of State give to	my constituents	, as some 3,000 householders in my constituency face a
sport , that this is good enough for kids in	my constituency	?
a fair deal on jobs , getting young people in	my constituency	and others involved in working our way out of the
argument is best explained by reference to the case of	my constituent	, Neil Kenny , who raised his concerns about the
to LEAs give rise to some questions , including in	my constituency	from Unison , which is concerned that LEAs might use
Such travel will be available to all 17,600 pensioners in	my constituency	. \ n " , " In February I visited
n " , " What point is there in forcing	my constituent	who is a single dad who has his two children
replies , perhaps he can respond to the questions that	my constituent	has raised . What is she to do ? She
ask my hon . Friend to offer an undertaking to	my constituents	in Mitcham and Morden that an option appraisal of intermediate
he would be interested to hear the Minister's response to	my constituent	Maureen Davenport . The Minister said that the maximum
in child benefit , which will help 13,800 families in	my constituency	state . My real reason for tabling the question is to
for Finchley and Golders GreenMike Freer ) , many of	my constituents	killed by lorries have died at junctions , including some
Hall the plight of former United Engineering Forgings workers in	my constituency	who will not receive the returns from their final salary
London has had Oyster cards for nine years , but	my constituents	are still waiting . Although Transport for Greater
again have a university .	my constituency	Manchester is hopes to change all that , and I support strongly
However , Nene college in Enforcement Campaign-in	my constituent	, Professor John Shepherd , who works in the dental
Cardiff , and particularly to the work of		
and assets than non-disabled people . In London , where	my constituency	and the constituency of my hon . Friend the Member
in particular from the	My constituency	contains both a higher education and a further education college
circumstances of students in Northampton .		
the marine Bill on the grounds of its irrelevance to	my constituents	, because , like the hon . Lady , I
deepest concern for the families involved , especially given that	my constituency	neighbours that of my hon . Friend the Member for
services can expand on the slow line so that all	my constituents	benefit from the west coast main line upgrade ?
rehabilitation . \ n " , " The people of	my constituency	have been horrified by those cases , and it is
Labour Government we have achieved a tremendous amount .	my constituency	the number of people claiming jobseeker's allowance has almost
In		halved

Table 11: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
they complain ? Where will the local accountability go ?	My constituents	very much value the highly accessible local service that they
n " , " Since helping the Jarrow marchers ,	my constituency	has continued to welcome people from throughout the UK ,
and not-for-profit groups , of	my constituency	, doing immensely valuable work .
which there are many in		They all too often
as soon as possible . Indeed , for some of	my constituents	, reform is already coming too late . \ n
bus travel in Wales . I have met pensioners in	my constituency	who say that it has transformed their lives . As
and Sir Malcolm Thornton . All have represented part of	my constituency	and all left this House on 20 April or 1
Ports is the operator at the port of Immingham in	my constituency	. The companies there firmly believe that they have paid
Conservative-controlled Bradford city council excluded the wonderful Ilkley lido in	my constituency	from the free swimming initiative for young people and pensioners
for my hon . Friend's reply , and many of	my constituents	who have come across the benefit integrity project will be
Tero was not properly treated	my constituent	deserves . \ n "
and offer the apology that about their corporate social responsibilities . For the sake of	my constituents	in Mitcham , Morden and Colliers Wood who want something
change in the law . Regrettably , not only in	my constituency	but in many northern towns and cities , I see
on an issue that has been of great concern to	my constituents	. While I appreciate the cross-party consensus that exists on
In	my constituency	of West Lancashire , the national lottery has supported 266
to meet the skills gap in engineering and construction in	my constituency	. \ n " , " When I talk to
sat with the parents of the two children who were	my constituents	, as has Ken Livingstone , who made a private
who have been strongly encouraged to save The	my constituency	on the pensioners tax credit was extremely successful . The
consultation in Government for investing in the city of Bradford , helping	my constituents	to realise their potential . But in reality little has
visited Dot To Dot , a community arts project in	my constituency	. It has a good record of involving the community
one regret the fact that	my constituency	, has so far concentrated CCTV bids-I am sure with
Westminster , which covers half also significant gaps in the Bill .	my constituency	concerns a community hydro project in Saddleworth that might not
One example from		probably do not know what a low carbon transition plan
hon . Friend for that reply , but most of	my constituents	, there have been far more opportunities in the past
has provided opportunities where there were none before . In	my constituency	

