

Bibliographie

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Kadri Ismajli, zurichoïse d'origine kosovare



Die Konstruktion sozialer und kultureller Identität von Kosovaren in der Schweiz zeigt die Forschung entlang folgender drei Achsen auf: a) Der Beziehung zum Herkunftsland und der Wahrnehmung der eigenen Integration; b) kultureller Elemente und zwischenmenschlicher Beziehungen; c) der Rolle der Medien im Identitätsbildungsprozess. Die Studie zeigt, dass sich eine neue Beziehung zwischen der kosovarischen Migrationsbevölkerung und der Kultur des Herkunftslandes sowie jener des Aufnahmelandes abzeichnet. Unabhängig davon, ob von der ersten oder der zweiten Generation die Rede ist, ein Prozess der Identitätsbildung, gezeichnet durch Unterbrüche und Stetigkeit, findet innerhalb der kosovarischen Migrationsbevölkerung statt. Auch das sich verändernde Mediennutzungsverhalten der Kosovaren in der Schweiz widerspiegelt einen Prozess der neuen Identitätsbildung. Welcher Typ an Medien konsumiert wird ist ein Indikator dafür, wie hybride die Identität einer Person mit Migrationshintergrund ist. Diese Hybridität zeigt sich besonders deutlich innerhalb der zweiten Generation.

Didier Ruedin

The Politicization of Immigrant Groups

As part of the European SOM project (funded under Framework 7 of the European Commission), we examined which immigrant groups are politicized in public claims-making, and how they are portrayed. The analyses are based on a sample of 11,000 newspaper articles spanning seven countries and a period of 15 years: Austria, Belgium, Ireland, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, 1995 to 2009. Covered are claims in the news, that is, statements made by any kind of political actor about immigration and integration, particularly statements about immigrant groups that suggest a change to current policies.

In a first step, we examined which groups are politicized: about which groups claims are being made. Two things are noteworthy in this regard. First, by far the most common group referred to in claims in the news is the generic "immigrants" where no particular distinctions are made. This is the case for almost all countries, although the proportion of claims about this generic group of immigrants varies significantly across countries. Second, asylum seekers are the most commonly referred to immigrant group that is identified more specifically: typically between 10 and 30 per cent of all claims are about asylum seekers. This is striking given that asylum seekers constitute only a fraction of the immigrant population in the countries under study. Usually fewer than 3 per cent of the immigrant population are asylum seekers. By contrast, some of the largest immigrant groups are not mentioned much in claims in the news: immigrants from other European countries.

There are interesting trends over time when it comes to which groups are addressed predominantly in claims in the news. Asylum seekers were dominant in this regard in the late 1990s, when typically 30 to 40 per cent of claims made were about asylum seekers. While more recently asylum seekers remain politicized, they are no longer this dominant in the debate on immigration and integration. A rather drastic change can be observed for refugees as an immigrant group: since 2004, the proportion of claims about refugees has dwindled drastically. This may simply reflect a discursive shift in the debate, where the label asylum seeker may recently be used indiscriminately to cover both asylum seekers and refugees.

A change in the opposite direction can be observed for Muslims in four of the countries under study. As groups addressed in claims in the news, Muslims have really only emerged in the early 2000s. Here Switzerland is notable in that by 2009 Muslims have become the most common object actor. Although the popular initiative on banning the construction of new minarets is an obvious explanation for 2009, the number of claims has increased steadily over time. Similarly, it can be argued that the successful plebiscite was only possible because of increased politicization of Muslims. No increase in claims about Muslims can be determined in Spain and Ireland, where there are hardly any claims about Muslims, and in the Netherlands, where Muslims have low but permanent presence in claims in the news.

Groups are not only considered politicized if there are many claims made about them, but also when views on a group are polarized. Polarization in this context means a clear tendency to refer to a particular group either in negative or in positive terms, but not in neutral ones. Judging by the claims in the news, the debate on immigration and integration is most polarized in the United Kingdom, followed by Switzerland and Austria. At the other end of the scale, there is no sign of polarization in Ireland, where immigrants are generally portrayed in a positive light.

To examine the way immigrant groups are portrayed in claims in the news, we examined the justifications given in these claims (frames). These arguments can be divided very broadly into justifications of instrumental, identity-related, and moral reason. Across countries and immigrant groups, the most common way to justify claims is instrumental: questions of public interest, state efficiency and costs, domestic security, and economic interests are among the most common of the instrumental justifications. There are also significant differ-

ences between groups. For asylum seekers moral principles, notable ideals of equal treatment or human rights are invoked most commonly. This is the case irrespective of whether a positive or negative claim is made. Notable are also claims about Muslims, where identity-related arguments come to the fore unlike in any other immigrant group. Similarly, questions of religious rights are invoked, but also arguments related to international terrorism.

To understand the nature of claims-making in the news, we examined the relationship between claimants and immigrant groups: which kind of political actors tends to make what kind of claim about a specific immigrant groups. It transpired that there are two poles in the debate. On the one hand, there are governments and party politics; on the other hand, there are civil society actors and religious organizations. Negative claims about immigrant groups tend to work through formal party politics, whereas positive claims predominantly work through civil society actors. We find this tendency in all countries, despite marked differences in the political system.

Vjosa Gërvalla, genevoise d'origine kosovare



Taking together, there are both similarities and differences between countries when it comes to the politicization of immigrant groups. Whereas there are similarities in the tendency to speak about immigrants in the generic sense rather than about specific immigrant groups, for example, there are important differences across countries. The recent politicization of Muslims in four of the countries under study is a case in point. Muslims are most politicized in Switzerland, a country that has a relatively low share of Muslims among its immigrant population, compared to the situation in the other countries under study. The share of Muslims among the immigrant population is nearly three times higher in Spain, yet Muslims are not politicized as an immigrant group. The strength of the populist right in Switzerland would serve as a perfect explanation were it not for the fact that a similar strength of the Austrian populist right did not bring about an equivalent politicization.

References

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In einer vergleichenden Studie wird die Politisierung von Migrantengruppen in sieben europäischen Ländern untersucht. Auch wenn gewisse Parallelen zwischen den Ländern gefunden werden, ist das Bild in jedem Land einmalig: Die Immigrantengruppen die politisiert werden, und speziell mit welchen Argumenten dies geschieht, sind in den sieben Ländern stark verschieden.