

**An MP who looks like you?**

*Intersections of gender and ethnicity in the representational relationship between citizens and politicians*

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## **Abstract**

*In which instances and how do intersections of gender and ethnicity shape the expectations and experiences of representation among individual citizens? In other words, how much does it matter to have an MP who looks like you and in which instances and how do citizens feel represented? I will test this with original survey experiments across the Netherlands, Germany and France.*

*Representational relationships are not simple and linear: I do not assume that Dutch, German or French Turkish citizens will feel represented when there are enough parliamentarians of Turkish descent. While I emphasize that expectations and experiences of representation are shaped by identities, I move beyond the assumption that identities are tidy, top-down categories. I analyze identities from a bottom-up perspective and consider them to be mutually reinforcing, varying in degrees of membership and influenced by group status. I will oversample ethnic minority citizens in each of the three countries, thus enabling a quadruple comparative design: not only are countries compared, but ethnic groups are also compared to each other, to the majority group and differences within ethnic groups are uncovered through this design. Intersections of gender and ethnicity shape evaluations of representatives and thus political equality and democracy. Despite the fact that our societies are diverse, our politics are far from equal. We need this data to help understand and overcome this.*

## Introduction

In November 2014 the commercial research agency Motivaction published a report which seemed to show that 90% of Turkish youngsters in the Netherlands think that people who go to Syria to support Islamic State are heroes (Motivaction, 2014, p. 11) and that 80% think that violence is justified (Motivaction, 2014, p. 10). The former Minister of Social Affairs for the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA), Lodewijk Asscher, had commissioned the research to be done and ‘conveniently’ (VPRO, 2015) published just a day before an important debate on integration. Two Dutch Turkish members of parliament of the PvdA, Tunahan Kuzu and Selçuk Özturk, didn’t accept the results and were subsequently expelled from the PvdA, but kept their seats in Parliament. They announced that they would stay in Parliament ‘until the very end’ for ‘all the people who do not *feel* represented’ (Volkskrant, 2014, italics mine)<sup>1</sup>.

Kuzu and Özturk formed a new political party called DENK<sup>2</sup>. They won three seats in Parliament in the 2017 parliamentary elections (Kiesraad, 2017) and established a considerable presence in many cities in the 2018 municipal elections (NOS, 2018) as well. In interviews in the media their voters and candidates often underline they do not feel ‘represented’ (e.g. NRC, 2018; Parool, 2018; Telegraaf, 2016; Volkskrant, 2017).

One could, however, argue, that despite not *feeling* represented, people from a Turkish or a Moroccan background are in fact *being* represented in parliament. There is a higher percentage of politicians with a Turkish or a Moroccan background in the Dutch parliament than there are in the population (Kiesraad, 2017; CBS, 2016)<sup>3</sup>. Apparently, representation is not as straightforward as it seems. If citizens say they are not being represented, then there is no representation taking place (Saward, 2010). Is it then misrepresentation?

This notion of misrepresentation is not a Dutch peculiarity. Ethnic minority European citizens outside of the Netherlands have voiced the need for a party like DENK in their countries as well (Akachar, 2018, p. 191) and wonder ‘[w]hat good does it do that there are people like us in parliament if they fail to represent us?’ (Akachar, 2018, p. 202). Moreover, 75% of ethnic minorities across Europe agree ‘we need more immigrant members of parliament’, 87,4% agreeing that they

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<sup>1</sup> Since this incident, the research by Motivaction was placed under great scrutiny, repeated by the SCP, but without the results being replicated and subsequently retracted (Huijnk, Dagevos, Gijssberts, & Andriessen, 2015).

<sup>2</sup> DENK means *equality* in Turkish and *think* in Dutch.

<sup>3</sup> In comparison, despite being a sizeable portion of society, there is not a single representative in the Dutch parliament with a Surinamese or Antillean background (Mügge & Van Stigt, 2017). Therefore, in this group the feeling of representation is likely to be even more distant.

would be 'better underst[ood]' and 83,5% agreeing they would be 'better represented' if there were more MPs with their immigrant background (Thomas Huddleston & Tjaden, 2012). There is thus a clear need to study the representation of ethnic minority citizens.

Do citizens who have more in common with politicians evaluate these politicians more positively? I am going to study more closely how citizens evaluate politicians who do (or do not) look like them in terms of gender and ethnicity. Because, in the end, the way people evaluate the politicians who are claimed to represent them is firmly anchored in the inner workings of our representative democracy (Dahl, 2000, pp. 192–195). Such evaluations, in turn, influence legitimacy (Craig, Martinez, Gainous, & Kane, 2006; Schwindt-Bayer & Mishler, 2005), democratic trust (Hakhverdian & Mayne, 2012; Mishler & Rose, 2001) and external efficacy and perceived responsiveness (Esaiasson, Kölln, & Turper, 2015). Since the evaluations of politicians by citizens matter so much to our democracy, we need to get straight to what extent these are shaped by the intersections of gender and ethnicity.

I will not only study the extent to which citizen/politician-similarities matter, but I will treat the concept of identity with renewed sensitivity and rigour using quantitative methods. Because, '[i]n the end, numbers are indispensable for any political actor to address inequality' (Celis & Mügge, 2018, p. 210). I will do this with original survey experiments<sup>4</sup> across three countries: the Netherlands, Germany and France. In each country, I will oversample specific groups of ethnic minority citizens in order to have the statistical power to study the differences not only between groups but also within groups. In doing so, I employ a quadruple comparative design: not only are three countries compared, ethnic minorities within those countries are compared to each other and to ethnic majorities. Moreover, thanks to oversampling ethnic minority groups, within-group differences can also be compared.

In this paper, I first review three fields of literature. The field of representation studies informs the relationship between having the same gender and ethnicity as an MP and how this MP is evaluated (Pitkin, 1967), which underlines the urgency to give the identity of the represented more attention than scholars have done so far (Saward, 2010). Although looking like your assumed representative has often been understood to be fulfilled when all the identity boxes are ticked,

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<sup>4</sup> Although I believe a mixed-methods approach to this question from the perspective from the citizens is the most fruitful, I will research this question quantitatively. A yet to be hired post-doctoral researcher will research this question qualitatively through focus-group discussions, thus complementing my research with qualitative findings. In addition, the principal investigator of this project, Dr. Mügge, will study representation from the perspective of the politician. Together, these three strands of research complement each other and will bring forward new ideas and understanding as envisioned in the vidi-proposal granted by the NWO (Mügge, 2017).

intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) offers ways to understand that the various identity categories a citizen belongs to (1) influence each other and (2) are susceptible to various degrees of membership (Hancock, 2007). Moreover, identity categories are not only shaped by cognitive connectedness (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) but also by group status (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

I then connect the field of representation, intersectionality and identity with the increasingly popular method of hypothetical conjoint experiments (Hainmueller, Hopkins, & Yamamoto, 2014). I offer innovative solutions to the limitations of this method and propose new ways to research how identities shape the evaluations of representation. I then go on to conceptualize gender as a non-binary and societally constructed concept and I conceptualize ethnicity as an umbrella term consisting of race, religion and immigrant background. Together, this leads to my two main hypotheses: the co-identities hypothesis and the complex-identities hypothesis. Then, I operationalize these conjectures by studying citizen evaluations of MPs in the Netherlands, Germany and France among the largest ethnic groups of these countries. I reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of experimental designs and propose ways to make the best out of both. I then turn to operationalizing the independent, dependent and moderating variables. After my conclusion, I propose a time table and a table of contents for my dissertation.

I seek to make the following contributions. First, I will make theoretical advancements placing the relationship between identity and evaluations as the central focus in research on representation. Second, empirical advances are made through the generation of original data with survey experiments amongst the largest ethnic groups across the Netherlands, Germany and France. Third, methodological advances will be made through the validation of hypothetical politician experiments by means of surveys of evaluations of real world politicians. Fourth, I seek to contribute to discussions in society on diversity, equality and politics with quantitative data on questions many assume to know the answers to. Indeed, '[c]ontemporary societies are diverse and far from equal. It is time to get these numbers right' (Celis & Mügge, 2018, p. 210).

## **Theoretical framework**

Once again, I wonder, do citizens evaluate politicians with whom they share identity attributes more positively? From the focus of the representation literature I will review, this causal conjecture is conceived of as a relationship between descriptive and symbolic representation (Pitkin, 1967) and to study this I am going to focus on the identity of citizens (Saward, 2010). Identity categories are, however, anything but neat boxes but are intersectional (Crenshaw, 1989) and have fuzzy

boundaries (Hancock, 2007). Moreover, identity formation is a process which is not only formed by the degree to which one identifies with multiple categories, but also by the group status of these categories (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Prototypicality, permeability and overt signals (Huddy, 2001) also need to be taken into consideration to understand how identities are formed. I build upon the field of hypothetical conjoint experiments (Hainmueller et al., 2014) and offer improvements to this method. Lastly, I will conceptualize both gender and ethnicity. Every field of study contributes to the main question: *In which instances and how do intersections of gender and ethnicity shape the expectations and experiences of representation among individual citizens?*

## **Representation**

To start answering to what extent it matters whether citizen and politician look the same, I need to delve into the literature on representation. Pitkin's seminal book *The Concept of Representation*, conceptualizes representation using four dimensions. First, *formalistic* representation consists of the 'authorization' (Pitkin, 1967, p. 51) and 'accountability' (Pitkin, 1967, p. 57) that representation begins and usually also ends with. Second, *descriptive* representation is about 'being sufficiently like' (Pitkin, 1967, p. 81) those who are being represented. Third is the dimension this project will pay the most attention to, *symbolic* representation, which is a 'state of mind, the condition of satisfaction or belief' (Pitkin, 1967, p. 106) and includes the question whether 'the representative [is] believed in' (Pitkin, 1967, p. 102). Fourth, *substantive* representation has to do with the 'activity, to speak for, act for, look after the interests of their respective groups' (Pitkin, 1967, p. 116). When it comes to the example of DENK, one could argue that descriptive representation is not the problem and that substantive representation is not in question either. However, symbolic representation is a problem. Is the representative 'believed in' (Pitkin, 1967, p. 102)?

