Patterns of Claims-Making on Civic Integration and Migration in Europe: Are Muslims Different?

Didier Ruedin (University of Neuchâtel) & Joost Berkhout (University of Amsterdam), Muslims and Political Participation in Britain, Edinburgh, 21 April 2012.
Two research questions

What kind of migration-related group-categories are used in political debate on migration and integration? Ethnic, religious, racial or administrative categories?

Under which circumstances do find a religion-based (i.e. Muslim) migrant identity?
Relevance of question

- Translation of **social differences** into **political differences**: theoretical puzzle: what comes first?

- **Muslims** often, increasingly (?) singled out

- Structural, **policy-based** country differences main focus of theory – is that the whole story?
Migrant-group categories

Findings by Koopmans et al. (2005):

- Germany: National origin (67%)
- France: Administrative categories (41%)
- Britain: Racial categories (43%)
Potential explanations

Country (time) level

Policy tradition:
Citizenship regime: civic vs. ethnic

Social-structural:
Demographics: size of (Muslim) migrant group

Politics: Anti-Muslim party. Over time: Muslim extremist events (9-11)

Claims level

Mediating factors:
*Justification: instrumental or identity
*Topic: migration or integration

Migrant categorisation:
(1) status, (2) racial, (3) religious and (4) country of origin or ethnic identities.
Case Selection and Data

- Claims-analysis
  - 1995-2009
  - Seven receiving countries
  - SOM: www.som-project.eu (FP7)
Claims-Making

Subject actor

Object actor
## Categorization of Migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All</th>
<th>AT</th>
<th>BE</th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>ES</th>
<th>CH</th>
<th>UK</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Status Groups</strong></td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>98%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>58%</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Racial Group</strong></td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>25%</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Religious Groups</strong></td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Migrant Groups</strong></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Muslims as Claimants

- Governments (31% of claims)
- Muslim organizations (2.7% of claims)
  - 10% claims are about Muslims
- Human rights and solidarity movements
- Different response to terror attacks:
  - UK: increase, ES: no difference
- Citizenship regime, population, parties
## Claims about Muslims

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>ES</th>
<th>IE</th>
<th>NL</th>
<th>UK</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muslims (Group)</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muslim Organizations</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Citizenship regime, population, parties*
### Frames in Claims about Muslims

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Immigrants</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental Frames</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>33%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Identity Frames</td>
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<td>34%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moral Principles</td>
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<td>33%</td>
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# Topics in Claims about Muslims

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<th>Immigrants</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
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<td>2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>98%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Conclusions

- Migrant categories
  - Significant differences between countries
  - Not directly Koopmans’ typology
  - Dynamic: changes over time

- Policy versus politics

- Many claims *about* Muslims, not *by* Muslims
  - Other actors shape the category ‘Muslim’