



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

**„Language and Integration in the EU, in particular in
Italy and Austria. A Critical Discourse
Analysis of Selected Legal Texts“**

verfasst von / submitted by

Liliya Buhela

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2019 / Vienna 2019

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

A 066 812

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

English Language and Linguistics

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Ao. Univ.-Prof. Mag. Dr. Ute Smit

Abstract

Immigration to Europe, both legal and not, has been continuously increasing over the past decades, which led to multiple reforms of migration legislation in the EU. Aside from meeting legal requirements for immigration to an EU country, a growing number of the Member States now requires immigrants to comply with specific integration conditions after their arrival. These often include labor market integration, involvement in social and political life of the state, but most importantly, the acquisition of the host country's language. The inability to fulfil the integration conditions can result in significant fines or, in the most severe cases, lead to one's expulsion.

The goal of this study is to examine integration guidelines enacted by the European Union and their implementation in two Member States – Italy and Austria – within the framework of Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (Wodak & Reisigl 2016). The documents to be examined are the "EU Directive concerning the status of third country nationals who are long-term residents" and two national Integration Plans. This research focuses on the discursive construction of social actors present in all the documents – legal immigrants and the host countries/societies – as well as on the process of integration and particularly, linguistic integration as it is given most prominence in all three documents. The EU definition of integration as a 'two-way process' will also be addressed.

Key words: migration, EU integration policies, linguistic integration, language policy, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA)

Abstract

In den letzten Jahrzehnten hat sowohl die legale als auch die illegale Immigration nach Europa stetig zugenommen, was zu zahlreichen Reformen des Fremdenrechts innerhalb der Europäischen Union geführt hat. Abgesehen von den Voraussetzungen für die Einwanderung in ein Land der EU, müssen Immigranten nach ihrer Einreise in immer mehr Mitgliedstaaten auch spezifische Integrationsvoraussetzungen erfüllen. Diese beinhalten häufig Integration in den heimischen Arbeitsmarkt, Teilnahme am sozialen und politischen Leben und – an vorderster Stelle – den Erwerb der Landessprache. Die Nichterfüllung dieser Erfordernisse kann zu teils signifikanten Strafzahlungen und, in besonders schweren Fällen, zur Ausweisung führen.

Das Vorhaben dieser Arbeit ist die Untersuchung der Integrationsrichtlinien der Europäischen Union und ihrer Umsetzung in zwei Mitgliedsstaaten – Italien und Österreich – mithilfe von Wodaks diskurs-historischer Methode (Wodak & Reisigl 2016). Bei den analysierten Dokumenten handelt es sich um die europäische „Richtlinie betreffend die Rechtsstellung der langfristig aufenthaltsberechtigten Drittstaatsangehörigen“ und zwei nationale Integrationspläne. Die Analyse konzentriert sich insbesondere auf die diskursive Konstruktion der in allen Dokumenten behandelten soziale Akteure – legale Immigranten und Aufnahmeländer – sowie auf den Prozess der Integration und insbesondere der sprachlichen Integration, welche in allen drei Dokumenten besonders hervorgehoben wird. Die Definition der EU von Integration als „wechselseitigem Prozess“ wird ebenso behandelt.

Suchbegriffe: Migration, EU Integrationspolitik, Sprachliche Integration, Sprachenpolitik, Kritische Diskursanalyse, Diskurshistorischer Ansatz

Table of contents

1. Introduction	4
2. International migration and integration in the EU and its Member States	5
2.1 Migration and integration in the European Union	5
2.1.1 Immigration to the EU	5
2.1.2 Immigrant integration in the European Union	7
2.2 Italy: migration and integratory measures	9
2.2.1 Immigration to the Republic of Italy	9
2.2.2 Migrant integration in Italy	10
2.3 Austria: migration and integration measures	12
2.3.1 Migration to the Republic of Austria	12
2.3.2 Migration integration measures in Austria	14
3. Language Policy and Planning	17
3.1 Definitions of Language Policy and Planning	18
3.2 Types of Language Policy	21
4. Language policy and integration in the EU: the cases of Italy and Austria	23
4.1 Language policy and integration in the European Union	23
4.1.1 Languages in the EU	23
4.1.2 Language policy of the European Union	24
4.1.3 Linguistic integration in the EU and the CEFR	25
4.2 Language policy and linguistic integration in Italy	28
4.2.1 Language profile and language policy of Italy	28
4.2.2 Linguistic integration in Italy	29
4.3 Language policy and migrant integration in Austria	31
4.3.1 Austrian German and language policy of the state	31
4.3.2 Language policy and linguistic integration of migrants in Austria	32
5. Critical Discourse Analysis	34
5.1 CDA: history and definitions	34
5.2 CDA: main concepts	35
5.2.1 The notion of discourse	35
5.2.2 Critique in CDA	36
5.2.3 Power and ideology	36
5.3 Criticism of CDA	38
5.4 Discourse-historical approach	39
5.4.1 The notion of critique	41

5.4.2 The concepts of discourse, text, and context.....	42
5.4.3 Tools of analysis in DHA.....	43
6. Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis of policy texts	49
6.1 Directive 2003/109/EC “Concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long term residents” and Directive 2011/51/EU “Amending Council Directive 2003/109/EC to extend its scope to beneficiaries of international protection”	50
6.2 Piano per l’integrazione nella sicurezza: identità e incontro	60
6.3 The National Action Plan for Integration	74
6.4 Comparison and discussion of the findings	88
7. Conclusion.....	89
References	92
Appendices	98

1. Introduction

In the recent years, the European continent has witnessed an unprecedented increase in the number of immigrants, predominantly refugees fleeing the war zones in the Middle East as well as those trying to escape poor economic conditions and political unrest in African states. Given the cultural differences between the newcomers and the population of the host countries, the latter had to manage and make the migrants acquainted with their new societies thus making migrant integration a burning topic in the European Union.

Linguistic integration is particularly important as it is seen as the foundation for further cultural and economic integration of a migrant. Most EU countries have developed policies that would ensure linguistic integration. In order to guarantee that a newcomer has acquired a language, a state would normally require them to take a language test of a certain level depending on the type of migration and residence permit requirements. Some countries would offer language courses prior to testing. The policies regulating linguistic integration differ within the EU and so it was decided to research the possible discrepancies between the two Member States: Italy and Austria.

The two countries were chosen because of my personal affiliation with both, but also since they have different histories of migration, especially in the times before the 2015 crisis, and different economic statuses. Italy has been experiencing massive influxes of irregular migrants from Africa for years prior to 2015. It has also had much more lenient laws concerning the legalization of undocumented migrants. However, Italy, despite being the fourth largest economy in the EU is less affluent than Austria and has a much higher level of unemployment.

Some researchers, like Wodak and Boukala (2015) have already investigated the EU legislation that deals with migrant integration and linguistic integration in particular. The countries that were chosen for comparison were Austria and Greece. Aside from their work, not much has been done in terms of analyzing legal documents concerned with migrant integration within the framework of the Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis.

The study attempts thus to answer the following research question:

How are the main actors – the immigrants and the host society – and the integration (especially the linguistic integration) process discursively characterized in the texts?

For the analysis presented in this work three documents have been chosen: an EU Directive on the status of third-country nationals who have or are willing to obtain a long-term resident status and two Integration Plans, that are the recontextualizations of the Directive. Both were issued in 2010, meaning they mainly deal with economic migrants rather than refugees. All three documents were

analyzed by means of the Discourse-Historical Approach, a method of Critical Discourse Analysis developed by Ruth Wodak and her collaborators.

The paper contains seven chapters, including the Introduction. In Chapter 2, the reader will first be familiarized with the definition of the term ‘migration’ as well as with the history of European migration. Following that, the most significant terms regarding categories of immigrants will be introduced. Given that Discourse-Historical Approach requires the analysis to be contextualized, the integration measures, as well as the history of immigration to Italy and Austria, will also be presented. Language policy as a field of applied linguistics will be discussed in Chapter 3. Implementation of linguistic integration in the EU, Italy, and Austria will be presented in Chapter 4 after discussing the language policies of each of the three entities. Chapter 5 will present the methodology applied in this work, namely, the Discourse-Historical Approach, following the discussion of the Critical Discourse Analysis. In Chapter 6 the findings of the analysis will be presented and discussed whilst Chapter 7 will demonstrate the conclusions that have been made following the analysis.

2. International migration and integration in the EU and its Member States

2.1 Migration and integration in the European Union

2.1.1 Immigration to the EU

According to the International Organisation of Migration, migration is defined as:

The movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification (IOM/Key Migration Terms 2018).

As of 2015, the United Nations Population Fund estimated that around 244 million people (around 3.5 percent of the world’s population) were international migrants, meaning they have been born outside the country they were currently residing in (UNFPA 2015). About 10 percent of these people have chosen Europe as their new place of residence (Geddes & Scholten 2016:8).

Researchers tend to distinguish three waves in the European immigration in the period between 1945 and the 1990s (Hansen 2003; Geddes & Scholten 2016; Van Mol & de Valk 2016). The first wave occurred in the 1950s and 1960s and was linked to the economic reconstruction of the postwar Europe. The labor migrants were referred to as ‘guest workers’ and were expected to stay for a limited time and eventually return to their countries of origin. That assumption proved to be wrong as the immigrants stayed in the host countries (Geddes & Scholten 2016:8; Van Mol & de Valk 2016:32-33). The oil crisis of 1973-1974 put an end to the large-scale labor migration to

Europe, however, leaving the door open for another kind of migration, namely, the family reunification. The policy of family reunification resulted in relatives, such as parents or children, as well as spouses of labor migrants coming to Europe. At the same time, due to the decolonization, a great number of citizens from the former colonies came to the continent. These two groups of migrants – the ones who came because of the family reunion and the immigrants from the European colonies – were the ones that constituted the second wave of the migration to Europe (ibid.:9; ibid.:33-34). The third wave of migration developed in the aftermath of the Cold War in the late 80s-early 90s and witnessed an increase in the irregular migration as well as asylum-seeking migration. This gave a push to the development of the common EU migration and asylum policies, which were put to a test during the refugee crisis of 2015 (Geddes & Scholten 2016:9).

There are multiple distinctions between categories of international migration to Europe. The European Commission generally distinguishes between *legal* and *irregular* migration as well as *asylum* (EC 2017). *Legal migration*, as the term suggests, includes those who immigrated to the Union fulfilling the legal requirements to do so. Several categories are distinguished in terms of legal migration: family reunion, long-term residents, migration for employment and self-employment and students (Peers & Rogers 2006:10).

Since the establishment of the Schengen Agreement in 1985 and its implementation in 1995, EU institutions have been preoccupied with the possibility of *irregular migration* due to the Union's now open borders. Those entering the EU illegally were primarily economic migrants, at times also victims of human trafficking. Multiple EU institutions are taking measures on the external borders of the Union to prevent irregular migration (Geddes & Scholten 2016:163) additionally to criminalizing any activity related to irregular migration (Peers & Rogers 2006:907).

Asylum applications in the EU are strongly tied to conflicts in the world. The Balkan wars at the beginning of the 90s made around 672,000 people seek asylum in Europe, the number that remained the highest up until 2015. However, the war in Syria became the major factor in causing the biggest influx of asylum seekers the European continent has ever witnessed. In 2015 alone, there were over 960,000 applications (Geddes & Scholten 2016:155). When it comes to legal terms linked to asylum, it is of importance to make a distinction between the *asylum seekers*, *refugees* and those who have received *subsidiary protection*.