Nevertheless, descriptive and substantive representation have received the most scholarly attention and form the basis of two schools of thought within the literature. The first dominant school of thought postulates that descriptive representation leads to substantive representation (Mansbridge, 1999; Phillips, 1995; Williams, 2000; Young, 2000). Phillips is the most distinctive author of this school of thought as she identifies four arguments for increasing the *presence* of women in politics. Besides role models, justice and how 'their presence will enhance the quality of political life', she also gives a salient argument that is relevant to this discussion: the presence of women will enhance the visibility of 'particular interests of women that would be otherwise overlooked' (Phillips, 1995, pp. 62–63); in this way, she argues, descriptive representation will lead

to substantive representation. Thus, it seems to me that symbolic representation is what is missing in this analysis.

Young also emphasizes the importance of descriptive representation. However, she approaches the issue from a more individual perspective, highlighting the communicational relationship between voter and representative through 'affirmative uses of rhetoric' (Young, 2000, p. 57) to the resultant creation of 'narratives and situated knowledges' (Young, 2000, p. 70). In stressing the importance of communication, she connects representative and the represented and argues that being similarly positioned in society creates a shared social perspective among group members. In my view, contrary to Phillips, Young's argumentation for descriptive representation does not logically lead to substantive representation. There needs to be an intermediate step of symbolic representation. Communication, narratives and shared social perspectives are reminiscent of the 'state of mind' (Pitkin, 1967, p. 106) that is needed to reach symbolic representation.

Moreover, Mansbridge proposes that substantive representation is not necessarily the goal of descriptive representation. Through descriptive representation, 'social meaning and de facto legitimacy' (Mansbridge, 1999, p. 648) are also constructed. Once again, this highlights the importance of symbolic representation as an intermediate step.

The second school of thought postulates that descriptive representation does not necessarily lead to substantive representation (Dahlerup, 1988; Dovi, 2002; Weldon, 2002). Dahlerup's position within this school of thought has been understood to be somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, she introduced the notion of a 'critical mass' of women to the scientific debate as being necessary to have women's voices translate into policy. On the other hand, she explicitly separates descriptive from substantive representation as two separate occurrences when she suggests that a 'critical mass' does not necessarily lead to 'critical acts' (Dahlerup, 1988). Again, I wonder whether there isn't a step missing in between the two: what about a critical belief, the belief of being represented? Thus I see symbolic representation as the missing link between descriptive and substantive representation.

Dovi also sees notions that can be understood as symbolic representation as the missing link between descriptive and substantive representation. She introduces the notion of 'preferable descriptive representatives' who do not necessarily have certain inborn characteristics, but do have 'strong mutual relationships with dispossessed subgroups' (Dovi, 2002, p. 735) which, I believe, can only be present when 'the representative [is] believed in' (Pitkin, 1967, p. 102) and there is a 'dynamic relationship' (Saward, 2010, p. 298). Not only does the representative recognize him- or

herself as part of a historically dispossessed subgroup, this subgroup also recognizes the specific representative as such and both parties have ‘a common understanding of the proper aims’ (Dovi, 2002, p. 736) that should be pursued. Under these conditions, descriptive representation can lead to substantive representation. I emphasize that these conditions are reminiscent of symbolic representation. Once again, symbolic representation is the missing link.

For Weldon, the symbolic representation of a collective group by an individual representative is almost always impossible due to the ‘relatively limited experience’ (Weldon, 2002, p. 1156) an *individual* person can have. In other words, an individual representative can hardly ever be ‘believed’ (Pitkin, 1967, p. 102) because of their inherent partiality. Through her empirical analysis of policy responsiveness to violence against women across 36 countries, Weldon concludes that descriptive representation of women *by itself* is not the most important source of women-friendly policy; On the contrary, her analysis highlights the fact that consultation of women’s movement bureaus make more of a difference in influencing policy than the mere presence of female legislators. Thus, Weldon highlights representation as an active process of construction, something that is made by humans and not a natural given. This is how more recent readings (Saward, 2010) of symbolic representation have also been understood.

Whilst the divide between descriptive and substantive representation was being debated by the scholars within the two schools of thought, Pitkin’s notion of symbolic representation (Pitkin, 1967, pp. 96–111) was being left largely unexplored. Recently, the ‘constructivist turn’ (Disch, 2015) has changed this rapidly. Saward refocused on Pitkin’s symbolic representation, ‘build[ing] both on and away from [Pitkin]’ (Saward, 2010, p. 16) and coined the term ‘representative claim’. Within this claims-making approach, Saward questions whether representation is a ‘given, factual product of elections’<sup>5</sup> as opposed to a ‘claim about a dynamic relationship’ (Saward, 2010, p. 298). This ‘relationship’ can not only be studied from the perspective of the politician and therefore we need to direct our focus to citizens<sup>6</sup> by moving away from ‘the common practice of counting bodies and ideas’ (Celis & Mügge, 2018, p. 210) and zooming in on the *identity* (Saward, 2010, p. 16) of citizens instead.

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<sup>5</sup> Because representation is not necessarily a ‘given, factual product of elections’ (Saward, 2010, p. 298), a representative and a represented are merely assumed to exist. Therefore, I will not refer to these actors in these terms but will refer to them as citizens and politicians. Whether they are representatives or represented is established through a process of active construction of claims making and is therefore what is in question.

<sup>6</sup> In this project I consciously use the word citizen instead of voter because this project shifts from research on voting behavior and elections to research on representation. I also consciously use the word citizen instead of immigrant because in most cases it is incorrect to continue to frame citizens with a (family) background in migration as immigrants as portrayed by high degrees of embeddedness in the societies we all live in together.



**Figure 1:** Does descriptive representation influence symbolic representation?



## Intersectionality

Too often, descriptive representation is assumed to refer to simple boxed categories. For example, women are descriptively represented by women and blacks are descriptively represented by blacks (Mansbridge, 1999). Intersectionality doesn't reject, but complicates these categories by underlining the importance of understanding identity categories as 'mutually reinforcing' (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1283) and prone to fuzzy-set logic (Hancock, 2007).

The term intersectionality was coined by law scholar Kimberlee Crenshaw (Crenshaw, 1989) in analyzing law suits filed by black women who had been discriminated against on the basis of both their race and their gender. The concept developed far beyond law into social science, the humanities and activism (Brah & Phoenix, 2004; Choo & Ferree, n.d.; Collins & Bilge, 2016; Emirbayer, 1997; Yuval-Davis, 2007) and is understood by many of the researchers who use the term as both a political project and a research paradigm (Liza Mügge, Montoya, Emejulu, & Weldon, 2018). 'Identity categories' such as 'Race, class, gender, sexuality, age, disability, ethnicity, nation, and religion, among others...'<sup>7</sup> (Collins & Bilge, 2016, pp. 26–27) are 'more than the sum of mutually exclusive parts' (Hancock, 2007, p. 65). Intersectionality thus creates a rich theoretical ground to understand the dynamics between identity categories.

Often, identity categories are understood as straightforward bounded entities. However, this 'essentialist and primordial usage of categories' (Celis & Mügge, 2018, p. 209) has often been criticized. Within gender studies, Butler has rejected categories altogether as being 'phantasmatic' and leading to the 'exclusion of some part[s] of the constituency that it simultaneously seeks to represent' (Butler, 1999, p. 181). Instead, Butler develops the notion of 'performativity' to explain how categories persist (Butler, 1999, p. 163). Saward cites and builds upon Butler by underlining that 'representing is performing' (Saward, 2010, p. 302).

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<sup>7</sup> I follow a broad reading of intersectionality in which whiteness, masculinity and heterosexuality also intersect to complicate and nuance not only marginalized identities but also dominant ones, in line with Carbado (Carbado, 2013).

Likewise, within ethnicity studies, it has been well established that *ethnic* groups are not bounded entities to which people naturally belong, but are rather *social constructions* that emerge from continuous social interactions *between* minority and majority groups and *within* minority and majority groups themselves. Some scholars reason that the concept of race and ethnicity should, therefore, be abandoned (Lewontin, 1995). Indeed, by emphasizing that group formation is an activity that needs to be undertaken in order for the group to form, both in the minds of representatives and the represented, one corrects for misconceptions of minority groups as helpless victims of majority discrimination (Brubaker, Feischmidt, Fox & Grancea, 2006). However, the emphasis on avoiding essentialism and stipulating that identities are social constructions has been termed ‘rabid deconstructionism’ (Anthias, 2008, p. 6) and has the downside that it ‘leaves us without a rationale for talking about “identities” at all and ill-equipped to examine the “hard” dynamics and essentialist claims of contemporary identity politics’ (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 1). In sum, even though categories might not be real, they are ‘real in their consequences’ (Thomas & Thomas 1928 as cited in Merton, 1995).

Similarly, within intersectionality categories are certainly not rejected, despite the emphasis ‘that different dimensions of social life cannot be separated into discrete and pure strands’ (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, p. 76). The notion of categories is, however, questioned and complicated. Identity categories are not simple unitary boxes in which groups of people can be categorized. However, identity categories should be seen as a complex web of mutually reinforcing degrees of identities and contexts (Anthias, 2008, p. 6), in combinations and degrees that might only exist within one individual person. Indeed, ‘people’s lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race or gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other’ (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 2). Thus, intersectionality and social constructivism are not diametrically opposed but orthogonal to each other.

