

# All Women Shortlists Methodology

*Evan Odell*

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# 1 Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 shows the number of Labour MPs elected in each general election from 1997 to 2015, including newly elected MPs (the “intake”), the number of newly elected MPs from all women shortlists (AWS), and the number of candidates selected through all women shortlists. Data in Table 1 is from the House of Commons Library (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 shows the total size of the dataset in speeches and words by each party, including by gender for each party, and in the case of female Labour MPs, by AWS status. Details on inclusion criteria are given below.

Table 2: Number of Speeches and Words in Dataset

Gender	Speeches	Words
All	657,547	239,123,685
Female	149,805	56,589,501
Male	507,742	182,534,184
<b>Conservatives</b>		
All	285,308	96,186,824
Female	48,771	15,779,116
Male	236,537	80,407,708
<b>Labour</b>		
All	262,000	99,986,437
Female	84,615	34,159,304
Non-All Women Shortlists	28,653	11,623,184
All Women Shortlists	55,962	22,536,120
Male	177,385	65,827,133
<b>Liberal Democrat</b>		
All	72,719	28,947,968
Female	7,552	3,232,822
Male	65,167	25,715,146
<b>Other</b>		
All	37,520	14,002,456
Female	8,867	3,418,259
Male	28,653	10,584,197

## 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, and calculations for determining grade level (Kincaid, Fishburne, Rogers, & Chissom, 1975) were produced using **stringi** (Gagolewski, 2018), an R wrapper to the ICU regex library.

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

- 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)

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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)”.

- 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 et al., 1975), calculated using the `Quanteda` (Benoit, 2018) and `stringi` (Gagolewski, 2018) R packages.

### 3.1.1 Women vs Men

Table 3 shows 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 Flesch–Kincaid grade level – met or exceeded the  $|0.1|$  threshold suggested by Newman et al. (2008).

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
Flesch–Kincaid Grade Level	10.97	7.77	9.91	7.96	-0.13	negligible

### 3.1.2 Shortlists vs Non-Shortlists

Figure 1 shows 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, as measured since the time an MP was first elected. There do not appear to be any notable changes in speaking style over the course of female Labour MPs’ careers. Figure 2 shows changes in the occurrences of the same selected terms from 1997–2017. As in Figure 1, there do not appear to be any meaningful trends in the use of the selected terms over time.

There are no categories among female Labour MPs by selection process meeting the  $|0.2|$  threshold, as shown in Table 4. Only one category - first person plural pronouns,  $d=0.19$  – exceeded  $|0.1|$ .

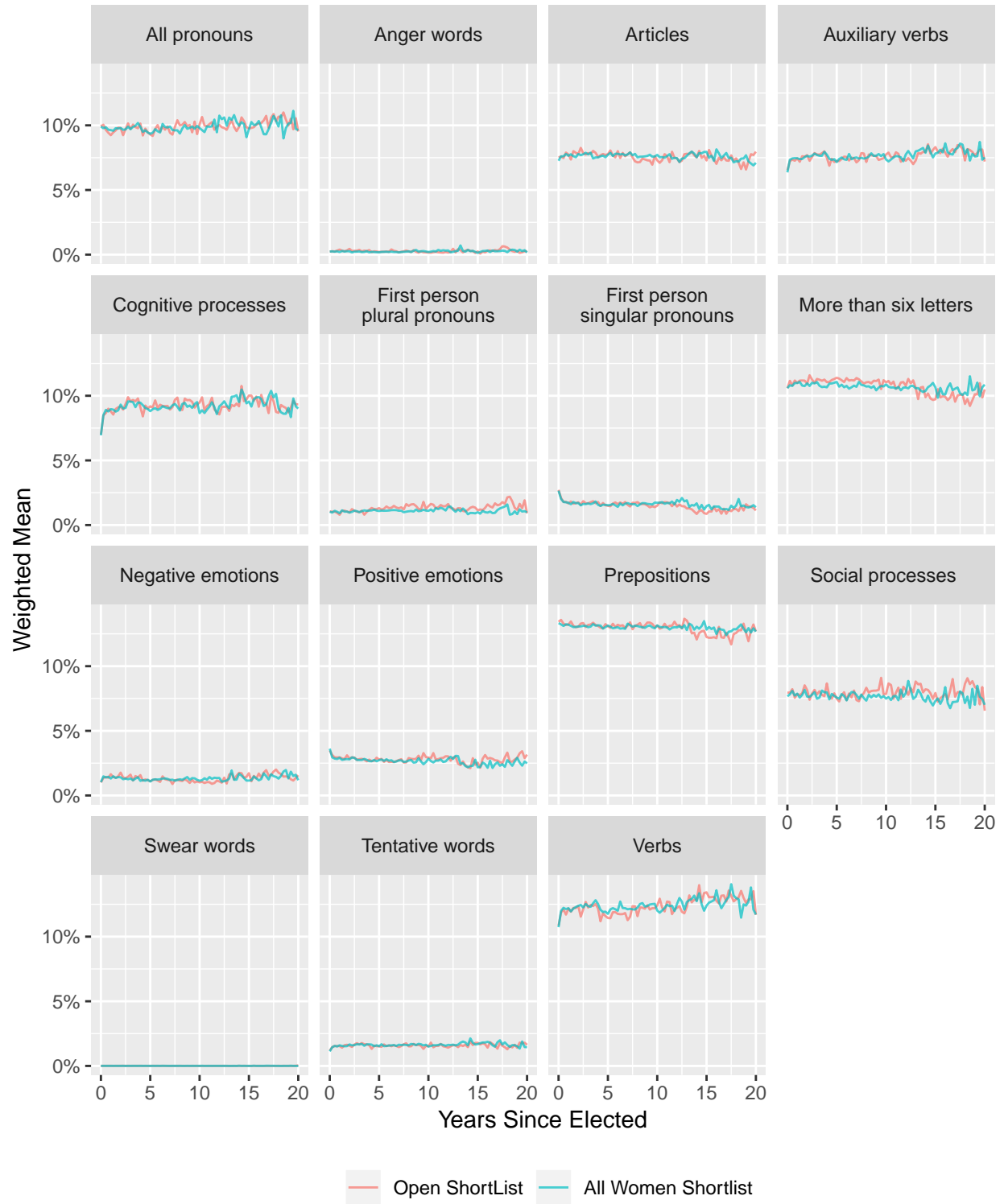


Figure 1: Occurrence of selected LIWC terms, by time as MP

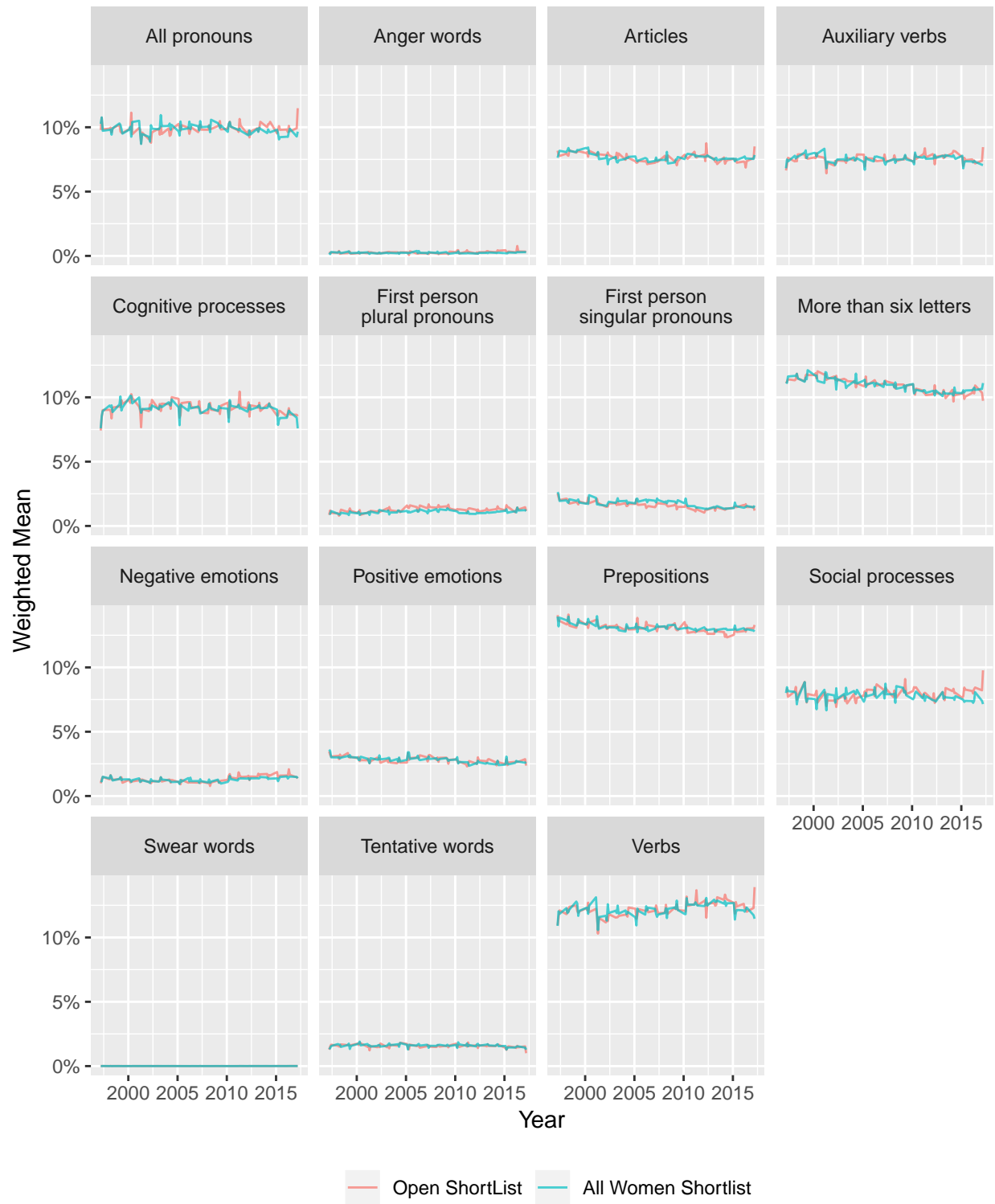


Figure 2: Occurrence of selected LIWC terms, by date

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

### 3.1.3 Conservatives vs Labour

As shown in Table 5, there are no categories with effect sizes exceeding  $|0.2|$  between Labour and Conservative MPs, and only one (first person plural pronouns) exceeding  $|0.1|$ .



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

### 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	10.31	4.65	10.26	4.90	-0.01	negligible
First person singular pronouns	1.99	2.45	2.00	2.52	0.00	negligible
First person plural pronouns	1.11	1.57	1.08	1.59	-0.02	negligible
Verbs	12.89	4.98	12.80	5.26	-0.02	negligible
Auxiliary verbs	8.01	3.45	8.08	3.64	0.02	negligible
Social processes	8.44	4.77	7.99	4.92	-0.09	negligible
Positive emotions	2.84	2.53	2.70	2.58	-0.06	negligible
Negative emotions	1.10	1.65	1.07	1.78	-0.01	negligible
Tentative words	1.47	1.73	1.61	1.91	0.08	negligible
More than six letters	10.57	3.66	10.34	3.83	-0.06	negligible
Articles	7.63	3.30	8.00	3.51	0.11	negligible
Prepositions	12.59	4.36	12.22	4.61	-0.08	negligible
Anger words	0.23	0.79	0.25	0.82	0.02	negligible
Swear words	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.10	0.01	negligible
Cognitive processes	8.68	4.80	8.93	5.12	0.05	negligible
Words per Sentence	44.00	20.02	42.69	20.65	-0.07	negligible
Total Word Count	376.81	648.62	358.56	624.84	-0.03	negligible
Flesh-Kincaid Grade Level	10.95	7.82	10.43	8.08	-0.07	negligible

### 3.2 POS Analysis

Part-of-speech (POS) tagging was done using the **spaCy** library (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 (Table 7).

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

As with LIWC, there are no categories where  $d \geq |0.2|$  when comparing female Labour MPs by selection process, and only one category – plural nouns – with an effect size of  $d \geq |0.1|$  (Table 8).

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

### 3.3 Keyness

We calculated the keyness of words to identify gender differences in the choices of topics raised and terminology used by both male and female Labour MPs, and by short-list and non-shortlist female Labour MPs. We have also calculated keyness between Labour and Conservative MPs for the purposes of illustration. All keyness figures include the 25 most disproportionately common words among each group, as determined by  $\chi^2$  tests using *quanteda* (Benoit, 2018).

#### 3.3.1 Labour 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, illustrated in Figure 3.

Unsurprisingly, despite male MPs saying almost twice as many words (65,827,133 vs 34,159,304) 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.

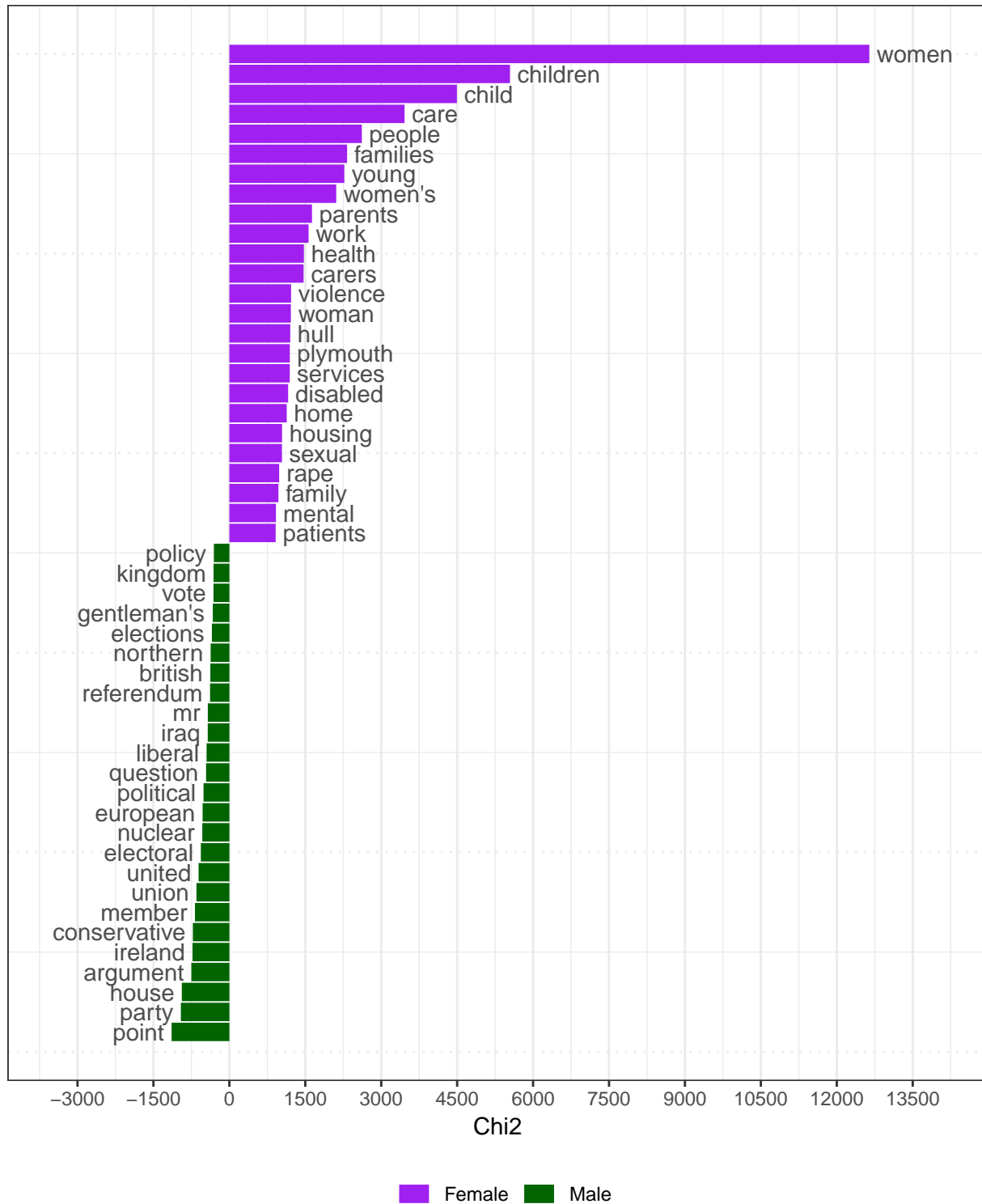


Figure 3: Keyness between Labour MPs, by Gender

### 3.3.2 Shortlists vs Non-Shortlists

Keyness differences by selection process (Figure 4) 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 more heavily on the fact they were elected by their constituents as a source political legitimacy, or are more likely to illustrate a point with an example from their constituency, compared to non-AWS MPs.

