Politics, the Media and Immigrant Integration Debates in the Netherlands, Germany and Canada

This research project analyzes the role of the media in shaping immigrant integration policies. My ongoing research program, which focuses on political responses to immigrant-related socio-economic inequalities and cultural differences in the Netherlands, Germany, and Canada, showed that the media play an important but variable role in the formation of the integration policy domain in each country. In a related research project now under way, I am analyzing parliamentary debates from 1991 to the summer of 2008 and interviewing politicians and representatives of immigrant associations to analyze articulations of the conditions for belonging to each nation-state. The project this proposal focuses on will investigate the influence of the media on policy formation by tracing the ways in which media presents issues related to immigrant integration and by longitudinally analyzing the similarities and differences between framings in the media and in parliamentary debates. In addition, I will interview politicians, representatives of immigrant organizations, as well as journalists and editors working for newspaper and broadcast media to trace the institutional linkages that tie media framings to policy debates.

This study focuses on three country cases: the Netherlands, Germany, and Canada. As these countries developed integration policies, they struggled over whether multiculturalism, adherence to liberal democratic values, or ethnic affiliation should be the basis for national identity and belonging. The countries differ in which ideology has historically dominated these struggles: multiculturalism in Canada, a mix of multiculturalism and liberal democratic values in the Netherlands, and ethnic affiliation in Germany. However, in their current iteration, integration debates in the Netherlands and Germany seem to be converging on assimilationism centered on the adoption of liberal democratic values. In the Netherlands, and to a lesser degree in Germany, this convergence is focused on a fear of a growing Islamist presence. Outside Quebec, Canada provides a contrasting case; cultural issues are less dominant in discussions of the position of immigrants and multiculturalism remains a dominant thread in debate. I will treat Quebec as a separate case as it more closely resembles Dutch and German approaches to immigrants.

Both my preliminary research and the literature on democracy and the media suggest that struggles such as those over the direction of immigrant integration policies occur not in isolation in parliament but within a larger social context that includes media discourse. To research the shape and extent of the media’s influence on the policy making process, the analysis will ask a) how the media depicts immigrants and immigrant integration, b) whether issue framings first appear in newspaper media or in parliamentary debates, and c) how institutionalized linkages between media and political actors lead to reporting on some but not other issues. Throughout, I will not only look at within-nation contestations but also compare the ways in which integration discourses “travel” across nation-state boundaries, such as when the murder of Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands was discussed in media and policy making circles in Germany and Canada or when the Sharia debate that took place in Ontario received international attention. Ultimately, this research will deepen our understanding of the ways in which media debates on national identity and belonging influence liberal democratic deliberation. As such, it will be of interest to those studying policy approaches to the settlement of immigrants, the politics of media debate, and media influences on the formation of public policy.
2. DETAILED DESCRIPTION

Introduction, Objectives, and Significance

This research project examines the role of the media in the formation of immigrant integration policies in the Netherlands, Germany and Canada. In all three countries, media debates fuel the public’s understanding of social, cultural and political disintegration attending immigration, particularly that of Muslims (Abu-Laban 2002; Hansen and Koehler 2005; Korteweg 2008; Korteweg and Yurdakul 2008). Preliminary research suggests that the media has a potentially profound but also variable role in shaping the immigrant integration policy domain in each country. Interviews conducted during the summer of 2008 with politicians in the Netherlands and Germany show that politicians in the Netherlands perceive the media as setting the boundaries on what is possible in the domain of immigrant integration policy making but that politicians in Germany do not, or not to the same degree. My analysis of the Sharia debate in Ontario, where rather inflammatory media discourses seem to have influenced the policy response to end the possibility of Sharia-based arbitration in private legal matters, indicates that the media can play a significant role in Canadian policy making as well (Korteweg 2008; Razack 2007).

This research into the link between media debates and policy trajectories is part of a larger research program in which I investigate the development of immigrant integration as a new policy domain concerned with fostering the continued cohesion of nation-states in the face of dramatic, immigrant-related increases in ethnic, racial, religious and gender diversities. Contemporary integration policies are organized around struggles over the scope and content of liberal democratic values, the extent to which multicultural accommodation should be accorded to minority groups, and the degree to which immigrants should be incorporated into a pre-existing ethno-national identity (Bauböck 2001, 2003; Bloemraad, Korteweg, and Yurdakul 2008; Favell 2001a, 2001b; Joppke 2004; Kymlicka 2007). While all three perspectives are mobilized in debates on immigrant integration, one of them has historically been dominant in discursive and policy approaches to the integration of immigrants in each country: multiculturalism in Canada, liberal democratic values with some multicultural accommodation in the Netherlands, and exclusion based on ethnic heritage in Germany (Entzinger 2003, 2006; Li 2003; Brubaker 1992). Yet current struggles over immigrant integration appear to have led the Netherlands and Germany to converge on an assimilationist approach to immigrant integration (Brubaker 2001, 2004; Joppke and Morawska 2003). Particularly in the Netherlands, and to a lesser degree in Germany, a fear of Islam coincides with calls for a shared sense of national identity and belonging rooted, however, in shared liberal democratic values not ethnicity (Bjornson 2007; Duyvendak 2006; Hansen and Koehler 2005; Faist and Triadafilopoulos 2006; Korteweg and Yurdakul 2008; Prins 2004; WRR 2007). To outline the media’s role in the development of these immigrant integration policy domains, this study tracks media debates concerning the practices of immigrants, and researches the linkages between the media and formal political debate from 1991 to the present. Through a cross-national comparison, this study will identify the discourses and institutional arrangements that account for when and how the media affects policy making struggles about the incorporation of immigrants and constructions of national identity and belonging.