Saward’s work is in no way entrenched in the field of intersectionality. His notions that ‘all representation is partial and incomplete’ (Saward, 2010, p. 140) and that representation should be seen ‘in its cultural contexts’ (Saward, 2010, p. 306) merely touch upon the existence of multiple ‘mutually reinforcing’ (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1283) ‘identity categories’ (Collins & Bilge, 2016) that interact with their context. Nevertheless, current qualitative empirical studies building upon the ‘constructivist turn’ (Disch, 2015) brought on by Saward use intersectionality extensively (Brown, 2014; Celis, Erzeel, Mügge, & Damstra, 2014; Celis & Mügge, 2018; Erzeel & Mügge, 2016; Severs,

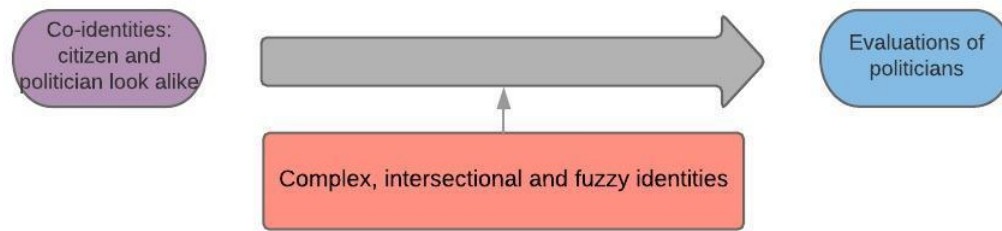
2010). Saward might not employ the term intersectionality, yet the scholars that use his work do, a lot.

However, quantitative studies of intersectionality have not yet been taken up as widely as qualitative studies (notable exceptions being Codiroli McMaster & Cook, 2018; Hughes, 2013; Schwindt-Bayer & Mishler, 2005) let alone with regard to representatives (exceptions are Hughes, 2013; Kao & Benstead, 2017) in Europe (except Hughes, 2016). All of these, however, focus on the perspective of the assumed representative. 'Revers[ing] the ... telescope' (Liza Mügge, 2017, p. 1) has not yet taken place in a quantitative way, even though 'numbers are indispensable for any political actor to address inequality' (Celis & Mügge, 2018, p. 210). Likewise, Hancock calls for 'problem-driven research' (Hancock, 2007, p. 75) in which a problem is observed and a relevant research method is used, irrespective of the traditional ways in which these problems have been approached in the past. Celis and Mügge (Celis & Mügge, 2018) have called for exactly this.

One way to do intersectionality justice through quantitative research is by using what Hancock refers to as 'fuzzy-set logic' (Hancock, 2007, p. 67) that reasons there are degrees of membership to be ascribed to each category. Not only are identity categories mutually reinforcing, they are also typified by varying degrees of membership. By using fuzzy-set theory, 'we can collect data in a manner that acknowledges contingency and enables quantitative empirical work' (Hancock, 2007, p. 67). Moreover, Hancock recognizes the 'extensive psychological literature on identity development, which argues not simply that categories are socially shaped, but that young individuals develop and navigate their identities in ongoing ways based on their family, school and neighborhood interactions at the individual and institutional level' (Hancock, 2007, p. 72). This connection between structure and agency brings together the difference between essentialism and performativity at the beginning of this section. By applying intersectionality to the critique of social categories, social categories are not rejected, but complicated by providing the analytic tools necessary to investigate the wealth of diversity within social categories.

With that, this section has come full circle. We began it with a discussion on the relevance of categories by means of a quick review of social constructivist approaches to this question. Despite being 'real in their consequences' ( Thomas and Thomas 1928 as cited by Merton, 1995), there is still a problem with social categories. Intersectionality provides answers to these problems through addressing the way in which social categories are 'mutually reinforcing' (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1283) and how various axes of inequality should be seen as 'more than the sum of mutually exclusive parts' (Hancock, 2007, p. 65). The use of fuzzy-set theory which enables various degrees of membership in a category makes 'quantitative empirical work' (Hancock, 2007, p. 67) possible.

**Figure 2:** How does looking alike influence evaluations of politicians when identity categories are understood to be intersectional?



## Identity

Identity categories are questioned and complicated in intersectionality. Not only because categories are complicated, but because identity, or identities, are quite complicated as well. The focus on the interaction between citizen and politician is a major shift from the debates focusing on descriptive and substantive representation. Whereas these two major schools of thought were first concerned with 'the common practice of counting bodies and ideas' (Celis & Mügge, 2018, p. 210), with the constructivist turn and claims-making approach, the interaction between citizen and politician are added to the equation much more prominently. Saward proposes to explore this notion by researching the 'identity of the represented' (Saward, 2010, p. 16). However, as Saward is a theorist he does not conceptualize or operationalize identity. That is how I am taking Saward's ideas a step further, into empirical research.

In doing so, I build upon a longstanding literature in social psychology. Social identity theory emphasizes that what I will call *group status* is an important driver of how strongly group members identify with their group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Conversely, self-categorization theory stresses the importance of what I will call *cognitive connectedness* on how individuals come to 'act as a group' (Turner et al., 1987, p. 42). This shift of focus within social identity theory is referred to as self-categorization theory.

Thus, combining social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1987) offers a potentially fruitful way to research the intersections of gender and ethnic identities of citizens. In this way, not only the attitudes of the outsider towards the identity categories come under scrutiny, but the more independent and 'historical consciousness' (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 33) dynamics within the minority group are also studied. Likewise, Castles and Miller

describe the production of what they call ‘migrant identities’<sup>8</sup> through ‘other-definition and self-definition’. As they put it: ‘some minorities are mainly constructed through processes of exclusion ... by the majority. Others are mainly constituted on the basis of cultural and historical consciousness’ (Castles & Miller, 2009, p. 33). Indeed, both ‘the dynamics of inner life’ and ‘regularities at the level of social interaction’ are indispensable in understanding ‘ethnic identities and intergroup relations’ (Verkuyten, 2014, p. 223). With regard to “Muslim migrant” groups, Verkuyten and Yildiz propose that minority identities are construed and contested both internally and externally, the latter notably through public discourses on Muslims (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2009).

All authors use slightly different terminology to refer to the construction of group status and cognitive connectedness, but they all refer to roughly the same process. Yet, this binary distinction between group status and cognitive connectedness is much more complex than it seems at first sight. Whereas the influence of a *politician’s* group status on citizen evaluations has been studied extensively (Dolan, 2014; Koch, 1999; Mcdermott, 1998), the influence of group status and cognitive connectedness of the *citizen* on the evaluations of politicians has not been taken up as widely. However, Huddy underlines the political implications of social identity theory and thereby introduces this approach to ‘the quantitative study of political behavior’ (Huddy, 2001, p. 127). There are three main elements of Huddy’s theory that I will focus on: prototypes, permeability and overt signals.

First, Huddy builds upon a longstanding tradition in the field of linguistics in which concepts and categorizations are approached in terms of prototypes (Lakoff, 1987), which he understands as the members of a category which display the greatest number of the characteristics of that category. Huddy brought this idea of prototypes into the realm of political identities. In so doing, she suggests that ‘greater attention should be paid to the types of people who typically exemplify group membership (and give it meaning)’ (Huddy, 2001, p. 144). Conversely, Purdie-Vaughns and Eichbach argue from the perspective of intersectionality ‘that possessing multiple subordinate group identities renders a person “invisible” relative to those with a single subordinate-group identity’ (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008, p. 377). Thus, on the one hand, Huddy argues for paying attention to group members who are seen as prototypical and Purdie-Vaughns and Eichbach argue for increased attention to group members who are not generally seen as prototypical. This distinction persuades me to do both. I will question who is and who is not seen as prototypical and what effect that has on their cognitive connectedness and perceived group status. By delving into what happens

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<sup>8</sup> In this project I will not be studying migrants because the people we are interested in are the people who have been in Europe for a longer period of time, who have interacted with society and politics and who are, moreover, citizens. Therefore, when referring to my own research I will be referring to citizens, whereas when citing research that terms it otherwise, I will use the terms they use.

when a member of a social group, citizens or politician, is considered to be prototypical or not and whether this happens in congruence with how one perceives their own prototypicality we can understand better how single versus multiple subordinate identity categories shape the evaluations of representation.

Second, Huddy distinguishes between permeable and non-permeable identity categories and argues that the extent to which one can choose identity categories at free will influences 'identity acquisition' greatly. High 'external labeling' in combination with 'less permeable group boundaries' is theorized to 'increase the likelihood that a group member will internalize group identities' (Huddy, 2001, p. 141) and thus enhance cognitive connectedness. However, she also theorizes the opposite dynamic to be possible, where high degrees of choice (through low external labelling and highly permeable group boundaries) increases 'ethnic switching' (Huddy, 2001, p. 138). My reading of the concept of permeability applies mostly to the majority group (in line with boundary permeability in Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2011) and I expect ethnic switching to be especially common when group status is low. I wonder in which cases an ethnic minority citizen is seen as white-passing? To what extent is being able to pass as white a trait that ethnic minorities aspire to? If permeability into the white racial category is a realistic possibility for politicians, how does this influence subsequent evaluations of representation by citizens when they either do so or refrain from doing so?

Third, Huddy emphasizes the importance of overt signals of belonging to a certain category. This 'can be expressed in dress, language, and lifestyle' (Huddy, 2001, p. 144). I wonder to what extent overt signals are positively evaluated by some groups and penalized by others. For instance, to what extent and by whom are politicians appreciated or penalized when they revert from or adhere to the norm with their choices of clothing, adjust their accent and vocabulary or when they openly confess their religion? How do cognitive connectedness and group status play a role in how overt signals are evaluated by citizens? I want to sensitize our understanding of overt signals and how this influences the evaluations of representation.

Taking permeability and overt signals together, I wonder how these two elements play out within the construction of representation. First, how do citizens evaluate politicians who benefit from high permeability, which enables them to be seen as white-passing? Second, how do citizens evaluate politicians whose overt signals of group membership are indiscernible? Third, how do citizens evaluate politicians when these two elements are combined? Fourth, how does (not) being a prototypical group member play a role in this? In sum, I wonder how citizens evaluate a politician with an ethnic minority background which enables them to be white-passing and/or who does not

display any overt signals of group membership? Moreover, do cognitive connectedness and group status influence this process?

