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E-MINDFUL PROJECT

Austria CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

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1. Executive summary

Located in Central Europe, Austria is home to circa 9 million people. In 2022, approximately 2.35 million (26.4%) of people living in Austria had a migration background, of which 1.73 million were born abroad, and the remaining 620,600 individuals were born in Austria to parents with a foreign birthplace. In 2022, about 56% of all immigrants were of non-EU origin, of which some 53% were displaced persons from Ukraine as a result of the war. The top five nationalities of foreigners living in Austria are German (225,000), Romanian (147,500), Serbian (121,900), Turkish (119,700) and Croatian (101,800). In Austria, the so-called "migration crisis" of 2015 and the COVID-19 pandemic have significantly influenced public attitudes and policy debates on migration issues. Especially the former led to political changes in the areas of border protection, registration, accommodation and integration. In 2014, Austria established the "Migration Council for Austria" with the task of elaborating "substantive foundations for a national migration strategy". The Council came with a broad set of recommendations and guidelines that shape the policy debate on migration issues in Austria. The principal philosophy of these guidelines is that "Austria must remain a secure and stable state where people can live in prosperity. The fundamental prerequisite for keeping Austria's systems in balance is social peace. The quantity of unforeseen burdens imposed on the systems of the state has an impact on their quality."

In this migration landscape, five dominant narratives on migration are identified and examined: (1) the universal right of asylum and compulsory admission of refugees; (2) the regulation of migration; (3) the threat from migration; (4) differentiating between "good" and "bad" migrants; and (5) a toleration of multicultural diversity. The primary trend observed in the examined samples points to a split in the discourse on migration. On one hand, there are positions that generally favor migration, while on the other, there are more ambivalent stances that lean toward distinguishing among categories of migrants. This distinction tends to manifest in two ways: narratives emphasizing regulation and economic utility, with explicit criteria for excluding potential immigrants, or narratives reflecting a tolerant perspective on multicultural diversity, considering immigration and the resulting diversity as cultural enrichment. In essence, the discourse seems to form a triad: firstly, a widespread support for the universal right to asylum and the corresponding obligation to offer refuge; secondly, a broad and valued differentiation among migrants; and thirdly, a form of differentiation that underscores both the inclusion and exclusion of migrants equally.

When analyzing the influence of external elements on the migration and integration debate, it is concluded that psychosocial dispositions, varying concepts of identity, moral views, the perception of the world and prejudices can all serve either as conducive or as obstructive to the integration of migrants into Austrian society. The interconnectedness of these elements reveals itself as a lose structure. In this structure, on the one hand, universal asylum rights and diversity tolerance connect,

while on the other hand, narratives of threat, regulation, and differentiation are bundled. A clear division can be observed between universalists and separatists. However, there are also more complex conclusions. For example, the narrative of differentiation is compatible with a cosmopolitan attitude when differentiation is part of a constructive overall solution, and regulation requirements can also be combined with integration-friendly attitudes by subjecting regulation itself to humanistic principles. The main obstacles to integration include fearful and anomalous worldviews, conspiracy myths, prejudices from the spectrum of group-based animosity, as well as nationalist superiority and isolationist thinking. Appealing to a combination of patriotism and cosmopolitanism, on the other hand, appears to be the most promising endeavor that could facilitate constructive dialogue among both the host society and migrants.

When analyzing the dissemination of information via different media platforms, "a dual paradox of information" emerges. Firstly, the quantity of information behavior does not necessarily reflect the quality of information evaluation. While the internet surpasses traditional mass media in terms of usage time, the level of trust in internet information remains modest. Secondly, those who consume a lot of television are precisely the ones who approach television with a set of negative migration attitudes. In this group there is, however, still a desire to "learn" and do so in a "trustful" manner, leaving space for people to seriously scrutinize arguments in support of universal asylum rights or the plausibility of narratives which are tolerant of diversity. Therefore, the medium of television provides space for reaching a group that is willing to have their positions challenged, while also being generally more trusted as a platform for information.

Based on these insights, a prototype has been developed with the aim of communicating a positive message on the benefits of migration to Austrian society. The target audience of this prototype is the so-called "movable middle", those whose views are open to change, and who do not hold rigid and unchangeable views on migration, either positive or negative. The goal is to prompt reflection on peoples stances and encourages a shift in perspectives by focusing on a rewarding search for solutions, rather than presenting finished and advocated models of action or thought. The prototype will take the form of video, for which inspiration is drawn from an Austrian city campaign, "Linz is Linz,". This campaign effectively handles stereotypes without clichés. For the format, the prime inspiration is the TV quiz show "Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?" where contestants face challenging questions, encouraging the audience to actively reflect and contemplate. The key strength of this format is that it allows for diverse perspectives and voices. Animation is chosen as the primary medium for its emotional vividness, flexibility, and ability to captivate attention, especially in addressing complex subjects like migration. This choice aligns with existing examples in literature and film where animation effectively conveys migration narratives.

In summary, the prototype will follow the format of "Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?", encompassing the key features of the "Linz is Linz" campaign, leveraging humor and

addressing stereotypes. The format allows for thought-provoking questions that encourage viewers to form their own opinions and engage in self-reflection. The use of animation enhances the emotions transported while maintaining a critical distance from real-life situations. The prototype transcends simplistic evaluations, engages the movable middle, and challenges attitudes on migration.

2. Introduction

The contextual analysis has been structured into three integral sections, consisting of looking at the legal framework governing migration in the Austrian context, an investigation into the structure of the discourse on migration and the relevant media platforms, as well as a presentation of the prototype.