Specific Objectives and Attendant Research Questions:

- To examine how the media define immigrant integration, national identity and the conditions for belonging, and to assess the degree of consensus versus contest over these meanings as expressed by the media within each country: Which activities and beliefs of immigrants are reported on and how does such reporting reflect conditions for membership in Dutch, German, or Canadian society? Which activities and beliefs are portrayed as needing to change and which ones as congruent with membership in majority society? Is there consensus within the media on the problems associated with the presence of immigrants and their incorporation into majority society in each country or is there widespread variation? Does
consensus and conflict change over time? Are there differences between the country cases? If so, what are the conditions for consensus and conflict over time and/or between cases?

- **To examine the discursive connections between news reporting, parliamentary debate and integration policy outcomes:** Do issue framings related to immigrants and immigrant integration first appear in newspaper media or in parliamentary debates? Which issues are put forth in the media but not in parliamentary debate? Which ones are discussed in parliamentary debate but not reported on? Do policies that are adopted reflect parliamentary versus media debate? Are there differences between country cases on similarities and divergences in media and parliamentary discourses?

- **To examine the effects of institutional configurations between journalists, editors, politicians, and civil society groups on news reporting, parliamentary debate and integration policy outcomes:** What are the institutionalized relationships between journalists and editors and politicians and representatives from civil society (immigrant) groups? How do politicians and civil society group representatives in each country use the media to gain support for their interpretation of a given issue? How do journalists choose their sources? What are the differences in access among the three countries?

In all three countries, the incorporation of immigrants and the political responses to immigrant-related cultural and religious diversity are highly contested in public and political debate. This research will deepen our understanding of the ways in which media debates on national identity and belonging influence liberal democratic deliberation.

**Context and Theoretical Framework**

*Immigrant Integration: The Media as a Locus for the Articulation of National Identity and Belonging*

Research suggests that the media is an important site of articulation in the development of national identity and belonging. Speaking to the formation of nation-states, Anderson (1991) argues that national identity is imagined, not because it is not real, but because it is built up out of shared images of the ties that bind a people together. Such images are fostered, in part, through newspapers (and broadcast media), which generate common narratives that frame definitions of national identity (Anderson 1991; Bhabha 1990; Hall 1996; Wodak et al. 1999). Newspaper consumption reinforces the territorial and linguistic unity of the nation-state, creating “a sense that the nation or national society has an ongoing existence” and that “nationhood is constituted over time” (Frosh and Wolfsfeld 2006, 106). Newspapers and broadcast media flag national identity in the everyday, taken-for-granted ways, that Billig (1995) labels “banal nationalism,” which are an important source of national identity in the well-established nation-states of Western Europe and North America. The banal and everyday, and therefore often hard to capture and analyze, becomes more clearly articulated when nation-states are faced with a perception of threat or crisis as in the case of relatively sudden influxes of immigrants who are perceived to differ from majority society on religious, cultural, gender, and ethnic dimensions (McCrone 1998; Swidler 1986). In such conditions, the constitution of national identity and belonging might still not be the explicit flag waving of the ultra-nationalist, but can be read from how media discussions of immigrant beliefs and practices frame conditions for membership in majority society.

*The Impact of Media Debates on Policy Making Processes*

The literature suggests that the media is an independent political actor but that connection between news reports, parliamentary debate and policy outcomes remains under-researched (Cook 2001, 2004; Ferree et al. 2002a; Norris and Odugbemi 2008; Schudson 2002). Accordingly, this project addresses a) the similarities and differences in representations of immigrant beliefs and practices in media versus parliamentary debates and b) the institutional configuration of media producers, politicians, and civil society groups who become parties in the social construction of the problems
associated with immigrant integration. The literature treats these two dimensions jointly, suggesting that although politicians perceive the media as the more powerful agent, politicians, in fact, set the media agenda and create the messages broadcast by media reporting because of their privileged position as news sources (Kingdon 2003; Schudson 2002). “Focusing events,” such as 9/11, can create new policy agendas but they more often function as opportunities for the promotion of already-existing policy ideas (Birkland 2004). Research also indicates that interest groups can influence policy agenda setting but do not control how social problems (and their implicit solutions) are defined by government (Dery 2000; Birkland 1998).