The literature has begun to answer these questions by signaling a ‘disconnect’ between what it takes to be selected as a party representative and what it takes to maintain close ties to an ethnic minority constituency (Mügge & Erzeel, 2016, p. 5). When permeability into the majority group is high and overt signals are low this leads to the ‘paradoxical status as both ethnic minority and indistinguishably integrated ... citizen’ (Bird, 2005, p. 439). They must simultaneously appeal to ethnic minority citizens who are in small numbers (Street, 2014, p. 377) and ethnic majority citizens who need to view them as ‘racially palatable’ (Carbado & Gulati, 2013, p. 2)<sup>9</sup> and thus a ‘model of successful immigrant integration’ (Bird, 2005, p. 439).

However, ethnic minority citizens experience many ethnic minority representatives as ‘sell-outs to moderates’ (Akachar, Celis, & Severs, 2017, p. 466) and lament a ‘relative absence of fair-minded ethnic minority trustees’ (Akachar, 2018, p. 211). This explains feelings of ‘disenchantment and betrayal’ (Akachar, 2018, p. 211) on the part of ethnic minority citizens. Prototypicality plays a role in this because it turns out that parties prefer non-prototypical members because they can tick more minority boxes with just one newcomer (Celis & Erzeel, 2017) and in some cases ethnic minority women are seen as more successful models of integration (Mügge & Erzeel, 2016).

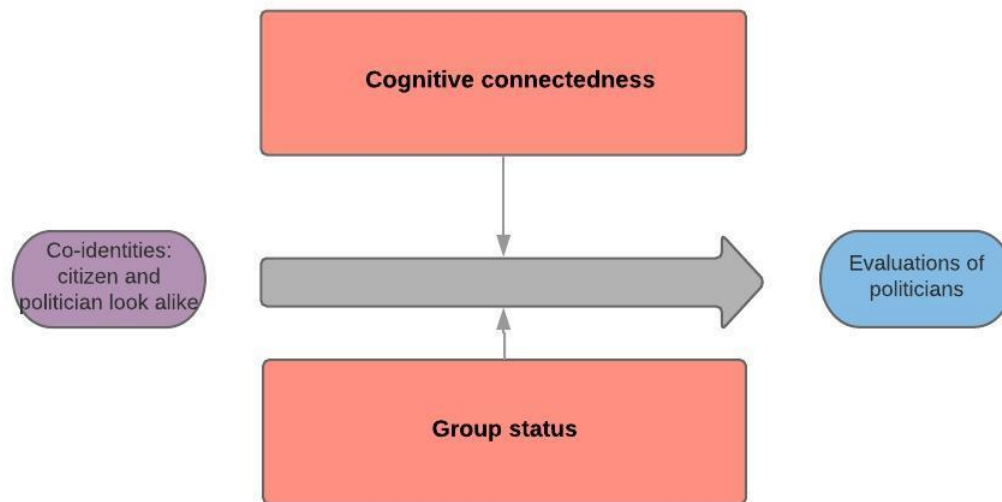
In sum, in this section I have discussed Saward’s conception of identity and concluded that despite the great advances his theoretical conjecture has brought to the field, much more thought needs to be put into the conceptualization and operationalization of identity. The seminal work of Tajfel and Turner (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), along with a number of migration scholars (Bloemraad & Schönwälder, 2013; Castles & Miller, 2009; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2009), lead us to conceptualize identity-formation as given meaning through an independent process of identity formation, on the one hand, and the process of group status, on the other. In particular, through increased attention to prototypicality, permeability and overt signals (Huddy, 2001) it becomes clear that intersections of identities shape evaluations of representation in a far from straightforward manner, sometimes leading to feelings of ‘disenchantment and betrayal’ (Akachar, 2018, p. 211) on the part of ethnic

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<sup>9</sup> Whereas the authors cited in this paragraph are specifically writing about political representation, Carbado and Gulati write about how racial minorities construct ‘racially palatable ... [w]orking identities’ from the perspective of black employees in the United States. ‘Working identity is constituted by a range of racially associated ways of being, including how one dresses, speaks, styles one’s hair; one’s professional and social affiliations; who one marries or dates; one’s politics and views about race; where one lives; and so on and so forth. The foregoing function as a set of racial criteria people can employ to ascertain not simply whether a person is black in terms of how she looks but whether that person is black in terms of how she is perceived to act’ (Carbado & Gulati, 2013, p. 2).

minority citizens. I want to find a way to study how intersecting identities shape the evaluation of politicians.

**Figure 3:** How does looking alike influence evaluations of politicians when identity categories are understood to be intersectional and divided into cognitive connectedness and group status?



### Advancing hypothetical conjoint experiments

How identities of politicians shape evaluations is often studied through hypothetical conjoint experiments (Hainmueller et al., 2014), a booming field of political science. In 2017 alone, at least six articles using this method were published in SSCI/political science-journals (Bauer 2017, Eggers et al. 2017, Kirkland and Coppock 2017, Peterson 2017, Sances 2017, Visalvanich 2017). In hypothetical conjoint experiments, respondents are presented a number of randomized profiles of political candidates and asked to choose, rate or evaluate them in various ways. Evaluations can be done on the basis of proximity (Sances, 2018), likeability (Bauer, 2017), responsiveness (Peterson, 2017) and capability (Golebiowska, 2001; Schneider & Bos, 2016). In my view, these are excellent ways to measure evaluations of representation as they denote three of Pitkin's four dimensions of representation: descriptive representation (proximity), symbolic representation (likeability, responsiveness) and (expected) substantive representation (capability) (Pitkin, 1967).

The theoretical underpinnings of many of these recent research articles can be found in the vast body of literature on stereotyping (Dolan, 2014; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Koch, 1999; Mcdermott, 1998). I understand stereotypes as an over-simplified belief or attitude about a group of people. In



the literature, the focus is mostly on the stereotypes the majority-group holds with regard to the minority-group, be it stereotypes based on gender (Aguilar, Cunow, & Desposato, 2015; Bhatti, Hansen, & Leth Olsen, 2013; Holman, Merolla, & Zechmeister, 2016; Koch, 2000; Nelson, 2015; Sanbonmatsu, 2002; Schneider, 2014; Schneider & Bos, 2016), ethnicity (Abrajano, Elmendorf, & Quinn, 2018; Sen, 2017; Visalvanich, 2017), gender and ethnicity combined (Hainmueller et al., 2014; Kirkland & Coppock, 2018; Messing, Jabon, & Plaut, 2016; Peterson, 2017; Philpot & Walton, 2007) class (Carnes & Lupu, 2016) or LGBTQI (Doan & Haider-Markel, 2010; Golebiowska, 2001).

At the outset, gender and ethnicity negatively influenced the evaluations voters have of their representatives (Fox & Smith, 1998; Sigelman, Sigelman, Walkosz, & Nitz, 1995; Terkildsen, 1993), in more recent papers this effect has mostly disappeared (Abrajano et al., 2018; Messing et al., 2016; Peterson, 2017; Sances, 2018; Sen, 2017). In fact, when I put the findings of these recent studies together for a meta-analysis, rarely did any significant effects emerge with regard to the ethnicity of the political candidate. The average effect size with regard to non-white ethnicities is very close to zero and very slightly positive<sup>10</sup>, whereas this figure is sizable and positive with regard to female candidates<sup>11</sup>. Does this mean gender and ethnic stereotypes have disappeared?

I do not think so. And that is where the identities of citizens come back again. Because what happens when we look at the ‘the *identity* of the represented, not just of representatives’ (Saward, 2010, p. 16, italics mine)? However, this is hardly happening in the current body of literature (a notable and recent exception being Badas & Stauffer, 2018). The effects of the identities of citizens have been either overlooked completely (Campbell & Cowley, 2014), or merely discussed as an afterthought, as a way to explain remarkable outcomes. For instance, Aguilar et al. found a sizeable ‘pro-black bias’ and explained this afterwards through the large number of black respondents in their sample (Aguilar et al., 2015, p. 238). Visalvanich, on the other hand, looks ‘exclusively at white respondents’ (Visalvanich, 2017, p. 71) without arguing why he only chose this specific group as the respondents to his survey. Thus, the identities of citizen are either completely overlooked (Campbell & Cowley, 2014), unexplained (Visalvanich, 2017) or at best, an afterthought (Aguilar et al., 2015).

However, there are important lessons to be learnt from research from outside of the North-American and European context<sup>12</sup>. Bermeo and Bhattia, Carlson, Chauchard, and Kao and Benstead

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<sup>10</sup> The average regression coefficient was very close to zero, 0,00095 to be precise.

<sup>11</sup> With regard to female political candidates the exact average regression coefficient was 0,024035714.

<sup>12</sup> Although in North-American and European research there are a few examples of voting behavior that was studied from the perspective of the identities of the voter. For instance Michon and Vermeulen and Kranendonk are European examples looking at local politics and Sigelman et al. is a quite dated example in the American context (Kranendonk, 2018; Michon & Vermeulen, 2013; Sigelman et al., 1995).

study the influence of being 'co-ethnic' in Afghanistan, Uganda, India and Jordan respectively. They ask what happens when both voter and politician share the same ethnic background, and it turns out that this matters very much in all four studies (Bermeo & Bhatia, 2017; Carlson, 2015; Chauchard, 2016; Kao & Benstead, 2017). The indigenous populations of all of these countries are ethnically divided and diverse. However, to an increasing extent North-America and Europe are too, albeit through (increasingly long-range) migration histories. Therefore, the focus on co-ethnicity should be expanded to research done in Europe and North-America as well.