We initially provide a comprehensive survey of the legal framework governing migration within the Austrian context (see chapter 2). It contains a breakdown of the demographic composition of Austria with a particular focus on individuals with migration backgrounds, as well as both migration and emigration dynamics and outlines the various forms of migration prevalent in Austria. It characterizes the requirements and obstacles in the process of attaining Austrian citizenship, presents a history of refugee migration to Austria, and finally gives a sense of the current topics of migration. The analysis was conducted through desk research by the Austrian team.

To thoroughly explore the discourse surrounding migration and the relevant media platforms (see chapter 3), an extensive research study was initiated in coordination with the OSCE. Its goal was to allow for evidence-based conclusions for communication practice (see Grimm, 2023, 2). The research was conducted between January and April 2023 (see Appendix 1 for full study). Dr. Jürgen Grimm, who developed the MICH-Model that underpins this study, assumed a central role in the formulation of the study's questionnaire and the subsequent analysis of its findings.

Central to the study was the concept of "acculturation", which Grimm defines as "the two-way and open process of identity formation under conditions of modern societies characterized by individualization and cultural exchange". In being guided by this concept, the analysis allows for the further development of approaches to communicative support of the integration process, as well as their potential modification – be it due to the failure of conventional communication practices to address the problems of acculturation, or due to them exacerbating existing tensions in the integration process (ibid.).

To do this, the study applied a questionnaire (N=156, 49M, 107FM; median age: 34Y; migratory background: 23,7%; non-migratory background: 76,3%; 60,3% currently employed; 58,3% students; 54,5% living with partner, 45,5% single). This sample is not representative of the Austrian population, but rather a randomized lump sample (ibid.).

Although the lump sample did not allow conclusions about the representative conditions of the population living in Austria, its character as a random selection did allow a) for an insightful comparison between social groups (migrants and non-migrants), which is tightly connected to questions of integration, as well as b) correlative analyses about the relations between the metanarratives of the Austrian integration discourse and their connections with other factors, notably characteristics of the audience (psychosocial characterizes and worldviews) as well as characteristics of the media (reliability of media information, perceived credibility of TV and print compared with the internet (see Grimm, 2023, 2).

Comparing between "migrants" and "non-migrants" allowed for a data-based approach to migration conditions in Austria, and combined with an analysis of metanarratives, provided fundamental insights for the future shaping of migration communication. In this way, commonalities and differences in the dispositions of natives and immigrants inform about the state of rapprochement, which is a target variable in the acculturation process, while acknowledging fields of conflict and permanent forms of diversity and difference. By being capable of illuminating the networking of the metanarratives, a foundation for networked communication strategies was created, enabling these to go beyond selective target group definitions and simplistic aspects reductions (ibid.).

In reviewing current scholarship on migration discourses in Austria, we found that scholars address this issue through the lens of either a) identity and identity shifting in Austria experienced by migrants (Unterwurzacher, 2020; Wodak, 2013; Scheibelhofer, 2007; Fischer, 2017: Savas, 2010), b) shifts in Austrian identity in the past thirty years (Cillia/Wodak/Rheindorf/Lehner, 2020); c) political migration discourses on social media (Heidenreich/Eberl/Lind/Boomgarden, 2019) d) discourse analytical analyses of extreme-right wing cultural politics in Austria (Rheindorf/Wodak, 2019); e) the public debate on migration around 2016 (Kluknavska/Bernhard/Boomgarden, 2019; Trauner/Turton, 2017), to name but a few directions. We felt that the benefit of the approach suggested by Grimm lay in being capable offering a lens which integrates these strands of scholarship through investigating the rapprochement of migrants and non-migrants in the acculturation process.

The findings of the Grimm's study were structured into three parts (see Chapters 3.1.-3.3.), focusing on the master narratives, the declinations of the main narrative frames and models as well as the relevant media platforms used to disseminate the master narrative frames about migrants.

The results presented in Chapter 3 were then used in the final section (Chapter 4) to characterize the storytelling which will be conveyed to the "moveable middle" audience via the communicative prototype.

3. Legal Framework

3.1. Immigration Statistics, Regulation of Immigration and Citizenship

In 2022, approximately 2.35 million people with a migration background were living in Austria, accounting for around 26.4% of the total population. This represents an increase of 7.6 percentage points compared to the previous decade. Of this group, approximately 1.73 million individuals belonged to the "first generation," having been born abroad and subsequently immigrated to Austria, while the remaining 620,600 individuals were born in Austria to parents with a foreign birthplace ("second generation")(Klimont et al., 2023, pp. 19-20). Migration, asylum, and the public debate surrounding these issues were heavily influenced by the 2015 refugee crisis and the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic ("Österreich bei Doppelstaatsbürgerschaft Schlusslicht", 2021).

The forms of migration defined by the government are:

1. Mobility within the EU by EU/EEA citizens and their family members in accordance with EU law.

2. Permanent Immigration: According to the Austrian immigration system, individuals who wish to live and work in Austria can apply for a Red-White-Red Card if they meet certain criteria. A points system determines whether these criteria are fulfilled. This section also includes settlement permits for researchers, artists, and specific cases of dependent employment, as well as family reunification.

3. Temporary Stay: residence permits for various groups, including intra-corporate transferees ("ICT"), third-country nationals with an "ICT" residence permit from another member state ("mobile ICT"), posted workers, specific cases of dependent employment (Au Pair), self-employed individuals, researchers' mobility, students, social service providers, and volunteers.

4. Fixed-Term Employment: individuals who want to work in Austria for a specific period or for companies that want to send or second workers to Austria ("Formen der Zuwanderung", 2023).

A portion of the residence permits issued in Austria is attributed to asylum seekers (and in 2022, also to displaced persons from Ukraine who are receiving Temporary Protection on the basis of EU law). For the migration balance, only two groups of people are relevant:

1. Individuals who enter Austria for the first time, either through regular or irregular means, and apply for asylum ("initial asylum applications") or are exempt from this application due to their citizenship (war refugees/displaced individuals from Ukraine).