My preliminary research indicates that the discursive and institutional linkages between the media, policy makers, and civil society groups may be even more varied than this literature suggests. In one interview, a parliamentarian for a Dutch ultra-right anti-immigrant party explained that his party was able to influence policy debate through its strategic use of the media, something echoed by a number of other Dutch politicians. This suggests that small, extremist political parties can gain agenda-setting influence disproportionate to their size. Several Dutch politicians mentioned that this had let to getting a law passed that forbids wearing the burqa and keeping discussions immigrants’ lagging socio-economic indicators off the parliamentary agenda because the center-left government did not want to give the right a platform to air their views on (the impossibility of) integration. In Germany, the media directly address politicians to make them aware of certain issues such as honour killing and forced marriage (Korteweg and Yurdakul 2008). However, German politicians interviewed in the summer of 2008 did not mention the media as a party in the policy agenda setting process. Their relative insulation from the media might help explain the somewhat weaker emphasis on assimilation in German than in Dutch parliamentary debates, despite a media focus on similar groups of immigrants.

The Canadian case suggests that when civil society groups have extensive media access, they can, contrary to the literature, simultaneously influence agenda-setting and policy outcomes. Civil society organizations, particularly Muslim organizations who argued both for and against the implementation of Sharia-based arbitration, used the media to effect a policy decision to disallow Sharia-based tribunals in Ontario (Korteweg 2008; Razack 2007). Comparing the access of such groups in the three country cases can show whether the media’s capacity to give voice to a wide-range of civil society groups explains Canada’s continued, even if perhaps more muted, multicultural integration policy approaches to immigrant integration, at least outside of Quebec. Within Quebec, nationalist aspirations currently guide attempts to make immigrants Quebecois (Juteau 2002; Bouchard and Taylor 2008). Combining the analysis of newspaper reporting and interviews with news producers, politicians, and civil society groups in the three countries with the analysis of parliamentary debates conducted in my ongoing research, will enable me to investigate how discourses travel from the media to parliamentary debates and back and how differences in institutional linkages shape policy agenda-setting and outcomes.

Relationship to Prior and Ongoing Research

This project is part of a larger research program exploring the development of integration policy domains over time in countries with historically divergent approaches to immigrant-related diversities. As part of this program, I am currently conducting research funded by a two-year grant from the Joint Initiative for German and European Studies (JIGES) at the University of Toronto, tracing parliamentary debates and immigrant integration policy development over time by analyzing records of parliamentary debate and the policies and laws presented to parliament for approval in the three countries. This ongoing research program is a collaborative effort with Professor Phil Triadafilopoulos (Political Science, University of Toronto). Interviews conducted as part of this project in the summer of 2008 alerted me to national differences in the importance politicians attach to the media as an agenda setter in parliamentary debates as well as differences in perceptions regarding the media’s influence over policy outcomes. While the grant initially covered research on the Netherlands and Germany, we are
now adding the contrasting Canadian case. The analysis of parliamentary debates we are currently conducting will form the basis for the comparison with media debates outlined in this grant proposal.

My current research program also draws on prior research that focused on media discussions of specific events or issues related to Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands and Germany. I have analyzed the newspaper coverage in the ten days following the murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh by a Muslim Dutch national of Moroccan descent in 2004 (Korteweg 2006a). In addition, I looked at the newspaper reporting of honour killing in Muslim immigrant communities in the Netherlands and Germany (Korteweg and Yurdakul 2008) and at the Sharia debate that took place in Ontario (Korteweg 2008, 2006b). These projects alerted me to the fact that media representations can be understood as sites in which a sense of national identity and belonging is constructed. The proposed project will also benefit from my expertise in cross-national comparative analysis on issues of identity construction in the political sphere that I gained in my dissertation research on the construction of citizenship in the Netherlands and the United States (Korteweg 2003, 2004, 2006c, 2006d).

Methodology

A Longitudinal Cross-National Comparative Approach

The three research objectives all involve comparisons across time and within and across nation-states. A meaningful analysis of the nation-level processes affecting the media’s influence on the development of an immigrant integration policy domain requires a comparison between multiple countries as the relevant variables or forces that affect these processes operate to a large degree at the national level (Ferree 2003; Ferree et al. 2002b; Ragin 1994). The analysis also requires a longitudinal approach in order to observe the development of trends and avoid the pitfall of generalizing from responses to a particular event (Koopmans et al. 2005).