Besides, it is long established in the literature that voters tend to like politicians who 'look like them' more (Converse, Campbell, Miller, & Stokes, 1961). Especially in low-information settings, 'similarity to candidates or party leaders' is employed as a 'heuristic' (Cutler, 2002, p. 466). This relationship has also been established in recent European research. For instance, with regard to sex, religion, region, age and education one recent Norwegian study studied 'candidate attributes compared to respondent attributes' and found there to be a consistent relationship between the two (Arnesen, Duell, Digsscore, & Johannesson, 2017). Moreover, those who are generally underrepresented in parliaments are evaluated more positively by citizens. This applies to studies on the race of politicians (Aguilar et al., 2015), level of education in representatives (Campbell & Cowley, 2014), working class employment (Carnes & Lupu, 2016) and women (Kirkland & Coppock, 2018).

As is to be expected, the causal relationship is not always completely straightforward, but moderated and mediated by various variables. For instance, a recent American study found co-ethnic appreciation to be much stronger among conservative citizens of the Latino community and liberal citizens of the Black community (Badas & Stauffer, 2018, p. 127). Furthermore, a recent Pakistani study found co-ethnic appreciation to be dependent of the strength of the 'institutionalized setting' (Cheema, Liaqat, & Khan Mohmand, 2018, p. 1). Also, it can depend on partisanship and whether the elections are presidential rather than congressional (Ono & Burden, 2018). I will take the concept of co-ethnicity a step further by also researching likeness in gender, religion, immigrant background and overt signals. Together, I will call this co-identities.

Besides the focus on co-identities, I will make advances in other areas as well. In the current literature on stereotyping there seems to be the assumption that stereotypes are a one-way street, in which the majority stereotypes the minority<sup>13</sup>. However, this project will question that, by

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<sup>13</sup> Challenged by Aaldering and Van der Pas in their study of male leader stereotypes (Aaldering & Van Der Pas, 2018).

redirecting the focus from *unidirectional stereotypes* to *multidirectional attitudes*<sup>14</sup>. Attitudes are not only held by majority citizens and projected on minority citizens, minority groups also project their attitudes on majorities and minorities project their attitudes on other minorities, even those who are generally considered to be part of their own group. Through a redirecting of the focus from *unidirectional stereotypes* to *multidirectional attitudes* much can be learned about how minority backgrounds shape the evaluation of representation.

Also, I advocate for broadening the scope from elections to representation. The quantitative experimental studies that have been reviewed in this section consistently study political *candidates* standing for election, whereas I argue that elections are only a small part of political representation. Actual representation takes place after the ballots have been cast and the elections are completely over and done with. It is in the actual day to day work that representatives are doing *in between* election seasons. This distinction has been taken up widely in the political communication literature (e.g. Aldering & Van Der Pas, 2018). What is being studied through *hypothetical* experiments, however, is the *expectation* of representation<sup>15</sup>, not the construction of representation as a process as Saward conceives of it. What I would like to add to this is how representation is *experienced*, a process that, however, does not confine itself to a controlled and manipulated experimental environment. In order to research the evaluations of representation I will also study the real-world politician. Therefore, not only *expectations* of representation will be studied, but also real-world *experiences* of representation among individual citizens.

Last but not least, current conjoint experiments overlook the wealth of knowledge that is to be found when not just studying 'discrete and pure strands' (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, p. 76) of identity categories. Taking on an intersectional perspective directs our understanding from being unitary ("race *or* gender") via multiple ("race *and* gender") to intersectional ("race interacts with gender") (Hancock, 2007, p. 67). Thanks to conjoint analysis, hypothetical conjoint experiments have advanced from a unitary to multiple understanding (Hancock, 2007). I will bring this advancement a step further by advancing from a multiple to an intersectional understanding of our social world. In doing so, I will make it possible to study in which instances and how intersecting identities shape expectations and experiences of representation among individual citizens.

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<sup>14</sup> Often, but not always, derived from group status.

<sup>15</sup> Irrespective of whether it is a hypothetical candidate (as is usually the case in the current literature) or a real-world politician that is presented to the respondent. In any case, I will focus on politicians in between election seasons.

## Conceptualization

In order to study in which instances and how intersecting identities shape the expectations and experiences of representation quantitatively, choices need to be made with regard to which identity categories are studied and which are not. 'Race, class, gender, sexuality, age, disability, ethnicity, nation, and religion, among others...' (Collins & Bilge, 2016, pp. 26–27) and the list could go on endlessly. Besides that, contextual factors need to be taken into account to be able to call one's research intersectional (Mügge & Erzeel, 2016). The question arises as to whether studying infinite axes and contexts is feasible. However, 'in specific historical situations and in relation to specific people there are some social divisions that are more important than others in constructing specific positionings' (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 203). When reviewing the field of representation, intersectionality, identity and hypothetical conjoint experiments, two main identity categories come up the most: sex/gender and race/ethnicity. In the following sections, I will review how these concepts are referred to in the literature I draw upon on the one hand, and how I will use these concepts in the rest of my research on the other. In both instances, I will conceptualize the meanings of the paired terms by clarifying my vision of the distinction between the two.

### *Gender and sex*

When reviewing the field of literature on representation the question of women in politics comes up most frequently (e.g. Dovi, 2002; Mansbridge, 1999; Young, 2000). The terms gender and sex seem to be used either interchangeably or with gender referring to both biological and societal foundations, which is in line with the largest American long-running large-scale surveys (Westbrook & Saperstein, 2015). Dovi, for instance, only refers to gender and never uses the term sex (Dovi, 2002). Mansbridge, on the one hand, uses gender as a 'descriptive characteristic' (Mansbridge, 1999, p. 637), as something that you either have or have not been 'given'. On the other hand, Mansbridge also contends that 'biological markers, such as sexual organs or skin color, ... encourage seeing whatever commonalities are assumed central to the group as biological, not historical' (Mansbridge, 1999, pp. 633–637). Furthermore, Young refers to 'gender difference as structural difference. This account shows gender difference as structured by a set of relationships and interactions that act together to produce specific possibilities and preclude others'. Quite consistently, she goes on to refer to 'sex' as a 'bodily difference'. However, in a less consistent vein she suggests 'that the gender position of being a woman does not itself imply sharing social attributes and identities with all those others called women' (Young, 2000, pp. 93–100).

In the field of literature on hypothetical conjoint experiments, there is a slightly more consistent use of the terms gender and sex. For instance, Koch consistently uses the term sex when discussing 'the effect of candidates' sex' as an attribute that is varied in experiments and 'gender stereotypes' (Koch, 1999, p. 84) when referring to the broader societal implications of being of a certain sex. Similarly, Eagly and Karau almost always use the word gender together with the word 'role' or 'stereotypes'. Referring to 'sex' is done in a context like 'equality of the sexes' (Eagly & Karau, 2002, pp. 573–574). Dolan also consistently refers to 'candidate sex' when discussing whether one is a male or a female in a binary fashion. However, she takes it a bit further than I would, as she also refers to 'sex stereotypes' (Dolan, 2004). Nevertheless, in Dolan's 2014 article she refers to 'gender stereotypes' in the title, and multiple times in the article (Dolan, 2014).

However, the more recent applied quantitative empirical articles that build upon this field of literature using hypothetical conjoint experiments do not use the terms gender and sex nearly as consistently as authors such as Koch, Eagly and Karau, and Dolan do. The authors cited here conduct experimental studies in which respondents are given profiles of politicians of which one half is signaled to be female and the other half male. In this case, this attribute is almost always referred to as 'gender' in American studies (Horiuchi, Smith, & Yamamoto, 2016; Sances, 2018; Sen, 2017) and European studies alike (Arnesen et al., 2017). There was, however, one exception: Ono and Burden refer to the average effect of a candidate's sex on voter decisions throughout their publication. Nevertheless, they weren't always consistent either when they refer to 'same-gender voting' (Ono & Burden, 2018, p. 3). It seems inconsistent that these articles, which build upon Koch, Eagly and Karau and Dolan, use the terms in such a different way than they do.

Nevertheless, there are also exceptions in the literature within the field of hypothetical conjoint experiments which these recent studies are building upon. McDermott and Sanbonmatsu use the term gender in experimental studies in which respondents react to profiles of politicians in which male and female is varied, and thus make no mention of sex (Mcdermott, 1998; Sanbonmatsu, 2002). Only in a footnote does she show that she is making a distinction between gender and sex when referring to 'biological differences between the sexes and a sexual division of labor that appears to be natural' (Sanbonmatsu, 2002, p. 31).

In the canonical book by Simone de Beauvoir (1975 [1949]), through the famous quote 'one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman' (De Beauvoir, 2011 [1949], p. 301) the first steps towards the social deconstruction of sex were made. Moving away from biological determinism was a liberating step, because this meant that a different world could be possible. In subsequent decades this idea was worked out many times. In West and Zimmerman's article entitled 'Doing Gender',

gender is conceptualized as something that is not to be had but something that is to be done (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Laqueur goes a step further and argues that biology doesn't shape the social order, but that the social order shapes biology (Laqueur, 1992). He argues this through an analysis of how the scientific representations of sex have been dependent on historical contexts. Lorber goes a step further and argues that sex is not a precursor of gender, but that our beliefs concerning gender construct what we see as natural sex (Lorber, 1993).

Therefore, 'sex' as a 'bodily difference' (Young, 2000, p. 98) or 'biological marker' (Mansbridge, 1999, p. 638) cannot be assumed and needs to be questioned. Therefore, I will not abandon the distinction between sex and gender but I will leave the biological element out of my conceptualization of these concepts. However, avoiding essentialism and stipulating that identities are social constructions has the downside that it 'leaves us without a rationale for talking about "identities" at all and ill-equipped to examine the "hard" dynamics and essentialist claims of contemporary identity politics' (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 1).