Table 11: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
to find examples of such practices	my constituency	, with which I am dealing ,
. Another case in		involves elderly victims
. \ n " , " The credit union in	my constituency	is fragile , because it serves an
certainly applies to me because	my constituents	area in which
the acute trust that covers		, who desperately need care , has
reveal a trend , and I see it	my constituency	the mother and
happening in	My constituent	. It is a demonstrable fact that
		the polarisation between
		, John Warren , has specifically
		asked me to raise
\ n " , " Bridges Project in	my constituency	does a brilliant job in supporting
Musselburgh in		young people . A
Spowart , a small firm of legal	my constituency	. Solicitors at the firm are paid
aid solicitors in		generally between £
, both as a national concern and	my constituency	. I am grateful to my hon .
as it affects		Friend for
, nor , sadly , are far too many of	my constituents	. \ n "
	My constituents	in Hull are baffled by the
		Government's approach . At
issue and go after these criminals	my constituents	?
who are preying on		
even begin for another 12 months	my constituency	should not have to spend another
. Young people in		year on the dole
with the nutrition they need	my constituency	, several schools run summer
outside term time . In		programmes funded through the
		pupil
takes umbrage at being forced to	my constituents	, sadly , know to their cost . \ n
do repairs-as some of		
" , " I recently visited a care	my constituency	that is provided by a small
home in		charity and is rated
House and members of the armed	my constituent	, 19-year-old Private James
forces , such as		Kenny of C company , 3rd
as out to Kent . There are seven	my constituency	: Hither Green , Blackheath , Lee
stations in		, Grove Park
Can my right hon . Friend give	my constituent	, Mr . Peter Dyson , who has
any assurance to		written to
Commons Library to conduct an	my constituency	. I discovered that 4,300 women
analysis of the impact in		and 3,800 men would
100 days of the new Parliament ?	my constituency	are struggling significantly and
Many businesses in		would undoubtedly welcome a
		period of
in 1992 , as the Member for	my constituency	was formed for the 1997 election .
Woolwich , before		John Austin is
were building up and seemed to	my constituents	had suffered a very high level of
take action only once		nuisance and there
that further education	my constituency	, will not receive a real-terms
institutions , such as Blackburn		funding cut as a
College in		
n " , " On a more serious note ,	my constituency	is home to manufacturers varying
		from Corus to Cadbury ,
costs and cuts to working tax	my constituency	will be worse off . I will not vote
credits , families in		in

Table 11: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
be warm . It paid for basics like	my constituency	. I will not revisit the pain of
that in		tuition fees
is a national issue . The 900 steel	my constituency	whose jobs are on the line expect
workers in		him to guarantee
to begin by speaking about the	my constituents	. Getting an appointment to see
NHS as experienced by		a GP can be
I was struck by what one of	my constituents	said last weekend , which was
n " , " On 18 February ,	my constituency	that the attacks that
Llandudno in		hosted the first North Wales
		criminal justice board conference
		.
my hon . Friend foresee for the	my constituency	if they are to suffer possible cuts
young people in		alongside that idiosyncratic
busways and widen the M1 . Is	my constituency	will have the new Translink
he aware that		guided busway by 2008 due
" Last week , I hosted a jobs fair	my constituency	, as have many hon . Members
in		on both sides
in the south-east will be dealt	My constituents	want to know where we are going
with in Parliament ?		and what the
him to visit the brand-new	my constituency	, which is due to open in January
children's centre in Elland in		, and
realities for people affected by	my constituents	is stuck out in Saudi Arabia . His
this situation . One of		work has
the past few days . When the	my constituency	on Monday night , we saw
problems started in		copycat criminality , mindless
those branches , in Catford and	my constituency	and two others , in Lewisham
Blackheath , are in	My constituent	and Greenwich , are
		, Richard Belmar , has now spent
		nearly three years
Postwatch because I am unhappy	my constituency	. I fully accept many of my hon .
about the consultation process in		Friend's
area of Keighley last Friday and	my constituents	and taking on board many of
talking to many of		their anxieties . On
of the major issues raised with	my constituency	. We must take such issues on
me by carers in		board . \
that the voucher company	my constituency	, collapsed this week , robbing
Farepak , which is based in		thousands of people on
scientific reports recommend	My constituents	do not believe that such
restricted phone use by younger		recommendations tally with the
children .		telecommunications
. Mullin ) . This is a big issue in	my constituency	, where inappropriate
		development on garden sites is
		taking place
scrutiny process , but it is	my constituents	or councillors of any party not
impossible for me ,		involved in that enterprise
" , " At the time , I was consulting	my constituents	about their attitudes to crime
		and antisocial behaviour , and
you prove it ? " \ n " , "	My constituency	is served by two hospitals :
		Dewsbury and District hospital
% reduction . What reassurances	my constituents	and firefighters that those latest
can the Minister give to		cuts will not jeopardise or