Case Selection and Periodization

All three countries grapple with large increases in ethnic, racial, religious and gender diversities resulting from immigration and have developed integration policy domains in response to these diversities. However, each country has seen a different trajectory in struggles over the relative importance of liberal democratic values, multiculturalism, and assertions of ethno-national identity in integration policy development. Since the 1960s, the majority of immigrants in the Netherlands arrived from four non-western countries: the former colonies of Surinam and the Antilles, and guestworker-sending states Turkey and Morocco. These immigrants and their descendants now make up 10% of the Dutch population (SCP 2005). In public debate, the immigrants from Muslim countries like Turkey and Morocco, who comprise 4.5% of the Dutch population, are currently most strongly associated with the immigrant label (Forum 2008). A sense that Muslim immigrants are profoundly different from majority society has given rise to discourses and integration policies that reflect assimilationist assertions of individual liberal democratic values (Bjornson 2007; Duyvendak 2006; Entzinger 2003, 2006; Scheffer 2000, 2007; Prins 2004; but see Koopmans 2002).

Germany’s immigrants consist largely of former guestworkers from Turkey and other Mediterranean countries. These immigrants constitute approximately 4.1% of Germany’s population (Forum 2008). In Germany, national identity was historically tied to an ethnic understanding of nationhood, but the 1990s saw a shift towards the importance of shared civic values, particularly in the expansion of citizenship laws (Brubaker 1992; Ignatieff 1993; Hansen and Koehler 2005; Kastoryano 2002; Klopp 2002; Koopmans et al. 2005). Thus Germany, like the Netherlands, emphasizes adherence to individual liberal democratic values in connection to Muslim immigrants in particular, however, with less overt emphasis on assimilation than in the Netherlands (Korteweg and Yurdakul 2008).

While Canada has also undergone a rapid diversification of its population with immigration policy changes in 1967, it is unlike the other two countries in its history as a former settler colony and its continued commitment to multiculturalism (Kymlicka 1995, 2007). Also, Canadian Muslims,
approximately 2% of the total population, are a relatively smaller presence than in the other two
countries. In the Canadian debate, Muslims receive significant attention, particularly in Quebec (see for
example, the Bouchard-Taylor report) but also in other provinces (Korteweg 2008; Li 2003; Razack
2007). However, public debate also focuses on immigrants whose foreign professional credentials are
not recognized or on Sikhs’ religious practices and, outside of Quebec, Canada’s policy of official
multiculturalism seems to continue to mute the strong assimilationist discourses that have come to
guide integration policy debates in other countries, though in Canada too integration discourses have
assimilationist undercurrents (Kymlicka 2007; Li 2003). A comparison of the ways media influences
parliamentary debates and policy outcomes will help explain the ways in which immigrant integration
policies diverge and converge in each of these three countries.

The period under investigation runs from 1991 to the present. The year 1991 marks the point at
which the fall of Communism was firmly established. With the threat of communism removed, debates
about national identity shifted and Islam began to draw greater attention. By conducting the
longitudinal analysis over an 18 year period, I capture a period that contains a number of key events
associated with this positioning of Islam, but with enough temporal distance to demonstrate the effect
of these events on media and parliamentary debates. These event include 9/11 most importantly, but
also the 1993 firebombing of an immigrant home and the 2005 honour killing of Hatun Sürücü in
Germany, the murders of Pim Fortuyn in 2002 and Theo van Gogh in 2004 in the Netherlands, the
arrest of 17 young Muslim Canadian men accused of plotting terror attacks in Canada in 2006 and the
adoption of the anti-Muslim town values in 2005 in Herouxville, Quebec. In addition, looking at a
nearly two-decade period also affords me the opportunity to watch the unfolding of changes in media
debates not associated with particular events and how their connection to policy making. The length of
this period will allow me to see when Islam is prominently featured and when other differences
between immigrants and majority society take center stage in immigrant integration debates.

Data to be gathered

In the first year of the project, I will create a database of newspaper articles discussing immigrants
in the Netherlands, Germany and Canada, including Quebec, from 1991 to the present. To construct the
database, I will gather news articles and editorials in three “quality” newspapers in the Netherlands (de
Volkskrant, De NRC, and Trouw) and Germany (Frankfurter Algemeine Zeitung, Suddeutsche Zeitung,
and Tageszeitung), and two major English-language newspapers (the Globe & Mail and the National
Post) and one French language (Quebec) newspaper (Le Devoir) in Canada. These papers span the
political spectrum within each country and thus ensure that differences in the cross-national
comparative findings will not be the result of the political outlook of any given newspaper (see also
Korteweg and Yurdakul 2008; Korteweg 2008). These newspapers are available online and the relevant
articles can be found by searching for key terms such as immigration, integration, ethnic minorities, and
designators for the major immigrant groups in each country. I will follow the practice of Koopmans et
al. (2005, 260) and select articles from three days of the week so as to capture the weekly news cycle
while maintaining a manageable number of articles (in the 2,000 range for each country).