2. Family members (spouses and minor children) who join a person granted asylum or subsidiary protection.

An automatic asylum application is filed for children born to parents who are granted asylum or subsidiary protection, or who are in the asylum process. Even though they may not impact the migration balance, they are important for future integration needs. If the parents' asylum process has already been successfully concluded, the newborn children also receive the same status as their parents (Expert Council for Integration, 2022, p. 21).

In 2021, 32,400 individuals who arrived in Austria for the first time applied for asylum. This marked a significant increase compared to 2020 (+22,900 people or +240%). Austrian authorities received a total of 12,200 applications for family reunification in 2021(+10,000 or +450% compared to 2020). It should be noted that not all of these applications are approved, and even a positive decision does not automatically mean immigration to Austria will occur within the same calendar year. There were 3,100 asylum applications for children born in Austria to refugees ("born in the country"). This accounted for 8% of all asylum applications. 8,900 applications were filed by minors under the age of 18, including 5,600 unaccompanied minors. 85% of all asylum applications were submitted by male adolescents or adult men, while 15% were filed by female adolescents or adult women. In terms of origin, a similar pattern to previous years emerged in 2021. Nearly two-thirds (64%) of all initial asylum applications were from Syrian (43%) and Afghan (21%) nationals. The family members joining them were predominantly of Syrian (60%) or Afghan (26%) origin, consisting mainly of women, children, and adolescents (ibid., p. 22).

Both immigration to and emigration from Austria decreased due to the pandemic. There were approximately 136,300 arrivals and 96,300 departures in 2020, resulting in a net migration of around 40,000 individuals, which was slightly lower than the previous year (-1.4%). However in 2021 the numbers re-bounded to pre-pandemic levels, which is mainly attributed to the notable influx of individuals fleeing from Ukraine. There were approximately 154,200 arrivals and 101,700 departures in 2021, resulting in a net migration of around 52,500 individuals (Klimont et al., 2023, p. 6).

Among the arrivals from abroad, around 15,700 were returning Austrians, and an additional 100,700 were citizens of EU, EFTA, or the United Kingdom. Germans and Romanians accounted for the largest group with around 21,700 arrivals each, followed by Hungarians (12,500). Immigration from non-EU countries (145,600) comprised 56% of all migrants and increased by 29% percentage points compared to the previous year. 53% of those migrants were from Ukraine (ibid., p. 7).

Germans remained the largest group among foreign citizens in Austria, with nearly 225,000 residing in the country as of January 1, 2023, followed by Romanian citizens (147,500). Serbians (121,900) and Turkish citizens (119,700) ranked third and fourth, respectively. Croatia occupied the fifth position with 101,800 citizens in Austria.

Hungarians, Bosnians, Syrians, Ukrainians and Poles completed the list of the top ten nationalities. Other notable nationalities in Austria include Afghanistan, Italy, Bulgaria, Russia, Kosovo, and North Macedonia (ibid., p. 7).

The Austrian passport not only provides a sense of security and belonging but also improves prospects in the job market and grants access to democratic participation, such as the right to vote (Valchars & Bauböck, 2021, p. 23).

Children can acquire Austrian citizenship at birth through descent if the mother is an Austrian citizen. If their parents are married, the same applies if the father is an Austrian citizen. If the parents are not married, the paternity must first be acknowledged. Holding dual citizenship is only allowed if the child acquires another citizenship at birth ("Erwerb durch Abstammung", 2023). Austrian citizenship law is considered one of the most restrictive worldwide. Globally, only 19 percent of the countries studied do not tolerate dual citizenship (for non-citizens), placing Austria in this shrinking minority ("Österreich bei Doppelstaatsbürgerschaft Schlusslicht", 2021). Another indication that Austria has one of the most restrictive citizenship systems in Europe is that it has one of the lowest rates of granting citizenship in Europe. Only a few European nations have even lower rates (Valchars & Bauböck, 2021, 76).

3.2. History of Refugee Migration to Austria and Legal Reactions

In terms of the history of migration to Austria, the country has had a tumultuous experience being an important transit- and destination country for refugees. Starting after the Second World War there were around half a million "displaced persons" and ca. 300,000 ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe present in Austria. In the following years, and up until 1990, there were three large refugee movements to Austria. In 1956/57 around 219,000 people fled from Hungary to Austria as a result of the Hungarian Revolution; in 1968 around 162,000 Czechoslovaks fled to Austria as a result of the suppression of the Prague Spring; and in 1981/82 120,000-150,000 Poles arrived in Austria as a result of the imposition of martial law. A large portion of these people emigrated to other western countries or oversees however, or they returned to their countries of origin. Lastly, only ca. 10% of the Hungarians and ca. 8% of the Czechoslovaks stayed in Austria. (see Rutz, 2018, p. 23)

After the fall of the Iron Curtain and the commencement of the wars in former Yugoslavia, Austria experienced a number of refugee movements from the Balkan states – increasing regularly until 1991 (ca. 30,000/year) before steadily decreasing again (ibid. p. 24).

This experience of steadily increasing numbers of asylum seekers in the early 1990s

led to Austrian asylum law and its liberal asylum practice becoming more restrictive – simplifying the ability to return irregularly immigrating foreigners to their country of origin. The new Asylum Law ("Asylgesetz" of 1992 established a specialized asylum agency ("Asylbehörde") in the first instance, introduced measures to speed up asylum cases, and established the ability to deny asylum seekers' requests if immigrating from third countries deemed safe. (ibid., pp. 24-25)

A further reform came with the Alien Llaw ("Fremdengesetz") in 1997, which implemented international and EU obligations. Central points were e.g. new immigration requirements at the border, the introduction of a sped-up process for easily to be decided cases, the granting of asylum to family members and the creation of an independent asylum senate ("Asylsenat"). These measures played a part in reducing the numbers of asylum requests between 1992-1997 to under 10,000 annually (ibid., pp. 25-26).