Therefore, sex will not be conceptualized as a biological essence, but it will be used when referring to discrete categories in which people are typically placed. Therefore, when randomizing candidate attributes in experiments I will refer to sex because this is a bounded category. Whereas when I use the word gender I will be doing so with reference to at least one of the following two instances: either (1) I will be referring to a continuous scale as opposed to a discrete category or (2) I will be referring to societal implications these categorizations have that inform stereotypes, beliefs, prejudices and subsequent discrimination. Moreover, this is another case where even though categories might not be real, they are 'real in their consequences' (Thomas and Thomas 1928 as cited by Merton, 1995). Nevertheless, the great variation within categories shape sex categories in a mutually reinforcing way. The first variation I want to turn to is race/ethnicity.

### *Race and ethnicity*

Besides gender and sex, race and ethnicity are also core concepts stemming out of the literature on representation. Although Saward and Pitkin barely touch upon these concepts, subsequent authors such as Young and Mansbridge do. Young, just like any other book on identity, contains many enumerations of different aspects that could influence one's identities. Sometimes race is mentioned without the mention of ethnicity, sometimes with and sometimes with both ethnicity and 'national origin' or 'religion'. The opposite is also the case. Sometimes ethnicity is mentioned without the mention of race, sometimes with and sometimes in one breath with 'cultural groups' or

‘religion’ (Young, 2000, pp. 82–120, 216). Mansbridge also contains many enumerations in which race and/or ethnicity are mentioned. Sometimes race is mentioned without ethnicity, sometimes with and sometimes in combination with ‘nationality’ or ‘religion’ (Mansbridge, 1999, pp. 637–642).

When entering the field of stereotyping literature, the term race or racial is used more widely. Terkildsen, McDermott and Devine almost always use race but use ethnicity here and there as well. However, the social psychologist Hazel Rose Markus ‘offers an integrated definition of race and ethnicity—dynamic sets of historically derived and institutionalized ideas and practices—while noting that race, although often used interchangeably with ethnicity, indexes an asymmetry of power and privilege between groups’ (Markus, 2008, p. 651).

More recent studies from the United States on race and ethnicity have also gone on to use these two terms together. For instance, Abrajano first mentions ‘race and ethnicity’ together, to go on to use the terms interchangeably seemingly randomly thereafter. Occasionally she refers to ethnicity without it being in one breath with race and vice versa. However, in most of the cases she refers to ‘race/ethnicity’ (Abrajano et al., 2018). Moreover, Sen refers to race/ethnicity when naming the attribute with which the categories ‘white, black, Hispanic or Latino/a, Asian American’ (Sen, 2017, p. 378) are varied. Also, when referring to their own research, Ono and Burden consistently use the combination ‘race/ethnicity’ (Ono & Burden, 2018). In addition, sometimes only the term race is used (Peterson, 2017; Sances, 2018). Remarkably, one recent work from the United States makes an interesting distinction: Badas and Stauffer also draw upon representation and social identity literature and use the word race with reference to being African American or not and ethnicity with reference to Latinos and consistently use the two terms separately (Badas & Stauffer, 2018, p. 129).

When considering the United States field of social identity theory, Tajfel and Turner barely touch upon the concepts of race and ethnicity, using more neutral terms such as ‘in-group’ and ‘out-group’ or ‘dominant’ and ‘subordinate’ (Tajfel & Turner, 1979, p. 38). Likewise, Huddy refers to skin color and gender as ‘overt physical characteristics’ (Huddy, 2001, p. 140). Ashmore et al., however, uses race and ethnicity together with a slash (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004, p. 91) or seemingly interchangeably without it being clear what is implied with the use of the term ethnicity without race. Huddy’s later work also almost always mentions race and ethnicity together (Huddy, Bankert, & Davies, 2018, pp. 4–6; Huddy, Sears, & Levy, 2013a, 2013b).

In Europe, the term race is used much less frequently. In a German study on voter appreciation amongst minority groups Street uses ethnicity, not race, to refer to, people with origins in Turkey, Middle East, the Balkans, Asia and Africa (Street, 2014, p. 377). Saalfeld and Bisschof refer

to 'Black, Asian and minority-ethnic (BAME) citizens' (Saalfeld & Bischof, 2013, p. 305) specifically but say 'minority-ethnic representation' in the rest of their article. The Spanish study by Verge says 'ethnic minority' throughout the article (Verge, Espírito-Santo, & Wiesehomeier, 2015).

Some European studies use neither ethnicity nor race as terms but only 'migration background' or 'immigrant-origin group' (Hindriks, Verkuyten, & Coenders, 2017, p. 741). In this research, however, we will explicitly not be studying immigrants because most of the people we will be studying are citizens, albeit with immigrant origin, but citizens nonetheless. Conversely, a Norwegian study by Arnesen et al. explicitly 'does not include race given that racial minorities are very small in Norway' (Arnesen et al., 2017, p. 3). Interestingly though, they do include 'religion' as an attribute in their experiments, which can vary between 'no religion, Christianity or Islam'. Furthermore, Verkuyten and Yildiz use the words 'Muslim immigrants' (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2009, p. 1), which interestingly conflates both the category of migratory descent and religion. Moreover, Verkuyten and Yildiz do not once use the word race or racial.

There has been criticism on the European silence (Lentin, 2008) or even erasure (Lewis, 2013) of the word race and the replacement of the term race with the 'less anxiety-provoking terms 'ethnicity,' 'culture,' and 'religion.'" (Lewis, 2013, p. 882). Moreover, in continental Europe race is less central and visible in intersectional research (Mügge et al., 2018). Lewis argues that 'race ... remains a key organizing principle in Europe' (Lewis, 2013, p. 874) and argues it therefore needs to be addressed in European public discourse and academic research. Race, too, continues to be 'real in ... consequences' ( Thomas and Thomas 1928, as cited by Merton, 1995).

While being sensitive to the fact that race remains 'a key organizing principle' (Lewis, 2013, p. 874), I contend that ethnicity is still a more appropriate term in Europe and I understand ethnicity to be an 'all-encompassing term' (Htun, 2004, p. 453) in which race plays an important role. However, not the only role. For instance, Islam is at the heart of debates on immigration in Western Europe (Brubaker, 2013; Sniderman & Hagendoorn, 2007) and therefore cannot be overlooked when studying ethnicity. Moreover, race and religiosity are often conflated in popular discourse as illustrated by the quote 'She is not white, she is a Muslim!' (Elver, 2012, p. 120). Not only that, even in academia, immigrant background and religion are also conflated (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2009). Race, religion and immigrant background are intertwined in the European context. This leads me to decide on ethnicity as one 'encompassing term' (Htun, 2004, p. 453) which groups together race, religion and immigrant background. At the same time, these three elements of ethnicity will be



operationalized in such a way that they aren't just grouped together under the umbrella of ethnicity, but can be disentangled at the same time.<sup>16</sup>

### **Summary, research question and hypotheses:**

To summarize: building on the dimensions of representation as laid out by Pitkin, the focus of most authors has been on descriptive and substantive representation. However, with the constructivist turn and the claims making approach the focus is more on symbolic representation as an active process of representation with highlighted importance of identity.

The field of intersectionality helps us to understand identity categories as reinforcing one another. I do not reject categories as being mere social constructions but complicate and question them through underlining the concomitant interaction between categories, the influence of context and fuzzy-set logic.

Social identity theory and self-categorization theory provide a distinction between cognitive connectedness and group status respectively. These theories are advanced through the notions of prototypicality, permeability and overt signals explaining a disconnect between citizen and politician and subsequent feelings of betrayal on the part of the citizen.

Hypothetical conjoint experiments are commonly used to study stereotypes based on, for instance, gender and ethnicity. I propose a focus on co-identities, multidirectional attitudes, expectations and experiences as two distinct features of the evaluation of representation and intersectionality.

*This leads to the following research question: In which instances and how do intersections of gender and ethnicity shape the expectations and experiences of representation among individual citizens?*

Each word or phrase in my research question relates to a specific part of my theoretical framework. 'In which instances' refers to what happens when citizen and politician are categorized in the same identity categories (co-ethnicity) and when they are not (multidirectional attitudes). This is described in the section on hypothetical conjoint experiments. 'How' refers to the ways in which one's cognitive connectedness and group status influences the causal process between identity

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<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, I will acknowledge white to also be a race, as a way to avoid the pitfalls of 'colorblind intersectionality' in which 'whiteness is rarely seen or expressed in intersectional terms' (Carbado, 2013, p. 2).

category of the politician and evaluation by the citizen. 'Intersections' refers to the intersectional perspective that is vital to this project, considering mutually reinforcing identity categories along with context and fuzzy sets. 'Gender' is understood as a continuous and societal construction. 'Ethnicity' is understood an umbrella term for race, religion and immigrant background. 'Shape' refers to the contention that representation is not a natural given but constructed and shaped by societal factors such as identities and group status. 'Expectations' refers to the reactions of citizens to hypothetical politicians as tested through conjoint experiments. 'Experiences' refers to the reactions of citizens to real-life politicians as tested through survey questions. 'Individual' refers to complex intersectional degrees of identities and contexts, in combinations and degrees that might only exist within one individual. 'Citizens' refers to the way in which this project departs from both (1) research on voting behavior and elections to research on representation and (2) research that continues to frame citizens with a (family) background in migration as immigrants, despite high degrees of embeddedness in the societies we all live in together. This research question leads to the following hypotheses:

1. **The co-identities-hypothesis:** When citizen and politician are alike in terms of gender and ethnicity, the evaluations of hypothetical and real politicians will be higher, irrespective of partisanship.
2. **The complex-identities hypothesis:** The more the citizen adheres to their mutually reinforcing identity categories, the higher they will evaluate both hypothetical and real politicians who are like them in terms of intersections of gender and ethnicity. Also, the lower the group status of the citizen, the more highly they will evaluate *hypothetical* politicians who are like them in terms of intersections of gender and ethnicity. However, the lower the group status of the citizen, the lower they will evaluate *real* politicians who are like them in terms of intersections of gender and ethnicity.