I restrict my survey to “quality newspapers” because research on immigration discourse shows
that “tabloid” paper differ in their reporting from “quality” newspaper only in the depth not the content
of their coverage (Koopmans et al. 2005; see also Cook 2001). While there has been a proliferation of
so-called new media, including blogs, the diversity of news reported on has decreased, and newspapers
continue to be representative of media debates (Cook 2006; Perlmutter 2006). To gauge whether there
are different processes at play in broadcast media, I will conduct open-ended interviews in each country
with 15 journalists, editors and producers working in both print and broadcast media. In addition, open-
ended interviews with politicians of all parliamentary parties and with representatives of immigrant
organizations and other civil society groups involved in immigrant integration debates will further deepen the analysis of the importance of media framings in parliamentary debate and policy making.

**Analysing Media Debates and their Linkages to Parliamentary Policy Debates**

Beginning in the first year and continuing during the second year of the project, I will analyze the newspaper data and the data from interviews with key actors. First, I will identify which immigrant-related issues newspapers report on. I will analyze each issue for the ways in which immigrant beliefs and practices are framed for conceptualizations of conditions for membership in majority society (Goffman 1974). In my analysis, I take into account that newspapers are not (only) reporting facts, but are also constructing social problems as they selectively report on certain issues and not others and as they frame these issues in particular ways (Best 2002; Critcher 2003; Gamson and Modigliani 1989; McCarthy et al. 1996; Smith et al. 2001; Spector and Kitsuse 1977). My research assistants and I will inductively code the newspaper articles. We will do a content analysis to identify the frequency with which each issue discussed comes up in the different newspapers and the different countries and use qualitative discourse analysis to examine how issues related to immigrant integration are framed in newspaper reporting. The codes we develop in the content and discourse analysis will be described in a codebook to ensure consistency in the coding across newspapers and countries (Ferree et al. 2002b).

After analyzing the newspaper articles, my research assistants and I will compare the findings to those from the study of parliamentary debates in the three countries to gain insight in the media’s role in agenda-setting and shaping policy outcomes. First, we will compare the discourses and constructions of problems associated with immigrant integration in media versus parliamentary debates, paying attention to commonalities and divergences. Second, we will see which issues and/or their particular framings appear first in newspapers and which appear first in parliamentary debate to track whether media reporting drives policy debates on a given issue or vice versa. I will also map institutional linkages by tracing citations in media reports, focusing on which politicians most often appear as sources – those in government, those in opposition, those holding extremist views or those pushing new ideas – and which civil society groups are sources for media framings of issues related to immigrant integration. This will also help me identify who to interview. Finally, I will use the data from these open-ended interviews with journalists, editors, and politicians and representatives of immigrant organizations to map their institutional linkages and to analyze how they perceive their relative capacities to use the media to set the policy making agenda and influence policy outcomes.

**Communication of Results**

The second and third year of the project will focus on dissemination of results. The research will culminate in a series of articles on the forces that structure the impact of the media on the formation of an immigrant integration policy domain in the three countries. During the second year, I will work with my research assistants to present preliminary findings on each country case in conference papers at the Canadian Sociology Association meetings in 2010. These papers will then be revised and submitted to Canadian Journal of Sociology, Ethnic and Racial Studies and German Politics and Society. A half course reduction through an RTS will free up the additional time required to co-author these papers with my research assistants. During the final year of the project (my sabbatical year), I will write a major analytical research article on the comparative findings. I will present a preliminary version at the ASA meetings in August 2011 and by April 2012, submit the article to the American Journal of Sociology. During this last year, my research assistants and I will also co-author an article for Social Problems analyzing how media discourses travel cross-nationally in reporting on a single event. Finally, we will also make our results available to the wider public, in the form of a press release and a report targeted at the media, policy makers and civil society organizations in each of the three countries.
3. LIST OF REFERENCES


SCP. 2005.
4. DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH PLAN AND PREVIOUS OUTPUT

A. Description of the Research Team - N/A

B. Description of Proposed Student Training Strategies

Each year of the project, I will hire Ph.D.-level students to assist me in the proposed project, with the aim of hiring the same students for the duration of the project. If students so desire, they can pursue a piece of this project for their own theses. In general, the training provided on this project will be invaluable to students as they pursue their degree because they will learn about all aspects of conducting sociological research as well as how to present and publish research findings.

In Year One, I will hire three Ph.D.-level students, one for each country case as I have access to students who have facility in each language. During the first few months, these three research assistants will construct the database of newspaper articles covering immigrants in the Netherlands, Germany, and Canada respectively for the period from 1991 through 2008. Once this newspaper database is prepared, they will begin analyzing the newspaper articles under my guidance. I will teach them how to use software specially developed for analysis of qualitative data (NVivo7), which is an indispensable skill for anyone interested in conducting large scale or multi-site qualitative analysis, and we will collaboratively develop the code book as we identify the immigrant-related issues discussed in the media and the media framings of immigrants, integration, national identity and belonging. The students will identify the frequency with which various representations appear as well as whether the representations are contested.