Asylum seekers are defined as people who flee their home country for a variety of reasons and later apply for asylum in a different country. Once their application is approved they get a *refugee* status (Bailey & Trujillo 2008:305). One must, however, differentiate between the term *refugee*, which is used to describe people who are persecuted for a certain reason (e.g. because of their race, religion or political opinion) or those who are compelled to leave their country because of an armed

conflict (IOM/Key Migration Terms 2018), and people with a *refugee status*, which is a legal term. Those with refugee status have significantly more rights than asylum seekers. They are entitled to social benefits, have access to the host country's labor market etc.. *Subsidiary protection* is granted to the individual in the cases when they do not qualify for a refugee status but still need to stay in the host country temporarily as the return to their country of origin might be too dangerous. Broadly speaking, subsidiary protection is temporary while refugee status can be viewed as permanent (ibid.).

In this study, however, since I will predominantly discuss long-term regular migration, I will apply the general term 'migrant', which includes all the aforementioned types of legal immigration, unless specified otherwise.

2.1.2 Immigrant integration in the European Union

Currently, over 20 million third-country nationals (around 4% of the EU population) reside in the EU Member States (EUROSTAT 2018). Given the cultural and linguistic differences between the newcomers and the host population, integration is considered a major challenge in most destination countries. Immigrant integration is normally viewed as a process of "economic mobility and social inclusion for newcomers and their children" (Migration Policy Institute 2017) or a "process of mutual adaptation between the host society and the migrants themselves, both as individuals and as groups" (IOM 2018). Migrant integration can include linguistic integration, integration into the labor market, integration through education etc. Multiple institutions within the EU, both governmental and not, are working on promoting integration in various ways.

When discussing migration and the process of migrants becoming a part of the host society, one must differentiate between assimilation and integration. The term 'assimilation' implies that an immigrant "abandons" their culture in order to establish connections and become part of the dominant society (Aumüller 2009:43). Integration refers to a process in which the individual maintains their culture together with being incorporated into the host society and accepting its culture (ibid.). Integration is favored over assimilation in Europe as it is perceived as a more beneficial process for both the hosts and the newcomers. Integration is regarded as

a two-way process based on mutual rights and corresponding obligations of legally resident third-country nationals and the host society which provides for full participation of the immigrant. This implies on the one hand that it is the responsibility of the host society to ensure that the formal rights of immigrants are in place in such a way that the individual has the possibility of participating in economic, social, cultural and civil life and on the other, that immigrants respect the fundamental norms and values of the host society and participate actively in the integration process, without having to relinquish their own identity (European Commission 2003:17).

The first integration frameworks were conceived in the times of guest workers' immigration. It became clear that the guest workers were not going to leave anytime soon, so it would be better to develop a plan on how to include them into the European society and so some countries adopted the so-called "minority policy" (Bertossi 2011:1568). However, the development of integration policies on a larger scale started much later.

Despite the long history of migration to European states, integration only became part of the European discourse two decades ago. Surely, as Bertossi (ibid.:1561) states, national models of integration in states such as the Netherlands, France or the United Kingdom, existed before, but it was the 1997 Treaty of Amsterdam, that marked the first time when the EU policies directly affected the integration of migrants from outside the Union. In the years to follow, it was decided by the Justice and Home Affairs Council that the member states would require a more coherent and coordinated policy in the field of migrant integration. In 2003, the so-called National Contact Points on Integration (NCPI) were introduced. The NCPI are the national experts that were identified among the ministries in every Member State to be in charge of integration policy.

Another important milestone in the development of the EU framework on integration was the introduction of the Common Basic Principles (CBPs) for Immigrant Integration in the EU by the Justice and Home Affairs Council. These 11 Principles discussed the issues of migrant education and employment as parts of integration as well as integration through interaction with the citizens of the country of residence, which was defined as "a fundamental mechanism for integration" (CBPs 2004).

The 'Common Agenda for Integration (CAI): Framework for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals¹ in the European Union' was published in 2005. This strategy document administered the framework that enforced the EU integration policies and provided more elaborate explanations on the implementation of the CBPs. It emphasized the importance of linguistic integration, as it would provide the foundation for further integration. The Action Plan on Integration of the third-country nationals (based on the Common Basic Principles) was produced by the European Commission in 2016 in the aftermath of the 2015 refugee crisis. Even though the plan aims at helping all European newcomers, its particular focus is set on refugees. It covered many problem areas, such as pre-departure and pre-arrival measures, education, employment, and vocational training, access to basic services (housing and healthcare) as well as active participation and social inclusion (European Commission 2016).

¹ Third-country nationals (TCNs) are people whose country of origin is not a Member of the European Union (Eurofund 2018).

Integration, albeit rather briefly, was also discussed in the EU legislation. Several EU Council Directives include provisions that are concerned with migrant integration. The 2003 Directive on the right to family reunification mentions the importance of integration of the newly arrived family members, giving particular focus to children and minors (EC Directive 2003). Likewise, the 2003 EC Directive concerning the status of the third-country nationals who are long-time residents is even more concerned with migrant integration. The document mentions conditions for integration, which an immigrant needs to fulfill in order to apply for the long-term permit. These integration conditions, as Acosta (2010:109) claims, have resulted in a steady decline in the number of applications for obtaining the permit.

Italy and Austria, much like many other EU Member States, introduced their own migration and integration legislation in the recent decade. Therefore, the subchapters to follow will be concerned with the topics of migration and integration in the two EU Member States.

2.2 Italy: migration and integratory measures

2.2.1 Immigration to the Republic of Italy

Italy has a long history of migration. In the late 19th and throughout the 20th century, a lot of Italians, predominantly from poorer rural South, chose to emigrate to the New World. In the second half of the 20th century, however, the state has transitioned from a country of emigration to a country of immigration. Immigration to Italy started rather late, after the oil crises of 1973 and 1980 that caused the economic decline in the Western European states. As a result, countries, like England, Germany, and France, which previously served as the major migrant destinations, began closing their borders for immigrants (Bisin & Patacchini 2012:127, Zincone 2006:2). In the late 1970s, Italy began receiving immigrants from the developing countries, and later, following the fall of the Iron Curtain, from Central and Eastern Europe (Bonifazi, Heins, Strozza & Vitiello 2009:5). In 2016, there were more than 5 million foreign citizens residing in Italy (approximately 8.3% of the population), of which 3.7 million were TCNs holding a permanent residence permit (ISTAT 2017). The largest number of non-EU immigrants to Italy came from Albania (10.6%), followed by Morocco (9.9%), China (4.6%) and Ukraine (4.4%) (Caneva 2014:7). However, given the problems with border control and a large ‘shadow’ economy of the country, the real immigration numbers are hard to estimate. The newcomers are usually employed in the markets of private care, domestic work and small family enterprises, the domains of the labor market, where unregistered workforce cannot be traced so easily. This tendency is particularly high in the south of the country. In addition to that, the state seems to be overlooking the area of pre-entry control, choosing instead to focus on legalizing already residing illegal immigrants, which,

according to Bisin and Patacchini (2012:127), leads to illegal immigration being the main source of immigration to the Republic.

2.2.2 Migrant integration in Italy

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, almost in an instant, the Republic of Italy transformed from the land of emigrants to the country where immigrants were aspiring to come to. The 1990s witnessed an increase in the migration from third countries (Al-Azaar 2006). During these decades, the immigration laws did not constitute a great part of the political discourse and were mainly limited to rather generic integration measures, the adoption of which remained in the power of regional authorities (Caneva 2014:9). However, experiencing pressure from the EU, Italy went to adopt a number of laws regarding migrant integration (Caneva 2014:9, Al-Azaar 2006). The 1998 Turco-Napolitano law dealt with improving efforts in managing the flow of migrant workforce, increasing prevention and containment of illegal immigration and introducing more elaborate measures in the domain of migrant integration. The Turco-Napolitano law also introduced an annual immigration quota (Al-Azaar 2006). As for integration, the law suggested increased funding for both national and regional bodies responsible for the integration of TCNs along with providing national funds for further development of integration policies. Other areas of integration, stipulated in the law included housing and social assistance, healthcare and education (which involved the acquisition of the Italian language) (Caneva 2014:9). In 2002, a new Bossi-Fini law introduced stricter deportation rules and lower immigrant quotas. It linked the residence permit and the work contract, meaning that a migrant could only stay in the country as long as their work contract is valid. However, it also had more liberal aspects, such as introducing new immigration offices in every province, which would help manage migrant workers and cases of family reunification (Al-Azaar 2006; Merlino 2009:3).

Integration policies at the beginning of the 2000s mostly focused on economic integration. The migrant quotas were increased and the reunification permit system was extended not only to closest relatives (spouse, parent, and child) but also to grandparents. A new draft of naturalization reform was presented by the Minister of Interior which reduced the time of residence required in order to apply for citizenship but demanded that the applicant presents evidence of their integration, specifically, their knowledge of Italian language (Zincone 2006:38). The center-left government also presented a ‘Charter of the Values and Integration and Citizenship in 2007, which set a foundation for further documents concerned with migrant integration. The new document defined “the principles inspiring Italian law and society in the reception and regulation of the migratory phenomenon, within a framework of cultural and religious pluralism” (Cuttitta 2016:294). It is important to state that the Charter, despite its original purpose, was never used as

a part of the naturalization process, only as an addition to the Integration Agreement, introduced several years later (ibid.).

In 2009, the center-right government with Silvio Berlusconi in lead proposed the so-called 'Patto per la sicurezza' (or the 'Security Package'). The 'Security Package' presented a set of regulations, which primary concerns were the security of the Italian citizens and fight against illegal immigration and the criminal behavior of immigrants (Caneva 2014:8). The document was concerned with three categories of migrants: the EU citizens, TCNs and with the Romani people. The adoption of the security package was widely criticized for its discriminatory undertones both in Italy and in the EU, specifically, for "facilitated expulsions, the transformation of irregular migration into a crime and extension of the period of detention of irregular migrants" (Merlino 2009:3). The 'Security Package' was the first document that stressed the importance of the acquisition of Italian for migrants. It mandated that all mentally and physically able residents over the age of 14, who apply for a permanent residence permit (either 'Permesso di soggiorno di lungo periodo' or 'Carta di soggiorno'), are required to prove their language knowledge by means of taking a test (graduates of Italian schools and universities were excluded) (Love 2015:33).

In the recent decade, marked by the unprecedented influx of migrants, Italy realized its need in formulating more comprehensive integration policy. In 2009 'Patto per l'integrazione' ('Integration Agreement') and 'Piano per l'integrazione nella sicurezza' ('A Plan for Integration in Secure Environment') were introduced along with the establishment of the Ministry of Integration. The Plan for Integration, introduced by Minister of Interior Roberto Maroni, a member of the right-wing Lega party, discussed both migrant integration and the preservation of public security. It also focused on the duties and obligations of a migrant. The Plan discussed five areas where the implementation of integration needed to be improved: education system, labor market, housing, access to health and social services and underage and second-generation migrants (Caneva 2014:10).