## Operationalization

*Case selection: stage, countries, ethnic minority groups*

This project will empirically study symbolic representation. To do so, cases need to be selected in which there is both a stage and a spotlight present. Both regional and supranational representative bodies often lack an 'audience', whereas national parliaments tend to function more as a 'political stage' (Van der Ham, 2014, pp. 111–112) through heightened interaction between citizen and politician and thus fostering that crucial 'dynamic relationship' (Saward, 2010, p. 298) that functions

as an antecedent of representation. For this reason, I will study national parliaments to understand in which instances and how gender and ethnicity shape the expectations and experiences of representation among individual citizens.

A comparative design is indispensable to make generalized statements that are bold yet contain adequate nuance, especially when it comes to migration studies (Anthias, 2008; T. Huddleston, Niessen J., & Tjaden J.T., 2013; Saharso & Scholten, 2013). One rare example of hypothetical conjoint experiments conducted cross-nationally (Carnes & Lupu, 2016) has proven to be quite illuminating as it revealed both similarities and differences between countries. Thanks to the choice of a comparative design, the authors could go on to explain which similarities are generalizable beyond the selected countries and which idiosyncrasies are to be explained through national contexts whilst remaining wary of the pitfalls of methodological nationalism (L. Mügge & De Jong S., 2013). This exemplifies the usefulness of comparative designs across quite dissimilar countries. Similarities in outcomes between countries can be ascribed to generalizable mechanisms that extend beyond the countries that have been compared, whereas differences in outcomes between countries can be explained through unique mechanisms within the countries in question. Furthermore, comparative designs force us to take contextual factors into account. Moreover, similarities across countries will enable generalizations to be made beyond the countries under study, whereas dissimilarities inform where nuances are to be attached.

The Netherlands, Germany and France are the three countries that have been selected for this project. These are three large Western-European democracies with similar GDP per capita (Worldbank, 2018), Gini-indices (CIA, 2018), levels of average happiness (UN, 2017), gender gap index (WEForum, 2017). With regard to migration history, all three countries have seen new arrivals of immigrants since the Second World War and similar levels of acceptance of people of different ethnic groups (Alba & Foner, 2015, pp. 19–46). All three countries have a history of elected parliamentarians espousing xenophobic and particularly Islamophobic rhetoric in their national parliaments (Brubaker, 2013), although in the case of Germany this has begun more recently. Moreover, whereas the three countries have had quite different integration regimes in the past, these are now converging (Alba & Foner, 2015; Joppke, 2007) and integration policies have turned out not to affect ethnic identification in these three countries specifically (Ersanilli & Saharso, 2011).

However, these countries are also very dissimilar. One difference is in their electoral systems. The Netherlands uses party list proportional representation, with preference votes and a threshold of one seat in parliament. Germany is similar in that it uses mixed member proportional representation, with a *first vote* for a direct candidate of their constituency and a *second vote* for

party list. There is a threshold of five percent for a political party to enter the Bundestag. The Dutch and German systems are thus quite similar. However, France belongs to a completely different 'family' of voting systems with single-member districts and a two-round runoff for national elections (Hague, Harrop, & McCormick, 2016).

Despite differences in voting systems and the possibility that this could influence representations of gender and ethnicity (Barker & Coffé, 2018), ethnic identification has turned out to be constant in these three countries (Ersanilli & Saharso, 2011) and I expect the dependent variables to be largely the same across the countries. In other words, I expect evaluations of politicians in terms of representativeness, likeability, responsiveness and capability to be roughly the same across the countries, especially given their similar levels of acceptance of people of different ethnic groups (Alba & Foner, 2015, pp. 19–46), recent histories with populism, xenophobia and in particular Islamophobia (Brubaker, 2013), similar levels of ethnic minority identification (Ersanilli & Saharso, 2011) and converging integration regimes (Joppke, 2007). Moreover, all three countries share groups of ethnic-minority citizens that have entered the national context under two distinctly different circumstances: either through historical ties between sending and receiving country (colonial ties in the cases of the Netherlands and France and the former Soviet connection in the case of Germany), or through a relationship between sending and receiving country with regard to guest workers.

In order to make any statements on the basis of gender and ethnic identities, attention needs to be paid to the number of respondents from each (sub)group that participate in this research (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). Each group needs to have ample respondents in order to uncover statistically significant relationships, if present, and avoid type 2 errors. Therefore, a considerable oversample is needed for groups of ethnic minority citizens that are to be studied (Huddleston & Weller, 2017). The groups of ethnic minority citizens are selected on the basis of numerical presence in demographic statistics.

In the Netherlands, the oversample of groups of ethnic minority citizens will consist of Dutch citizens with a Turkish background, Dutch citizens with a Moroccan background and Dutch citizens with a Surinamese background. Dutch citizens with no migration background will also be sampled in a similar number as the other groups in order to compare and contrast to the other groups.

In Germany, the oversample of groups of ethnic minority citizens will consist of German citizens with a Turkish background and German citizens with a background in the former Soviet

Union. German citizens with no migration background will also be sampled in a similar number as the other groups in order to compare and contrast to the other groups.

In France, the oversample of groups of ethnic minority citizens will consist of French citizens with a North-African background (Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria), French citizens with a Sub-Saharan African background (Niger, Mauritania, Ivory Coast, French Sudan, Senegal, Chad, Gabon, Cameroon, Congo) and French citizens with a Turkish background. The latter has, however, not been selected on the basis of numerical presence, but in order to have one constant category across the three countries of our selection and be able to better study 'transnational communities' (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2002, p. 301). French citizens with no migration background will also be sampled in a similar number as the other groups in order to compare and contrast to the other groups.

One challenge worth mentioning is the legal restrictions in all three countries concerning the saving of data on ethnic background (Fassmann, Reeger, & Sievers, 2009, p. 84). In the Netherlands, laws prohibiting the registration of information on ethnicity are in place but are usually bypassed in practice (Salentin & Schmeets, 2017). However, in Germany and France these legal restrictions are much more strict leading to the prohibition of saving information on ethnicity and national origin of parents (Mayer & Tiberj, 2016). This can pose challenges with regard to sampling (Bloch, 2007) especially since it is advisable to keep sampling strategies constant across countries (Kappelhof, 2014) to enable a comparative design. Stratified sampling is therefore impossible as there is no sampling frame to draw a sample from and new techniques need to be employed to overcome sampling challenges. Therefore, I will employ a large scale filter question to a yet to be chosen panel<sup>17</sup>. That means that a very large sample of a panel will be asked to participate in a mini-survey. The first and only question of this mini-survey asks whether they identify with a short list of specific ethnic groups, the groups that we are interested in drawing a subsample from. If they are part of a group we want to oversample, they are immediately redirected to the survey. If they are part of a group we do not want to oversample, only a small percentage of the mini-survey respondents are redirected to the survey. In sum, this will enable us to form sizable groups of ethnic minority citizens for our final survey.

### *Experimental design*

Since the introduction of conjoint experiments to the field of political science (Hainmueller et al., 2014), this design has been picked up on widely, often taking the form of hypothetical conjoint experiments in which online respondents are asked to evaluate or choose between varying

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<sup>17</sup> We are still in discussing the options with a number of research agencies.

candidates for political office (Abrajano et al., 2018; Peterson, 2017; Sances, 2018). Conjoint experiments unite each body of literature this research builds upon. First, representation can be operationalized with conjoint experiments because hypothetical politicians are evaluated by citizen respondents<sup>18</sup>. Second, intersectionality can be operationalized through the acknowledgement that multiple identity categories are mutually reinforcing<sup>19</sup> by analyzing interaction effects. Third, identity theories can be operationalized because the identities of both the politician and the citizen respondent are linked in the analysis<sup>20</sup>.

Such experimental designs have distinct advantages and disadvantages. The main advantage is that it is the most suitable method to tease out a causal relationship – the internal validity is high. The main disadvantage, however, is that the external validity is low (J. R. Huddleston & Weller, 2017). I deal with the pitfall of low external validity in two distinct ways.

First, I deal with the pitfall of low external validity by sampling diligently (Hedlin, 2013). Experiments in psychology and economics rely too often on student samples (Henrich et al., 2010). Survey experiments in political science rely too often on convenience samples with limited to non-existent ethnic diversity (Visalvanich, 2017), thereby not being representative of the multi-ethnic societies they draw conclusions about. Moreover, without ethnic groups being a sizeable portion of the sample, significant causal relationships can hardly be found due to a lack of statistical power. In sum, oversampling ethnic groups for these experiments allows for making causal claims that are generalizable to the specific groups that have been oversampled thus enabling comparisons between ethnic groups and within ethnic groups.

Second, I deal with the pitfall of low external validity through reflecting on validity explicitly (Coppock & Green, 2015). There are limits to the kinds of questions that experiments can address (Druckman, Green, Kuklinski, & Lupia, 2006). However, I think there is no problem in studying the expectations of representation through an experimental design. When a person is confronted with a (hypothetical) politician, and asked for an evaluation they are essentially answering the question to what extent they *expect* to feel represented by them. I expect the differences to be low between this process in real life and in an experimental setting, meaning that the validity is high.

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<sup>18</sup> Although references to, for instance, Pitkin are rarely made.