Table 11: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
. \ n " , " Horwich visiting service in	my constituency	has lost funding and can no longer employ its part-time
I have spoken to many businesses in	my constituency	. Will the hon . Gentleman
prevent businesses from going into administration , as many in	my constituency	concede that the Government's are likely to do . Finally , the local authority
I do not know whether my experience in	my constituency	has been exactly the same as that of my right
? \ n " , " Many SMEs operate in	my constituency	, and I want to ensure that the skills base
that population live in Salford , the local authority for	my constituency	. \ n " , " In last year's debate
It is an issue that has been simmering away in	my constituency	and recently the rumours have turned to reality as the
of the parenting lessons that go on in schools in	my constituency	to great effect . The hon . Gentleman ignores those
a distraught couple who run a hedgehog rescue centre in	my constituency	. They are currently nursing back to health a hedgehog
people to think that that was the total sum of	my constituency	. It is an extremely nice place to spend Christmas
transparency about the impact . \ n " , "	My constituents	are also anxious about the Government's proposals to allow fracking
some of its provisions will have on vulnerable people in	my constituency	. \ n " , " I shall first raise
key elements of creative business growth . Creative businesses in	my constituency	and in a large area to the west of London
In Pembrokeshire we have two oil refineries , one in	my constituency	. They were both affected by the blockades in September
thank the Minister for his reply .	my constituency	are concerned that Government have still not come forward with
Head teachers in the work of local authorities in my area . In	my constituency	, there are no high profile arts venues that hit
many of the early asbestosis claims from Hebden Bridge in	my constituency	might not have succeeded under the proposed 75 per cent
job first . \ " \ n " , "	My constituency	is pronounced \ " Erreywash \ " , not \
that is not regulated properly , with the result that	my constituents	, who have small sums of money available to invest
a picture of the winning design , but people in	my constituency	have seen many pictures before .
hour . I have written to all the headteachers in	my constituency	I want work to over the last few weeks , and they tell me
this debate falls on an anniversary well worth remembering for	my constituents	. It is 20 years to the month that post-war
people of the east end , including the people of	my constituency	, talk to me about how excited they still are
I recently visited Bishop Barrington school in	my constituency	, which has got a new science lab and sports
the extent of the disruption and the problems caused for	my constituents	? I would be happy to do that . \

Table 11: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
increase in the number of new homes being built in	my constituency	over the past 10 years or so . For the
junior doctors who are the problem , but him ?	My constituents-hundreds	of whom have written to me-overwhelmingly feel that he has
, \ n " , " I do not think	my constituents	knew whether to laugh or cry . \ n "
about to be built in Walkden in the centre of	my constituency	. The new local improvement finance trust-LIFT-centre will include GP
is higher , and the dole queue is lengthening .	My constituents	are only too well aware of the exploitative practices of
" I am fortunate in having a research centre in	my constituency	at the university of Durham , which concentrates on enabling
is talking about the wrong hospital , which many of	my constituents	will find most amusing .
of the Land Registry would be bad not just for	my constituents	but for the public as a whole .
The food banks in	my constituency	The revenue , which currently number at least six , tell me
of those issues . \ n " , " In	my constituency	, the credit union benefits from capital and revenue from
children . I am indebted to a law company in	my constituency	called Just for Kids Law , which has raised with
hope they are not giving false hope to many of	my constituents	. Will they just admit that they have made a
I have a range of energy-intensive industries in	my constituency	, including steel , glass , paper and the entire
the save Lewisham hospital campaign . But for now ,	my constituents	still face the prospect of seriously downgraded services at their
from and bugbear for my constituents . On behalf of	my constituents	and their families , I very much look forward to
" , " helped motorists and the hard-pressed hauliers in	my constituency-or	they could have looked at jobs for young people .
Staff at Trinity , Bluecoat and Fernwood schools in	my constituency	are desperate for extra investment in their buildings .
The point about geography is critical in Cumbria , where	my constituency	Will is . Under the proposals , we will end up
will affect disabled youngsters .	my constituency	, which gives counselling to all youngsters , still does
The What ? centre in closure of the offices is having a direct impact on	my constituency	. Walsall faces the closure of its HMRC office ,
. \ n " , " Frustration is evident among	my constituents	: for many years , they have felt marginalised and
, larger numbers of people are choosing to live in	my constituency	but work in London . If we are to take
ethnic minority children , of whom there are many in	my constituency	. \ n " , " We have dealt a
single parents in the country-I will return to that point-and	my constituents	think that the measure is unfair . How people in