The 'Integration Agreement' went into effect in 2012. The aforementioned 'Charter of Values of Citizenship and Integration' constitutes a large part of the document (Cuttitta 2016:293). It states that a foreign person over 16 years of age who has lived in Italy for over a year and has a residency permit (Permesso di soggiorno), is required to sign the legally-binding Agreement, which lists several steps that need to be completed in order to prove one's integration. Points are awarded for each step, which might include participating in civic education courses, learning Italian or receiving formal education at an Italian institution. Points can be deducted if the migrant has been involved in some criminal activities. The person is given two years to complete those steps, and if they fail to do so, they might even face expulsion (Love 2014:33). More specifically, the

newcomer needs to obtain knowledge of the Italian civic culture (attendance is obligatory; must begin within three months after signing the Agreement) and reach the A2 level in Italian. If they have children, the immigrants must fulfill the obligation of sending them to school. The migrants are also expected to understand the “principles upon which the Italian society and law are based”, which is done by declaring their agreement with the Charter of the Values of Citizenship and Integration (Cuttitta 2016:291). If the newcomers manage to complete the requirements, the state guarantees them “the enjoyment of fundamental rights and equal social status of people regardless of gender, race, language, religion, political orientation and personal and social status, preventing any form of racism and discrimination” along with ensuring access to both health and education systems and protection of the subordinate labor (ibid.). The state positions itself as a facilitator of “the process leading to the full integration of the person concerned” (ibid.). The Agreement is considered to be complete if by the end of the two-year period the migrant is able to present 30 or more points that they have collected. In case they have 29 credits or less, the Agreement is extended to one more year so that the migrant is able to work on their language and society skills. However, if a newcomer has zero or less (points are deducted if one has been involved in criminal activity), or if they have failed to fulfill the school obligation for their children, the immigrant will most certainly face deportation (ibid.). It is rather obvious that the Integration Agreement is a serious immigration control device which, along with guaranteeing integration, also discriminates those who have entered the country legally but for certain reasons have not managed to fulfill the criteria established in the Agreement and, as a result, will face expulsion.

In general, even though the history of immigration to the country is relatively brief, Italy seems to have a rather developed system of integration on both state and regional levels. However, as the country is currently at the forefront of the migration crisis, it might need more support from other EU member states and the EU itself.

2.3 Austria: migration and integration measures

2.3.1 Migration to the Republic of Austria

Until the 1960s, the immigration to Austria was rather insignificant. Emigration to the neighboring Germany and Switzerland, more specifically, labor migration was very common (Nusche, Shewbridge & Rasmussen 2009:13). Other countries, like the United Kingdom, Belgium and the Netherlands introduced work schemes through which they actively recruited Austrian workers, mainly young and single men and women. Emigration was not limited to the European continent only, as Austrians also chose to move to Canada, Australia and South Africa (Schropper 2013:1). In 1961, After the period of economic growth and political stability and following the pattern established by other European countries, the Raab-Olah-Accord between the Chamber of

Commerce and the Trade Union Congress was introduced, thus establishing the foundation for the recruitment of the foreign guest workers (Biffl 2016:20). These labor migrants came predominantly from poor rural areas in Turkey or former Yugoslavia. They were involved in the production sector as an unskilled workforce since Austrians predominantly worked in the service sector. Originally, the workers were supposed to eventually return to their country of origin. As there was no expectation of their permanent settlement, there was no integration program developed for them. The plan, however, failed, as many of these migrants obtained a permanent residence and, in some cases, even Austrian citizenship. The guest worker program officially ended in 1974 due to the economic crisis in 1973, at which point the foreign population of Austria was estimated to be at only 4% (Nusche, Shewbridge & Rasmussen 2009:13). Apart from labor migration in the 1960s and 1970s, Austria also accepted refugees from Hungary (following Hungarian Revolution in 1956), Czechoslovakia (after the Prague Spring of 1968), Poland (during the Polish Crisis of 1980-1981) and Jewish refugees from the Soviet Union (Schropper 2013:3).

The next big wave of migration took place in the late 1980s and early 1990s, after the war in Yugoslavia broke out. Around 90,000 refugees primarily from Bosnia and Serbia fled to Austria. The newcomers initially only received temporary protection status, but since it was rather obvious that they could not return anytime soon, they were granted permanent residence status (ibid.). Labor migration was also active after the fall of the Iron Curtain with workers coming from the satellite republics of the former Soviet Union in the early 1990s, however, the majority of the workers was still from Turkey or former Yugoslav republics. The government introduced a quota for obtaining a work permit in 1990 (the so-called 'Bundeshöchstzahl') which stated the maximum amount of foreign workers in the total workforce and which varied from 8 to 10% (IOM 2018). This was later replaced by a residence permit quota, which caused a significant decline in immigration to the country (ibid.). Austria continues to employ foreign workforce due to legislative reform of 2002, which introduced the quota for seasonal workers, who are granted a short-term, non-renewable work visas, which resembles an attempt to reintroduce the guest workers program (Permoser & Rosenberger 2012:42). The turn of a century also witnessed an increase in the number of asylum applications from Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Russian Federation, Serbia and Montenegro, Moldova, Nigeria and some Asian countries (Schropper 2013:3).

In the first decade of the 21st century, the major sources of immigration to Austria were family reunifications and asylum seekers. Others included temporary (seasonal) workers, students and qualified labor migrants (Permoser & Rosenberger 2012:42). Because of immigration to Austria, over a quarter of the country's residents are first generation immigrants, meaning they were born

somewhere else (these numbers, of course, are not limited to TCNs and include immigrants from within the EU) (ibid.).

In 2015, Austria, along with a number of other EU states, had become a destination for refugees, predominantly those, escaping the war in Syria but also Iraqis, Afghanis, and Africans. That year, 88,349 people applied for asylum. The numbers went down in 2016 (42,285) and 2017 (22,307) (Spahl et al. 2017:1). Aside from regular TCN migrants and refugees, Austria continues to be a desirable destination for citizens of other EU member states, who constitute half of the regular migrants (Permoser & Rosenberger 2012:43).

2.3.2 Migration integration measures in Austria

Even though the mass migration to Austria started in the decades following the end of the WWII, no integration policies were introduced. The term ‘integration’ entered the discourse briefly after the war and concerned the labor market access rights and facilitated naturalization regulations intended for the ethnic Germans (or the ‘Volksdeutsche’) who arrived from Czechoslovakia at the end of the WWII (Perchinig 2012:34). As the guest workers were supposed to return to their countries of origin, their integration was not encouraged. The migrants were not offered any qualification courses, and their children were taught their native languages instead of German so that they would be able to reintegrate in their countries of origin upon return (Permoser & Rosenberger 2012:41). The refugees that arrived in the 1950s, 1960s and then later 1980s from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland were, unlike the guest workers, as Wodak and Krzyzanowski (2009:56) claim, “easily integrated” into the Austrian society. Following the arrival of Hungarian and Czechoslovakian refugees, Austria adopted its first asylum act in 1968, which helped the newcomers integrate into the labor market and later receive Austrian citizenship (Kraler 2012:28). Generally, both labor migration and asylum, as Kraler (ibid.:29) suggests, seemed to be regulated by controlling foreigner’s access to the labor market since there were no existing pre-entry regulations at that point. Some changes were brought in 1988 with the adoption of the Employment of Foreign Workers Act, which gave the second-generation migrants immediate access to the labor market through a long-term work permit (Kraler 2012:44).

In the 1990s, the country developed rather strong anti-immigration sentiment. It was a combination of two factors that led to this: the increase of citizenship applications by the guest workers and subsequent family reunifications and the rise of far-right parties as an answer to the increased number of “culturally different” immigrants (Permoser & Rosenberger 2012:45, Gruber, Mattes & Stadlmair 2016:67). Another reason, that might be seen as a cause of anti-immigration sentiment is the change in perception of refugees. As Permoser and Rosenberger (ibid.:46) maintain, refugees before the fall of Iron Curtain were seen as political heroes who escaped the oppressive regimes,

whilst those who arrived in the 1990s were treated as illegal migrants and referred to as “bogus asylum seekers” or “economic refugees”. Two parties, Jörg Haider’s Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ) or the Freedom Party and the Green Party put immigration on the forefront of political debates (Kraler 2012:31). FPÖ held a clear anti-immigration position, while the Greens were advocating for improving the positions of those migrants who have already settled as well as for easing immigration to the country in general (Perchinig 2012:34). In 1992, the “Austria First” plebiscite took place, organized by the FPÖ, which led to immigration becoming even more discussed and to the emergence of pro-migration NGOs, which were politically active and which often publicly commented on the policies (ibid.). In 1991, the so-called ‘Alien's Package’ (‘Fremdenpaket’), focused mainly on asylum seekers, was announced by the Minister of Interior (ibid.). The Residence Act which “implemented a system of annually set maximum numbers for residence permits for different types of immigration” was issued a year later together with the ‘Alien’s Act’ (Perchinig 2012:34). The Residence Act was the first document in decades that featured a paragraph discussing ‘integration support’ which was to be received by the immigrants who were employed in Austria, their family members and people who obtained a refugee status, in order to facilitate their inclusion into the economic, cultural and societal life in Austria. (ibid.). Due to its ineffectiveness, the ‘Aliens Act’ was amended in 1997. The reform was labeled ‘integration package’ and is seen as a milestone in connecting migration and integration under one law. The motto promoting the new reform was ‘Integration vor Zuwanderung’, or ‘Integration before Immigration’, and indicated that the priority will be given to those migrants already residing in Austria over those planning to settle in the country (ibid.). Additionally, the 1998 Naturalization Law mentioned the importance of language competence (at a minimum level) for obtaining the Austrian citizenship, however, no proficiency level or testing guidelines were specified (Kraler 2012:45).

In 2002, the Aliens Act and the Asylum Law were amended by the new government coalition of FPÖ and Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP) (ibid.:35). The so-called ‘Integrationsvereinbarung’ (‘Integration Agreement’) was introduced and came into force the following year (Permoser 2012:183). The Agreement is essentially a contract between Austria and TCNs. It obligates them to fulfill certain conditions as a prerequisite for obtaining a residence permit (ibid.). According to the Agreement, certain categories of migrants are required to attend German courses with a subsequent testing and the inability to fulfill this criterion might lead to serious consequences, such as financial penalties, or in the most severe cases, even to expulsion (ibid.). The Agreement was later revised in 2006, 2011 and, most recently, in 2017. The latest version, just like the three

that came before, consists of two modules. Module 1 is to be fulfilled within 24 months² by those applying for family reunification or work permit. The applicant is required to provide a proof of their German language skills at least at A2 level of Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR), additionally to obtaining knowledge “of the fundamental values of the legal and social systems” (migration.gov.at). Module 2 is not obligatory unless one is applying for a residence title ‘Long-term resident – EU’. In this case, the applicant must present a proof of their German language knowledge at the B1 level of CEFR. Module 2 must also be completed in case of citizenship application. The fulfillment of Module 2 automatically guarantees that Module 1 has been completed as well (migration.gov.at).

Upon consideration of the circumstances of the applicant, an additional ‘grace’ period of 12 months might be granted. In Module 1, the applicant is not obligated to attend language courses; however, if they do opt for it, they are responsible for covering the costs on their own with the possibility of getting 50% of the cost back later assuming they passed their test; those attending courses to fulfill Module 2 do not receive any refunds (ÖIF 2018). The institutions that offer the language courses and the language tests for Module 1 must be certified by the Austrian Integration Fund (AIF), or Österreichischer Integrationsfond (Permoser 2012:188). The AIF is an agency of the Ministry of Interior, which was established in 1960 by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees under the name ‘United Nations Refugee Fund’ and was renamed to Austrian Integration Fund in 2003 when the Integration Agreement came into force (Permoser 2012:190).

In 2008, the immigration reform substituted quotas with a point-based system for skilled migrants. A so-called red-white-red card was introduced for the three categories of migrants: highly skilled workers with a university degree who are allowed to enter Austria to search for a job; skilled workers with key qualifications especially needed on the domestic market and other skilled workers who are subject to a minimum gross salary. The quota system, however, was still applied to family reunification.