Commencing in 1998 there was a new, stronger increase in immigration from asylum seekers to Austria, as a consequence of the war in modern-day Kosovo. This increase was interrupted by a slight decrease in the year 2000, before increasing again to a new record in 2002 – in part also due to new asylum requests by Afghans and Iraqis (Rutz, 2018, p. 26). Between 2003-2007 the asylum requests in Austria sunk by ca. 30%, leading to a record low again in 2010, before continuing to rise throughout the 2010s. In the past twenty years, Austria has consistently ranked among the top three EU countries in the number of asylum seekers relative to its population (ibid., p. 26).

As had already happened in the 1990s, between 2000-2013 there were numerous developments in asylum and alien law due to the change in immigration to Austria (Rutz, 2018, p. 26). The reform of Asylum Law ("Asylgesetz-Novelle") in 2003 intended to process asylum requests quicker and more efficiently. In 2004, the competences and responsibilities between the Federal and State levels for initial admission, allocation, accommodation of and provision for asylum seekers were addressed ("Grundversorgungsvereinbarung, 2004"). The Asylum Law of 2005("Asylgesetz, 2005") ensured the timely securing of the Dublin procedure, formulated new traumatization¹ requirements, detailed refugee's obligations to cooperate and introduced procedures for delinquent asylum seekers (ibid., p. 27).

Similar to other EU countries, the processing of asylum seekers proved challenging in the years 2014-2016. 2014 saw a 60% increase compared to 2013 (2013: 17,503 requests; 2014: 28,064), while 2015 saw a record 88,340 requests before gradually decreasing again in the following years (ibid., p. 7).

This experience led to political changes in the areas of border protection,

¹ The Asylum Law of 2005 offers special protection for traumatized individuals, e.g. ensuring that their cases won't undergo a detailed examination during the initial admission process, as traumatized individuals cannot be expected to give a detailed account of their trauma so shortly after having gone through it. With the assistance of doctors, a precise definition of the concept of traumatization was formulated. The term "traumatized" is no longer explicitly mentioned in the law, instead they refer to traumatized individuals as "victims of violence".

registration, accommodation, and integration, introducing strategies to better enable the steering and administration of the growing number of asylum seekers (ibid.).

3.3. Current Topics of Migration

As for current topics of migration, Austria established the "Migration Council for Austria" in 2014 as an independent body to "elaborate substantive foundations for a national migration strategy" (Migration Council for Austria, 2018, p. 4). This council issued a series of recommendations in 2016/18 which can be taken as indicators of policymakers' thinking on the future of migration in Austria.

Central to the guidelines issued by the Council is the claim that "Austria must remain a secure and stable state where people can live in prosperity. The fundamental prerequisite for keeping Austria's systems in balance is social peace. The quantity of unforeseen burdens imposed on the systems of the state has an impact on their quality." (ibid., p. 13)

To this end, the council suggests trade-offs between the need for annual net immigration and the ability of state-run systems to process "a massive population increase within a short period of time" – a lower supply of labor ought to therefore also be "perceived as an opportunity for innovation and can be compensated through higher productivity or through digitization." Furthermore, to counter "security risks" caused by "demographic imbalances", "a balanced distribution of the population in terms of gender, social background and geographic origin is an important factor of stability" (Migration Council for Austria, 2018, p. 13).

The Council argues that "a comprehensive migration-policy strategy must be oriented on Austria's interests" – "this is a national task that demands a national effort": "all actors exercising a direct or indirect influence in the field of migration (the business community, foreign trade, the social partners, political office holders, NGOs) should be involved in this effort. The macro-economic interest of the country is as important as the balance of the interests pursued by these actors" (Migration Council for Austria, 2018, p. 13).

Furthermore, "migration policy must be supported by the population. In a democracy, acceptance by the population is indispensable. Every political measure requires the support of the population. The fears and anxieties of all groups of the population have to be taken seriously, addressed and discussed." (ibid.)

The Council underlines the importance of immigrants learning German before coming to Austria, as well as being informed of Austrian values (ibid., p. 13). A primary focus on the qualifications and education of immigrants is seen to boost the country's innovative strength and productivity, while ensuring that immigrants do not become dependent on transfer payments. (ibid., p. 14)

Labour market demand ought to primarily be met from the available demand of domestic labor – if foreign labor is needed to meet demand, intensified efforts should be made to attract EU citizens from all fields of qualification within the framework of internal migration in the EU (ibid.).

The council recommends incentivizing the integration of migrants into the labor market by facilitating the reconciliation of work and family responsibilities. It recommends utilizing the potential of international students by extending residence rights after graduation. It recommends broadening the scope of the "Red-White- Red Card" regime to meet the demand more accurately for skilled labour, arguing that stronger incentives should be provided for researchers and highly qualified workers to come to Austria (ibid.).

On the issue of asylum seekers and recognized refugees not yet integrated into the labor market, the Council recommends the provision of work and training incentives, while at the same time not recommending to facilitate access to the labor market as this "would act as a considerable 'pull factor" (ibid.).

As to cooperation in migration policy with other countries, the Council argues for "giving preference to countries of origin with long-standing political or historical ties with Austria that contribute to security and stability in Europe." (Migration Council for Austria, 2018, p. 15).

The Council argues for ensuring external border protection of the EU, and to end the current fragmentation of EU law by introducing a package of Directives and Regulations (EU Migration Codex), as well as harmonizing asylum and migration law (ibid.).