In Year Two, I will offer my research assistants the opportunity to continue with the project as we continue data analysis. I will teach the research assistants how to analyze temporal relationship between the representations in the media and those mobilized in parliamentary debate. We will again use NVivo7 to conduct this analysis. During this year, I will also teach the students how to look for patterns in the data across time and across newspapers within each country. Finally, the students will have a chance to analyze interview data based on interviews with politicians, newsmakers, and civil society organization leaders that I will conduct over the Spring and Summer of 2010. This analysis will form the basis for three articles, one on each country case, that each research assistant will co-author with me. Two of the students and I will present early versions of these papers at the Canadian Sociological Association’s annual meeting in June 2010, before submitting the Dutch case to Ethnic and Racial Studies, the German case to German Politics and Society and the Canadian case to the Canadian Journal of Sociology towards the end of this year. This will give the students training in crafting independent arguments and writing and presenting specialized academic papers.

In Year Three, I will continue to support three research assistants. The work in this final year will focus on integrating the findings and analysis from the first two years of the project by analyzing the trends within each country cross-nationally. The work this year will culminate in a major analytical research article on the comparative findings. I will present a preliminary version at the ASA meetings in August 2011 and by April 2012, I will submit a finished article to the American Journal of Sociology that outlines the media influences on the formation of immigrant integration policy that this research brings to light. In addition, I will give the students an opportunity to collaborate on writing an article on one event that was reported on in all three countries (for example, the murder of Theo van Gogh) to analyze how media discourses travel across nation-state boundaries and how reporting on such events is influenced by country-specific contexts. In addition to learning skills associated with data analysis and write-up, this will teach the students how to integrate various secondary source materials in writing up comparative research findings. One of the students will present a preliminary version at the ASA meetings in August 2011, and by April 2012, we will submit an article to Social Problems.
In Year Three, I will also hire an M.A. student to draft the press release and the report of the research findings that is intended for wider dissemination. This student will develop the skill of translating academic findings and writings into a clear language, accessible report. This is an important skill for M.A. students who are not going on to the Ph.D. and I will hire such a student.

I have already been working with one Ph.D. student fluent in German and knowledgeable about German society, Paulina Garcia del Moral, and she is interested in working on this project. For the Dutch case, I have been working with Lars Nickolson. I do not anticipate difficulties finding a graduate student fluent in both English and French to conduct research on the Canadian case, given the diversity of the graduate student population at the University of Toronto. I have facility in all four languages and will be able to guide students and check their work during the project.

C. Description of previous and ongoing research results
I come at the study of the integration policy domain through my investigation of the meanings of citizenship. In my dissertation research, I looked at the way in which single mothers on welfare were transformed into “working” citizens as welfare caseworkers implemented welfare reform aimed at ending single mothers’ reliance on social assistance in the Netherlands and the United States (Korteweg 2003, 2004, 2006b, 2006d). More recently, I have looked at the concept of citizenship from the angle of immigration in a review article in the Annual Review of Sociology (Bloemraad, Korteweg, and Yurdakul, 2008). This review article highlights a dearth of research on the ways in which discourses on citizenship and national identity formation are affected by immigration. My current research program on immigrant integration debates in the Netherlands, Germany, and Canada focuses on filling this gap. My analysis of the newspaper coverage of the murder of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh by a Muslim Dutch national of Moroccan descent also alerted me to some of the elements of Dutch national identity that come to the fore in such reporting, in this case, a belief in gender equality, a belief in free speech, including the right to insult people, and a belief in cultural liberalism (Korteweg 2006a). My research into the newspaper portrayal of honour killing in the Netherlands and Germany illuminates how gender differences are used to inscribe ethnic and religious differences in such a way as to facilitate assimilationalist discourses in the Netherlands and, to a lesser degree, in Germany (Korteweg and Yurdakul, 2008). These last two projects were funded by a Joint Initiative for German and European Studies grant and a Connaught New Faculty Matching Grant, both competitive grants that are awarded at the University of Toronto. I have extended some of this work to the Canadian case in a paper on the conceptualizations of Muslim women’s agency in the Sharia debate that took place in Ontario between 2003 and 2006 (Korteweg 2008). This work focuses on representations of Muslim women’s agency in such debates but it also shows how media debates influence policy making outcomes. I am currently looking at the ways in which policy debates about immigrant integration are unfolding in the Netherlands, Germany, and Canada. A two-year grant by the Joint Initiative in German and European Studies at the University of Toronto has enabled me (together with my collaborator Phil Triadafilopoulos) to conduct research tracing parliamentary debates and immigrant integration policy development over time by analyzing records of parliamentary debate and the laws presented to parliament for approval in the three countries, research we are currently expanding to include Canada. In 2008, I presented papers on the Dutch case at the ASA and ISA. This research on immigrant integration policy in the Netherlands, Germany and Canada will provide the data on parliamentary debate and the integration policies that were adopted that will enable me to trace media influence on these debates. Finally, my co-author Gökçe Yurdakul and I have been asked by the United Nations Research Agency on Social Development to write a report on honour killing in immigrant receiving countries of the West. This report will focus on whether assimilationalist discourses actually hinder effective policy approaches to such forms of violence against women.
5. BUDGET JUSTIFICATION