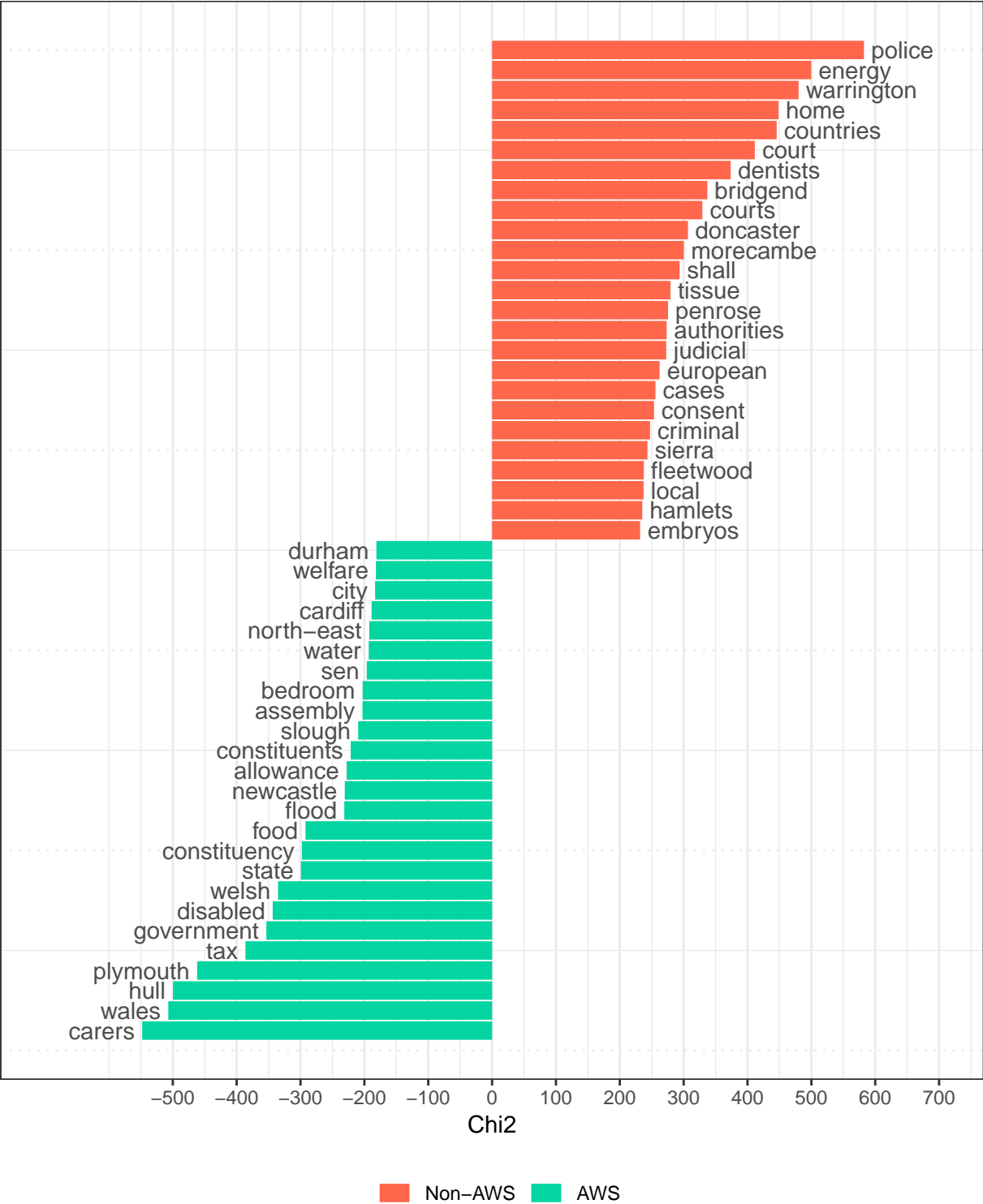


Figure 4: Keyness between Female Labour MPs, by Selection Process

### **3.3.3 Labour vs Conservative**

The keyness differences (Figure 5) between Labour and Conservative MPs are much greater than gender or AWS 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.

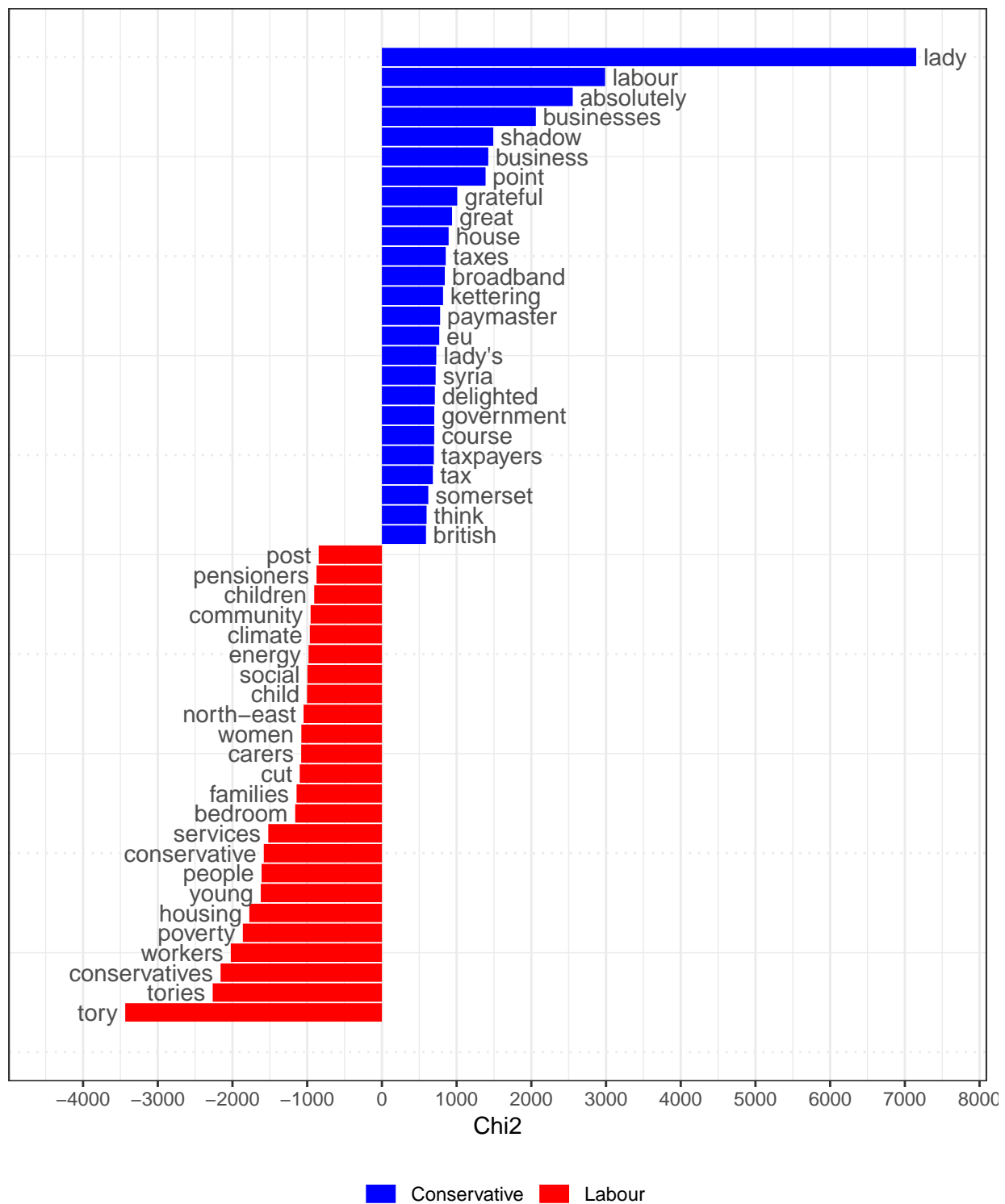


Figure 5: Keyness between Labour and Conservative MPs

### 3.4 Bigrams

We created bigrams of all first person plural and singular pronouns for female Labour MPs (Figure 6). As above, AWS MPs are far more likely to make references to their constituency or their constituents, and the use of bigrams confirms these references are to their specific constituency/constituents, rather than those of other MPs, or constituencies in general.



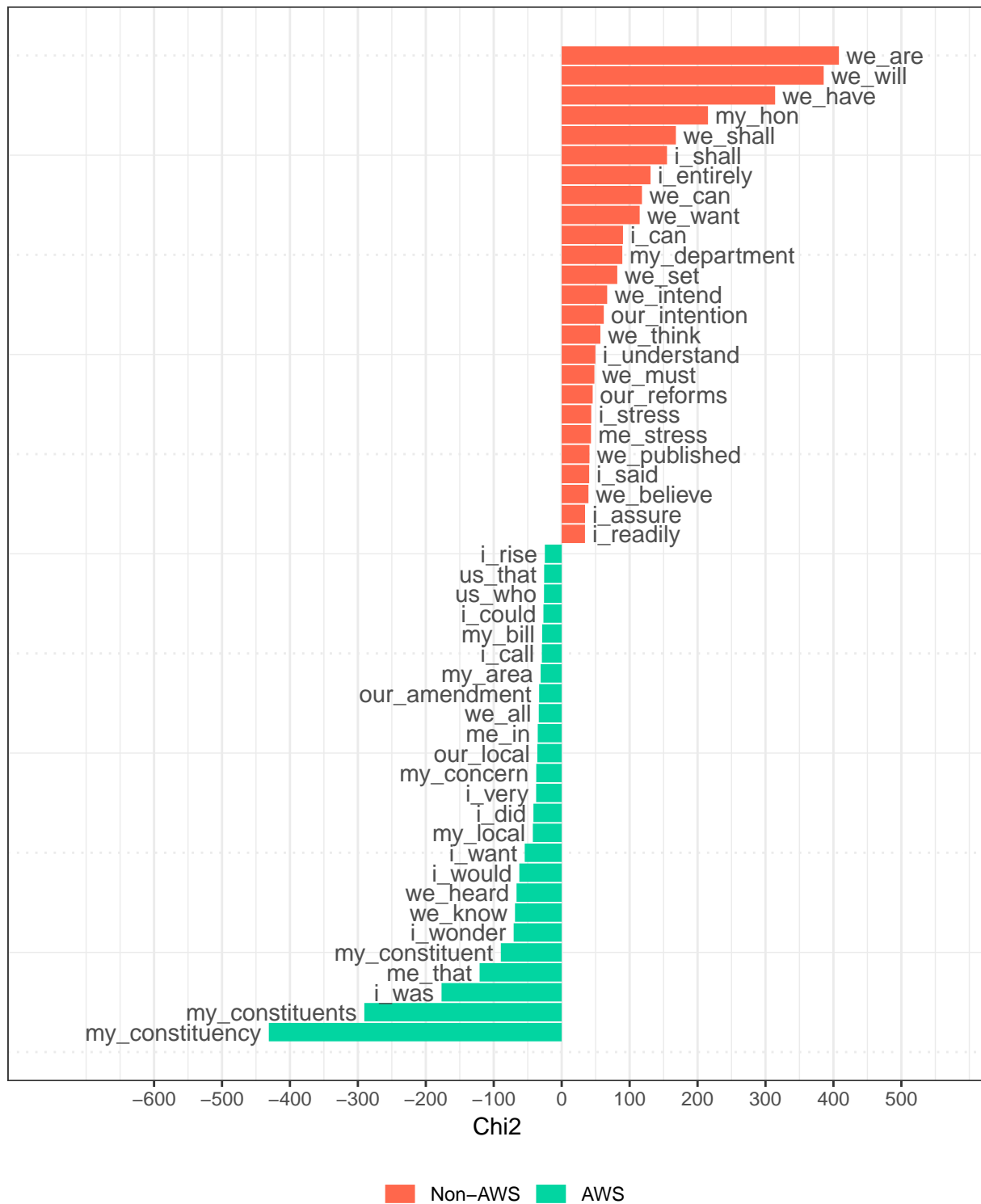


Figure 6: Bigram Keyness in Female Labour MPs by Selection Process

### 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, which we have done below.

The R package `stm` (Roberts, Stewart, & Tingley, 2018) implements a structured topic model (STM) (Arora et al., 2013; Roberts, Stewart, & Airolidi, 2016). An STM incorporates covariates into the topic classification algorithm, creating possibilities for hypothesis testing. 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 prevalence covariates into our topic model.

We created six topic models with different numbers of topics ( $K$ ). We created models with 30, 45, 60, 80 and 100 topics, and used a topic selection algorithm developed by Lee & Mimno (2014), implemented in the `stm` package (Roberts et al., 2018), which resulted in  $K = 66$ . Figure 7 shows, clockwise from the top-left, the exclusivity score, held out likelihood with 50% of documents held out, the multinomial dispersion of the STM residuals (Taddy, 2012), semantic coherence (Mimno, Wallach, Talley, Leenders, & McCallum, 2011), and the lower bound of each topic model.

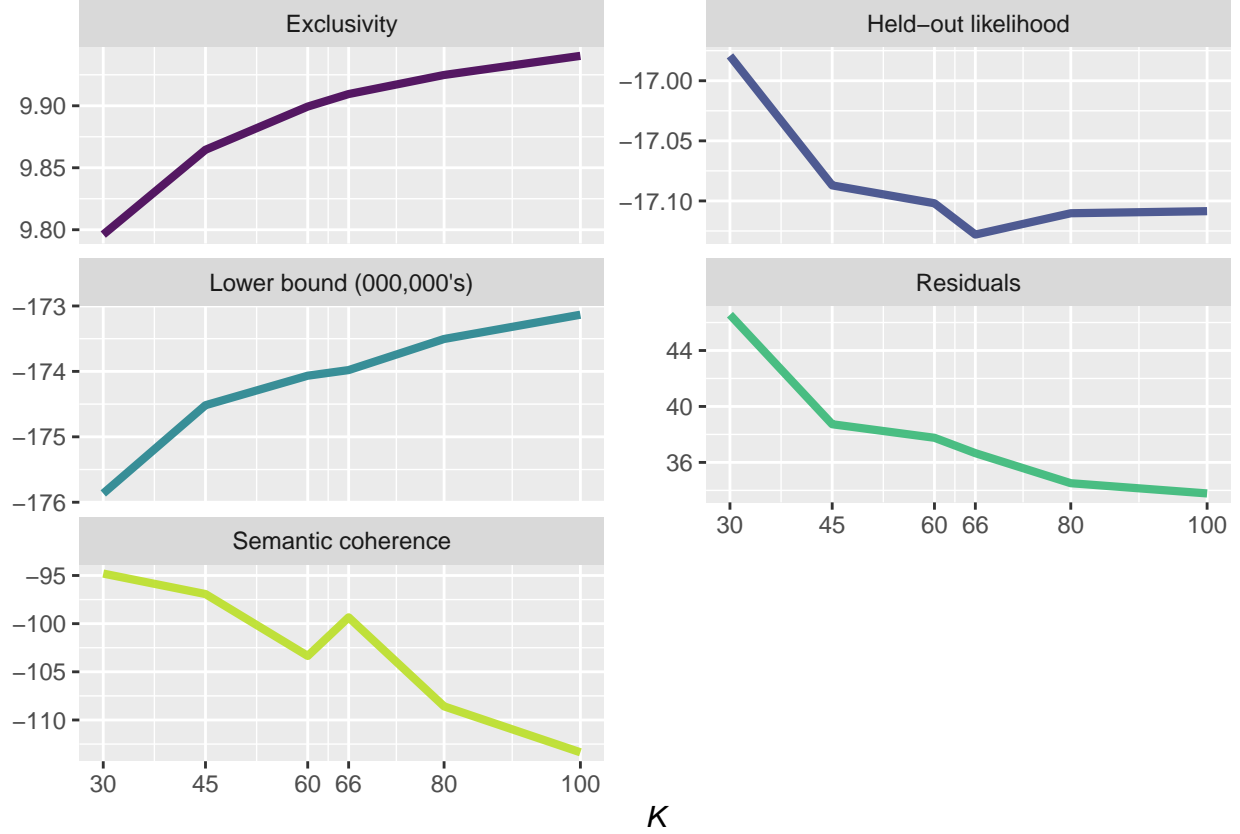


Figure 7: Topic Model Selection

As seen in Figure 7, the  $K = 66$  result 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 in the `stm` package by Roberts et al. (2018).