Another major document concerned with migrant integration was the 2009 National Action Plan for Integration (NAPI). Seven main topics dealt with in the NAPI were: language and education, employment and occupation, rule of law and values, health and social affairs, intercultural dialogue, sports and leisure, and housing. Integration, according to NAPI, was understood as a “two-way process”, meaning both the migrant and the host society need to be involved in integration. The document emphasized the importance of providing opportunities for migrants and combating discrimination and xenophobia. However, the obligations and duties of migrant where

² Upon consideration of the circumstances of the applicant, an additional ‘grace’ period of 12 months might be granted.

stated clearly, while those of the state and the native Austrian population were not. NAPI also foresaw the establishment of two new bodies: the Advisory Committee on Integration (Integrationsbeirat), which included representatives of ministries, provinces, municipalities, and NGOs, and Expert Committee on Integration (Expertenrat für Integration), comprised of experts who were to facilitate the implementation of NAPI and elaborate its recommendations. The Plan, however, faced some criticism, especially in the NGO sector and, as a result, the city of Vienna established its own commission on immigration and integration (Kraler 2012:48). Even though the document dealt with multiple issues regarding migrant integration, the linguistic integration of newcomers remained the priority. The document, more precisely, the report on the National Action Plan for Integration will be analyzed further in this work.

Since the language of the host country plays an important role in the migrant integration, it is important to look at the language policy as a research area of applied linguistics, before considering language policies, as well as linguistic integration in the EU and two Member States.

3. Language Policy and Planning

Language policy and planning (LPP) as an academic discipline is rather recent in its origin. This field of study emerged in the post-World War II times and was aimed at helping nations rebuild their societies by establishing a national language and thus a national identity. (Spolsky 2012:3). Social scientists and linguists, in particular, were expected to solve the problems that had arisen after the end of the war. States that gained independence were facing language challenges, so the linguists introduced the concept of language planning which, in its turn, was supposed to produce language policy, defined as “an officially mandated set of rules for language use and form within a nation-state³” (ibid.). Nowadays, most researchers would disagree on the relevance of the term “nation-state”, as Ricento (2006:6) remarks, since the concept, popularized by the German philosophers in the 19th century, can no longer apply to the modern times. The notion presumes homogeneity of the state and nation, which, at present, is seldom the case. Modern countries are multinational, some have newly gained their independence and some are quite dysfunctional or divided. All these factors have led to discrepancies between the state and the language, as for instance, in Somalia, where due to Arabic influence the majority of the population is learning Arabic instead of Somali at schools (ibid.). Therefore, language policy and language planning needed to be defined in a way that suits modern reality more.

³ There is some argument as of whether language policy is subordinate to language planning or vice versa, which is to be discussed further.

3.1 Definitions of Language Policy and Planning

There is no single definition of LPP. Usually, language policy and planning are treated as a single concept; however, sometimes one is viewed as a part of the other. The opinions on whether language policy is a part of language planning (Kaplan & Baldauf 1997) or, conversely, language planning is a part of language policy (Schiffman 1996) vary.

One of the first researchers in the field of LPP, Joshua A. Fishman (1968; as cited in Garcia, Peltz & Schiffman 2006:38) distinguishes between three types of language policy for the three corresponding types of societies: *amodal* – the Language of Wider Communication⁴ is selected as a national or official language, as the country does not have a so-called Great Tradition: “widely accepted and visibly implemented belief and behavior system of indigenously validated greatness”; *unimodal* – an indigenous or indigenized language is selected as the national language; *multimodal* – due to multiple conflicting or competing Great Traditions regional official languages are selected along with a Language (or Languages) of Wider Communication, therefore establishing bilingualism in the country (ibid.:39). Fishman, unlike many other LPP researchers, sees a clear distinction between language policy and language planning. Language planning is defined by Fishman as a “set of deliberate activities systematically designed to organize and develop the language resources of the community in an ordered schedule of time” (ibid.). Fishman notes that language planning “are the processes that come after language policy decisions have been reached” (ibid.).

For Tollefson (1991:16), language planning is “referring to all conscious efforts to affect the structure or function of language varieties”. Amongst the aforementioned efforts are “creation of orthographies, standardization and modernization programs” as well as “allocation of functions to particular languages within multilingual societies”. Language policy, Tollefson maintains, is commonly regarded as “language planning by the governments”. He himself, however, produces an alternative definition of language policy and language planning, blending the two terms together and producing his own concept of *language planning-policy*, which is “the institutionalization of language as a basis for distinctions among social groups (classes)” (ibid.). In this way, language policy serves as a tool for assigning a language a certain place in the social structure and the language can thus determine those who have political power and economic resources at their disposal. Therefore, linguistic hegemony can be established through language policy.

⁴ For instance, English in the West African states of Gambia and Sierra Leone, where it is used to render communication between speakers of different languages more efficient (ibid.:45).

Shohamy (2006:49) sees language policy and language planning in a way that is different from Tollefson's. She maintains that language planning "was a term used in the 1950s and 1960s to refer to sweeping intervention and control of language behavior". Language policy, on the contrary, is "a set of principles regarding language behavior". Therefore, unlike Tollefson, who perceived language policy as superior to language planning and an instrument of power, Shohamy views language planning as a control mechanism, much stricter than language policy. Shohamy (ibid.), much like Fishman, sees a distinction between language policy and language planning, albeit not a very clear one. The former, according to her, is "less interventionist" and may include principles concerning language use. It can simply be a statement on how many languages should be learned or that minorities should have a right to preserve and maintain their languages without any official guidelines on how this needs to be implemented.

Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:XII) state that in the field of language policy and language planning the two terms are sometimes used interchangeably, even though representing two "quite distinct aspects of the systemized language change process". Their view on language planning is very similar to that of Shohamy, as they maintain that language planning is "an activity, most visibly undertaken by the government" which intends to introduce a "systematic linguistic change" in a particular community of speakers. Language planning either leads to or is directed by language policy, which is defined as "a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the societies, group or system" (ibid.). Language policy, Kaplan and Baldauf state, is implemented by the government or any other representation of the authority via laws, regulations or rules. Johnson (2013:4), however, argues that this definition is rather incomplete, as language policy does not necessarily need to be laid down by a certain authoritative body and can simply arise from a bottom-up movement or grassroots organization.

Schiffman (1996:5) views language policy differently than Kaplan and Baldauf. He introduces the concept of linguistic culture, which is a "set of behaviors, assumptions, cultural forms, prejudices, folk belief systems, attitudes, stereotypes, ways of thinking about language, and religio-historical circumstances associated with a particular language" which set the ground for language policy. He sees language policy as a social construct, which does not rely exclusively on legal texts, imposed by the authoritative organs, but on the above-mentioned linguistic culture as well. In order to properly understand a particular language policy, he claims, one needs to look at the background in which it has arisen, that is to consider "historical, social, cultural, educational or religious conditions extant in a particular area" (ibid.).

Spolsky (2012:5) identifies three "inter-related, but independent" components that constitute language policy. The first one is *language practices*, which are employed by the members of a

speech community. These are the varieties of language used for every recognized communicative function, the variants used with different interlocutors and the rules for speech and silence, for dealing with common topics and for expressing and concealing identity. The second component, Spolsky asserts, is largely formed by the first. It includes the values that the members of a speech community attribute to every variety and variant and certain beliefs about the “importance of these values” (ibid.). *Language beliefs* can be organized into *language ideologies*, which are rather intricate combinations of values that only certain members of the speech community share. The third component is *language management*, which, in its essence, is actually language planning. Language management is enacted by the members of the speech community, who either have or believe that they have authority over the rest to influence their language practices, forcibly making them use a different variety or a different variant of a language. An example of language management, Spolsky suggests, could be a legal stipulation of a national or official language. However, he argues, plain existence of language management through language laws does not guarantee that all the members of the speech community will abide by them. Therefore, Spolsky sees language planning as a part of the general concept of language policy. Johnson (2013:5) perceives Schiffman’s and Spolsky’s views on language policy as quite similar, the difference being that Schiffman claims that language policy is grounded in language beliefs and ideologies, whilst Spolsky views said beliefs as language policy itself.

For McCarty (2011:5), language policy is situated within language planning. She refers to language policy as a complex sociocultural process, “modes of human interaction, negotiation, and production mediated by relations of power”. Policy in all these processes, McCarty claims, lies in their power to self-regulate; to express “normative claims about legitimate and illegitimate language forms and uses”. The policy, therefore, is responsible for governing “language statuses and uses” (ibid.:8). McCarty’s understanding of language policy is rather similar to that of Kaplan and Baldauf in a sense that she also views official government texts as possible ways of exercising language policy (Johnson 2013:6); but on the other side, McCarty also recognizes language policy as a multilayered concept, just like Schiffman and Spolsky, and is more interested in analyzing the production of language policy within “human interaction and negotiation”.

Johnson (2013:9) synthesizes the definitions suggested by Kaplan and Baldauf, Schiffman, Spolsky, McCarty and Tollefson and produces his own view on the concepts of language policy. He understands it as “a policy mechanism that impacts the structure, function, use, or acquisition of language”, maintaining that language policy may include several components:

- official regulations (possibly, written documents that can affect language in some way and can therefore cause economic, political and educational changes); certain

mechanisms (that are unofficial, covert, de facto and implicit), which are linked to language beliefs and language practices and have influence and power over language use and interaction;

- the processes of policy that are reenacted by different language policy agents in all layers of “policy creation, interpretation, appropriation, and instantiation”;
- policy texts as well as policy discourses present in multiple layers and contexts within the policy activity which can be significantly influenced by ideologies and discourses.

Much like Tollefson, Johnson does not provide a definition of language planning, since he regards it as a term which simply preceded language policy (ibid.:3).

The existence of such a number of different (although overlapping at times) definitions of language policy and language planning can be explained by the different contexts and areas of research, that gave life to the abovementioned understandings of LPP. In the light of the research that has been conducted in this study, I share the Shohamy’s and Kaplan and Baldauf’s understanding of language policy and language planning coming from a certain authoritative body which determines the language practices within a certain state (or, in case of the EU, a supranational entity). LPP can to a certain extent be modified by those impacted by it (e.g. EU language policy can be adapted to the realities of a Member State) but still, it is the governing organ that has the last say. After outlining the general definitions of language policy and language planning, it is useful to look into the various types of language policies and their classifications.

3.2 Types of Language Policy

Researchers distinguish between several types of language policy. Schiffman (1996:13) differentiates between *overt* and *covert* policies. He refers to overt language policies as explicit, formalized, de jure, codified or manifest and covert as implicit, informal, unstated, de facto, grassroots, latent. Schiffman claims that even though the country might not have an overt language policy, this does not necessarily signify it does not have any policy whatsoever. For instance, the USA does not have an official language, but English is “the dominant language in the life of the citizens of the USA” (ibid.). Any attempt at using a different language in public business, e.g. applying for a job or enrolling at school, would be futile. Therefore, it is the covert policy that ensures the status of the English language in American society. Switzerland, on the other hand, has established both national (German, French, Italian and Romanche) and official languages (German, French and Italian). Despite it being officially stipulated, though, the overt language policy does not actually match with covert one since in practice Italian is used in very few domains at the federal level (Schiffman 2002:18). According to Schiffman (2006:116), covert language policy can even help preserve a language, as it was with Polish during the tsarist times.

Shohamy (2006:50) similarly distinguishes between explicit and implicit language policy. She maintains that “language policy is stated *explicitly* through official documents, such as national laws, declaration of certain languages as “official” or “national”, language standards, tests, curricula, and other types of documents” and *implicitly* “from examining a variety of de facto practices”, in which case it is difficult to be detected, as it is rather subtle and hidden. Sometimes implicit language policy occurs on a national level, as it is, for instance, with English in the USA. Johnson (2013:10) offers a more detailed categorization of language policy. He proposes eight types of language policies based on four different characteristics:

- Genesis: top-down and bottom-up
- Means and goals: overt and covert
- Documentation: explicit and implicit
- In law and practice: de jure and de facto

Johnson’s typology is very similar to that of Schiffman and Shohamy, but unlike Schiffman, who uses the concept of overt and covert policies in an umbrella-term-like fashion, Johnson draws some distinction between his types. He discusses top-down and bottom-up language policies, with the former being “the macro-level policy developed by some governing or authoritative body” and the latter “the micro-level or grassroots generated policy for and by the community that it impacts”. However, he states that sometimes language policies are developed on multiple levels and a policy, viewed as bottom-up can be considered top-down by other participants. Johnson views covert and overt policies much like his predecessors, as “overtly expressed in written and spoken policy texts” and “intentionally concealed” at the micro- and macro-level. His definitions of explicit and implicit language policies are rather resemblant of overt and covert, the difference being that explicit policies are “officially documented” and implicit ones are “occurring without or in spite of official policy texts”. Discussing de jure and de facto policies, Johnson states that the first refers to a policy which is “officially documented in writing” whilst the second is the “policy in practice”, which can either be a locally produced policy that has appeared without or in spite of certain de jure policies, or a local language practice which is different from the official, de jure policy. I chose to look at the three language policies which will be discussed later in this work through the prism of Johnson’s classification due to it being the most comprehensive one.

