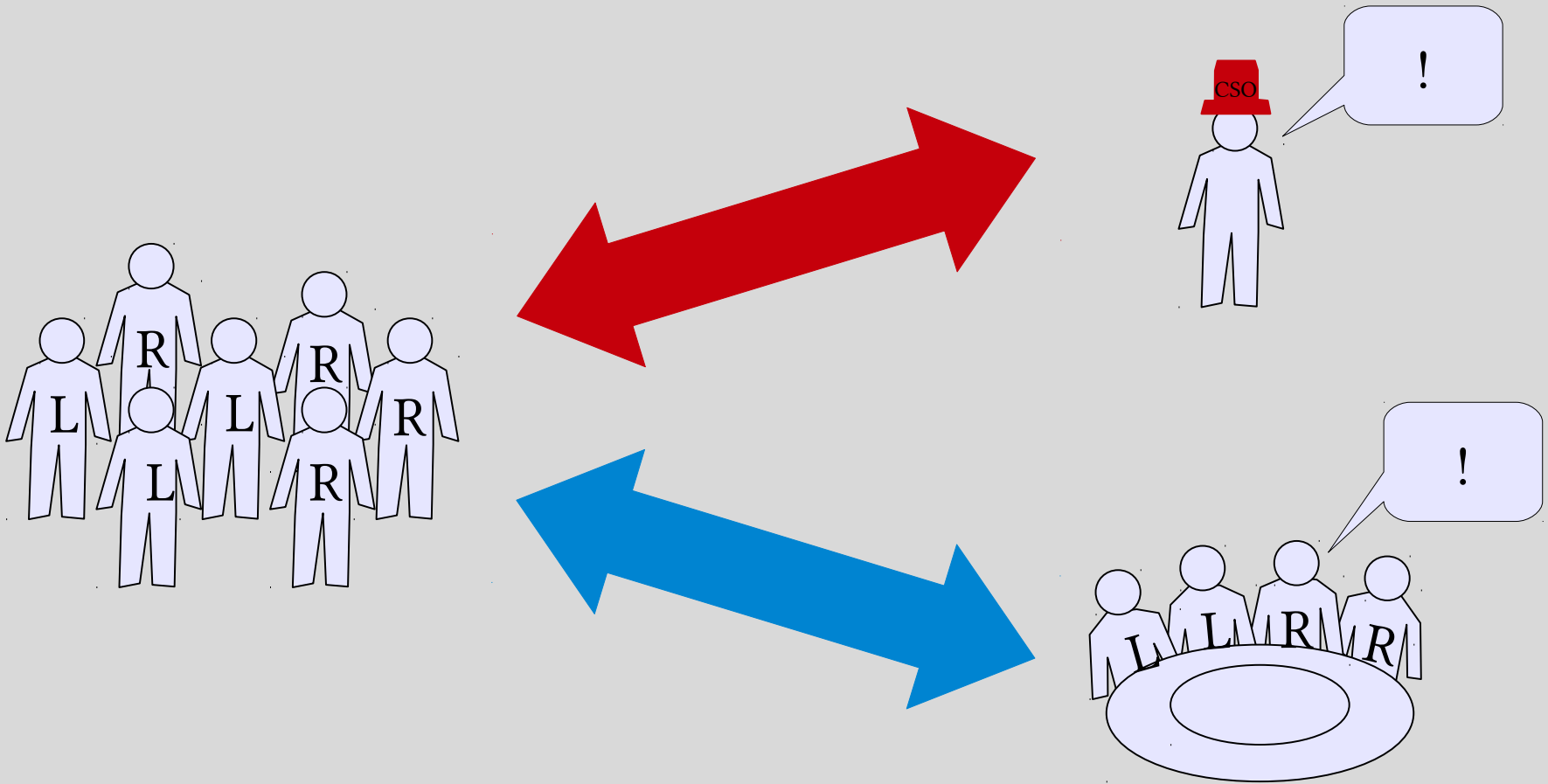


Claims-Making as Representation for Disenfranchised Groups

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Channels of Representation



Methods

- Claims-making in newspapers
 - 7 countries: AT BE CH ES IE NL UK
 - 1995-2009
- Models at country level, yearly
- Disenfranchised groups: immigrants
 - Asylum seekers and illegal immigrants

CSO Represent Immigrants

1995-2009	AT	BE	CH	ES	IE	NL	UK
	Austria	Belgium	Switzerland	Spain	Ireland	Netherlands	United Kingdom
Positive	81	80	81	85	80	69	76
Neutral	12	12	6	8	10	27	13
Negative	7	8	13	7	10	3	12

Percentage of immigration-related claims by civil society organizations (CSO) that are positive, neutral, and negative, all years combined

Variations in Claims-Making

- Political opportunity structures
- Restrictive immigration policies (MIPEX)

	AT	BE	CH	ES	IE	NL	UK
More claims: asylum/illegal	73	60	60	17	80	53	67

Percentage of years in which civil society organizations (CSO) make more claims about asylum seekers and illegal immigrants than immigrants in general

- Immigrants do not make claims themselves

Making More Claims

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
POS	-0.002	(0.010)	-0.163 *	(0.094)	-0.002	(0.011)
MIPEX	-0.006 *	(0.002)	-0.010 *	(0.003)	-0.007 *	(0.002)
POS * MIPEX			-0.003 *	(0.002)		
Politicization			0.363	(0.417)	-0.263	(0.262)
Pop. Change					0.017	(0.268)
Election					-0.098 *	(0.052)
Migr. Claims					0.685 *	(0.345)
Constant	0.815 *	(0.118)	1.036 *	(0.174)	0.878 *	(0.127)
R ²		0.07		0.10		0.17

Dependent variable: sqrt(claims about asylum seekers and illegal immigrants), N=102

Making Positive Claims

	Model 1		Model 2	
POS	-0.004	(0.015)	-0.003	(0.017)
MIPEX	-0.005 *	(0.003)	-0.005 *	(0.003)
Politicization			-0.300	(0.390)
Population Change			0.363	(0.417)
Election			0.007	(0.080)
Constant	2.519 *	(0.173)	2.550 *	(0.190)
R ²		0.03		0.04

Dependent variable: exp(positive claims by CSO), N=98

Discussion

- Civil society organizations **represent disenfranchised groups**
 - Immigrants, asylum seekers, illegal immigrants
- Immigrant policies
- Important role for **legitimacy** of system
- Full picture of political representation
 - Other actors