At national level, the Council argues that "the legal framework needs to be simplified, clarified and systematised, the object being an Austrian code of migration law that regulates all areas of immigration and asylum law (asylum, basic welfare support, foreign nationals police, settlement and residence legislation, legislation on the em- ployment of foreign nationals, the granting of citizenship, and procedural law provisions)" (ibid.).

The Council further argues that: "the right of asylum, though being an essential characteristic of a liberal, democratic society under the rule of law, needs to be viewed in the context of globalized migration.

The transcontinental flow of refugees and the associated dangers to people's lives should be contained; the protection of particularly vulnerable groups, such as women and children, and the implementation of protective measures on site in the regions of origin should be given special priority. A new European/multilateral system of protection should be devised in order to protect people on the periphery of the conflict regions, either in safety zones or in existing refugee facilities. On-site protection systems have to be established. In cooperation with mobile authorities, persons likely

to be granted asylum should be brought to Europe by safe and legal means, subject to predefined numerical limits and a time limit on the asylum status granted. Ideally, such solutions should be jointly developed and implemented by the European Union or, at least, by a group of Member States. Requirements for effectively meeting the challenges of global migration and the associated mixed migration flows include:

- a workable system that allows persons in need of special protection to migrate to other countries;

- intensified measures for the resettlement of refugees;

- effective and efficient protection of the borders of the Schengen area.

An effective and credible asylum policy requires a new European/multilateral return policy. Persons who are not eligible for protection have to be returned quickly to their countries of origin or to protected facilities. Uncooperative countries of origin should have to expect certain consequences of their attitude" (ibid., pp. 15-16).

4. The Structure of the Discourse on Migration and the Relevant Media Platforms

This part focuses on the structure of the discourse on migration and the relevant media platforms. To do this, we looked at the master narratives, the declinations of the main narrative frames, as well as the relevant media platforms.

4.1. Master Narratives

Concerning the master narratives present in Austria about the contribution of migrants to hosting communities, the study by Grimm (see introduction) investigated non-migrants' and migrants' perspectives on migration across five themes (these five themes can be formulated as narratives, e.g. "every politically persecuted person or war refugee must be granted asylum!" (see Grimm, 2023, 10)):

- 1. The universal right of asylum and compulsory admission of refugees
- 2. The regulation of migration
- 3. The threat from migration
- 4. Differentiating between "good" and "bad" migrants
- 5. A toleration of multicultural diversity

The findings indicate that the majority of respondents predominantly supports a universal right to asylum and a duty of states to provide refuge (metanarrative 1). The level of acceptance surpasses all other metanarratives, with the caveat that half of both the migrant and non-migrant subgroups still accept limitations on migration (ibid.).

Metanarrative two, the regulation of migration, is more strongly supported by nonmigrants than by migrants, or, conversely, a laissez-faire approach to migration policy is more strongly rejected by non-migrants than by migrants. Both groups however fall below the midpoint of the scale, indicating factors moderating a possible frenzy for regulation of migration (ibid.).

The findings also point to entrenched beliefs in the social majority which prove challenging to address via communication strategies aimed at changing fundamental convictions. One of these beliefs concerns the right of asylum for reasons other than war or political persecution in the home country. Grimm finds that the strongest difference between the groups with regard to regulation concerns the sub-narrative, "one should not grant asylum to every immigrant as one would a war or civil war refugee", with non-migrants postulating this narrative more (ibid.). A threat from migration (metanarrative 3) is not perceived by the social majority. The threat narrative is however still accepted with an average of 32 scale points, which roughly corresponds to the percentage of those who affirm the narrative (see Grimm, 2023, p. 10).

In terms of metanarrative four – differentiating between "good" and "bad" migrants" –, Grimm finds the most striking difference in questionnaire responses pertaining to the concern of "economic usefulness": migrants are either considered as assets to the economy or as non-exploitable. This finding points to the close connection between economic interests and the migration discourse and would therefore require sensitive handling since strong arguments both for and against migration coexist in close proximity (ibid., p 11).

Finally, the findings for metanarrative five – tolerating multicultural diversity – indicate that migrants have a higher tolerance of multicultural diversity than non-migrants. This suggests that non-migrants view migrants as less of a cultural enrichment than migrants do in their self-perception. According to Grimm, these findings indicate an asymmetry in the migration and integration discourse, with the social majority exhibiting less open engagement than the migratory minority. In terms of the significance of this asymmetry, Grimm suggests that its extent is tempered by the finding that metanarrative five, the tolerance of multicultural diversity, is second only to metanarrative one, the universal right to asylum, as the narrative which is the most strongly supported by both groups (ibid., p. 11).

Grimm concludes that, overall, these findings largely suggest opportunities for constructive integration policies, while acknowledging existing – and not to be overlooked - tendencies of asymmetry and division (ibid., p. 11).

To ascertain differences of perception of migration between migrants and nonmigrants, the study investigated whether there were discernable differences in prejudice towards migration, as well as psychosocial differences between nonmigrants and migrants (ibid., p. 6). In terms of prejudices against migrants, with cautious interpretation, the findings suggest a tendency towards an asymmetric situation in integration processes, where the social majority possesses a fundamental set of inhibiting subjective factors (such as xenophobic prejudices) which hinder the integration of migrants. This does not however exclude the possibility that migrants may also exhibit attitudes hindering integration (ibid., p. 6).

Grimm suggests these might include the so-called "Scary World View", which exists at two levels of intensity ("Scary 1": perceiving one's environment or the world in general as threatening; "Scary 2": aggressive variant of "Scary 1"). Although "Scary 1" is slightly more pronounced among non-migrants, it does not meet the criterion for statistical significance. "Scary 2", which includes self-defense, the differences between the two groups disappear entirely. A paranoid worldview ("anxious worldviews") beyond the average level is not evident among either locals or migrants (see Grimm, 2023, 4).