Having presented different definitions and types of language policy I will proceed to discuss the language policies that are relevant to this work, namely, those of the European Union, Italy, and Austria. I also chose to look at how linguistic integration is being implemented in the Union and the two Member States, as it should be viewed as a component of their language policies.

4. Language policy and integration in the EU: the cases of Italy and Austria

4.1 Language policy and integration in the European Union

The European Union is a political and economic union of 28 European nations, which was formed with the purpose of achieving economic and political integration. In 1993, the Treaty of Maastricht established that the three European Communities – the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Atomic Energy Community, and the European Economic Community (renamed by the Treaty as the European Community) – would form one of the three pillars of the European Union (European Parliament 2018:1). The Union itself did not come into being until 2009 when it was officially established by the Treaty of Lisbon. It differs from other unions as it is “less coherent and integrated” than a federation is (e.g. the USA) but is more than an organization of cooperating countries (e.g. the United Nations) (Ammon 2012:571).

4.1.1 Languages in the EU

The languages spoken in the EU are subdivided into dialects, sociolects, and idiolects. Hierarchically, all the EU languages are categorized into (Ammon 2012:573):

- Working languages of the EU institutions, the number of which varies from institution to institution but never exceeds five: English⁹, German, French, Italian and Spanish. They serve as a means of internal communication in the EU institutions.
- Official languages of the EU, of which there are currently 24. These languages are used for communication between the EU government or EU institutions and the member states.
- National-official languages of EU member states which for the most part mirror the official languages, however, with the exception of Luxembourgish which has no official status.
- Regional-official languages in other EU member states, for instance German in Italy and Belgium, which has no national status, but is an official language on the regional level. Additionally, there are localized regional-official languages, which are used nowhere else, such as Catalan, Basque and Galician in Spain.
- Indigenous or autochthonous minority languages of the EU member states which are under protection of the European Charter of Regional or Minority Languages.
- Indigenous minority languages in the EU member states which are not under protection of the aforementioned Charter. Even though these languages meet the criteria for protection, the Member States where the languages are spoken have not ratified the Charter. Much alike the languages that are protected by the Charter, their number is hard to determine in

part due to the vagueness of Charter's criteria, but also because there are very few speakers of these languages.

- Exogenous or allochthonous minority languages which are the languages not protected by any EU legislation. The exogenous languages include languages of immigrants, migrants and asylum seekers. The EU has issued guidelines for the member states on how to provide opportunities for the native speakers.

It should, however, be stated, that there is no clear-cut distinction between the official and working languages, since, as Van der Jeught (2015:58) points out, both categories obtain equal status. Kuzelewska (2014:152) states that officially there is no rule that suggests the exact languages that should be used as the working ones, and that the choice of these languages is simply "the matter of practice". Still, the overall number of recognized languages in the EU is quite astonishing. No other international organization, either private or public, has so many languages in its internal communication (Van Els 2005:203). As a rule, MPs are provided with simultaneous interpretation during the Parliamentary sessions and the documents produced are translated into all official languages. De facto, though, French and English are the two most frequently used languages in the EU (Faingold 2015:35).

4.1.2 Language policy of the European Union

Researchers like van Els (2006:2009), distinguish between two sides of the EU language policy – institutional and non-institutional. The first one, as the name suggests, refers to the languages used "within and between the EU institutions themselves and in their communications with the member states and their citizens, and the world outside the EU". The second means the "use of languages within and between the member states and between their citizens mutually, without the EU institutions being a party to this" (ibid.).

Szul (2015:69) presents a different view on the Union's language policy and sees it as multileveled, distinguishing between the EU level ("language policy of the Union"), the national level ("language policy of the individual member state") and the regional level ("language policies of individual member states").

Multilingualism is, undoubtedly, the most important aspect of the European language policy. In 2000 the EU adopted its motto Unity in Diversity so as to show its common goal in achieving "unity of purpose, peace and prosperity in Europe while acknowledging and fostering the wealth of its different countries, traditions and languages" (EU 2000). The languages are "an integral part of the European identity and the most direct expression of culture" (European Parliament 2017). And considering the myriad of languages spoken in the Union, it should come as no surprise that the EU has been involved in promoting multilingualism over the course of almost two decades.

The actions aimed at popularizing languages include ‘2001 European Year of Languages’, a 2004-2006 Action Plan on ‘Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity’, ‘The New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism’ in 2003 and the 2008 document on ‘Multilingualism: an Asset for Europe and a Shared Commitment’ to name a few (Wodak & Krzyzanowski 2001:116). The fundamental ideas of multilingualism were laid down in the Treaty of Rome, Article 248, which stated that “[t]he Treaty, drawn up in a single original in Dutch, French, German and Italian languages, all four texts being equally authentic” (Treaty of Rome, as cited in Kuzelewska 2014:153).

The policy of multilingualism, as Szul (2015:77) suggests, was adopted primarily as an attempt to unify the member states. He maintains that other superpowers, such as the US and China, have a common language⁵ which, along with the emotional identification with a political entity, is required in order to create a sense of community. The EU cannot build a European identity simply by promoting one or few common languages; therefore, it has to carry out a language policy that has linguistic diversity in its core (ibid.:78). By viewing national languages as the main languages of communication, the EU helps its citizens perceive the Union as something “familiar and intimate” rather than “alien and hostile” (ibid.). Adopting the policy of multilingualism was an important step on the way of fostering the sense of belonging to the whole community.

However, the EU policy of multilingualism works better in theory than it does in practice. As Kuzelewska (2014:159) points out, even though all the official EU languages are expected to be treated as equal, some are “more equal than others”. English and French, are the predominant languages not only in the EU institutions but also as the main foreign languages that European students learn at schools (EUROSTAT 2018). English still persists as a lingua franca, which is somewhat paradoxical, as Szul (2015:77) notes, given how little affiliation the UK wants to (and will) have with the EU. That being said, the planned exit might actually trigger some changes in the EU language policy, specifically when it comes to the status of English.

4.1.3 Linguistic integration in the EU and the CEFR

Migrant integration through language has been mentioned in several EU documents. Two Parliament Regulations and a Parliament Directive explicitly mention Principle 4 of the Common Basic Principles about the importance of acquisition of the host country’s language: “Basic knowledge of the host society’s language, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration; enabling immigrants to acquire this basic knowledge is essential to successful integration” (CBP 2004). Joppke (2007:5) states that this principle refers to the policy of civic integration which was

⁵ According to Szul (2015:77), this common language refers only to the official languages as in the private sphere more languages can be used.

introduced by the Netherlands in the 90s but has since been incorporated by Finland, Denmark, Austria, France and Germany. According to this policy, the immigrants wanting to settle in the countries mentioned above are compelled to participate in both civic and language courses once they have entered the state (or sometimes even before the entry). If they fail to do so, they might face certain financial sanctions or, in the worst case, could completely be denied residence with further expulsion from the country. The policy can be viewed as a migration control device and can be particularly restrictive to the unskilled immigrants or those seeking family reunification. The Action Plan on the Integration of the Third-Country Nationals, which serves as an extension of the CBPs, also explores linguistic integration. It emphasizes the value of pre-departure language training for the migrants coming for family reasons, and for the refugees, as it can accelerate the integration of the newcomers once they arrive in their host country (European Commission 2016:3). Quite recently, the Member States began to recognize pre-departure integration measures as rather important. The Netherlands, France, Germany, Denmark and the United Kingdom all require prospective immigrants to take either a language test or offer language courses that migrants are obliged to attend in their host country (Groenendijk 2011:1). The majority of the EU states, however, does not have any pre-entry requirements and the migrants are expected to begin their integration upon arrival.

It should be pointed out, that the main work in the area of linguistic integration, particularly, the development of language integration framework for immigrants, has been done not by the EU institutions, but by the Council of Europe (CoE). CoE is an older and larger (47 member states) organization, not affiliated with the EU. It is active mainly in the field of human rights rather than in economic policy (Jones & Saville 2009:51). Its members are not limited to the EU member states but also include other European nations. The CoE department responsible for the promotion of linguistic diversity and language learning is the Language Policy Division (LPD), which “implements agreed intergovernmental programs with a special emphasis on policy development” (ibid.). The LPD is also involved in helping the member states in producing their language education policy profiles, which perform a self-evaluative function (Jones & Saville 2011:52).

One cannot neglect the contributions made by the CoE that have also shaped the current EU policy of multilingualism. Perhaps, the most well-known product that the LPD has created is the Common European Framework of References (CEFR). CEFR is a reference tool that has three main purposes:

- to give language instructors in Europe a common basis for the development of language syllabuses, course books, test and curriculum guidelines;

- to help the teachers in overcoming certain communicative obstacles that are caused by the differences in the European educational systems;
- to define the proficiency levels, which would serve as a measurement for the learner's progress at each and every stage of learning (LPU 2001).

There are six proficiency levels in the Framework: A1-A2, B1-B2 and C1-C2. They can roughly be divided into two groups, according to the language learning trajectory which is common for Europe: levels A1 to B1 measure proficiency of language learnt for communicative purposes whilst levels B2 to C2 reflect the development of proficiency that is far more advanced, it includes academic and professional use of the language. Each of the letters corresponds the three general levels: Basic User (A), Independent User (B) and Proficient User (C) (LPU 2001).

The framework has proven to be efficient not only for second language acquisition but also in the integration policies as different member states issue different requirements to those willing to settle in the country. CoE has held three surveys among its member states on policy and practice regarding linguistic integration of adult migrants – organized by the Language Policy Division and Migration Division – in 2007/2008, 2009/2010 and 2013. 42 countries have taken part in the 2013 survey, of which 24 countries-members of the European Union⁶. The survey primarily focused on language requirements those willing to enter and reside as well as citizenship applicants were expected to fulfill. The CEFR levels vary from country to country and depend on what the migrant is applying for. The lowest (usually A1) is required in the countries that have pre-departure integration measures and the highest (up to B1) is necessary when one is willing to apply for citizenship in a particular state. While the majority of the Member States do not require any pre-entry tests, Austria is among those few that do (LIAM 2014). Third-country nationals willing to immigrate to Austria must pass an A1 CEFR German test before settling in the country. Both Italy and Austria, however, have language requirements for those applying for a residence permit. In Austria, an immigrant must successfully pass either A2 or B1 test depending on the permit category, while in Italy the level is set at A2. Italy is one of the few states in the EU which does not have any language requirements to those willing to obtain the citizenship. Those wanting to become Austrian citizens, on the other hand, must be able to pass the B1 test (*ibid.*). In the following subchapters, the language requirements and facilitation of linguistic integration in Italy and Austria will be discussed in more detail.

⁶ The four member states that have not participated include Bulgaria, Romania, Croatia and Slovak Republic. The former two have not taken part in any of the LPD's surveys, whilst Croatia only participated in 2007, and Slovak Republic responded in 2007/2008 and 2009/2010.