Figure 8 is a Fruchterman-Reingold force-directed diagram (Fruchterman & Reingold, 1991) of correlations between different topics. Larger vertices indicate more common topics (amongst both male and female Labour MPs), and the colour scale indicates the proportion of speeches classed in that topic made by AWS and non-AWS female Labour MPs, respectively. Edges indicate positive correlations between the two linked topics.

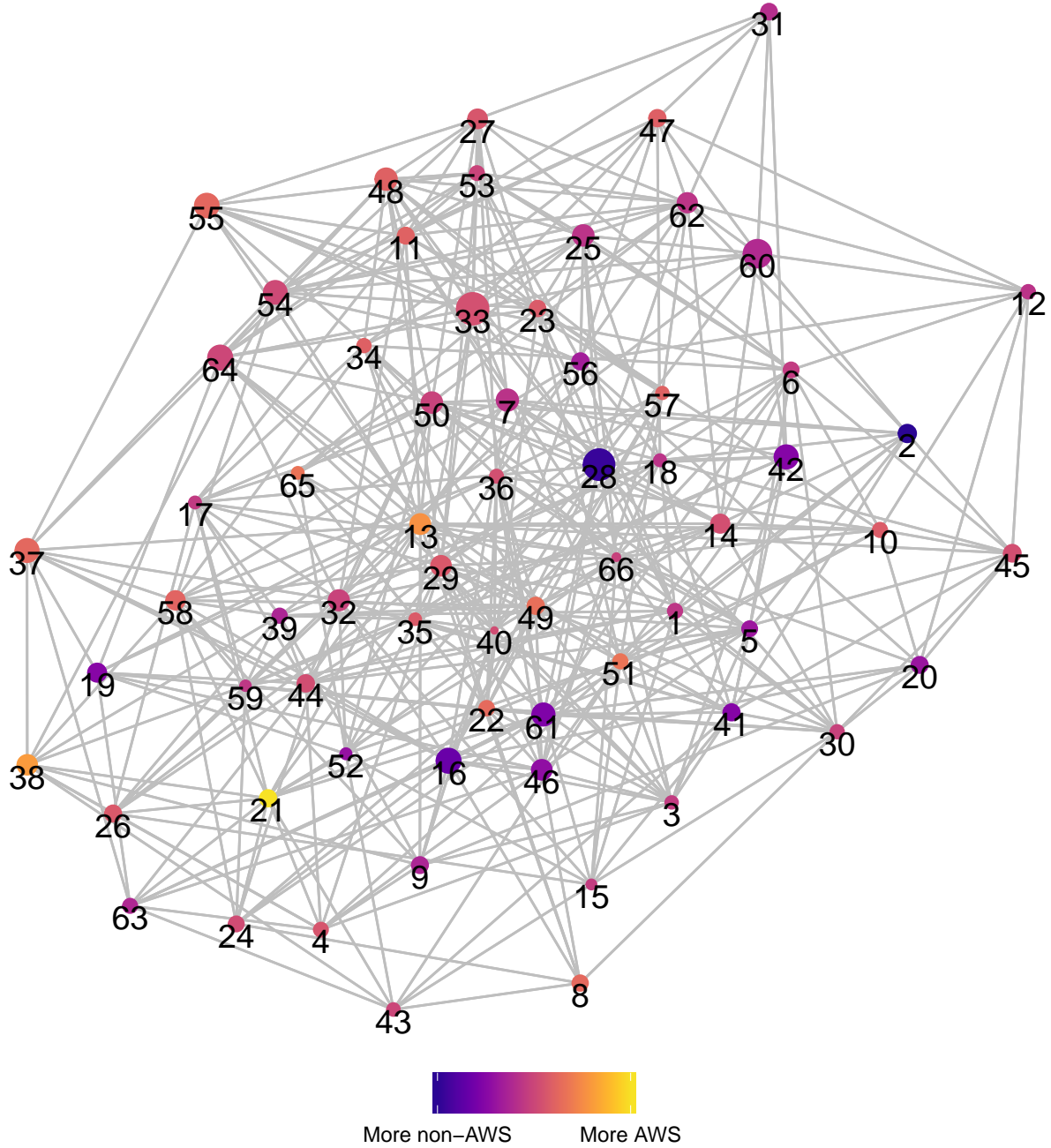


Figure 8: Fruchterman-Reingold plot of Topic Network

The `stm` package includes the `estimateEffect` function, which creates a regression model (Table 9) using individual documents (speeches) as observations, with the proportion of a each document fitting each topic as the dependent variable and model covariates (AWS status and gender) as independent variables. The intercept in this model is all speeches by male Labour MPs.

Table 9: Topic Estimates

	Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr(> t )
Intercept	0.0120888	0.0001178	102.6207609	< 0.001 ***

Table 9: Topic Estimates (*continued*)

		Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr(> t )
(1) Employment & unions	Non-AWS	-0.0003789	0.0003148	-1.2036179	0.23
	AWS	-0.0013465	0.0002461	-5.4715603	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0167059	0.0001793	93.1509772	< 0.001 ***
(2) Legal system	Non-AWS	0.0069636	0.0005470	12.7297775	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0033126	0.0003299	-10.0398744	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0116653	0.0001534	76.0329657	< 0.001 ***
(3) Roads	Non-AWS	-0.0014865	0.0004064	-3.6575949	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0019506	0.0002972	-6.5626439	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0112840	0.0001700	66.3851110	< 0.001 ***
(4) Housing	Non-AWS	0.0044556	0.0004910	9.0743223	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0060384	0.0003726	16.2079091	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0140706	0.0001766	79.6599038	< 0.001 ***
(5) Police, firefighters & prison	Non-AWS	0.0032594	0.0005306	6.1425132	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0003211	0.0003580	-0.8968734	0.37
	Intercept	0.0089512	0.0000479	186.9687383	< 0.001 ***
(6) Northern Ireland	Non-AWS	0.0000927	0.0001254	0.7393203	0.46
	AWS	-0.0003742	0.0001135	-3.2957187	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0213286	0.0001401	152.2480371	< 0.001 ***
(7) Committee	Non-AWS	-0.0007067	0.0003755	-1.8820056	0.060
	AWS	-0.0019549	0.0002695	-7.2543909	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0147204	0.0001992	73.8942771	< 0.001 ***
(8) Schools	Non-AWS	-0.0009650	0.0005007	-1.9273270	0.054
	AWS	0.0021256	0.0004195	5.0664763	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0170560	0.0001989	85.7313081	< 0.001 ***
(9) Energy & climate change	Non-AWS	-0.0011700	0.0005276	-2.2175468	0.027 *
	AWS	-0.0035130	0.0004327	-8.1187179	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0157885	0.0001961	80.4931880	< 0.001 ***
(10) Defence	Non-AWS	-0.0075479	0.0004673	-16.1523984	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0054199	0.0003717	-14.5803283	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0118988	0.0000782	152.2137390	< 0.001 ***
(11) Parliament	Non-AWS	-0.0036969	0.0001975	-18.7170311	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0010975	0.0001545	-7.1029189	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0126074	0.0001317	95.7202390	< 0.001 ***
(12) International politics	Non-AWS	-0.0042376	0.0003207	-13.2148342	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0054751	0.0002571	-21.2971219	< 0.001 ***

Table 9: Topic Estimates (*continued*)

		Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr(> t )
(13) Ministers	Intercept	0.0167425	0.0001100	152.1375443	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	-0.0029751	0.0002869	-10.3699452	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0031476	0.0002360	13.3392646	< 0.001 ***
(14) Policy impact	Intercept	0.0115301	0.0000456	252.8430854	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	0.0002514	0.0001393	1.8045725	0.071
	AWS	0.0013687	0.0001043	13.1181516	< 0.001 ***
(15) Gender	Intercept	0.0048744	0.0001190	40.9513068	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	0.0123730	0.0003703	33.4134974	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0119844	0.0003383	35.4273254	< 0.001 ***
(16) Regional development	Intercept	0.0230391	0.0001296	177.7745625	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	0.0070479	0.0003631	19.4089078	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0002662	0.0002556	1.0417083	0.30
(17) Communications	Intercept	0.0097590	0.0001216	80.2448598	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	-0.0006791	0.0003558	-1.9084009	0.056
	AWS	-0.0012030	0.0002652	-4.5359044	< 0.001 ***
(18) Immigration	Intercept	0.0087070	0.0000954	91.2701772	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	0.0007389	0.0002708	2.7288967	0.006 **
	AWS	-0.0004165	0.0001877	-2.2188444	0.026 *
(19) Health system	Intercept	0.0161560	0.0002152	75.0578742	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	0.0112569	0.0006412	17.5569007	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0062978	0.0004711	13.3680540	< 0.001 ***
(20) International development	Intercept	0.0160721	0.0002007	80.0858640	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	0.0004169	0.0005295	0.7874512	0.43
	AWS	-0.0033585	0.0003930	-8.5459568	< 0.001 ***
(21) Benefits & disability	Intercept	0.0120356	0.0001420	84.7801002	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	0.0009219	0.0003825	2.4103441	0.016 *
	AWS	0.0120237	0.0003162	38.0267946	< 0.001 ***
(22) Sport & culture	Intercept	0.0127186	0.0001621	78.4784337	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	-0.0024710	0.0004093	-6.0365993	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0007438	0.0003253	2.2865634	0.022 *
(23) History	Intercept	0.0137409	0.0001075	127.8576615	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	-0.0060868	0.0002725	-22.3355410	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0040067	0.0002053	-19.5138660	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0143147	0.0001663	86.1011887	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	-0.0010212	0.0004363	-2.3408242	0.019 *

Table 9: Topic Estimates (*continued*)

		Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr(> t )
(24) Higher education & skills	AWS	-0.0001187	0.0003390	-0.3501880	0.73
	Intercept	0.0155251	0.0000455	341.5239093	< 0.001 ***
(25) Concurring point	Non-AWS	-0.0018965	0.0001198	-15.8370625	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0030028	0.0000881	-34.0822282	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0146922	0.0001644	89.3585721	< 0.001 ***
(26) Pensions	Non-AWS	0.0007062	0.0004256	1.6591475	0.097
	AWS	0.0026268	0.0003314	7.9260121	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0177826	0.0001289	137.9560812	< 0.001 ***
(27) Points of order	Non-AWS	-0.0065299	0.0003217	-20.2995950	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0048147	0.0002501	-19.2542330	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0344876	0.0000989	348.5758700	< 0.001 ***
(28) Issues	Non-AWS	0.0070279	0.0002802	25.0789103	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0025848	0.0001992	-12.9759967	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0131823	0.0000487	270.4829494	< 0.001 ***
(29) Constituencies	Non-AWS	0.0011043	0.0001413	7.8140933	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0029672	0.0001077	27.5623637	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0085769	0.0000759	113.0238684	< 0.001 ***
(30) Ethnic groups & racism	Non-AWS	0.0019127	0.0002216	8.6305954	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0019284	0.0001713	11.2560787	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0149888	0.0001574	95.2276588	< 0.001 ***
(31) Amendments	Non-AWS	-0.0017672	0.0004317	-4.0930192	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0033169	0.0003271	-10.1410478	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0169545	0.0001051	161.3924505	< 0.001 ***
(32) Reports	Non-AWS	0.0012142	0.0002876	4.2211628	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0013433	0.0002351	5.7149497	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0377535	0.0001141	330.9959877	< 0.001 ***
(33) People	Non-AWS	-0.0022839	0.0002856	-7.9959376	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0010469	0.0002403	-4.3563656	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0135426	0.0001626	83.3072241	< 0.001 ***
(34) Wales & Scotland	Non-AWS	-0.0047668	0.0003660	-13.0248683	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0023237	0.0003017	-7.7013426	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0108970	0.0001602	68.0157187	< 0.001 ***
(35) Alcohol & tobacco	Non-AWS	-0.0008332	0.0004344	-1.9179306	0.055
	AWS	0.0011896	0.0003157	3.7684825	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0083687	0.0000669	125.1467071	< 0.001 ***

Table 9: Topic Estimates (*continued*)

		Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr(> t )
(36) Place names	Non-AWS	0.0000215	0.0001852	0.1160818	0.91
	AWS	0.0011694	0.0001457	8.0260801	< 0.001 ***
(37) Budget	Intercept	0.0246559	0.0001707	144.4057423	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	-0.0023121	0.0004551	-5.0808110	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0007186	0.0003700	1.9421831	0.052
	Intercept	0.0193463	0.0001839	105.2177025	< 0.001 ***
(38) Tax	Non-AWS	-0.0013507	0.0005222	-2.5866393	0.010 **
	AWS	0.0054452	0.0003801	14.3241563	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0123822	0.0001231	100.5622646	< 0.001 ***
(39) Private companies	Non-AWS	0.0005476	0.0003530	1.5512923	0.12
	AWS	-0.0017986	0.0002410	-7.4637103	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0094593	0.0001554	60.8703332	< 0.001 ***
(40) Environment & fishing	Non-AWS	-0.0030966	0.0003590	-8.6256246	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0021431	0.0002972	-7.2104552	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0141414	0.0001678	84.2838152	< 0.001 ***
(41) Crime	Non-AWS	0.0086017	0.0005357	16.0583471	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0034713	0.0003588	9.6742449	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0244505	0.0001479	165.3707381	< 0.001 ***
(42) Bills	Non-AWS	0.0021315	0.0004154	5.1316135	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0029731	0.0002794	-10.6403551	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0076732	0.0001334	57.5213940	< 0.001 ***
(43) Children	Non-AWS	0.0092120	0.0004022	22.9048156	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0095672	0.0002849	33.5775063	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0123341	0.0000950	129.8832950	< 0.001 ***
(44) Utilities & PFI	Non-AWS	-0.0007809	0.0002313	-3.3755091	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0002427	0.0001882	1.2893503	0.20
	Intercept	0.0174911	0.0002032	86.0965148	< 0.001 ***
(45) Middle East	Non-AWS	-0.0028426	0.0005205	-5.4610156	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0017124	0.0004241	-4.0379736	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0179690	0.0001440	124.7990299	< 0.001 ***
(46) Local authorities	Non-AWS	0.0044436	0.0004047	10.9809236	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0001255	0.0003158	0.3973772	0.69
	Intercept	0.0181760	0.0001744	104.2304478	< 0.001 ***
(47) Elections	Non-AWS	-0.0091719	0.0004160	-22.0467462	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0068107	0.0003435	-19.8249723	< 0.001 ***



Table 9: Topic Estimates (*continued*)

		Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr(> t )
(48) Debate	Intercept	0.0180051	0.0000740	243.4560321	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	-0.0034963	0.0001993	-17.5442276	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0009781	0.0001463	-6.6838588	< 0.001 ***
(49) Transport	Intercept	0.0164409	0.0001990	82.6102476	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	-0.0027435	0.0005152	-5.3246978	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0008858	0.0003919	2.2601217	0.024 *
(50) Questions	Intercept	0.0161734	0.0000754	214.4489860	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	0.0001322	0.0001922	0.6881049	0.49
	AWS	0.0002167	0.0001602	1.3530847	0.18
(51) Families	Intercept	0.0101064	0.0001123	90.0068284	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	0.0019112	0.0003357	5.6937074	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0058679	0.0002503	23.4470168	< 0.001 ***
(52) Health research	Intercept	0.0088047	0.0001527	57.6752383	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	0.0076317	0.0004412	17.2968701	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0036096	0.0003276	11.0195896	< 0.001 ***
(53) Dispatch box	Intercept	0.0075507	0.0000226	334.4435527	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	-0.0011339	0.0000539	-21.0226709	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0009564	0.0000454	-21.0477435	< 0.001 ***
(54) Parties	Intercept	0.0248192	0.0001247	199.0509225	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	-0.0066206	0.0003398	-19.4818710	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0059979	0.0002615	-22.9408627	< 0.001 ***
(55) Statements	Intercept	0.0211142	0.0000693	304.7907001	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	-0.0045072	0.0001847	-24.3999682	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0014965	0.0001320	-11.3348121	< 0.001 ***
(56) European Union	Intercept	0.0163483	0.0001622	100.8162901	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	-0.0024198	0.0004562	-5.3044297	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0053884	0.0003326	-16.2000849	< 0.001 ***
(57) Locations	Intercept	0.0100671	0.0001093	92.1437166	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	-0.0025131	0.0002671	-9.4076381	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0000336	0.0002075	0.1618511	0.87
(58) Jobs & manufacturing	Intercept	0.0175837	0.0001670	105.3211770	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	-0.0016196	0.0004317	-3.7511794	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0012056	0.0003445	3.4992705	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0070669	0.0000724	97.5560125	< 0.001 ***
	Non-AWS	0.0005501	0.0001993	2.7606461	0.006 **

Table 9: Topic Estimates (*continued*)

		Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr(> t )
(59) Small business	AWS	-0.0003673	0.0001454	-2.5262114	0.012 *
	Intercept	0.0328532	0.0001147	286.3644270	< 0.001 ***
(60) Agreement & disagreement	Non-AWS	-0.0089896	0.0003028	-29.6843140	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0109445	0.0002035	-53.7940555	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0187127	0.0001243	150.5063327	< 0.001 ***
(61) Voluntary sector	Non-AWS	0.0111185	0.0003722	29.8746792	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0056586	0.0002496	22.6728341	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0152725	0.0000669	228.1931718	< 0.001 ***
(62) Comments	Non-AWS	-0.0029228	0.0001709	-17.1025255	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0040217	0.0001204	-33.3916425	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0090473	0.0001163	77.8049643	< 0.001 ***
(63) Social care	Non-AWS	0.0094874	0.0003827	24.7908780	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0073846	0.0002802	26.3574994	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0213818	0.0000679	314.7746216	< 0.001 ***
(64) Time	Non-AWS	-0.0020761	0.0001751	-11.8564587	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0016514	0.0001432	-11.5355536	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0121387	0.0001644	73.8313247	< 0.001 ***
(65) Media & animals	Non-AWS	-0.0057090	0.0004043	-14.1203754	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	-0.0017755	0.0003183	-5.5781252	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0038249	0.0000114	334.6396884	< 0.001 ***
(66) Other	Non-AWS	0.0002529	0.0000292	8.6594542	< 0.001 ***
	AWS	0.0003060	0.0000249	12.2797016	< 0.001 ***

Table 10 shows the number and percentage of speeches assigned to each topic, based on its  $\theta$  value. The results in this table differ slightly from those in Table 9, as it uses a “winner-take-all” method to assign an overall topic to each speech, rather than a prevalence of a given topic across all speeches. One of the topics – Topic 66 – is 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. Other topics are rarely used – Topic 53, which we labelled “Dispatch Box”, only has five topics assigned to it, four from Male MPs and one from an AWS MP.

Table 10: Count and Distribution of Topics

Topic	AWS Speeches	Percent of AWS Speeches	Non- AWS Speeches	Percent of non- AWS Speeches	Male MP Speeches	Percent of Male MP Speeches
(1) Employment & unions	452	0.84%	260	0.93%	2,149	1.27%
(2) Legal system	865	1.61%	1,096	3.93%	3,884	2.29%
(3) Roads	558	1.04%	298	1.07%	2,142	1.26%

Table 10: Count and Distribution of Topics (*continued*)

Topic	AWS Speeches	Percent of AWS Speeches	Non- AWS Speeches	Percent of non- AWS Speeches	Male MP Speeches	Percent of Male MP Speeches
(4) Housing	1,383	2.57%	665	2.39%	2,416	1.43%
(5) Police, firefighters & prison	1,046	1.94%	709	2.54%	3,353	1.98%
(6) Northern Ireland	221	0.41%	66	0.24%	603	0.36%
(7) Committee	1,050	1.95%	492	1.77%	3,888	2.29%
(8) Schools	1,367	2.54%	522	1.87%	3,780	2.23%
(9) Energy & climate change	1,105	2.05%	745	2.67%	4,630	2.73%
(10) Defence	794	1.48%	280	1.00%	3,999	2.36%
(11) Parliament	375	0.70%	85	0.31%	1,079	0.64%
(12) International politics	289	0.54%	161	0.58%	2,021	1.19%
(13) Ministers	872	1.62%	242	0.87%	2,083	1.23%
(14) Policy impact	242	0.45%	68	0.24%	417	0.25%
(15) Gender	1,257	2.34%	701	2.52%	551	0.33%
(16) Regional development	931	1.73%	710	2.55%	2,704	1.60%
(17) Communications	385	0.72%	287	1.03%	1,751	1.03%
(18) Immigration	425	0.79%	220	0.79%	1,218	0.72%
(19) Health system	2,149	4.00%	1,489	5.34%	4,682	2.76%
(20) International development	862	1.60%	687	2.47%	3,718	2.19%
(21) Benefits & disability	1,888	3.51%	317	1.14%	2,101	1.24%
(22) Sport & culture	846	1.57%	317	1.14%	2,628	1.55%
(23) History	299	0.56%	140	0.50%	1,720	1.02%
(24) Higher education & skills	974	1.81%	456	1.64%	3,501	2.07%
(25) Concurring point	33	0.06%	9	0.03%	139	0.08%
(26) Pensions	1,231	2.29%	529	1.90%	2,982	1.76%
(27) Points of order	787	1.46%	230	0.83%	4,069	2.40%
(28) Issues	1,618	3.01%	1,720	6.17%	6,745	3.98%
(29) Constituencies	125	0.23%	30	0.11%	228	0.13%
(30) Ethnic groups & racism	454	0.84%	203	0.73%	945	0.56%
(31) Amendments	526	0.98%	317	1.14%	2,293	1.35%
(32) Reports	536	1.00%	322	1.16%	1,488	0.88%
(33) People	2,818	5.24%	1,048	3.76%	9,136	5.39%
(34) Wales & Scotland	662	1.23%	224	0.80%	2,655	1.57%
(35) Alcohol & tobacco	846	1.57%	336	1.21%	2,357	1.39%
(36) Place names	163	0.30%	47	0.17%	447	0.26%
(37) Budget	1,616	3.00%	668	2.40%	5,567	3.29%
(38) Tax	2,149	4.00%	691	2.48%	4,562	2.69%
(39) Private companies	452	0.84%	362	1.30%	1,794	1.06%
(40) Environment & fishing	435	0.81%	186	0.67%	1,689	1.00%
(41) Crime	1,408	2.62%	926	3.32%	3,073	1.81%
(42) Bills	1,199	2.23%	931	3.34%	4,534	2.68%
(43) Children	1,176	2.19%	631	2.26%	1,298	0.77%
(44) Utilities & PFI	433	0.81%	175	0.63%	1,416	0.84%
(45) Middle East	1,284	2.39%	588	2.11%	4,543	2.68%
(46) Local authorities	1,050	1.95%	711	2.55%	3,686	2.18%

Table 10: Count and Distribution of Topics (*continued*)

Topic	AWS Speeches	Percent of AWS Speeches	Non- AWS Speeches	Percent of non- AWS Speeches	Male MP Speeches	Percent of Male MP Speeches
(47) Elections	759	1.41%	240	0.86%	4,308	2.54%
(48) Debate	422	0.78%	128	0.46%	1,364	0.81%
(49) Transport	1,517	2.82%	546	1.96%	4,172	2.46%
(50) Questions	390	0.73%	182	0.65%	1,115	0.66%
(51) Families	786	1.46%	276	0.99%	1,169	0.69%
(52) Health research	743	1.38%	591	2.12%	1,467	0.87%
(53) Dispatch box	1	0.00%	NA	NA%	4	0.00%
(54) Parties	879	1.63%	438	1.57%	5,053	2.98%
(55) Statements	180	0.33%	79	0.28%	856	0.51%
(56) European Union	769	1.43%	554	1.99%	3,949	2.33%
(57) Locations	299	0.56%	126	0.45%	1,112	0.66%
(58) Jobs & manufacturing	1,426	2.65%	586	2.10%	4,162	2.46%
(59) Small business	229	0.43%	183	0.66%	791	0.47%
(60) Agreement & disagreement	523	0.97%	275	0.99%	4,962	2.93%
(61) Voluntary sector	1,307	2.43%	853	3.06%	2,480	1.46%
(62) Comments	108	0.20%	95	0.34%	865	0.51%
(63) Social care	865	1.61%	521	1.87%	1,187	0.70%
(64) Time	208	0.39%	103	0.37%	930	0.55%
(65) Media & animals	741	1.38%	190	0.68%	2,811	1.66%

### 3.6.1 Topic Graphs

The estimate effects in these graphs were extracted using the `tidystm` package by Mikael Poul Johannesson.<sup>2</sup> Figure 9 highlights nine topics with different expected proportions between male, AWS and non-AWS Labour MPs, with the error bars representing 95% confidence intervals. See Figure 10 for a graph of all 66 topics.

<sup>2</sup>Available online at: <https://github.com/mikajoh/tidystm>

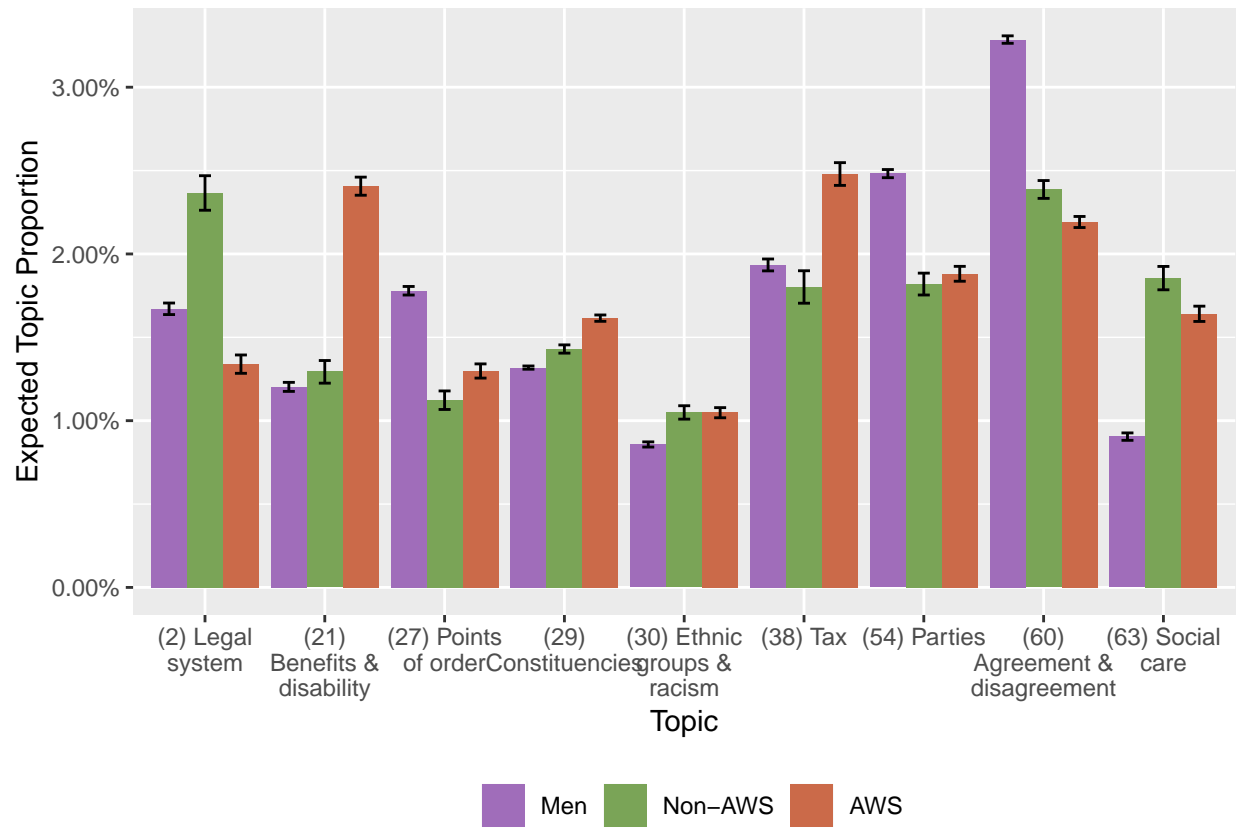


Figure 9: Selected Topic Proportions

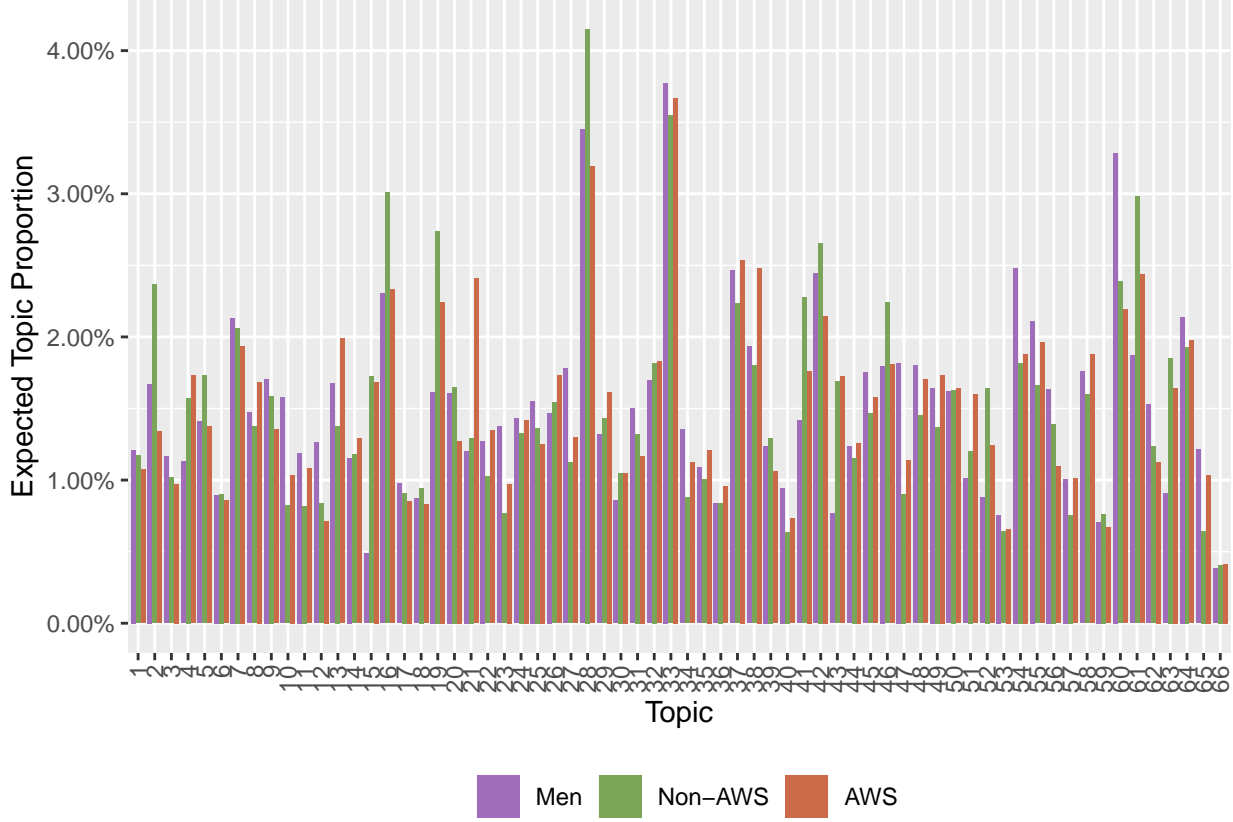


Figure 10: All Topic Proportions

### 3.6.2 Word Occurrences

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

Table 11: Words in Topic

Topic	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
(1) Employment & unions	rights, workers, law, human, civil, trade, union, protection, employers, act, employment, unions, safety, employees, work, service, staff, employer, legislation, protect	tupe, blacklisting, acas, rights, gangmasters, civil, dispute, protections, unions, dismissal, servants, human, disputes, workers, employer, num, certification, employees, tuc, employers
(2) Legal system	cases, court, legal, case, justice, law, courts, evidence, lord, appeal, system, criminal, judicial, investigation, judge, aid, prosecution, circumstances, trial, lawyers	judicial, attorney-general, court, prosecutor, judges, carlile, defendant, extradition, cps, judiciary, admissible, pre-charge, jury, solicitors, lawyers, solicitor, courts, lawyer, detention, judge