After xenophobia, Islamophobia ranks second in the overall sample and, alongside the central prejudice, represents an important point of address in the discourse on migration. Racism follows in third place. Racism has a catalytic effect within the consortium of prejudices, driving other prejudices, without assuming an initiatory or quantitatively dominant role itself (ibid., p. 6).

Psychosocial characteristics serve as the subjective foundation for the discourse surrounding migration and integration. They can act as catalysts for the process of assimilation or, alternatively, impede it. No significant differences were found in the psychosocial characteristics between migrants and non-migrants. However, there are differences in detail, such as slightly greater empathy among the native population and more anxiety among migrants, which may be an expression of a relatively precarious social situation (ibid., p. 18).

Both migrants and non-migrants exhibit equally strong abilities in terms of humor, which could be an important resource in supporting the acculturation process (the convergence between natives and migrants as part of their everyday awareness) (ibid., p. 3).

In conclusion, according to Grimm, the central tendency displayed by the investigated samples is toward a division in the migration/integration discourse between positions which generally approve of migration, and more ambivalent positions which tend to want to differentiate among migrants. This differentiation is found to either be characterized by narratives of regulation and economic utility, with explicit exclusion criteria for potential immigrants, or characterized by a tolerant attitude to multicultural diversity, which views immigration and the resulting diversity as a cultural enrichment (ibid., p. 11).

The discourse therefore appears to consist of a triad: firstly, a universal endorsement of the right to asylum and a corresponding obligation to provide refuge; secondly,

a generalized and valued differentiation among migrants; and thirdly, a type of differentiation which emphasizes inclusion and exclusion of migrants equally (see Grimm, 2023, 11).

4.2. Declinations of the main narrative frames

and models

To address the issue of the declinations of the main narrative frames and models, Grimm's study investigates how the metanarratives are networked with other variables in the migration/integration discourse. This provides an analysis as to what is conducive and what is obstructive to integration, allowing us a foundation for ascertaining whether the chosen storytelling resonates with the social majority or not.

According to Grimm, psychosocial dispositions, varying concepts of identity, moral views, the perception of the world and prejudices can all serve either as catalysts or as obstacles to integration (ibid., p. 18).

Psychosocial dispositions are the discourse drivers situated within the audience. Grimm's analysis focuses on empathy, fear, and humor, as these can be addressed through communication strategies According to Grimm, the psychosocial variable which is most strongly anchored in the migration discourse is empathy. Empathy is a double-edged sword: although it serves as the foundation for a sense of social togetherness, it can also contribute to a narrowing of group images when associated with threat and hostility. Grimm's findings clearly indicate the presence of the positive side of empathy, which can advance acculturation and integration (ibid., p. 18).

By examining the subdimensions of empathy as a productive force in the migration discourse, Grimm allows a differentiated picture to emerge: Emotional empathy permeates all narratives in a direction that advocates acceptance of all migrants (critically, one could argue, without differentiating). Cognitive empathy is also supportive of migrants but takes a more nuanced approach as to the necessary measures. Anxiety is an unexpected factor among the supportive variables and therefore requires closer examination in the context of threat scenarios (see below). Humor primarily helps to maintain a tolerance of diversity even when conflicts arise, or anxiety threatens to overwhelm. The investigation of these subdimensions of empathy shows that the interplay between humor and anxiety can be extremely helpful in the migration and integration discourse (ibid., p. 19).

According to Grimm, morality is similar to empathy in that it can play a positive or negative role in social discourse. Morality is based on empathy in that empathy connects individuals with others and forms the basis for a framework of coexistence.

The relevant question for this investigation is which reference group someone relates their morality to (while thereby potentially excluding others), and/or which moral behavior appears as a universal challenge applying to all individuals equally and thereby also recognizes moral obligations as a universal imperative (see Grimm, 2023, p. 20).

Grimm finds that "cocooning" (the tendency to withdraw into private spaces of the immediate vicinity) and moral particularism (limiting the reference space for moral actions to the immediate environment) are, on one hand, the strongest inhibiting factors of constructive integration policies, and on the other hand, reactionary formations in response to an overextension of the concept of humanitas (active advocacy for universal human rights and international understanding) which is supported and grounded by communitas (a sense of community beyond national and cultural boundaries). He suggests that communitas is closer to the individual and the local community, providing control and reassurance as the primary reference group in relation to others and potentially competing communities (ibid., p. 21).

He suggests that the effect of moral obligations as a focal point for attitudes critical of migration is fueled by the demands of the majority society on newcomers. It represents a universalistic projection onto a subgroup, combined with a sense of entitlement. Furthermore, he claims that the dialectic of moral overextension and the imposition of obligations likely plays a role here, as obligations can be applied to both migrants and abstract universalists (ibid.).

Grimm then looks at three concepts related to identity, namely nationalism, patriotism and cosmopolitanism. Those who feel particularly connected to the country and its people tend to develop a certain degree of migration-critical tendency. However, the influence is much weaker than initially assumed. By controlling for the influence of nationalism through partial correlations, the relationship to the migration discourse is largely neutralized. This is fully evident in the relationship with universal asylum rights and diversity tolerance, reduced by one-third in the context of threat narratives, and halved in general support for migration. Thus, patriotism appears as a more or less neutral field of identity that does not pose a serious barrier in the migration discourse, provided that efforts are made to reconcile and balance the different perspectives (ibid., p. 28).

The clear frontrunner in terms of identity constructions that promote integration is cosmopolitanism, which should be understood as not being in opposition to but rather as part of national identity. The ability to reflect on one's own national identity and remain open to connection with other groups, both internally and externally, is highly positively associated with diversity tolerance and universal asylum rights. Cosmopolitanism in this sense appears to significantly undermine the basis of migration narratives such as threat, regulation, and differentiation, which are susceptible to instrumentalization by nationalist and xenophobic forces. Despite the strong influence of cosmopolitanism, narratives of threat, regulation, and differentiation do not completely lose their significance. Instead, they are subject to scrutiny in light of cosmopolitanism (see Grimm, 2023, p. 27).