TOTAL Budget: $138,077 (Year 1 $39,455; Year 2 $61,475; Year 3 $37,146)

Personnel Costs Total $96,036

Student salaries and benefits/Stipends;

**Year One.** Three PhD level graduate students for 336 hrs (7 hrs/wk, 48 wks, x 3) @ 27/hr, vacation (4%) and benefits (10%) = $31,135

The scope of the project requires extensive involvement of students fluent in English and French, Dutch, or German and I will hire one student for each of the three countries under study throughout the course of the research project. In recognition of their language expertise, I will pay them at the high end of the University of Toronto’s RA scale. In the first year, these graduate students will work the equivalent of one day per week to construct a database of newspaper articles published in three newspapers in the Netherlands, three newspapers in Germany and two English and two French language newspapers in Canada. They will begin coding these articles to identify the various media representations of issues associated with immigrants’ presence in each country, meeting regularly with me to develop a codebook that will ensure consistent coding across newspapers and countries. We will determine the frequency with which different representations of immigrants, integration, national identity and belonging appear in each newspaper and each country.

**Year Two.** Three PhD level graduate students for 336 hrs (7 hrs/wk, 48 wks, x 3) @ 27/hr, vacation (4%) and benefits (10%) = $31,135

During the second year of the project, the graduate students will continue to work one day a week to identify long-term trends and within country variation in representations, conducting a discourse analysis that focuses on consensus and contest in media framing of immigrants, their integration, national identity and belonging for each country case. I will teach the students how to situate the findings into their social, economic, and political contexts and they will each co-author a paper with me on the individual country findings. Two students will present early drafts of these papers at the Canadian Sociological Association meetings in June 2010, to effect broad dissemination of our findings at an early stage of the research when feedback is most useful. The remainder of this year, we will work on further data analysis and revisions to prepare the papers for submission to Ethnic and Racial Studies, German Politics and Society, and The Canadian Journal of Sociology.

**Year Three.** Three PhD level graduate students for 336 hrs (7 hrs/wk, 48 wks, x 3) @ 27/hr, vacation (4%) and benefits (10%) = $31,135

I will integrate the findings and analysis from the previous two years and I will teach the graduate students how to advance a theoretical argument so as to create a major journal article that will outline media influences on immigrant integration policy making. I will present a draft of this article at the ASA annual meetings in August 2011 and submit it to the American Journal of Sociology by April 2012. The students and I will also collaborate on writing a comparative article about media reporting on one event (such as the murder of Theo van Gogh) to analyze how media discourses travel across nation-state borders, and one student will present an early draft of this paper at the ASA in August 2011 and after revisions, this paper will be submitted to Social Problems by April 2012.

1 M.A.-level student for 100 hrs (10 hrs/wk, 10 wks) @ 23/hr, vacation (4%) and benefits (10%) = $2,631.

This student will take the study’s findings and under my guidance translate them into accessible language and visuals that will appeal to a general audience. The student will prepare a press release and report that will be sent to various media outlets.
Other Expenses – Professional Services $7,500

**Year 2.** Transcription costs – 25 interviews with politicians, newsmakers, and civil society organization leaders in each country (3) for a total of 75 interviews (4 hours to transcription each interview @ $25/hour = $120 each interview) X 75 = $7,500

Travel and subsistence costs: $21,155

**Applicant Canadian travel - $1,365**

Year 2. CSA meeting (destination TBA) to present preliminary findings with two of the students: flight $600, hotel for two nights at $150/night, ground transport to and from airport at $100, per diem for 3 days @ $55/day, conference registration fee $200

**Applicant Foreign travel - $16,275**

Year 2. Travel to the Netherlands to conduct interviews: flight $1500, ground transport to and from airport at $100, per diem for 21 days at $75/day, accommodations $4,200.

Travel to Germany to conduct interviews: flight $1500, ground transport to and from airport at $100, per diem for 21 days at $75/day, accommodations $4,200.

**Year 3.** American Sociological Association (location tba) to present a paper on the comparative findings: flight $600, hotel for two nights at $200/night, ground transport to and from airport at $100, per diem for 3 days @ $75/day, registration fee $200

**Students Canadian travel - $2,130**

Year 2. Two students to CSA meeting (destination to be announced) to present preliminary findings: flight $600x2, hotel for two nights at $150/night, ground transport to and from airport at $100x2, per diem for 3 days @ $55/day x2, registration $50 x2. By presenting our early findings, we will be able to disseminate more of the research at an early stage when feedback is most desired.