Table 11: Words in Topic (*continued*)

Topic	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
(3) Roads	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
(4) Housing	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
(5) Police, firefighters & prison	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
(6) Northern Ireland	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, taoiseach, antrim, imc, chastelain, dpps
(7) Committee	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, recommendations, committee, committees, independent, recommendation, panel, pre-legislative, report, chairman, review, reviews, scrutinise, inquiries, conclusions, publication, findings
(8) Schools	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, lea, literacy, curriculum, classrooms
(9) Energy & climate change	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
(10) Defence	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 11: Words in Topic (*continued*)

Topic	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
(11) Parliament	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, early-day, e-petitions, house's, tuesday, session, lobbying
(12) International politics	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, ratified, veto, gibraltar, ukraine, russia, agreement, protocol, states, united, ratify, russian, kingdom's, hague, disarmament
(13) Ministers	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
(14) Policy impact	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
(15) Gender	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
(16) Regional development	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
(17) Communications	office, post, bank, banks, rural, offices, services, service, royal, banking, network, mail, closure, access, areas, broadband, card, account, staff, closures	offices, mail, sub-postmasters, sub-post, superfast, post, postwatch, postcomm, consignia, broadband, rbs, office, banking, mail's, bank, lloyds, ons, uso, branches, banks
(18) Immigration	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 11: Words in Topic (*continued*)

Topic	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
(19) Health system	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
(20) International development	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, cancan, nigeria
(21) Benefits & disability	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
(22) Sport & culture	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
(23) History	history, former, world, tribute, great, day, never, proud, first, remember, new, john, campaign, century, parliament, pay, also, war, today, sir	maiden, miners, memorial, predecessors, hillsborough, tony, martin, james, john, william, andrew, margaret, anniversary, peter, alan, memories, fought, harold, churchill, edward
(24) Higher education & skills	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, undergraduate, university, tuition, sixth-form
(25) Concurring point	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
(26) Pensions	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
(27) Points of order	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 11: Words in Topic (*continued*)

Topic	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
(28) Issues	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
(29) Constituencies	many, constituency, constituents, problems, welcome, particularly, people, often, hard, face, others, feel, country, especially, worked, pay, concerned, represent, thousands, large	many, constituents, problems, hard, mine, worked, difficulties, faced, represent, feel, constituencies, thousands, hundreds, face, greatly, often, constituency, especially, worried, experienced
(30) Ethnic groups & racism	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, ethnic, anglican, hate, clergy, hatred
(31) Amendments	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
(32) Reports	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
(33) People	people, want, get, one, go, can, think, see, need, know, say, things, much, like, good, going, problem, done, something, put	things, get, something, go, lot, want, talking, thing, trying, talk, think, really, quite, bit, else, happen, away, getting, enough, idea
(34) Wales & Scotland	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
(35) Alcohol & tobacco	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, pub, retailers
(36) Place names	thank, south, constituency, north, excellent, join, congratulate, manchester, area, yorkshire, north-west, reply, visit, greater, visited, also, bristol, nottingham, giving, region	thank, wrexham, reddish, tameside, congratulating, newport, yorkshire, stockport, blaenau, derbyshire, south, north-west, stoke-on-trent, denbighshire, denton, nottingham, bristol, welcoming, newingtonms, congratulations

Table 11: Words in Topic (*continued*)

Topic	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
(37) Budget	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
(38) Tax	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
(39) Private companies	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, company's, societies, co-operative, fsa, co-operatives, profit, directors, rock, regulator, assets, asset
(40) Environment & fishing	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
(41) Crime	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, victim
(42) Bills	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
(43) Children	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, child's, children, parent, dyslexia, adoption, kinship, childcare, intercountry, parents, lone
(44) Utilities & PFI	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, private, auditor, purse, contractors, audit, pac, pfi, flooding, taxpayer, floods, contract, comptroller, tendering, defences
(45) Middle East	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 11: Words in Topic (*continued*)

Topic	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
(46) Local authorities	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, locally, localism, swindon, allocations, allocation, deprived, council, parish, authority's, deprivation
(47) Elections	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
(48) Debate	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
(49) Transport	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
(50) Questions	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
(51) Families	family, life, families, lives, constituent, death, home, people, told, case, one, man, died, lost, mrs, person, mother, day, marriage, suffered	husband, mum, daughter, constituent, married, mrs, son, mother, marriage, died, father, wife, same-sex, death, loved, dad, suicide, funeral, bereaved, boy
(52) Health research	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
(53) Dispatch box	back, come, look, forward, bring, moment, coming, comes, side, later, brought, along, bringing, round, looking, box, see, putting, sit, dispatch	come, back, look, moment, forward, dispatch, coming, comes, side, box, oh, surprise, bring, round, hoping, bringing, sooner, straight, along, sit
(54) Parties	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
(55) Statements	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, us, actually, saying, minister's, telling, truth, wrong, wonder, thinks, nothing, promise, afraid, mistake, blame, admit, honest

Table 11: Words in Topic (*continued*)

Topic	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
(56) European Union	european, eu, europe, union, uk, countries, 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
(57) Locations	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, greenmr, southend, letwin
(58) Jobs & manufacturing	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, economy, teesside, unemployment, recession, automotive, downturn, steelworkers, productivity, inward, growth, industries, recessions, nissan, economic, steelworks, double-dip
(59) Small business	business, small, businesses, regulation, rates, enterprise, government, finance, support, firms, help, innovation, measures, regulatory, smaller, large, lending, enterprises, burden, larger	smes, medium-sized, businesses, business, enterprises, small, regulation, enterprise, commerce, entrepreneurs, tape, firms, lending, burdens, brs, start-up, start-ups, entrepreneurial, lend, smaller
(60) Agreement & disagreement	believe, however, one, might, accept, must, different, case, system, view, change, think, whether, position, argument, rather, simply, reason, basis, although	accept, argument, principle, view, arguments, reason, might, argue, perfectly, suggest, balance, believe, suggesting, different, reasons, necessarily, sensible, disagree, argued, whatever
(61) Voluntary sector	work, people, young, support, help, can, working, organisations, role, voluntary, ensure, together, good, also, need, important, encourage, opportunities, experience, society	voluntary, organisations, charities, volunteering, young, charity, youth, work, opportunities, helping, encourage, volunteers, encouraging, play, charitable, working, help, ways, valuable, together
(62) Comments	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
(63) Social care	care, services, social, carers, people, need, service, needs, support, provision, older, provide, quality, home, centres, access, elderly, provided, providers, homes	carers, hospices, dentists, dental, care, dementia, hospice, dentistry, respite, carer, advocacy, elderly, older, caring, palliative, milton, dentist, social, keynes, cared
(64) Time	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 11: Words in Topic (*continued*)

Topic	Top Twenty Words	Top Twenty FREX
(65) Media & animals	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
(66) Other	given, can, aware, may, recently, across, welcome, fact, government, well, take, close, result, seeking, indeed, support, confident, responsible, know, including	given, aware, can, recently, may, across, close, welcome, fact, confident, seeking, result, well, take, responsible, indeed, keep, regret, far, reconsider

### 3.6.3 Manual Validation

We have validated both the topics produced by the model and our labels of those topics to ensure the topics themselves are both interesting and relevant. Validation is particularly important in unsupervised models including STM (Grimmer & Stewart, 2013). Quinn, Monroe, Colaresi, Crespín, & Radev (2010) suggest that topics are valid if they correspond to external events. Figure 11 shows the number of speeches by Labour MPs on the “Middle East” topic, with a spike in 2003 (at the start of the Iraq War), another spike in 2008 and 2009, as the bulk of British troops left Iraq, a small spike in 2011 coinciding with UK participation in NATO’s military intervention in Libya, and another spike resulting from debate in 2014–2016 over UK participation in military interventions in the Syrian Civil War.

Figure 12 shows debate over the devolved authorities of Wales and Scotland peaking in 2014, to coincide with Scotland’s independence referendum. The post-2015 decline also likely stems from the SNP winning all but three seats in Scotland during the 2015 General Election. Figure 13 shows the increase in debate over the European Union coinciding with the referendum on the UK’s member of the European Union.