Grimm then looks at perceptions of the world (scary world, anomie/anarchy, conspiracy beliefs). He finds that civilization pessimism and the notion of "anarchy" and moral/ethical decay hinder constructive solutions in the migration discourse. A viable solution to counteract this is the promotion of social trust, which encompasses institutional trust in an extended systemic sense. Since misanthropic views of humanity also shape the regressive worldview of anomie, there are further points of connection for a constructive migration discourse. More problematic seems to be the belief, fueled by conspiracy narratives, in an elite striving for world domination which can only be recognized as an "enemy" through comprehensive disinformation and secretive manipulation, making democratic forms of protest seem futile (ibid., pp. 21-22).

Grimm then looks at prejudices. Prejudices of group-based animosity can be succinctly categorized into a unified pattern of critically engaging with the migration discourse. The universal validity of human rights in the context of asylum and migration is denied outwardly, while diversity tolerance is undermined internally. The combination of anti-universalism and homogeneity poses a threat to a liberal understanding of society that not only affects the minority of migrants but also the core of democratic society itself. The need for regulation and differentiation in the field of migration is essentially undisputed; however, the tone and nuances are crucial. Linking narratives of threat with inclusion-exclusion dichotomies and overly rigorous enforcement of regulations could destroy the fundamental trust between the host society and migrants, which is necessary for an acculturative path of gradual convergence and blending of identities, without giving rise to a new dogma of false homogeneity fiction through assimilation (ibid., pp. 24-25).

In conclusion, the metanarratives in the migration discourse are not singularities, but rather interconnected modules which, in combination and interaction with each other, can promote or hinder processes of acculturation and integration. As shown in part 3.1, a basic structure emerges which, on the one hand, connects universal asylum rights with diversity tolerance within the territorial community and, on the other hand, bundles narratives of threat, regulation, and differentiation. A front line can be observed between universalists with aspirations of a global community and separatists focused on the local community. However, the black-and-white scheme is also broken in several places: the narrative of differentiation is compatible with a cosmopolitan attitude when differentiation is part of a constructive overall solution and does not degenerate into dichotomous exclusion strategies. Regulation requirements can also be combined with integration-friendly attitudes by subjecting regulation itself to humanistic principles (see Grimm, 2023, p. 31).

The main obstacles to these lever points include fearful and anomalous worldviews, conspiracy myths, prejudices from the spectrum of group-based animosity, as well as nationalist superiority and isolationist thinking. The combination of patriotism and cosmopolitanism, in particular, appears to be a promising endeavor that could facilitate constructive dialogue among both the host society and migrants (ibid., p. 31).

4.3. The Relevant Media Platforms used to

Disseminate the Master Narrative Frames about

Migrants

Concerning the interest in the relevant media platforms used to disseminate the master narrative frames about migrants, Grimm finds that the correlation profile between the usage of mass media (TV and print) and media trust reveals a significant discrepancy between the quantitative aspects of usage and the dual approach of being critical yet trustful towards the information found therein (ibid., p. 17.

Grimm finds that when it comes to endorsing universal asylum rights and diversity narratives, high TV usage is negatively associated with this, a finding which does not hold true for print media and the internet. By correlating these findings with findings for media trust, however, Grimm arrives at a productive insight concerning the handling of information by the user: media trust is significantly higher for TV and print media in comparison to the internet. Moreover, Grimm finds there to be an above-average willingness to learn from information provided by mass media (TV and print), primarily concerning positive migration narratives such as universal asylum rights and diversity tolerance (ibid., p. 18).

At the same time, he finds reactance (i.e., the rejection of content due to perceived attempts at over-persuasion) to show a negative correlation with narratives critical of migration, such as regulation, threat, and differentiation – leading him to conclude that the "active recipient" specifically seeks out information from mass media perceived as reliable and supports the discourse on migration and integration for the purpose of "learning". The internet, on the other hand, appears as a treasure trove of information on a wide range of topics. While internet usage is found to be extensive alongside mass media, trust in the information found on the internet falls behind the level of trust in television and print media (see Grimm, 2023, p. 18).

Grimm therefore discerns "a dual paradox of information": firstly, the quantity of information behavior does not necessarily reflect the quality of information evaluation. While the internet surpasses mass media in terms of usage time, the level of trust in internet information remains modest. Secondly, those who watch a lot of television are precisely the ones who approach television with a set of negative migration narratives. Their reactance however primarily applies to these negative narratives, and they still desire to "learn" and do so in a "trustful" manner, seeking out reasons in support of universal asylum rights and the plausibility of narratives which are tolerant of diversity (ibid.).

In discussing what these findings may mean for creative processes of communication design, Grimm firstly refers to media effects studies in the context of documentaries and entertainment-education concepts having shown that it is not the presentation of conflicts which is crucial for integration-promoting effects, but rather the framing of the conflict – the central insight being that, in general, there should be no fear of

conflicts. Since conflicts are part of the material for processes of integration, the addressing of conflicts ought to be the categorical imperative of migration/integration discourse (ibid., p. 31).

Secondly, he argues that viewers are not automatons for imitation but rather decode the logic of the problem situation and, based on the insights gained, search for solutions. This search, he claims, is much more influential in changing opinions and attitudes than the repetitive barrage of the same messages. The task for creative solutions to communication problems in the migration/integration discourse would therefore lie not primarily in presenting finished and advocated models of action, but in shaping a scenario in which the search for solutions appears rewarding (ibid.)