Table 11: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
should not come back from our holidays to find that	my constituents	, and those of my neighbours , have lost their
their area ; I fully intend to do so in	my constituency	. \ n " , " We also need better
too much movement . I want Airedale general hospital in	my constituency	not just to survive , but to prosper . It
" , " During the summer and autumn months ,	my constituents	and those of many other hon . Members were affected
put a human face on many of the difficulties that	my constituents	experience . \ n " , " In Newham
Parent Action Network , which has its national headquarters in	my constituency	’ . It has just received nearly £ 400,000 in lottery
sector . On Friday , an independent community pharmacist in	my constituency	told me that he estimated that the Government cuts would
it becomes an empty gesture . A community group in	my constituency	is setting up a community development trust , and it
since June and doubled since 2006 . Young people in	my constituency	have been particularly badly hit , with a 288 %
police get back to strength to defend the people in	my constituency	of Mitcham and Morden ?
to address have been influenced by what has happened in	my constituency	in the past 10 days as a series of incidents
, including those of Allied Steel and Wire’s pensioners in	my constituency	? They took the case to court through the unions
Indeed , it is a stealth cut . In	my constituency	, the Tories will have to make stealth cuts such
communities across the UK . I understand the concerns of	my constituents	. I understand that when a family from a different
a vested interest in ensuring the safety and security of	my constituency	, which in the past has been a military target
infrastructure project is a massive economic opportunity for	my constituency	in particular . Will the Minister assure the House that
Wales and Nottingham that stands to lose most is the Meadows in	my constituency	. Before the last election , the Meadows , one
am here this afternoon specifically to represent the	my constituents	who are trade union members in Parliament , as they
concerns of		
. Nothing could be further from the truth , as	my constituency	exemplifies . As I have already said , I represent
making are the very ones that have been made by	my constituents	, by the constituents of my hon . Friends and-I
, but wanted to take the opportunity to read out	my constituent’s	comments so that Ministers understand the worry and concern .
firm of Hickman and Rose , which is based in	my constituency	? She was due to speak at a conference organised
Majesty’s Opposition . That public money could be used for	my constituent	Grace Ryder , aged 9 , who was recently diagnosed
changes that will affect 650 families and 1,500 children in	my constituency	. \ n " , " These are ideologically driven

Table 11: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
deal more about the birdlife in both estuaries that surround	my constituency	. \ n " , " The Bill establishes a
	My constituent	, the wonderful campaigner Marie Lyons , has doggedly pursued
\ " vote for their Muslim brother \ " .	My constituents	were told that that was their religious duty . When
. It will bring huge benefits to many families in	my constituency	who are on low or not very generous incomes .
anywhere . \ n " , " The diversity of	my constituency	is one of the reasons why it is the best
c " The NHS in	my constituency	has moved beyond special measures into the success regime
invited my right hon . and learned Friend to meet	my constituents	to hear what they think about our local NHS .
fleeing Ebola-affected countries are not left destitute and homeless ?	My constituents	, Mr and Mrs Mahmood , have been working in
pension credit , but I wondered whether Ministers could give	my constituent	and me advice on whether the notional sum tied up
first home . There are so many young people in	my constituency	who see homes priced out of their reach and for
There are also problems for low-income families , such as	my constituent	on Colleymoor Leys lane who says : \ n "
term . I know from the experience of businesses in	my constituency	and in the surrounding west midlands area that New Street
that he needs those , but he failed to tell	my constituents	watching yesterday that a 1p cut in duty will not
average , which show that over a fifth-22 % in	my constituency-of	people who resort to food banks for an emergency food

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