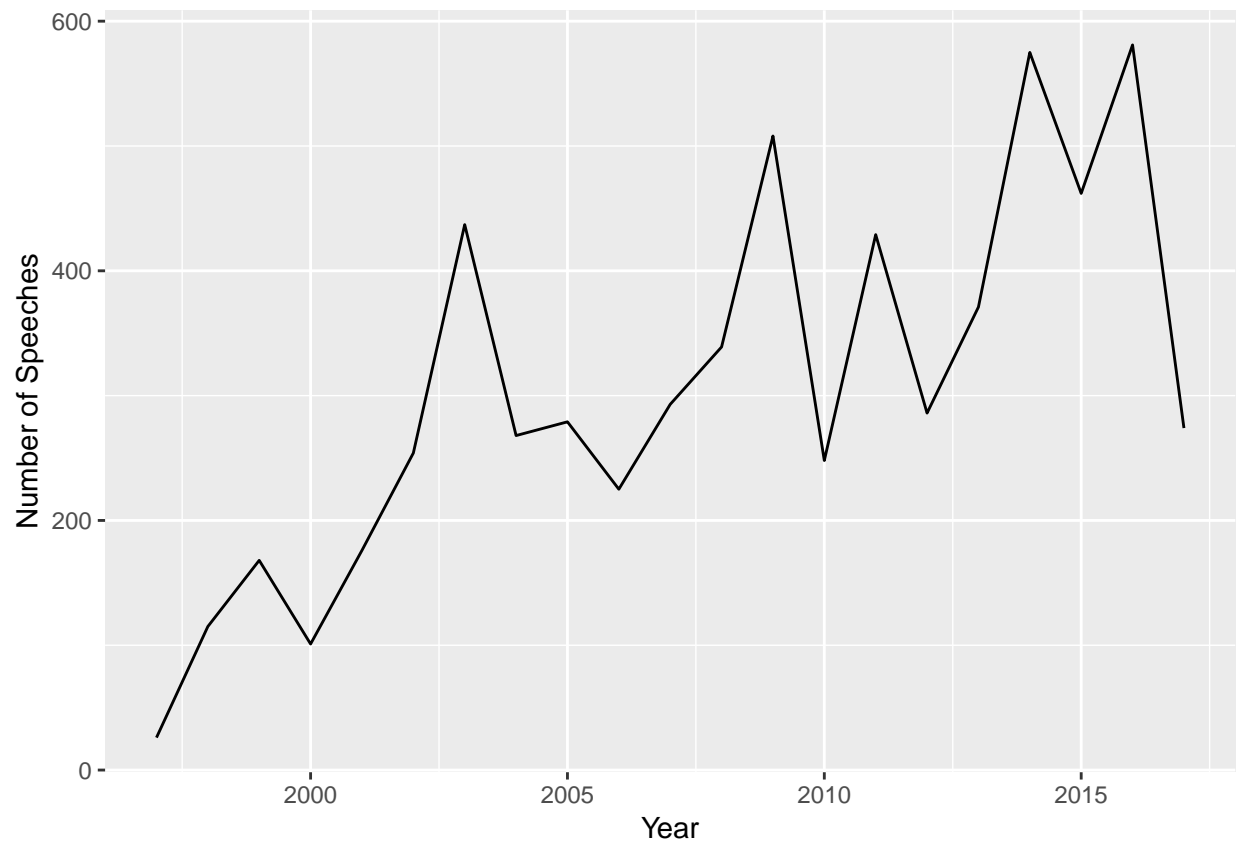


Figure 11: Number of Speeches in “Middle East” Topic per Year

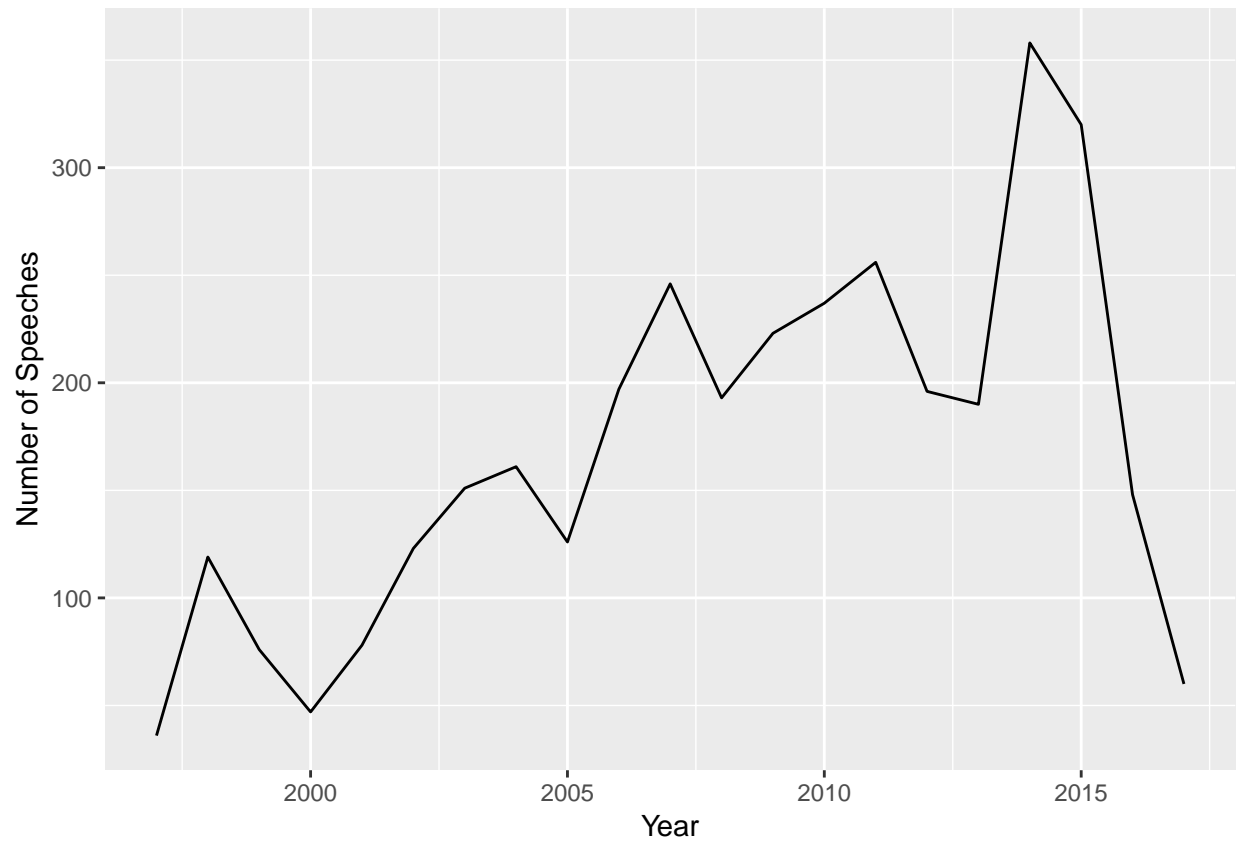


Figure 12: Number of Speeches in “Wales & Scotland” Topic per Year



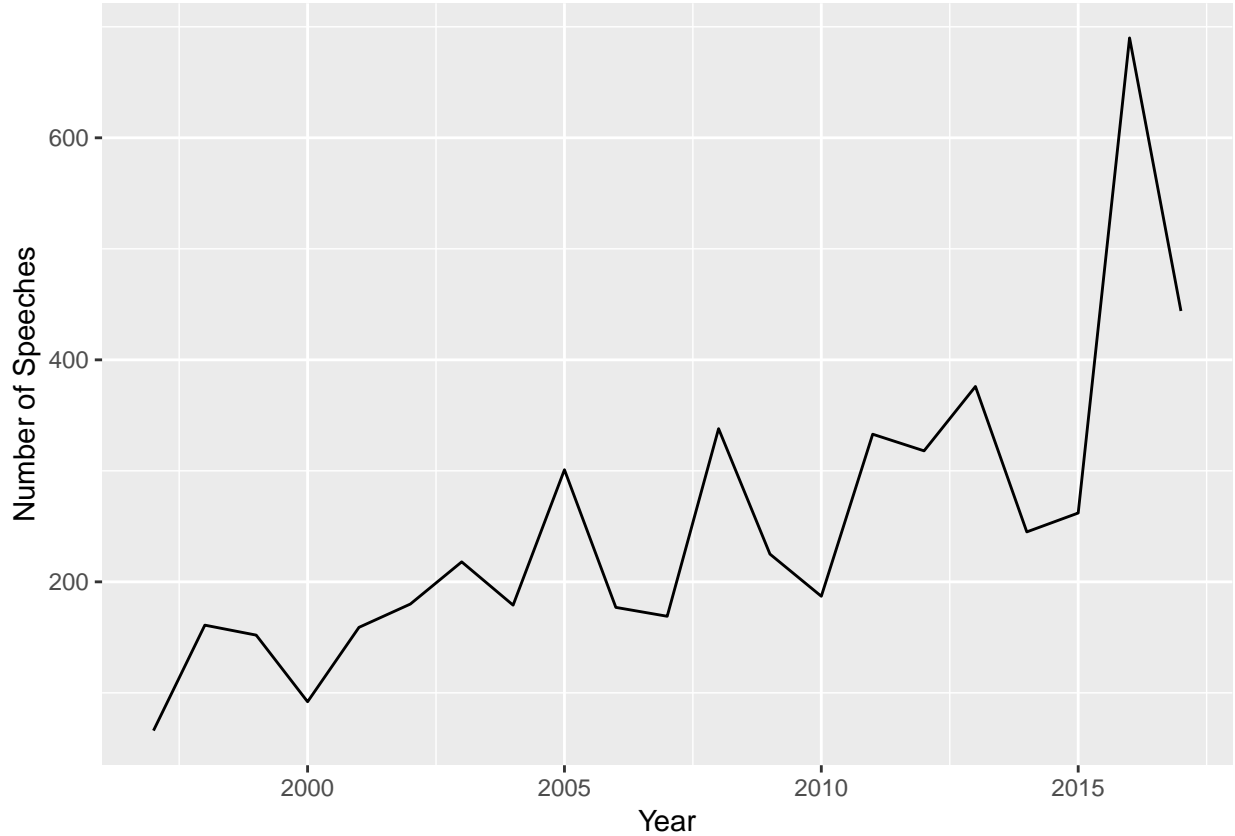


Figure 13: Number of Speeches in “European Union” Topic per Year

### 3.7 Differences between Male, AWS and non-AWS Labour MPs

From Table 9 we can see the relationship between the frequency of topics among AWS, non-AWS and male Labour MPs.

There are 11 topics where the frequency AWS MPs is significantly different from male MPs, but where its frequency amongst non-AWS MPs is not significantly different. They are topics 1, 6, 7, 8, 14, 17, 20, 26, 35, 36, 39. 5 topics are proportionally greater among AWS MPs (Topic 8, Schools, Topic 14, Policy impact, Topic 26, Pensions, Topic 35, Alcohol & tobacco, Topic 36, Place names) and 6 topics are less common (Topic 1, Employment & unions, Topic 6, Northern Ireland, Topic 7, Committee, Topic 17, Communications, Topic 20, International development, Topic 39, Private companies).

There are 7 topics where its proportion amongst non-AWS MPs is significantly different from male MPs, but where its proportion amongst AWS MPs is not significantly different. They are topics 5, 16, 24, 37, 44, 46, 57. 5 topics are proportionally greater among AWS MPs (Topic 16, Regional development, Topic 37, Budget, Topic 44, Utilities & PFI, Topic 46, Local authorities, Topic 57, Locations) and 2 topics are less common (Topic 5, Police, firefighters & prison, Topic 24, Higher education & skills).

There is 1 topic (Topic 50, Questions) where there is no significant difference in frequency among both AWS and non-AWS MPS, relative to male Labour MPs.

There are 10 topics where AWS and non-AWS MPs differ significantly in proportion from male Labour MPs, but are not both higher/lower than male MPs. AWS MPs are significantly more likely to mention 5 topics (Topic 13, Ministers, Topic 22, Sport & culture, Topic 38, Tax, Topic 49, Transport, Topic 58, Jobs & manufacturing) than male MPs, while non-AWS mps are significantly less likely to mention those topics. The opposite is true for the other 5 topics (Topic 2, Legal system, Topic 18, Immigration, Topic 28, Issues,

Topic 42, Bills, Topic 59, Small business), which AWS MPs are significantly less likely and non-AWS MPs are significantly more likely to mention than male Labour MPs.

However, an estimate being statistically significant – i.e. estimates for AWS and non-AWS MPs where the  $p$  value as reported in Table 9 is  $< 0.05$  – does not tell us anything about the relative value of those frequency differences. For example, in topic 21, Benefits and disability, frequency estimates for both AWS and non-AWS MPs are significantly different ( $p < 0.05$ ) from the frequency estimate for male Labour MPs. However, while the frequency value for the benefits and disability topic is 1.20% for male MPs, and 1.30% for non-AWS MPs, it is 2.41% for AWS MPs. Non-AWS Labour MPs are only slightly more likely to bring up benefits and disability than male Labour MPs, while AWS MPs discuss it almost twice as much as their male colleagues.

Figure 14 shows the frequency for the topics where AWS and non-AWS MPs differ the most. Figure 15 shows the frequency for the topics where AWS and non-AWS MPs are most similar to each other, regardless of their similarity to male Labour MPs. Figure 16 is the topics with the most variation, between AWS, non-AWS and male Labour MPs. Figures 14, 15 and 16 all use the coefficient of variation to measure variance between each group of MPs. Figures 14 and 15 only use female Labour MPS, Figure 16 uses all three groups. Errors bars in all three sets of figures are for 95% confidence intervals.

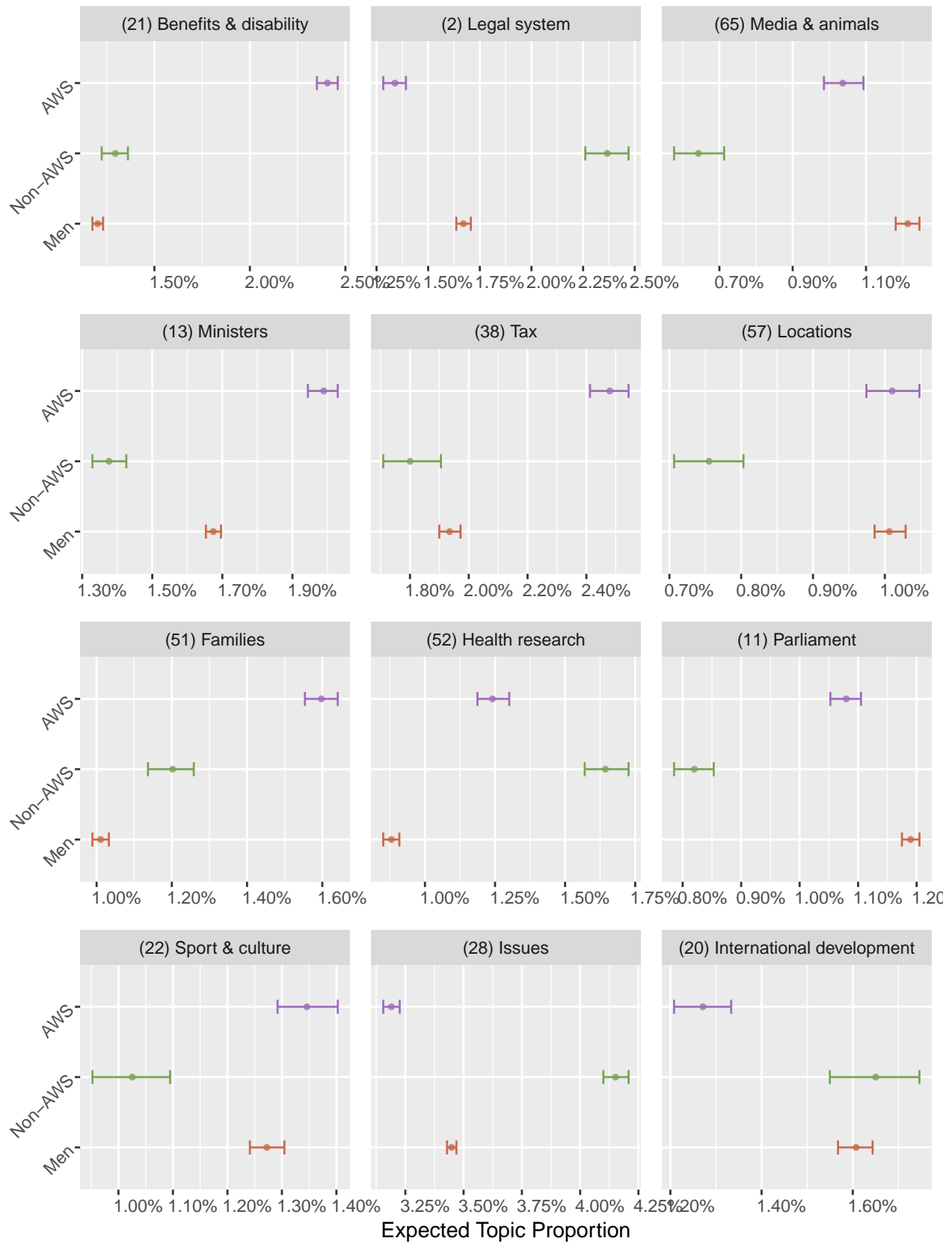


Figure 14: Where AWS MPs are most distinct from non-AWS female MPs

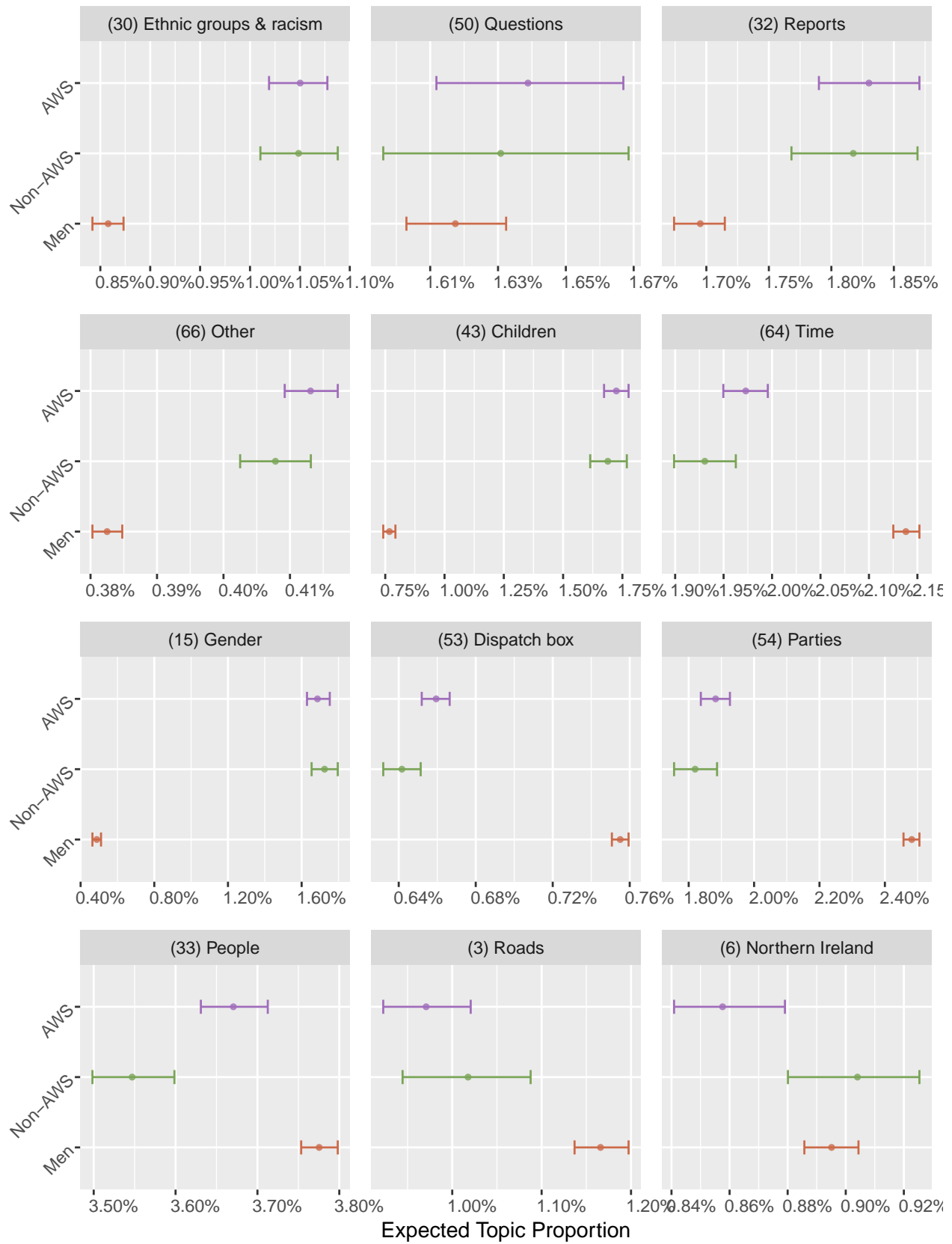


Figure 15: Where AWS MPs are most similar to non-AWS female MPs



Figure 16: Topics with the greatest frequency coefficient of variation

## 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 distinction between AWS and non-AWS MPs in terms and topics. Naïve Bayes classification was able to accurately determine the AWS status of female Labour MPs with slightly greater accuracy than it could distinguish between male and female Labour MPs (71.22% and 70.67%, respectively).

AWS MPs are far more likely to make reference to their constituency and 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 also use events and individuals in their constituency as examples when speaking on a given topic (see the Appendix for more examples).

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, also used the views of her constituents to support her position:

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 Gender effect estimates

Estimate effects of different topics, using only gender (Table 12).