4.2 Language policy and linguistic integration in Italy

4.2.1 Language profile and language policy of Italy

The Republic of Italy, due to its complex history, is considered a multilingual state (Tosi 2004; Guerini 2011; Cerruti 2011). There is a vast number of Romance languages (which some researchers mistakenly refer to as ‘dialects’ of the Italian) spoken in various regions and provinces of the country. These languages differ significantly from each other and the Standard Italian. Aside from those, 12 languages⁷ are under the protection of the 1999 Law 482 on historical linguistic minorities⁸ (Legge 482/Articolo 2).

The reason behind Italy’s multilingualism lies in the late unification of the country. Italy became a country in 1861 and, much like the former colonies after World War II, tried to build its national identity by adopting a national language (Tosi 2004:300). With the help of the Florence-based Accademia della Crusca, 14th century Florentine Italian, which was standardized back in the 16th, was chosen to become the language of the newly created nation (Guerini 2011:109). However, adopting a single language could not erase the country’s history of centuries of political division, which caused various dialects to develop independently from one another (Tosi 2004:248). Until the early 20th century Italian, with some minor exceptions, was used in writing and formal styles, thus coexisting with regional dialects. Neither the purist policy of the late 19th century, nor the policy of the linguistic imperialism led by the fascist regime were successful in eliminating the different languages and dialects spoken on the peninsula (Cerruti 2011:11).

Following the end of the fascist rule, Italy adopted its Constitution in 1948. In one of its first articles, the document gives provisions regarding the protection of the linguistic minorities, at the same time failing to recognize Italian as the official language of the Republic. Therefore, Italy, much like the United Kingdom and the United States, remains a country with a *de facto* language policy, since Italian is not established as an official language on the constitutional level. However, it must be brought to the attention that the aforementioned Law 482, along with mentioning the protection of rights of the linguistic minorities in its Article 1 also states that “The official language of the state is Italian”.

In the 20th century, Italian has gained a significant number of speakers primarily due to industrialization, the spread of the mass media and introduction of compulsory education. Large northern cities, as Tosi (2004:279) claims, became “melting pots for the promotion of the national language”. As workers came from various parts of the country and thus spoke different dialects,

⁷ These include three domestic minority languages – Friulan, Sardinian and Ladin – as well as Franco-Provençal, French, Albanian, Croatian, German, Catalan, Greek, Occitan and Slovene.

⁸ The law was adopted in response to the 1992 European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

they had to adopt a single language of communication. Industrialization is also responsible in the shift of prestige from Tuscan or Florentine Italian to that spoken in economically developed Lombardy (Tosi 2004:287).

Despite the spread of Standard Italian, regional languages are still spoken by large numbers of people. Prior to the refugee crisis, one of the major Italian political parties – a right-wing Lega (Formerly known as Lega Nord or the Northern League) advocated for the promotion of Italo-Romance dialects, as these were seen to be “a major emblem of Northern Italian linguistic and cultural identity” (Guerini 2011:113). Currently, it is still the majority of Italians, who despite being able to speak Standard Italian, use a regional dialect in their daily lives (ISTAT 2018). Therefore, as Cerruti (2011:11) states, Italian continues to remain in a diglossic relationship with the Italo-Romance dialects.

Aside from Italian and the Italo-Romance dialects, English plays an important role in the country. Due to its increasing role as a lingua franca, English is not only the most learned foreign language (ISTAT 2018) but has also been continuously penetrating the Italian language. Anglicisms became a significant part of the Italian language for several reasons: speakers choose to use English words instead of the Italian alternatives as they want to differentiate themselves socially – using English implies they are well-educated – but at the same time English words are being used due to their perceived functionality – Italians see English as a more efficient language which can help them express certain concepts more precisely than if it would have been done in Italian (Demata 2014). Accademia della Crusca, the institution that to this day tries to maintain purity of the Italian language, continues advocating for use of Italian words instead of English loans or calques and has even launched a petition in 2015 called “Dillo in Italiano” or “Say it in Italian”, encouraging Italians to eliminate Anglicisms from their vocabulary (Mastromarino 2016:8).

4.2.2 Linguistic integration in Italy

Italy, as mentioned, does not have any language requirements one has to fulfill before entering the country and neither does it for those willing to obtain the Italian citizenship. Only those migrants who have applied for a residence permit, regardless of whether temporary or permanent, are obligated to show the proof of their language skills (Cuttitta 2014:290). Language policy towards migrants in Italy primarily focuses on what Love (2014:35) refers to as “the ability of the migrant to demonstrate language skills through the medium of standardized testing”. As mentioned, upon arrival every immigrant over 14 years of age must sign an Integration Agreement, which requires a person to reach the A2 level of Italian within 2 years (see Chapter 2.3.2). An immigrant must take a language test and present a certificate issued by the accredited institution in order to obtain a residence permit (Guerini 2011:114). The Italian language test, designed for adult immigrants

rather than being a helpful tool in second language acquisition, appears to be a gate-keeping device (Love 2014:35). Standardized testing may not be a real indicator of the adult migrant's language knowledge, since one can be proficient in oral communication but may be less successful in completing in a written test (ibid.).

One of the major institutions working in the field of language integration is the so-called Permanent Territorial Center for Education and Training in Adult Age (*centro territoriale permanente per l'educazione in eta adulta*; further as CTP). The CTP was created in 1997 with the purpose of improving the adult education legislation. According to the Country Report on Adult Education (2011:6), composed by the European Association for the Education of Adults, "the main purpose of the CTPs is to promote basic literacy, develop and consolidate basic skills and specific knowledge, teach foreign languages, Italian for foreign people and provide courses to obtain a high education diploma". The CTPs initially were developed to foster adult education with a subsequent acquisition of a middle school certificate, but were later reformed and presently work only with migrants, predominantly offering language courses (Caneva 2014:15). In 2014, after undergoing some reforms, CTPs were renamed into Centers for the Instruction of Adults (*Centri per istruzione degli adulti*; further: CPIA). The courses are provided by elementary and middle school teachers, who mostly are not trained in adult education and teaching Italian as a second language (OECD 2014:97). At the moment, CPIAs are responsible for providing up to 50% of Italian as a second language courses, and are, along with Roma Tre University, University of Foreigners in Perugia, University of Foreigners in Siena and Dante Alighieri Society, attested to administer Italian language test which has to be passed in order to fulfil the Integration Agreement (Love 2014:37).

Language courses and CTPs (and later, CPIAs) were primarily funded by the Ministry of Labor through the Fund for Migratory Policies and the Fund for Social Inclusion of the Immigrants. In 2012, the Ministry funding ended and was overtaken by the European Integration Fund (OECD 2014:98). Therefore, other actors, excluding those linked to the government, needed to step in. At present, there are hundreds of small- and large-scale NGOs operating in the domain of language education for migrants. The number of courses provided by these organizations exceeds that provided by the CPIAs. Additionally, their schedule is more flexible and all migrants, regardless of the status they obtained, can attend the courses. On the other side, the courses are normally taught by volunteers who at times lack background in education, and the certificates provided to attendees of these courses cannot be used as an official confirmation of their language skills (ibid.). That may be the reason for the overwhelming popularity of the CPIAs over the courses offered

through NGOs, as the former normally have long waiting lists and the latter sometimes cannot fill in all the available slots.

It is important to point out, that both state-offered and NGO-administered Italian courses focus primarily on the basic level of competence and are not suited for those willing to acquire language for professional purposes. This is evident given that most participants simply want to acquire the A2 level of Italian so that they receive their points, as stipulated in the Integration Agreement. Therefore, one can conclude that linguistic integration in Italy appears to be rather forced as migrants acquire the language under pressure and not voluntarily.

4.3 Language policy and migrant integration in Austria

4.3.1 Austrian German and language policy of the state

German is the official language of the Republic of Austria, which is explicitly stated in the Constitution (Bundesverfassung/Art.8). It is a pluricentric language, which includes three recognized varieties: German Standard German, Austrian Standard German, and Swiss Standard German, languages spoken in the European states of Germany, Austria and Switzerland respectively (Auer 2013:17). Other languages that are additionally to German recognized as official include Croatian and Hungarian in the federal state of Burgenland and Slovene in Styria and Carinthia (Volksgruppengesetz 1976). Adhering to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, besides the three languages mentioned above Austria recognizes Romani, Czech, and Slovak as the official minority languages (Bundeskanzleramt 2011). The country's safeguarding of the minority languages can be traced back to the 19th century Austro-Hungarian Empire, which being a multi-national state gave its citizens rights to speak their own languages (De Cilia & Wodak 2002:12).

Unlike Italy, Austria did not need a language to play a unifying role in constructing their national identity. It did, however, need its language to show the world that the country is a state of its own and should not be associated with Germany. The complicated history of German-Austrian relations in the 20th century has caused some serious impact on the Austrian national identity and the language spoken in the country.

After the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian empire in the post-WWI times, given that the state was for the major part German-speaking, the founding fathers even wanted to name the newly established country Republic of German-Austria (ibid.:13). Even though the country, in the end, was called the Republic of Austria, it still did not sever its ties with Germany. The national language was German, and the founding fathers saw it as important to emphasize that Austria is a German state (ibid.).

After the end of the WWII Austria wanted to distance itself from national socialism, and, by default, also from Germany. This prompted the codification of Austrian Standard German and in 1951 the first *Österreichische Wörterbuch* – Austrian Dictionary – was published (De Cillia; Ransmayr & Fink 2011:6). Language minority groups that experienced persecution during the Nazi times (Wodak & De Cillia 2002:15) were granted rights and their languages were recognized on an official level in certain federal lands through a number of laws (ibid.:17-19).

The question of Austrian Standard German as opposed to German Standard German and therefore the importance of Austrian national identity became more crucial around the time of the accession of Austria to the European Community. Austrians were assured that they can maintain their national identity within the European Community with slogans like “Erdäpfelsalat bleibt Erdäpfelsalat” that was rather popular before the EC Referendum (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl & Liebhart 2009:109). In order to combat the fears of Austrians in regards to their linguistic identity, the so-called Protocol 10 was introduced as a part of the country’s accession treaty (Ransmayr 2015:151). The Protocol included 23 Austrian German terms related to food items, e.g. Erdäpfel (potato) vs. German Kartoffel, Topfen (cottage cheese) vs. German Quark etc. However, except for these words, Austrian German seems not to be otherwise defined on the official EU level (de Cillia, Ransmayr & Fink 2011:3). The Protocol has a symbolic value but is still significant as it officially emphasizes that Austrian Standard German is a linguistic variety of German language in its own right (Ransmayr 2015:151). The peculiarities of Austrian German, according to many researchers of the second half of the last century, appear to be central in the construction of the Austrian National identity (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl & Liebhart 2009:57).

4.3.2 Language policy and linguistic integration of migrants in Austria

The field of ‘Language and education’ is perhaps the most significant of all in the National Action Plan for Integration, since German language skills are perceived as a basis for successful integration and as such will facilitate economic and social participation, integration in labor market and education. As mentioned, linguistic integration came on the forefront in the 1990s and was applied only to those wanting to obtain Austrian citizenship. Nevertheless, it was not until the introduction of the Integration Agreement that language competence gained more attention and was better defined. Aside from the post-entry integration tests, in 2011 pre-entry language requirement was introduced, set at A1, targeting primarily those seeking family reunification. This measure, as Kraler (2012:48) states, reflected the perception of family-related migration as problematic with regard to integration as those entering the state were mainly unskilled or low-skilled immigrants.