**Student Foreign travel - $1,385**

Year 3. One student to American Sociological Association in Atlanta to present a paper on the cross-border travel of media discourses: flight $600, hotel for two nights at $200/night, ground transport to and from airport at $100, per diem for 3 days @ $75/day, registration $60. Presentations by the student, as well as me, at these meetings will also ensure the results are more broadly disseminated.

Other expenses – $10,160

**Supplies - $1,410** The research will require the following office supplies:

- Paper (3 boxes/yr @ $40/box) = $360; Printer cartridges (2/yr @ $150) = $900; Long Distance ($50/yr) = $150

**Non-disposable Equipment – $6,200** Computer Hardware: Two networked desktop computers to be used by the research assistants to enter and analyze, and manage all data, 2 @ $1,500 = $3,000;

- One lap top computer (Lenovo X300) for travel to interviews $2,700; Printer to print newspaper articles and articles from secondary literature: $500

**Other – $1,650** NVivo7 to be installed on three computers (principal researcher and 2 research assistants) 3 licenses @ $550 = 1,650

**RTS Requested – Year 2 $4,125**

1 half course release (0.5) in Year 2: SSHRC portion of half course ($8,250) = $4,125 for data analysis of the interviews and write-up of findings.
9. Response to Previous Critiques

This proposal is a thoroughly revised version of the proposal that I submitted to SSHRC a year ago (which received a 4A result). These revisions are the result of preliminary research I conducted in the past year and take into account the thoughtful comments of the external reviewers and the adjudication committee.

Last year’s proposal focused solely on the media discussions of immigrant integration as a locus of national identity formation. Research into parliamentary debates regarding immigrant integration, particularly interviews conducted with politicians and immigrant civil society groups in the Netherlands and Germany during the summer of 2008 funded by a grant from JIGES, alerted me to the fact that the media plays an important albeit variable role in the policy making process. This led me to rethink this research proposal and to link the investigation of the news media’s framing of immigrant integration and the conditions of membership into majority society more tightly to the policy making process.

I also made a number of revisions in response to the SSHRC adjudication committee’s comments and suggestions. The committee and external reviewers pointed out three main shortcomings in last year’s proposal. First, the committee wondered about the choice of focus on newspaper media, suggesting I might include other sources such as blogs and broadcast media. I understand the committee’s concern regarding the representativeness of a focus on newspaper media, a media source that might seem almost outdated, particularly in our current, wired environment. However, as I outline in the methodology section of this proposal, research suggests that the newspaper media continue to be a good proxy for public debate (Cook 2006, 2001). Furthermore, newspaper articles are an easily accessible and comprehensive source (unlike blogs which come and go and which have far more particularistic concerns and a far smaller audience than newspapers continue to have, see Perlmutter 2006). Therefore, I continue to focus on newspaper articles as the data source for the longitudinal analysis of the linkages between media and policy making processes. However, I take into account that newspaper media are not the only source of news. Hence, I have added interviews with newsmakers working not only in newspaper but also in broadcast media. In addition, I will conduct interviews with politicians and civil society group leaders to gauge the ways in which they interact with news producers and how they relate to alternative media sources.

Second, the case selection of the Netherlands and Germany led one reviewer to wonder whether the cases were too similar for a meaningful comparison. While I believe that there are meaningful contrasts between the two cases, particularly with respect to their different histories of civic versus ethnic citizenship, the reviewer’s questions sparked my own curiosity about the contrast that a state with a strong commitment to multiculturalism might bring (Kymlicka 2004).

Finally, the adjudication committee echoed concerns of reviewer 3 who questioned the theoretical framing of the project and suggested I focus on transnationalism, globalization and their impact on identity. I believe this particular critique grew out of an ambiguity in the original proposal. I have therefore worked to clarify my intent in the proposal. An ongoing debate in the literature explores the relevance of transnational linkages and globalization in shaping immigrants’ relationship to their host countries (Basch et al. 1994; Bauböck 2003, 2007; Bloemraad 2004; Brysk and Shafir 2004; Faist and Kivisto 2008; Guarnizo et al 2003; Koopmans 2004; Portes et al. 1999; Sassen 2006; Somers 2006; among others). However, rather than adjudicating this debate, my project focuses on host countries’ responses to immigrants. I expect that questions of transnational ties and whether those indicate a limited commitment to the host society will come up in such debates and at that point, the analysis will incorporate this literature. The overarching frame of the project, though, takes as its point of departure the state’s approach to immigrant integration and accepts that the state plays an important role in immigrant incorporation. This project will bring to the fore the discursive framings of immigrants that
dominate in news media over time and how these framings influence states’ policy approaches to immigrant integration.
6. Competitive Quotes - N/A

7. Request for Adjudication by Committee 15 – N/A

8. Justification of choice of Council for Committees 10, 20, and 27 – N/A

10. Exclusion of Potential Assessors – N/A