Table 12: Topic Estimates

		Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr(> t )
(1) Employment & unions	Intercept	0.0120561	0.0001233	97.7458509	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0009786	0.0002204	-4.4396315	< 0.001 ***
(2) Legal system	Intercept	0.0167102	0.0001677	99.6358100	< 0.001 ***
	Female	0.0001861	0.0002867	0.6492618	0.52
(3) Roads	Intercept	0.0116864	0.0001469	79.5274864	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0018110	0.0002574	-7.0349793	< 0.001 ***
(4) Housing	Intercept	0.0112593	0.0001746	64.4711132	< 0.001 ***
	Female	0.0054870	0.0002870	19.1204992	< 0.001 ***
(5) Police, firefighters & prison	Intercept	0.0140238	0.0001747	80.2546259	< 0.001 ***
	Female	0.0008970	0.0002998	2.9917221	0.003 **
(6) Northern Ireland	Intercept	0.0089592	0.0000450	198.8903532	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0002231	0.0000821	-2.7163043	0.007 **
(7) Committee	Intercept	0.0213132	0.0001509	141.2139750	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0015245	0.0002307	-6.6073185	< 0.001 ***
(8) Schools	Intercept	0.0147366	0.0001975	74.6029960	< 0.001 ***
	Female	0.0009898	0.0003519	2.8128100	0.005 **
(9) Energy & climate change	Intercept	0.0170286	0.0002027	84.0111642	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0026669	0.0003638	-7.3306532	< 0.001 ***
(10) Defence	Intercept	0.0157819	0.0001837	85.9128350	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0061172	0.0003240	-18.8794191	< 0.001 ***
(11) Parliament	Intercept	0.0119042	0.0000790	150.6173576	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0019543	0.0001429	-13.6787831	< 0.001 ***
(12) International politics	Intercept	0.0125948	0.0001249	100.8499998	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0050786	0.0002170	-23.4024173	< 0.001 ***
(13) Ministers	Intercept	0.0167087	0.0001064	157.0415815	< 0.001 ***
	Female	0.0011454	0.0001923	5.9551523	< 0.001 ***
(14) Policy impact	Intercept	0.0115397	0.0000460	251.1090985	< 0.001 ***
	Female	0.0009556	0.0000875	10.9167682	< 0.001 ***
(15) Gender	Intercept	0.0048738	0.0001146	42.5372998	< 0.001 ***
	Female	0.0121863	0.0002379	51.2176906	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0230313	0.0001276	180.4911579	< 0.001 ***

Table 12: Topic Estimates (*continued*)

		Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr(> t )
(16) Regional development	Female	0.0026193	0.0002503	10.4645867	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0097462	0.0001202	81.0915937	< 0.001 ***
(17) Communications	Female	-0.0009899	0.0002069	-4.7848162	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0087105	0.0000900	96.8147319	< 0.001 ***
(18) Immigration	Female	-0.0000391	0.0001635	-0.2394474	0.81
	Intercept	0.0161788	0.0001976	81.8627819	< 0.001 ***
(19) Health system	Female	0.0079743	0.0003600	22.1488945	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0160465	0.0001897	84.5865773	< 0.001 ***
(20) International development	Female	-0.0020679	0.0003358	-6.1579789	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0120722	0.0001441	83.8028248	< 0.001 ***
(21) Benefits & disability	Female	0.0080944	0.0002832	28.5770350	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0127412	0.0001526	83.4724542	< 0.001 ***
(22) Sport & culture	Female	-0.0003753	0.0002649	-1.4166824	0.16
	Intercept	0.0137581	0.0001117	123.2082084	< 0.001 ***
(23) History	Female	-0.0046801	0.0001833	-25.5317143	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0143325	0.0001641	87.3629912	< 0.001 ***
(24) Higher education & skills	Female	-0.0004494	0.0003006	-1.4950418	0.13
	Intercept	0.0155213	0.0000474	327.6313660	< 0.001 ***
(25) Concurring point	Female	-0.0026315	0.0000760	-34.6035104	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0147019	0.0001709	86.0482540	< 0.001 ***
(26) Pensions	Female	0.0019874	0.0002808	7.0777074	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0177894	0.0001316	135.2139528	< 0.001 ***
(27) Points of order	Female	-0.0054025	0.0002166	-24.9447457	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0345025	0.0000980	352.1646087	< 0.001 ***
(28) Issues	Female	0.0006780	0.0001716	3.9511379	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0131800	0.0000540	244.1589822	< 0.001 ***
(29) Constituencies	Female	0.0023276	0.0001069	21.7824341	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0085781	0.0000728	117.8578866	< 0.001 ***
(30) Ethnic groups & racism	Female	0.0019552	0.0001365	14.3196680	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0150304	0.0001578	95.2713075	< 0.001 ***
(31) Amendments	Female	-0.0028669	0.0002705	-10.5980156	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0169724	0.0001117	151.9867135	< 0.001 ***
(32) Reports	Female	0.0012779	0.0001865	6.8516021	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0377446	0.0001213	311.2792086	< 0.001 ***
(33) People	Female	-0.0014521	0.0002123	-6.8400753	< 0.001 ***



Table 12: Topic Estimates (*continued*)

		Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr(> t )
(34) Wales & Scotland	Intercept	0.0135410	0.0001549	87.4194387	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0031743	0.0002506	-12.6669967	< 0.001 ***
(35) Alcohol & tobacco	Intercept	0.0108579	0.0001486	73.0683773	< 0.001 ***
	Female	0.0005320	0.0002832	1.8786468	0.060
(36) Place names	Intercept	0.0083659	0.0000671	124.6776088	< 0.001 ***
	Female	0.0007972	0.0001241	6.4237856	< 0.001 ***
(37) Budget	Intercept	0.0246505	0.0001775	138.8996009	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0003435	0.0002961	-1.1599722	0.25
(38) Tax	Intercept	0.0193082	0.0001896	101.8596764	< 0.001 ***
	Female	0.0030544	0.0003310	9.2272811	< 0.001 ***
(39) Private companies	Intercept	0.0123871	0.0001199	103.3046194	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0009559	0.0002220	-4.3062780	< 0.001 ***
(40) Environment & fishing	Intercept	0.0094757	0.0001428	66.3605526	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0024801	0.0002435	-10.1854049	< 0.001 ***
(41) Crime	Intercept	0.0141387	0.0001700	83.1774783	< 0.001 ***
	Female	0.0052430	0.0003115	16.8290865	< 0.001 ***
(42) Bills	Intercept	0.0244386	0.0001508	162.0410131	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0012130	0.0002557	-4.7439287	< 0.001 ***
(43) Children	Intercept	0.0076822	0.0001213	63.3511535	< 0.001 ***
	Female	0.0094502	0.0002461	38.3935766	< 0.001 ***
(44) Utilities & PFI	Intercept	0.0123659	0.0000838	147.6006401	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0001325	0.0001597	-0.8294008	0.41
(45) Middle East	Intercept	0.0174606	0.0002080	83.9606437	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0020795	0.0003607	-5.7649929	< 0.001 ***
(46) Local authorities	Intercept	0.0179838	0.0001437	125.1849736	< 0.001 ***
	Female	0.0015586	0.0002836	5.4965933	< 0.001 ***
(47) Elections	Intercept	0.0181834	0.0001549	117.3877176	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0075879	0.0002715	-27.9430467	< 0.001 ***
(48) Debate	Intercept	0.0180191	0.0000681	264.6774024	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0018256	0.0001238	-14.7506463	< 0.001 ***
(49) Transport	Intercept	0.0163759	0.0001857	88.1991855	< 0.001 ***
	Female	-0.0002969	0.0003477	-0.8538425	0.39
(50) Questions	Intercept	0.0161647	0.0000757	213.4856091	< 0.001 ***
	Female	0.0001682	0.0001301	1.2927442	0.20
	Intercept	0.0101120	0.0001164	86.8890866	< 0.001 ***

Table 12: Topic Estimates (*continued*)

		Estimate	Standard Error	t value	Pr(> t )
(51) Families	Female	0.0044922	0.0002501	17.9608814	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0087873	0.0001603	54.8116345	< 0.001 ***
(52) Health research	Female	0.0050129	0.0002923	17.1518648	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0075482	0.0000252	299.9335737	< 0.001 ***
(53) Dispatch box	Female	-0.0010058	0.0000411	-24.4759297	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0248257	0.0001495	166.0099980	< 0.001 ***
(54) Parties	Female	-0.0062183	0.0002451	-25.3739370	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0211074	0.0000674	313.1127111	< 0.001 ***
(55) Statements	Female	-0.0025215	0.0001226	-20.5654157	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0163664	0.0001702	96.1683285	< 0.001 ***
(56) European Union	Female	-0.0044278	0.0002939	-15.0664007	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0100682	0.0001051	95.7956424	< 0.001 ***
(57) Locations	Female	-0.0008438	0.0001896	-4.4503909	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0176030	0.0001701	103.4783706	< 0.001 ***
(58) Jobs & manufacturing	Female	0.0002215	0.0003125	0.7086483	0.48
	Intercept	0.0070547	0.0000690	102.2200613	< 0.001 ***
(59) Small business	Female	-0.0000227	0.0001167	-0.1948699	0.85
	Intercept	0.0328354	0.0001082	303.3701317	< 0.001 ***
(60) Agreement & disagreement	Female	-0.0102158	0.0001823	-56.0338702	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0187326	0.0001134	165.1455528	< 0.001 ***
(61) Voluntary sector	Female	0.0075517	0.0002253	33.5146669	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0152785	0.0000587	260.3794919	< 0.001 ***
(62) Comments	Female	-0.0036504	0.0000997	-36.6196859	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0090888	0.0001324	68.6336761	< 0.001 ***
(63) Social care	Female	0.0080677	0.0002317	34.8179514	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0213910	0.0000681	314.0303987	< 0.001 ***
(64) Time	Female	-0.0017923	0.0001249	-14.3468017	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0121571	0.0001637	74.2672732	< 0.001 ***
(65) Media & animals	Female	-0.0030953	0.0002716	-11.3961506	< 0.001 ***
	Intercept	0.0038287	0.0000119	322.4905663	< 0.001 ***
(66) Other	Female	0.0002877	0.0000200	14.3849523	< 0.001 ***

## 5.2 Closeness in frequency for each topic

Using the frequency of a topic among male MPs as a baseline, there are 35 topics where the frequency among AWS MPs is proportionally closer, in absolute terms, than the frequency of the topic among female MPs. The inverse is true for the remaining 31 topics.

Relative to each other, there are 34 topics where the frequency between AWS and non-AWS MPs are closer to each other than either is to the topic frequency in male MPs. In 18 topics, the frequency between AWS and male MPs are the most similar, and in the remaining 14 topics the difference in frequency are smallest between non-AWS and male MPs. See Table 13 for details.

Table 13: Absolute Differences

Topic	Women Relative to Male MPs	Most Similar
(1) Employment & unions	Non-AWS more like male	Non-AWS more like male
(2) Legal system	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(3) Roads	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(4) Housing	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(5) Police, firefighters & prison	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(6) Northern Ireland	Non-AWS more like male	Non-AWS more like male
(7) Committee	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(8) Schools	Non-AWS more like male	Non-AWS more like male
(9) Energy & climate change	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(10) Defence	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(11) Parliament	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(12) International politics	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(13) Ministers	Non-AWS more like male	Non-AWS more like male
(14) Policy impact	Non-AWS more like male	Non-AWS more like male
(15) Gender	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(16) Regional development	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(17) Communications	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(18) Immigration	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(19) Health system	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(20) International development	Non-AWS more like male	Non-AWS more like male
(21) Benefits & disability	Non-AWS more like male	Non-AWS more like male
(22) Sport & culture	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(23) History	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(24) Higher education & skills	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(25) Concurring point	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(26) Pensions	Non-AWS more like male	Non-AWS more like male
(27) Points of order	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(28) Issues	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(29) Constituencies	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(30) Ethnic groups & racism	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(31) Amendments	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(32) Reports	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(33) People	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(34) Wales & Scotland	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(35) Alcohol & tobacco	Non-AWS more like male	Non-AWS more like male
(36) Place names	Non-AWS more like male	Non-AWS more like male
(37) Budget	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(38) Tax	Non-AWS more like male	Non-AWS more like male
(39) Private companies	Non-AWS more like male	Non-AWS more like male
(40) Environment & fishing	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(41) Crime	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(42) Bills	Non-AWS more like male	Non-AWS more like male

Table 13: Absolute Differences (*continued*)

Topic	Women Relative to Male MPs	Most Similar
(43) Children	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(44) Utilities & PFI	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(45) Middle East	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(46) Local authorities	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(47) Elections	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(48) Debate	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(49) Transport	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(50) Questions	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(51) Families	Non-AWS more like male	Non-AWS more like male
(52) Health research	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(53) Dispatch box	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(54) Parties	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(55) Statements	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(56) European Union	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(57) Locations	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(58) Jobs & manufacturing	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(59) Small business	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(60) Agreement & disagreement	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(61) Voluntary sector	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(62) Comments	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(63) Social care	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(64) Time	AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other
(65) Media & animals	AWS more like male	AWS more like male
(66) Other	Non-AWS more like male	Women more similar to each other

### 5.3 $\theta$ distribution

Figure 17 shows the distribution of  $\theta$  scores used to assign overall topics to individual speeches in Table 10, per topic.