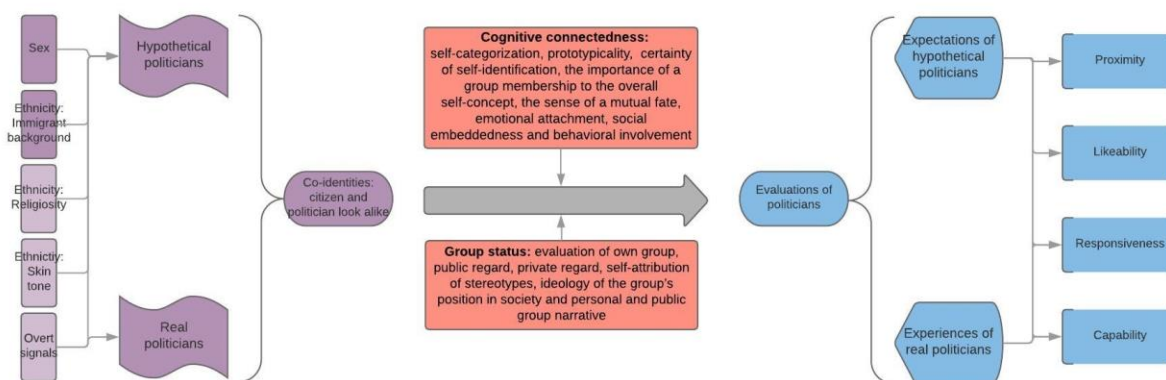
<sup>19</sup> Although this rarely happens, exceptions are two yet to be published papers. Kao and Benstead study intersectionality through vignette experiments and mention in a footnote that this could also have been done through conjoint experiments (Kao & Benstead, 2017, p. 4). Horiuchi et al. use hypothetical conjoint experiments and they mention in a footnote that the idea of intersectionality can be captured through interaction effects in conjoint analysis (Horiuchi et al., 2016, p. 30).

<sup>20</sup> Although co-ethnicity is rarely studied, with the exception of three studies that research indigenous ethnic groups in non-Western countries (Bermeo & Bhatia, 2017; Carlson, 2015; Chauchard, 2016; Kao & Benstead, 2017).

However, I do not think it is at all possible to study the real life, day to day, experiences of representation through an experimental design. This is a process that cannot be simulated in a controlled experimental environment. In order to study this, we need to reflect on real politicians of flesh and blood, who make claims through being in constant contact with colleagues and citizens. This cannot be simplified or condensed to an experiment in which treatments are controlled. In order to study real-world experiences of representation, we need to tap in to the knowledge and ideas respondents already had before responding to the survey.

Yet, a problem is that ethnic minority politicians are usually not very well-known. I will deal with this by asking respondents to attach a name to a picture and provide short biographies of the politician in question. Working with short biographies has two advantages. First, the nature of the information provided can be in line with the information provided of the hypothetical politician experiments. Second, certain elements of their biographies can be manipulated and randomized in a quasi-experiment (Messing et al., 2016). I will provide more details on this quasi-experiment in the next section.

**Figure 4:** Causal pathway diagram



### Variables

In Figure 4 the causal pathway diagram depicts the hypothesized causal paths grouped into four families of variables. First, the attributes of the hypothetical and real politicians are the independent variables. Second, the evaluations of these politicians are measured through proximity, likeability, responsiveness and capability and together these form the dependent variables. So far, this causal diagram is quite consistent with conventional conjoint. My innovation, however, lies in the moderating variables in between the independent and dependent variables. Third, the 'cognitive connectedness' variables measure the complex, intersectional and fuzzy ways in which identities

influence evaluations. Fourth, the 'group status' variables measure the ways in which multidirectional attitudes influence evaluations. Each ethnic group from each country will be pooled for a separate OLS regression model in which the variables visible in Figure 4 are related to one another. These variables are described in the following sections in more detail.

### *Independent variables*

By means of conjoint experiments, respondents will be asked to evaluate hypothetical politician profiles that are randomized on the basis of their sex and ethnicity. Respondents will see a profile of either a male or a female politician, from which conclusions based on gender can be drawn. Ethnicity has been conceptualized as an umbrella term referring to race, religion and immigrant background. Therefore, all three of these elements will be randomized in this experiment.

Race will be operationalized by varying skin tone in a profile picture (Abrajano et al., 2018; Marcinkowski, Lünich, & Starke, 2018; Messing et al., 2016; Ostfeld, 2017) as an (admittedly imperfect) proxy for race. Religion will be operationalized as being Muslim, Christian, Atheist or no mention of religion, in some cases accompanied by a profile picture of female with a headscarf or not. Immigrant background will be operationalized as having parents born in one of the home countries that have been oversampled, thus also including profiles of politicians who have no immigrant background. Moreover, observable background signals comprising dress, language and lifestyle, will be included in the experiment as a treatment. In one half of the hypothetical politician profiles, these variables are included that attest of someone who has held onto the traditional values of their ethnic group, in the other half of the profiles this is not the case.

Party labels are an important heuristic to explain voting behavior (Rahn, 1993). In some hypothetical politician experiments this information is left out in order to force respondents to take the other attributes more into account (Franchino & Zucchini, 2015; Hainmueller et al., 2014). However, if I were to do this, comparability with the real life politicians would be impossible; therefore I will add exactly the same party labels to the hypothetical politician experiment as those included in the selected real politician quasi-experiment.

Furthermore, the survey will also contain questions on real politicians. Close attention will be paid to getting these real-life politicians to fit a variation of the attributes used in the experiment above. Nevertheless, despite basic knowledge of these politicians, profile pictures can still be manipulated by randomizing skin tone (Messing et al., 2016) and religion; observable background signals can be randomized in their biographies, as this is something most people don't actually know



anything about with regard to actual MPs. A post-hoc briefing will inform respondents of the experimental nature of these profiles.

#### *Dependent variables*

The evaluations of both the hypothetical and the real politicians are measured using “variable interval sliders” (Ladd, 2009) to indicate levels of proximity, likeability, responsiveness and capability.

#### *Moderating variables*

Building upon Huddy, Ashmore et al. has come up with a compilation of aspects through which both cognitive connectedness and group status can be studied. The internal notion of identity can be studied through the following constructs: self-categorization, prototypicality, perceived certainty of self-identification, the importance of a group membership to the overall self-concept, the sense of a mutual fate, emotional attachment, social embeddedness and behavioral (Ashmore et al., 2004, p. 83). Group status will be studied through the following constructs: evaluation of one’s own attitudes ‘towards the social category in question’, in terms of public regard and private regard, self-attribution of characteristics, ideology of the group’s position in society and personal and public group narrative (Ashmore et al., 2004, p. 83). They accompany each construct with a list of possible survey questions.

### **Conclusion**

As I wrote in the introduction to this paper, ethnic minority European citizens outside of the Netherlands have voiced the need for a political party specifically for ethnic minority citizens (Akachar, 2018, p. 191). It turns out that having enough Turkish or Moroccan Dutch citizens in mainstream parties in parliament is not enough for many Turkish or Moroccan Dutch citizens to feel represented. If they do not feel represented, are they being misrepresented? *In which instances and how do intersections of gender and ethnicity shape the expectations and experiences of representation among individual citizens?*

Numbers are indispensable for any political actor to address inequality (Celis & Mügge, 2018, p. 210) and equality is a core tenet of democracy (Dahl, 2000). A quantitative study of intersectional representation has never been done in Europe, let alone from the perspective of intersecting gender and ethnic identities of citizens as opposed to politicians. In doing so, I will empirically test the

theoretical conjectures of Saward's representative claim by investigating whether representation is actually taking place instead of merely being assumed. In this way, I will redirect the perspective to that of the citizens instead of politicians. Also, I will employ a unique combination of hypothetical conjoint experiments and survey experiments; using real politicians with small experimental alterations will offer unique insights into the expectations as opposed to the experiences of representation. I will also depart from a focus on voter reactions to political candidates and arrive at a focus on both citizens and politicians. In doing so, I will broaden our understanding of representation from mere voting behavior to the study of the functioning of representative democracy.

By studying identity categories intersectionally, a wealth of additional knowledge will come to the fore about the ways in which identity categories are mutually reinforcing, knowledge that has been overlooked when separating identity categories. I emphasize the simultaneous processes of identity formation as an independent process on the one hand and a reaction to group status on the other in order to understand how the intersections of gender and ethnicity shape the expectations and experiences of representation. The notion of permeability offers fruitful insights into the dynamic between identity formation, low group status and its consequences for representation. Furthermore, through the sensitizing of our understanding of (the lack of) overt signals, new questions on penalization and appreciation of politicians who do or do not propagate their minority background can be answered. Moreover, the notion of prototypicality helps us understand how (non-prototypical) minority backgrounds shape the expectations and experiences of representation (Huddy, 2001).

Studying the Netherlands, Germany and France allows for the comparison of contextual factors, enabling a deeper understanding of what is generalizable and what is specific. This also applies to the comparisons that are going to be made between ethnic groups thanks to oversampling specific ethnic groups across the three countries. With large enough samples, comparisons can also be made within groups.

Through this project theoretical, empirical and methodological advances will be made. It is vital for our representative democracy to understand in what instances and how intersections of gender and ethnicity shape the expectations and experiences of representation among individual citizens. It touches on legitimacy, equality and social cohesion among member of our society. 'Contemporary societies are diverse and far from equal. It is time to get these numbers right' (Celis & Mügge, 2018, p. 210).

**Proposed time schedule:**

Year 1 (remainder):

- Finalize agreements with research company on fielding survey experiments
- Write up article with meta-analysis and research agenda with supervisors

Year 2:

- Start fielding survey experiments
- Hand in fieldwork report
- Submit first article: meta-analysis and research agenda

Year 3:

- Write up and submit second article
- Write up and submit third article

Year 4:

- Write up and submit fourth article

Year 5<sup>21</sup>:

- Finish dissertation

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<sup>21</sup> Because I will work 32 hours per week instead of 38 hours per week, my PhD will not end in December of 2021, but in June of 2022. That is why this project will be extended into the fifth year.

**Proposed table of contents:**

1. Introduction
2. Paper 1: Rethinking representation: meta-analysis and research agenda
3. Paper 2: Validating hypothetical politician experiments with evaluations of real politicians
4. Paper 3: High hopes for representation: how do strong identities and low group status influence expectations of representation?
5. Paper 4: Misrepresentation and betrayal: what happens when assumed representatives fail to represent?
6. Conclusion

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