In conclusion, he recommends that, ideally, the prototypical communication template would include a dialogic structure involving multiple points of identification and that tends toward resolution within a dramatic progression. Within this dialogic structure, the recipient could engage in an inner dialogue of reception appropriation and draw their own conclusions. Constructive design of migration discourse therefore appears to be in opposition to the construction of advertising messages and their purely quantitative dissemination (ibid.).

5. Presentation of the Prototype

The goal of the prototype is not to target individuals who hold rigid, unchangeable opinions on migration, including prejudiced or racist perspectives, nor fall into the category of those who have no engagement in the migration discourse at all.



Figure I - stills from the "Linz is Linz'-Video

Instead, the aim is to engage with individuals within the "movable middle". These are people whose views may be influenced by societal prejudices that have become internalized, even if they perceive themselves as impartial. They hold opinions that are potentially open to change when confronted with factual information or upon introspection. The goal is to prompt them to reflect on their own stances on migration and encourage a shift in their perspectives.

The prototype aims to allow the viewers to decode the logic of the problem situation and search for solutions based on the insights gained. This search for solutions is more influential in changing opinions and attitudes than repetitive messages (Grimm, 2023). Therefore, the task for creative solutions in communication problems within the migration/integration discourse lies in shaping a scenario that makes the search for solutions rewarding, rather than presenting finished and advocated models of action. The prototype should therefore reject the typical approach of solely examining the advantages and disadvantages of migration. Since such a narrative tends to limit critical thinking and personal reflection, the team opted for a more thought-provoking and introspective experience through humor.

First inspiration was drawn from an advertising campaign for the Austrian city of Linz. The goal of the image campaign and subsequently the image video ("Linz is Linz", 2023) was to be thought-provoking and to present the city as it really is – with all its clichés and authentic impressions, but in a charming way (Linz Tourismus, 2023).

The decision to showcase this video during the Turin workshop in December 2022 was based on the videos' adept handling of prevailing stereotypes. The "Linz is Linz"-video effectively merged themes such as racism, homophobia, diversity, and migration, avoiding clichéd and stereotypical portrayals.

The video conveys a clear and straightforward message: Linz, as a city, possesses both positive and negative aspects. Its strength lies in its diverse population, encompassing people of various genders, sexual orientations, and migratory backgrounds who will welcome you with open arms. Notably, the video shifts the focus away from statistics and demographic details, emphasizing instead the importance of communal living and a definition of the city's identity.

Further inspiration was drawn from the well-known television quiz show "Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?". In this show, a contestant faces a series of questions, each progressively more challenging. A correct answer allows them to continue, potentially winning increasing sums of money. The questions cover a wide range of topics. The intensity of the competition captures the audience's attention, leading them to contemplate the answers themselves and consider what they would choose if they were in the contestant's position. The inclusion of a series of jokers provides the contestant with the option to seek assistance from the audience or a person of their choice, adding an additional layer of storytelling complexity. This feature allows for diverse perspectives and voices to contribute to the narrative, which can

be utilized in the prototype. Originating in the United Kingdom, this concept has been adapted in Austria with a local version known as the "Millionenshow", which is very popular and attracts an average of 780,000 viewers per episode (APA OTS, 2018).



Figure 2 - screenshot from the "Millionenshow" on 16.10.2023, tvthek.orf.at

Thirdly and lastly, the choice was made to utilize animation as the primary medium for conveying the intended message. Animation was deemed effective for several reasons.



Figure 3 - Scenes from Persepolis, The Arab of the Future, Flee and Neukölln Unlimited, from left to right

It offers a unique capability to capture emotions more vividly and provides flexibility in the production process. Additionally, animation introduces a certain level of detachment from real-life situations. Given the inspiration drawn from "Who Wants" to Be a Millionaire?" and the need to distinguish the presentation from the actual show, this detachment was considered beneficial. Furthermore, animation is renowned for its creativity and ability to capture viewers' attention, particularly when dealing with complex subjects like migration. The decision to employ animation aligns with existing examples where animation has been employed to address themes related to migration, even if these examples predominantly focus on topics such as refugees and war. For instance, works like "Persepolis" and "The Arab of the Future," both autobiographical comic books about conflicts and war (Lalami, 2015; Platthaus, 2021). The movie "Flee" tells the story of an individual's escape from Afghanistan to Denmark and earned recognition at prestigious events like Cannes and the Sundance Film Festival, highlighting the potential of animation in conveying migration narratives (Heidemann, 2022). Another noteworthy example is "Neukölln Unlimited," a film that explores themes of migration, asylum, education, and youth culture and incorporates animated sequences to show flashbacks. The movie had its premiere at the Berlinale Film Festival in 2010 ("Neukölln Unlimited," 2014).

In conclusion, the "Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?" format emerges as an ideal platform for implementing the recommendations outlined in Chapter three, while also encompassing the key features drawn from the sources of inspiration. This format's unique ability to address a variety of narratives through multiple questions, along with the incorporation of jokers to confront stereotypes, stands out. Moreover, by omitting answers to thought-provoking questions, it encourages viewers to form their own opinions and engage in self-reflection. The use of animation enhances the emotions transported while maintaining a critical distance from real-life situations. Ideally, the prototypical communication template includes a dialogic structure that involves multiple points of identification and tends towards resolution within a dramatic progression. The dialogic structure between the contestant and the host fosters a dialogue of reception within the viewer of the prototype. This furthers the encouragement of the viewers to draw their own conclusions.

In summary, the narrative employed during the initial meeting in Turin aimed to transcend the limitations of a simplistic evaluation of migration's pros and cons. The team recognized the importance of engaging the movable middle and providing them with an opportunity for introspection. By leveraging humor and addressing stereotypes, they sought to foster a space where participants could reflect on their own perspectives, challenge assumptions, and ultimately form more nuanced and well-rounded understandings of migration.

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