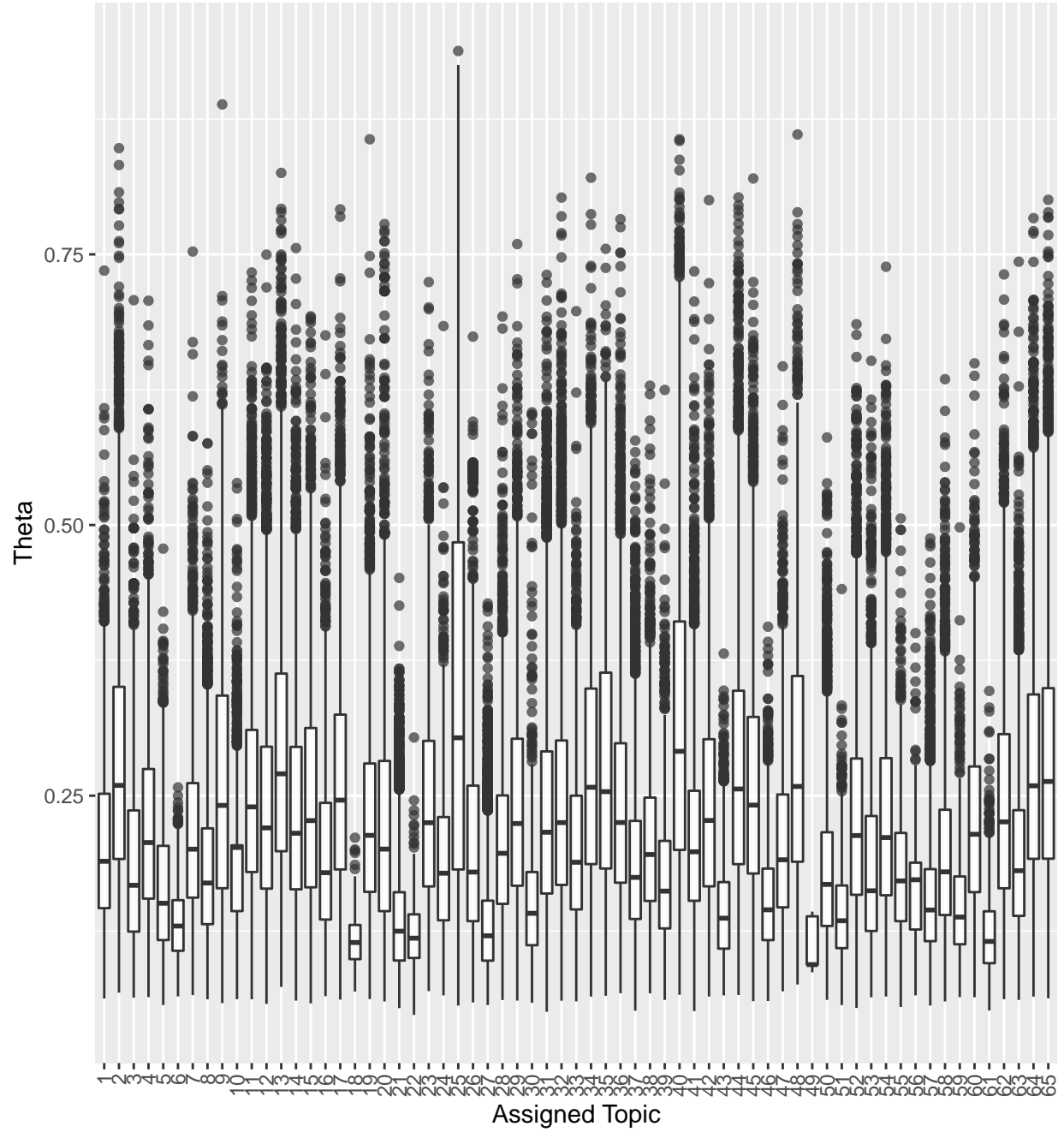


Figure 17: Theta Values in Topic Assignment

#### 5.4 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 14: 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,
150 per cent. two years ago.	my constituents	if such banking
Another of	my constituency	has advised me of an application
already begun, for example just	my constituency	for an 85 per
over the border from	my constituency	in the constituency of my hon.
in which Cornish children study.	my constituency	Friend the Member
Three secondary schools in	my constituents	will be located on the same site,
Manchester has been doing a	my constituents	and one
major infrastructure project, and	my constituency	are at the end of their tether
patient at the BRI, and Airedale	my constituency	about the lack
hospital is in	my constituency	. The hon. Member for South
, but the reality is there to be	my constituency	Cambridgeshire Mr.
seen in	my constituency	. On Saturday I met a delegation
to use their abilities and develop	my constituency	of workers from
their talents. In	my constituency	, 366 young people who have
I believe that the most effective	my constituency	been unemployed for more
electoral registration officer in	my constituents	is mum. It is mum who fills in
can arise from defective gas	my constituents	the
appliances, because two of	my constituency	, young students in their 20s,
£ 3.6 million. Some 9% of people	my constituency	died from carbon
in	my constituency	are hard-working, entrepreneurial
my right hon. Friend	my constituency	self-employed people, and today
congratulate Alder car community	my constituents	is
school in	my constituents	and its staff and pupils? The
", One particular concern for	my constituency	percentage of pupils
many of	my constituency	is bus fares. As I have said, my
, Jobs and employment are the	my constituency	and the latest figures now show
biggest issue in	my constituency	that just under 2,000
otherwise reach. The Psychiatric	my constituency	and was set up in 1959-it is no
Rehabilitation Association is	my constituents	coincidence that
based in	my constituents	who are struggling with debt and
financial inclusion fund. Where	my constituents	excessive and escalating charges
would the Minister suggest that	my constituents	and the country will never forgive
and without the full participation	my constituency	them.
of the British people,	my constituents	. It contains a large outdoor
. There is an additional problem	my constituents	venue called the National
that is relevant to	My constituency	' view, favour the administration
if they continue to propose new	My constituency	of the hospital or
services that, in	my constituency	and the town in which it is
in red tape. That will be a	my constituency	situated has a
turn-off.	my constituency	, she will know that many of my
With my right hon. Friend's local	my constituency's	constituents are
knowledge of	my constituents	local hospital, St Helier. Most of
", to close a wide range of services	my constituents	the controversy
at	my constituents	in Ashton-under-Lyne, Droylsden
I am extremely worried for	my constituents	and Failsworth, and for people
One of the shortlisted sites is at	my constituents	, and that would produce 1,000
Barnard Castle in	my constituents	jobs.

Table 14: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
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 Buckingham John
A director of Sirus 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	my constituency	. That is the sort of school that Labour Members
representative of		
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
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

Table 14: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
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	. , In February I visited
", 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?
ask my hon. Friend to offer an undertaking to	my constituents	She 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 state
in child benefit, which will help 13,800 families in	my constituency	. My real reason for tabling the question is to
Finchley and Golders Green Mike 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. However, Nene college in	my constituency	Manchester is hopes to change all that, and I support strongly
Enforcement Campaign-in Cardiff, and particularly to the work of	my constituent	, Professor John Shepherd, who works in the dental
and assets than non-disabled people. In London, where	my constituency	and the constituency of my hon. Friend the Member
in particular from the circumstances of students in	My constituency	contains both a higher education and a further education college
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. , 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
they complain? Where will the local accountability go?	My constituents	very much value the highly accessible local service that they
", Since helping the Jarrow marchers,	my constituency	has continued to welcome people from throughout the UK,
and not-for-profit groups, of which there are many in	my constituency	, doing immensely valuable work. They all too often
as soon as possible. Indeed, for some of	my constituents	, reform is already coming too late.



Table 14: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
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 and offer the apology that	my constituent	deserves.
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	. , 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. One example from	my constituency	concerns a community hydro project in Saddleworth that might not
hon. Friend for that reply, but most of	my constituents	probably do not know what a low carbon transition plan
has provided opportunities where there were none before. In	my constituency	, there have been far more opportunities in the past
to find examples of such practices. Another case in	my constituency	, with which I am dealing, involves elderly victims
. , The credit union in	my constituency	is fragile, because it serves an area in which
certainly applies to me because the acute trust that covers	my constituents	, who desperately need care, has the mother and
reveal a trend, and I see it happening in	my constituency	. It is a demonstrable fact that the polarisation between
	My constituent	, John Warren, has specifically asked me to raise

Table 14: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
, Bridges Project in Musselburgh in	my constituency	does a brilliant job in supporting young people. A
Spowart, a small firm of legal aid solicitors in	my constituency	. Solicitors at the firm are paid generally between £
, both as a national concern and as it affects	my constituency	. I am grateful to my hon. Friend for
, nor, sadly, are far too many of	my constituents	.
	My constituents	in Hull are baffled by the Government's approach. At
issue and go after these criminals who are preying on	my constituents	?
even begin for another 12 months.	my constituency	should not have to spend another year on the dole
Young people in	my constituency	, several schools run summer programmes funded through the pupil
with the nutrition they need outside term time. In	my constituency	, sadly, know to their cost.
takes umbrage at being forced to do repairs-as some of	my constituents	
", I recently visited a care home in	my constituency	that is provided by a small charity and is rated
House and members of the armed forces, such as	my constituent	, 19-year-old Private James Kenny of C company, 3rd
as out to Kent. There are seven stations in	my constituency	: Hither Green, Blackheath, Lee, Grove Park
Can my right hon. Friend give any assurance to	my constituent	, Mr. Peter Dyson, who has written to
Commons Library to conduct an analysis of the impact in	my constituency	. I discovered that 4,300 women and 3,800 men would
100 days of the new Parliament?	my constituency	are struggling significantly and would undoubtedly welcome a period of
Many businesses in		
in 1992, as the Member for Woolwich, before	my constituency	was formed for the 1997 election. John Austin is
were building up and seemed to take action only once	my constituents	had suffered a very high level of nuisance and there
that further education institutions, such as Blackburn College in	my constituency	, will not receive a real-terms funding cut as a
", On a more serious note,	my constituency	is home to manufacturers varying from Corus to Cadbury,
costs and cuts to working tax credits, families in	my constituency	will be worse off. I will not vote in
be warm. It paid for basics like that in	my constituency	. I will not revisit the pain of tuition fees
is a national issue. The 900 steel workers in	my constituency	whose jobs are on the line expect him to guarantee
to begin by speaking about the NHS as experienced by	my constituents	. Getting an appointment to see a GP can be
I was struck by what one of	my constituents	said last weekend, which was that the attacks that
", On 18 February, Llandudno in	my constituency	hosted the first North Wales criminal justice board conference.

Table 14: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
my hon. Friend foresee for the young people in busways and widen the M1. Is he aware that " Last week, I hosted a jobs fair in	my constituency my constituency my constituency	if they are to suffer possible cuts alongside that idiosyncratic will have the new Translink guided busway by 2008 due , as have many hon. Members on both sides want to know where we are going and what the , which is due to open in January, and
in the south-east will be dealt with in Parliament? him to visit the brand-new children's centre in Elland in realities for people affected by this situation. One of the past few days. When the problems started in those branches, in Catford and Blackheath, are in	My constituents my constituency my constituents my constituency my constituency My constituent	is stuck out in Saudi Arabia. His work has on Monday night, we saw copycat criminality, mindless and two others, in Lewisham and Greenwich, are , Richard Belmar, has now spent nearly three years . I fully accept many of my hon. Friend's
Postwatch because I am unhappy about the consultation process in area of Keighley last Friday and talking to many of of the major issues raised with me by carers in that the voucher company Farepak, which is based in scientific reports recommend restricted phone use by younger children. . Mullin). This is a big issue in	my constituency my constituents my constituency my constituency My constituents my constituency	and taking on board many of their anxieties. On . We must take such issues on board.\n, collapsed this week, robbing thousands of people on do not believe that such recommendations tally with the telecommunications , where inappropriate development on garden sites is taking place
scrutiny process, but it is impossible for me, ", At the time, I was consulting	my constituents my constituents	or councillors of any party not involved in that enterprise about their attitudes to crime and antisocial behaviour, and is served by two hospitals: Dewsbury and District hospital and firefighters that those latest cuts will not jeopardise or has lost funding and can no longer employ its part-time
you prove it? ,	My constituency	. Will the hon. Gentleman concede that the Government's are likely to do. Finally, the local authority has been exactly the same as that of my right , and I want to ensure that the skills base . , In last year's debate
% reduction. What reassurances can the Minister give to . , Horwich visiting service in	my constituents my constituency	
I have spoken to many businesses in prevent businesses from going into administration, as many in I do not know whether my experience in ? , Many SMEs operate in	my constituency my constituency my constituency my constituency	
that population live in Salford, the local authority for	my constituency	

Table 14: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
It is an issue that has been simmering away in of the parenting lessons that go on in schools in a distraught couple who run a hedgehog rescue centre in people to think that that was the total sum of transparency about the impact. ,	my constituency my constituency my constituency my constituency My constituents	and recently the rumours have turned to reality as the to great effect. The hon. Gentleman ignores those . They are currently nursing back to health a hedgehog . It is an extremely nice place to spend Christmas are also anxious about the Government's proposals to allow fracking
some of its provisions will have on vulnerable people in key elements of creative business growth. Creative businesses in In Pembrokeshire we have two oil refineries, one in thank the Minister for his reply. Head teachers in the work of local authorities in my area. In	my constituency my constituency my constituency my constituency my constituency	. , I shall first raise  and in a large area to the west of London . They were both affected by the blockades in September are concerned that Government have still not come forward with , there are no high profile arts venues that hit
many of the early asbestosis claims from Hebden Bridge in job first.\ , that is not regulated properly, with the result that a picture of the winning design, but people in hour. I have written to all the headteachers in this debate falls on an anniversary well worth remembering for people of the east end, including the people of I recently visited Bishop Barrington school in the extent of the disruption and the problems caused for increase in the number of new homes being built in junior doctors who are the problem, but him?	my constituency My constituency my constituents my constituency my constituency my constituents my constituency my constituency my constituents my constituency My constituents-hundreds	might not have succeeded under the proposed 75 per cent is pronounced\ Erreywash\ , not\ , who have small sums of money available to invest have seen many pictures before. I want work to over the last few weeks, and they tell me . It is 20 years to the month that post-war
, , I do not think about to be built in Walkden in the centre of	my constituents my constituency	, talk to me about how excited they still are , which has got a new science lab and sports ? I would be happy to do that.\
is higher, and the dole queue is lengthening. " I am fortunate in having a research centre in	My constituents my constituency	over the past 10 years or so. For the of whom have written to me-overwhelmingly feel that he has knew whether to laugh or cry. . The new local improvement finance trust-LIFT-centre will include GP are only too well aware of the exploitative practices of at the university of Durham, which concentrates on enabling

Table 14: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
is talking about the wrong hospital, which many of of the Land Registry would be bad not just for	my constituents my constituents	will find most amusing. 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. , 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	my constituents	still face the prospect of seriously
campaign. But for now, from and bugbear for my	my constituents	downgraded services at their and their families, I very much
constituents. On behalf of "	my constituency-or	look forward to they could have looked at jobs
hard-pressed hauliers in		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	my constituency	. Walsall faces the closure of its HMRC office,
closure of the offices is having a direct impact on		: for many years, they have felt marginalised and
. , Frustration is evident among	my constituents	
, 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	. , We have dealt a
single parents in the country-I will return to that point-and	my constituents	think that the measure is unfair.
should not come back from our holidays to find that	my constituents	How people in
their area; I fully intend to do so	my constituency	, and those of my neighbours, have lost their
in		. , 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.
put a human face on many of the difficulties that	my constituents	Members were affected experience. , 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

Table 14: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
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	my constituency	have been particularly badly hit,
2006. Young people in	my constituency	with a 288%
police get back to strength to	my constituency	of Mitcham and Morden?
defend the people in	my constituency	in the past 10 days as a series of
to address have been influenced	my constituency	incidents
by what has happened in	my constituency	? They took the case to court
, including those of Allied Steel	my constituency	through the unions
and Wire's pensioners in	my constituency	, the Tories will have to make
Indeed, it is a stealth cut. In	my constituency	stealth cuts such
communities across the UK. I	my constituents	. I understand that when a
understand the concerns of	my constituency	family from a different
a vested interest in ensuring the	my constituency	, which in the past has been a
safety and security of	my constituency	military target
infrastructure project is a	my constituency	in particular. Will the Minister
massive economic opportunity for	my constituency	assure the House that
Wales and	my constituency	. Before the last election, the
Nottingham that stands to lose	my constituency	Meadows, one
most is the Meadows in	my constituents	who are trade union members in
am here this afternoon	my constituents	Parliament, as they
specifically to represent the	my constituency	exemplifies. As I have already
concerns of	my constituents	said, I represent
. Nothing could be further from	my constituents	, by the constituents of my hon.
the truth, as	my constituent's	Friends and-I
making are the very ones that	my constituent's	comments so that Ministers
have been made by	my constituent's	understand the worry and
, but wanted to take the	my constituent's	concern.
opportunity to read out	my constituency	? She was due to speak at a
firm of Hickman and Rose, which	my constituency	conference organised
is based in	my constituent	Grace Ryder, aged 9, who was
Majesty's Opposition. That	my constituency	recently diagnosed
public money could be used for	my constituency	. , These are ideologically driven
changes that will affect 650	my constituency	. , The Bill establishes a
families and 1,500 children in	My constituent	, the wonderful campaigner Marie
deal more about the birdlife in	My constituent	Lyons, has doggedly pursued
both estuaries that surround	My constituent	were told that that was their
\ vote for their Muslim brother\ .	My constituents	religious duty. When
. It will bring huge benefits to	my constituency	who are on low or not very
many families in	my constituency	generous incomes.
anywhere. , The diversity of	my constituency	is one of the reasons why it is the
c The NHS in	my constituency	best
invited my right hon. and	my constituents	has moved beyond special
learned Friend to meet	my constituents	measures into the success regime.
		to hear what they think about
		our local NHS.

Table 14: A random sample of KWIC's (*continued*)

Pre	Keyword	Post
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 first home. There are so many young people in	my constituent	and me advice on whether the notional sum tied up
There are also problems for low-income families, such as term. I know from the experience	my constituency	who see homes priced out of their reach and for
of businesses in	my constituent	on Colleymoor Leys lane who says:
that he needs those, but he failed to tell	my constituency	and in the surrounding west midlands area that New Street
average, which show that over a fifth-22% in	my constituents	watching yesterday that a 1p cut in duty will not
	my constituency-of	people who resort to food banks for an emergency food

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