Integration conditions regarding language in Austria resemble those of Italy. Just like in the former, an immigrant is required to sign an Integration Agreement and pass an A2 level test of German in order to obtain a residence permit (Mourao-Permoser & Rosenberger 2012:48). They are also to attend a 300-hour language and civic education course. The course might be partially refunded by the AIF on the premise that it was successfully completed in a timely manner (ibid.). The inability of a migrant to pass the test will result in sanctions such as expulsion with a five-year-long prohibition of entry (Plutzar 2010:2). The language requirements for citizenship are currently at the B1 level, as are the requirements for obtaining a long-term residence permit (Mourao-Permoser & Rosenberger 2012:48).

Unlike Italy, there is no institution similar to CTP that offer language courses necessary to fulfill the Integration Agreement. There are no provisions for the courses either and as the costs are not fully covered by the state, affording the courses might be hard for some applicants⁹ (Ransmayr 2015:150). Aside from that, the effectiveness of the language courses is doubted, since, as Krumm & Plutzar (2010:5) state, they just play a supporting role in the language acquisition as the migrant predominantly learns the language in 'real' life situations. Likewise, the tests cannot normally provide a clear picture of a migrant's linguistic abilities as one might simply be able to be better at understanding the exam procedure and therefore be more successful than the test-taker with same language proficiency that misunderstood the tasks (ibid.).

The only institution that is responsible for providing information concerning linguistic integration in Austria is the Austrian Integration Fund. The AIF offers information regarding financing, gives a list of recognized test centers and provides the teachers with standardized course curriculums (ÖIF 2018). Aside from that, the Fund launched Sprachportal, a website available in 10 languages, in 2012. The website gives information on the AIF centers and certified course providers in Austria and abroad. One can also learn about the language exam dates as well as have materials that help to prepare for the exam, such as downloadable sample tests and online practice test. Multiple possibilities to learn German, which include online exercises, free materials available for download (for both children and adults and materials to purchase, are also offered on the website. All materials are available on A1 through B2 levels.

In general, language integration in Austria seems to be an important issue with a lot of involvement on both public and governmental level, much like it is in Italy. Both countries have a somewhat similar view on integration which is stipulated in the legal documents that are concerned with it. The more in-depth analysis of the said documents, along with integration-related texts by the EU

⁹ Several Austrian NGOs that function as the language course providers offer free of charge courses for certain groups of migrants such as refugees and asylum seekers, however, the number of the spots there is often very limited (Caritas 2018).

will be done further in this work. As Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis has been chosen as a method, it will be discussed in the following chapter.

5.Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Johnson (2013:152), the majority of language policy analysis is, in fact, critical discourse analysis, since the researcher would be required to look at the policy texts and conduct an analysis of policy discourses that “are instantiated in or endangered by” the policy documents. As Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the method applied in this study, it is beneficial to discuss both the CDA and DHA, which will be done in the following subchapters.

5.1 CDA: history and definitions

Wodak (2001:1) states that the terms Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Linguistics (CL) are sometimes used interchangeably. However, lately, CDA seems to have absorbed the theory of CL (ibid.). Flowerdew (2008:195) agrees on the similarity between CDA and CL and claims that CDA originated from CL, which he identifies as a movement that was “concerned to develop a social approach to linguistics which recognized power relations as a central theoretical issue and text as its main unit of analysis”. Van Dijk (1993:251) traces the origins of CDA back to the critical theory of the Frankfurt School before the Second World War. Johnson (2013:154) agrees with CDA having its roots in CL and critical theory, adding that it also grew out of Halliday’s systemic-functional linguistics.

CDA emerged in 1991 after a small symposium in Amsterdam (Wodak 2001:3). Following the launch of Theun van Dijk’s journal *Discourse and Society* a year prior, Ruth Wodak together with van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Theo van Leeuwen, and Gunther Kress discussed the differences in their theories and methodologies of discourse analysis. They formed, what Wodak (ibid.:4) calls the ‘CDA Group’. Van Dijk (2001:352) provides the following definition of this approach and those, who use it in their studies:

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take an explicit position and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality.

Van Dijk states that CDA is simply a suggestion of different “perspective’ of theorizing, analysis, and application throughout the whole field” and emphasizes the role of the researcher. The critical discourse analyst, according to him, must be aware of their role in the society and the influence the society has on them and their research.

Quite recently, when talking about analyzing critical discourse, the term ‘Critical Discourse Studies’ (CDS) is favored. Teun van Dijk prefers the term to CDA as he states that CDA is not a single method (Van Dijk 2013). He argues that “being critical [...] is a state of mind [...] but not an explicit method for the description of the structures and strategies of text and talk”. Van Dijk further states that CDA is very diverse and therefore, there is no separate, single method of conducting research in CDA, but rather a plethora of such. Therefore, he asserts, CDS is more applicable when referring to “theories, methods, analyses, applications and other practices of critical discourse analysts” (ibid.). Fairclough (2015:1) also states that CDA “subsumes a variety of approaches towards the social analysis of discourse, [...] which differ in theory, methodology, and the type of research issues to which they tend to give prominence”. For the purpose of this work, the term ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’ (or ‘CDA’) will be applied when discussing various methods and approaches.

Several major approaches can be singled out in CDA. Wodak and Meyer (2016:18) distinguish between approaches with an inductive perspective, which involve detailed case studies, and those approaches that have a deductive, more general perspective. The Discourse-Historical Approach, developed by Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl, as well as the Social Actors Approach by Theo van Leeuwen are examples of the former, while the Sociocognitive Approach of Teun van Dijk and the Dialectical Relational Approach by Norman Fairclough are representative of the latter (ibid.). The aforementioned approaches are just a few of the many in CDA, and even though the methods in CDA stem from different theoretical backgrounds and employ different data and methodologies, they all find a common ground in the main concepts of Critical Discourse Analysis (ibid.:5).

5.2 CDA: main concepts

As mentioned, CDA does not and, according to Wodak & Meyer (2009:5), never attempted to offer only one specific theory. The research that the critical discourse analysts conduct, always varies in its theoretical background, data and methodologies. Therefore, it is important to single out the concepts, that the researchers who work within CDA share.

5.2.1 The notion of discourse

In CDA discourse, defined as “language use in speech and writing”, is seen as a “form of ‘social practice’” (Wodak & Fairclough 1997:258). Referring to discourse as ‘social practice’ implies that there is a dialectical relationship between a certain discursive event and the situations, institutions and social structures which frame the said event (Wodak 2002:7-8). The discourse both constitutes the society – situations, knowledge, social identities and relationships of people and groups of people – and is being influenced by it. Discourse, as Wodak (ibid.) maintains, can support the social status quo as well as help transform it. Discourse can also have serious ideological effects

– in that it can contribute to creating unequal power relations between different groups, such as women and men or representatives of different social classes or ethnic minorities and majorities (ibid.). The task of CDA is to disclose the ‘ideological loading’ of a particular discourse. For instance, racist or sexist discourse might manipulate the language and produce false assumptions about a certain aspect of social life as something disguised as common sense, which would be rather unclear to the public. In this case, CDA would unveil these aspects of discourse (Wodak & Fairclough 1997:258).

CDA views discourse as a “relatively stable use of language serving the organization and structuring of social life” (Wodak & Meyer 2016:6). However, the notion of discourse appears to be understood differently by different scholars (Wodak 2002:8). German and Central European scholars tend to differentiate between the ‘discourse’ – spoken interaction of any kind – and ‘text’, which is usually (but not necessarily) a written piece (Brünner & Graefen 1994:7-8). In the English-speaking world, however, the word ‘discourse’ is used to refer to both oral and written texts (Wodak 2002:9).

5.2.2 Critique in CDA

As has been mentioned, the foundations of CDA lie in critical theory, which as defined by the Frankfurt School, implies that the social theory should aim at criticizing and changing society, as opposed to traditional theory, which wants to understand or explain it (Wodak & Meyer 2009:6). Critical theory, and therefore, CDA, aims at ‘enlightening’ the people, making them aware of domination and helping them to combat it through self-reflection. Critical theory helps people understand society better, additionally to being able to eliminate any kind of misconceptions (ibid.).

In CDA, ‘critical’ should be understood as 1) having distance to the data; 2) having the data ingrained in the social; 3) taking an explicit political stance and 4) focusing on self-reflection while doing research (Wodak 2001:10). If a researcher refers to themselves as a critical analyst, it is thus presumed they have, what Wodak & Meyer (2009:6) call “superior ethical standards”. That implies the ability to make one’s values, position and research interest explicit while doing their research in addition to making the criteria they intend to use as transparent as possible (van Leeuwen 2006:293, as cited in Wodak & Meyer 2009:7). The main aim of critique, as an integral part of CDA, is to unveil the structures of power and the ideologies linked to them.

5.2.3 Power and ideology

Power is one of the most important concepts in all the social sciences (Wodak & Meyer 2016:9). The CDA scholars, following Foucault (1982; as cited in Flowerdew & Richardson 2018:3)

perceive power as “ubiquitous in society, and elites may maintain control through their exercise of power”. The interest of CDA practitioners lies in uncovering the ways in which discourse produces (or reproduces) social domination or, in other words, how one group may abuse power and how the dominated group can “discursively resist such abuse” (Wodak & Meyer 2016:9). Following Bourdieu (1991:109), who states that “the authority comes to language from outside” and the language “at most represents this authority, manifests and symbolizes it”, CDA does not see power in language on its own, but rather states that it gains power through potent people who use it (Wodak 2001:10). The results of power use referred to by Weber as ‘domination’, are defined as “the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons” (Weber 1978:53). Discourse can be viewed as an outcome of both power and domination, and since power, for the most part, is invisible it is possible to analyze it through its linguistic manifestation which is discourse (Wodak & Meyer 2016:10).

CDA chooses to discuss matters through the perspective of those repressed by critically analyzing the language people in power use. Based on several sources, Wodak and Meyer (2016:10) distinguish between three different concepts of power regarding the source of it: 1) as a result of specific sources of individual actors, 2) as an attribute of social exchange in every interaction, depending on the relation of the resources between different actors, and 3) as an extremely invisible systemic and constitutive characteristic of society. Discourse as a manifestation of power is both a product of it and a means to exert power. It is the task of a CDA analyst to disclose the ways in which certain linguistic forms are used as tools of expression and manipulation of power in discourse.

Discourses are supported by the ideologies, which are defined as “sets of beliefs and values belonging to particular social groups” (Flowerdew & Richardson 2018:3). In CDA ideology is seen as a significant facet of establishing and sustaining “unequal power relations” (Wodak 2002:9). Ideologies can emerge from certain ideas that are shared by people with diverse interests or backgrounds, who nevertheless think alike (Wodak & Meyer 2016:8). If the majority of the society thinks in the same way about a particular matter and, in some cases, even forgets about alternative ways of perceiving said matter, hegemony may arise. The gramscian concept of hegemony is defined as a ‘consensual’ predominance of one group over others (Ives 2004). Through hegemony, ideologies can appear harmless, as they are widely accepted by society. However, ideologies may be spread in order to create favorable conditions for representatives of certain groups, which can lead to *us* versus *them* situation with positive in- and negative out-group representation (Flowerdew & Richardson 2018:3). Van Dijk (1998:44) characterizes this situation with a so-called ‘ideological square’ which involves:

- emphasizing positive things about *us*
- emphasizing negative things about *them*
- de-emphasizing negative things about *us*
- de-emphasizing positive things about *them*.

CDA, along with other critical theories tries to describe, explain and, if possible, remove harmful ideologies. As Wodak states, ‘demystifying’ discourses by disclosing hidden ideologies is one of the most important tasks of CDA (Wodak 2002:10).

