

Who Shapes the Other? Gender and Ethnicity in Claims-Making About Immigration

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Protest & Claims-Making

protest, contention → representation of group interests

claims-making in news

claimant: who makes the claim

claim: how policy should (not) change

representation beyond the electoral sphere

'having a voice'

Expectation

minorities of power → less access to claims-making

- ▶ women
- ▶ ethnic minority groups
- ▶ intersectionality

type of actor

- ▶ degree of inclusion
- ▶ kind of claims made

over time: modernization

Data & Methods

claims on immigration and integration in newspapers
7 countries (AT, BE, CH, ES, IE, NL, UK)

- ▶ N=10,857 claims

gender & ethnicity from first name of named actor

- ▶ N=5,533 gender
- ▶ N=5,587 ethnicity

non-parametric, correlations, (logistic regression)

Claims by Women

	All	Min	Max
M	78%	70% (AT, IE)	85% (UK)
F	22%	15% (UK)	30% (AT, IE)

percentage of claims on immigration and integration
by gender, pooled

Claims by Ethnic Minorities

	All	Min	Max
Mj	90%	84% (ES)	98% (IE)
Min	10%	2% (IE)	16% (ES)

percentage of claims on immigration and integration
by ethnic minority status, pooled

Gender by Ethnicity

Gender	Majority	Minority
Male	77%	88%
Female	23%	12%

gender of claimants by ethnic minority status

Type of Actor

Actor Type	F	Min
Government and judiciary	23%	4%
Legislative and parties	22%	8%
Left	33%	5%
Other	20%	12%
Media and journalists	25%	9%
Minority/pro-immigrant CSO	19%	36%
Anti-immigrant	8%	0%
Other CSO	20%	10%

claims about immigration and integration by women (Ø 22%) and ethnic minority members (Ø 10%) and actor type, pooled

Focus of Debate

Issue	Male	Female	Majority	Minority
Immigration	41%	46%	45%	15%
Integration	59%	54%	55%	85%

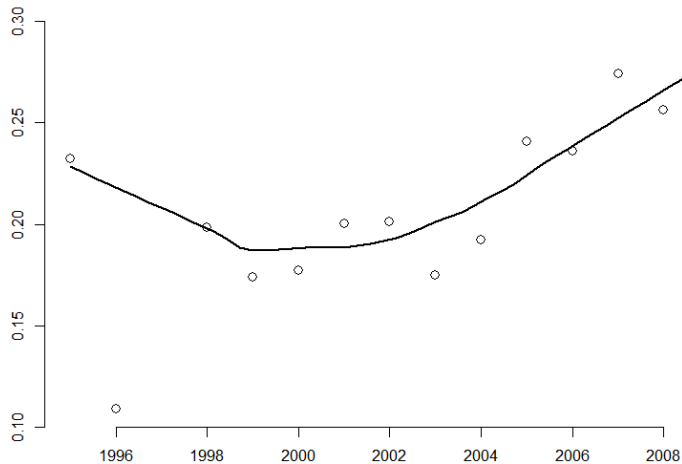
share of claims about immigration and integration by gender and ethnic minority status.

Frames

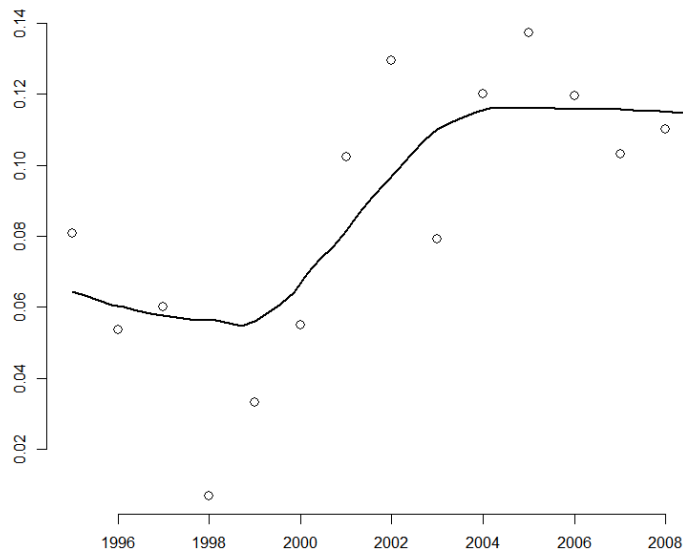
Justification	Male	Female	Majority	Minority
Instrumental	55%	53%	57%	31%
Identity	15%	13%	15%	30%
Moral principles	29%	34%	29%	39%

justifications (frames) by gender and ethnic minority status

Women Over Time



Ethnic Minorities Over Time



Discussion: Presence in Claims-Making

women and ethnic minority groups less likely in claims-making

ethnic minorities: women even less likely → trade-off

left-wing parties and CSO

different kind of debate as a result

- ▶ more negative
- ▶ less on integration
- ▶ less identity and moral principles

increase over time, but uneven