

The Politicization of (Voiceless) Immigrant Groups in Western Europe

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Politicization

- ▶ politicized = salient
- ▶ immigrant groups: which, how, frames
- ▶ claims-making as active constitution of group boundaries

Voiceless Groups

- ▶ most-likely case for *different* form of politicization
- ▶ voiceless = asylum seekers, refugees, illegal/irregular immigrants
 - ▶ marginalized
 - ▶ not organized, precarious status
 - ▶ not enfranchised

Data

- ▶ claims-making in newspapers
- ▶ 7 countries: AT, BE, CH, ES, IE, NL, UK
- ▶ 1995 to 2009
- ▶ group size; POS
- ▶ MIPEX *data* for Koopmans et al. (2005) *theory*
- ▶ ethnic (– civic); monistic (– pluralistic) citizenship regimes

Salience of Different Groups


















































	All	AT	BE	IE	NL	ES	CH	UK
Legal Status	84	91	81	98	80	95	81	61
Racial groups	4	1	2	1	1	2	1	25
Religious groups	9	7	15	0	10		17	13
Country of origin	3	1	2	1	9	3	1	1

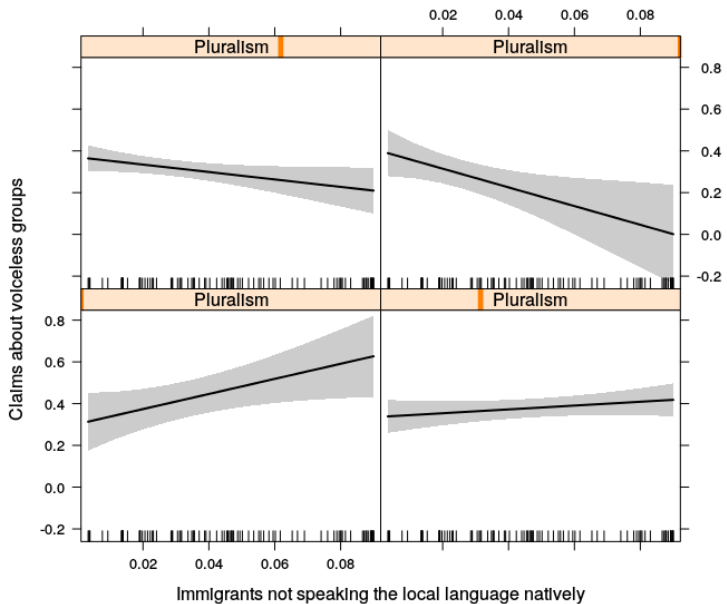
Asylum seekers

Country	All	95-7	98-2000	01-03	04-06	07-09
Austria	23	14	16	22	26	27
Belgium	9	12	12	11	4	9
Switzerland	19	11	19	27	33	9
Spain	1	13	1	1	0.3	1
Ireland	36	41	52	40	20	27
Netherlands	13	18	17	13	12	7
UK	14	19	16	27	10	2

Framing Immigrant Groups

Country	All	95-7	98-2000	01-03	04-06	07-09
Austria	51	71	31	62	40	53
Belgium	43	64	35	46	33	37
Switzerland	35	38	38	18	44	30
Spain	(75)					
Ireland	39	50	37	42	33	39
Netherlands	20	22	16	27	19	10
UK	34	63	22	29	39	60

<i>Actor ↓ Group →</i>	<i>Immigrants</i>	<i>Asylum</i>	<i>Illegal</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Refugees</i>	<i>Labour</i>	<i>Minorities</i>
Governments	 497	 287	 292	 88	 85	 73	 79
Parties/legislative	 315	 211	 91	 70	 28	 26	 16
Media	 124	 29	 29	 35	 17	 14	 9
Civil society	 210	 198	 85	 41	 36	 13	 32
Religious groups	 20	 29	 8	 20	 3	 1	 3
Unions	 31	 8	 15	 1	 0	 23	 0
Minority organization	 4	 4	 4	 1	 1	 0	 15



Discussion

- ▶ size of immigrant group largely unimportant
- ▶ different *form* of politicization
 - ▶ normative principles
 - ▶ negative
- ▶ two poles: parties/government/media \Leftrightarrow civil society
- ▶ citizenship regime
- ▶ ethnic = more politicization of voiceless groups
 - ▶ differentiate for political reasons
 - ▶ opportunity: citizenship regime \rightarrow debate
 - ▶ opportunity: voiceless groups \rightarrow debate