5.3 Criticism of CDA

From its very onset, Critical Discourse Analysis has attracted criticism. One of the most common criticisms regards the bias of CDA. Blommaert (2005:31) basing his criticism on the ideas of Henry Widdowson (1995), argues that CDA “provides biased interpretations of discourse under the guise of critical analysis”. CDA only interprets the text in one way, at times even disregarding social circumstances under which the text was produced and consumed (ibid.). Another problem for CDA, according to Stubbs (1997:34) is its linguistic bias. Here he refers to the fact that CDA puts a lot of effort into the linguistic-textual analysis which is used “as an important criterion for the assessment of work aspiring to be ‘critical’” (ibid.). The bias present in CDA also has to do with the analyst’s political views. As Breeze (2013:501) suggests, CDA interpretations can be more influenced by the researcher’s political choice rather than by the scientific criteria. CDA scholars, such as Fairclough, usually state their political affiliations before presenting their research, which, however, does not make their results more objective. Additionally, Hammersley (1997) views the CDA researchers as such who do not really provide a justification for their standpoint and therefore he argues there should not be a reason for accepting the CDA’s political stance instead of any other.

Another major issue that Breeze (ibid.:498) recognizes within CDA is its aspect of critique. Following the critical theory of the Frankfurt school, CDA scholars take a critical standpoint in analyzing discourse, neglecting, however, self-criticism of their own political views, simply assuming “their left-wing political standpoint uncritically” (ibid.). She points out, though, that Discourse-Historical Approach is exempt from this criticism due to its three-dimensional approach to critique and its advocacy for self-criticism throughout the whole analytical process (see 5.3).

Aside from the criticisms above, Flowerdew (2013:189), agreeing with Hammersley (1997:244) states that CDA appears to be too deterministic since it adopts the macro-sociological theory in which there are just two parties – those who oppress and those that are oppressed. Another

criticism Flowerdew (ibid.) deems important is the fact that the critical discourse analysts might have a different interpretation of the analyzed texts than those who the texts are written for.

There is, undoubtedly, many more examples of criticism of CDA, in fact, the number of CDA critics and their works on the topic is so big, that as Haig (2004:133) states, this activity “threatens to develop into a whole new academic cottage industry of its own”. However, due to space limitations, only a few could be named. In the following subchapter, I will proceed to discuss the CDA approach which will later be used for the analysis in this study, namely, the Discourse-Historical Approach.

5.4. Discourse-historical approach

In the words of Martin Reisigl (2018:44), one of the founders of the Discourse-Historical Approach, as well as some other CDA researchers (Žagar 2010:4), DHA is one of the most significant approaches to critical discourse studies in the English-speaking world. The development of the approach, which originated in Vienna three decades ago, can be divided into four phases (Reisigl 2018:44-47):

- Phase 1 (1987-1993) marked the conception of DHA. The approach, introduced by Ruth Wodak and her colleagues and PhD students, was specifically designed for a study on anti-Semitic stereotypes in semi-public and public discourses during the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign of a former UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, who has managed to keep his Wehrmacht past secret. This project laid foundations of DHA and produced four important features of the DHA: 1) interdisciplinarity and historical alignment, 2) teamwork, 3) triangulation of data, theories and methods and 4) attempts to practically apply the findings. Following the principle of triangulation, which implies “taking a whole range of empirical observations, theories from various disciplines and methods, as well as background information, into account” (Reisigl & Wodak 2016:26), became a distinguishing feature of the DHA as it allowed the researcher to minimize the risk of being subjective.
- Phase 2 (1993-1997) marked the institutionalization of DHA in Vienna. It was widely recognized as one of the most significant approaches to CDA. A number of the studies was conducted, such as on racist discrimination of Romanian migrants or on the discourse about the nation and national identity in Austria with the latter regarded as the most influential in discourse-historical approach so far.
- Phase 3 (1997-2003) was characterized by the foundation of the Research Center ‘Discourse, Politics, Identity’ which allowed for conducting more extensive studies with

larger teams of researchers. During this phase, the topics of the analysis included exhibits of racism in political discourses in national parliaments in several EU states with a special focus on asylum and migration among other topics. All research projects took interest in the relationship between discourse, politics, and identity.

- Phase 4 (2004-present) was characterized by two significant studies: the analysis of the print-mediated discourse on the Constitution of the EU and the study of discourses on integration, discrimination, and migration in the EU. After Wodak's relocation from Vienna to Lancaster in 2004, the University of Lancaster became the second center of DHA. In the years to follow, the approach was established in the Swiss and Swedish Universities as well.

Undoubtedly, the approach has undergone changes in the thirty years of its existence. Some of the most important principles of the present-day version of DHA, according to Wodak (2015:2), include interdisciplinarity, which is all-encompassing and involves theory, methods, methodology, research practice and practical application; combination of a variety of theories and methods in order to secure "adequate understanding and explanation of the research subjects"; incorporation of fieldwork and ethnography; constant movement from theory to empirical data and back; focus on multiple genres and public spaces along with intertextual and interdiscursive relationships; consideration of historical context; individual application of categories and tools (no 'one-size-fits-all' approach) and focus on the application of the results.

DHA is concerned not only with historical dimension of discourse but also with the following areas (ibid.:48):

- discourse and discrimination
- language barriers in various social institutions
- discourse and politics
- discourse and identity
- discourse and history
- discourse in the media
- organizational communication
- discourse and ecology

DHA being an approach to the critical study of discourse shares a number of concepts with other CDA approaches. However, the understanding of the said concepts might differ slightly from approach to approach therefore it will be useful to further discuss them.

5.4.1 The notion of critique

As a part of CDA, the discourse-historical approach adheres to the critical theory (Wodak 2001:64). Just like other CDA approaches, DHA aims to uncover the power structures from the perspective of the oppressed (Forchtner 2011:2). It does, however, have its own understanding of critique. In DHA critique is three-dimensional and includes (ibid.:3; Reisigl & Wodak 2015:25):

- *immanent critique*, which focuses on uncovering contradictions and inconsistencies in the text- and discourse- internal structures. This kind of critique is regarded as an objective since every competent language user is capable of discovering logical contradictions.
- *socio-diagnostic critique*, which aims for demystifying propagandist, racist, populist etc. discursive practices¹⁰. In this case, the researcher must incorporate their contextual knowledge along with social theories and theoretical models from different disciplines in order to explain the discursive event. The critical theorist takes a standpoint against such practices and must, therefore, justify their point.
- *prognostic/retrospective (prospective) critique* implies that DHA attempts to change and improve the current status quo by referring to certain “guiding principles” such as human rights or the rejection of suffering. It can introduce guidelines to improve communication (e.g. how to combat sexist language use). Much like in the case of socio-diagnostic critique, the critic must also be able to justify their standpoint.

This way of interpreting critique thus implies that a researcher engaged with the DHA must make both the object of their investigation and their position transparent and afterwards provide theoretical justifications of why particular interpretations of discursive events appear to be more reasonable than others (Wodak 2015:3).

DHA’s understanding of ideology does not differ much from how the concept is seen in CDA. Ideology in DHA is also perceived as a “one-sided perspective or worldview composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes and evaluations (ibid.:4)” and is shared by members of a certain group. Ideologies can create and maintain unequal power relations through discourse, serving as gate-keepers by establishing hegemonic identity narratives as well as by being in control of the access to public spheres and certain discourses (Wodak 2015:4). DHA

¹⁰ Discursive practices refer to how the texts are interpreted and received and what social impact they can have (Fairclough & Wodak 1997).

researcher is interested in how linguistic and other semiotic practices mediate and reproduce ideologies within social institutions (Reisigl & Wodak 2016:25) and it is the task of the DHA researcher to “deconstruct the hegemony of specific discourses” and uncover the hidden ideologies (ibid.).

DHA draws on Bourdieu’s (1991) view on language and power, as language for the approach has no power on its own, but rather is used as a means of gaining and maintaining power. In DHA, power relates “to an asymmetric relationship among social actors who have different social positions or who belong to different social groups” (ibid.), an understanding, which also does not wander far from how power is generally perceived in CDA. The focus of DHA lies in studying the linguistic forms that are used in expressions and manipulations of power, which, as Wodak (2015:6) states, in addition to grammatical forms, can be discursively exercised by one’s control of the social occasion via the text genre or by controlling the access to public spheres.

5.4.2 The concepts of discourse, text, and context

The discourse-historical approach, perhaps due to its country of origin, adheres to a Central European/German-speaking scholars’ understanding of discourse, meaning it draws a distinction between discourse and text. Discourse in DHA is perceived as “a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as semantically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens” (Wodak 2001:66). Having a macro-topic, such as ‘unemployment’ or ‘migration’ is one of the most important features of discourse. Macro-topics can further be divided into sub-topics which are not constant since new sub-topics might be added. Interdiscursivity, which implies that the discourses can be linked to each other (Reisigl & Wodak 2016:28), allows for combining discourses on migration and unemployment in order to support, for instance, an argument on immigration restriction because the foreigners might take the jobs intended for the native population. As mentioned, discourses are positioned within a ‘field of action’, which is a “segment of social reality that constitutes a (partial) frame of a discourse” (ibid.). Various functions of discursive practices define different fields of action, for instance, in the area of political action. Reisigl and Wodak (ibid.) distinguish between eight fields based on eight political functions. A discourse can begin within one field of action and then stretch over several different fields and either relate to or overlap with other discourses (ibid.).

Texts are parts of discourses that are viewed as more durable products of linguistic actions (Wodak 2001:66). A text belongs to a certain genre, which is “a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity (e.g. interview, narrative, exposition)” (Fairclough 1995:14). Texts can be interconnected with other texts, either past or present, the

process which is referred to as intertextuality (Reisigl & Wodak 2016:28). This connection can be explicit or implicit. Texts can also be recontextualized, meaning that an element of a particular context is inserted into the new context, e.g. a political speech vs. the reporting of it in a newspaper. The recontextualized element, in this case, can acquire a new meaning. When an element is taken out of a particular context, the process of de-contextualization occurs.

Context is another important concept of DHA, since it, as Wodak (2007:212) suggests, is the basis for the triangulation principle in the discourse-historical approach. Context can be divided into micro-, meso- and macro-dimensions (Reisigl 2018:53). In the DHA, four levels of contexts are taken into account, the first three being on micro- and the fourth one on meso-/macro- dimensions (ibid.):

- the immediate, language-internal co-text and co-discourse, which takes into consideration thematic and syntactic coherences, collocations, implications, and presuppositions;
- the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses, such as discourse representations, allusions, and evocations;
- social factors and institutional frames of a specific context of situation, which may include degree of formality, time and place, addressees, political and ideological orientation etc.
- the broader sociopolitical and historical context, which implies that fields of action and the history of the discursive event are regarded.

While taking into consideration all four levels of context, DHA pays special attention to the fourth level, the historical context.

5.4.3 Tools of analysis in DHA

Conducting research with the help of DHA tradition, the analyst applies the three-dimensional model:

1. Identify specific content or topic (topics) of specific discourse
2. Investigate discursive strategies
3. Examine linguistic means (types) and linguistic realizations (tokens) (ibid.).

While approaching discursive features and strategies present in a specific discourse, DHA tries to answer five questions (Reisigl 2017:52):

- 1) How are social actors, objects, phenomena, events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically in the discourse?
- 2) What characteristics/qualities are attributed to these social actors, objects etc.?

- 3) What arguments are used in the discourse?
- 4) What is the perspective that these arguments, nominations, and attributions are expressed from?
- 5) Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, intensified or mitigated?

Based on each of these questions, five discursive strategies, which help uncover positive-self and negative-other representation, are identified. ‘Strategy’ in DHA is seen as “more or less accurate or more or less intentional plan of practices adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim” and ‘discursive strategy’ implies “systematic ways of using language” and is located “at different levels of linguistic organization and complexity” (Resigl 2018:45-85).

Nomination/referential strategy investigates the discursive construction of social actors etc. Social actors might be excluded or included in the linguistic representation. Linguistic exclusion can be employed to either conceal actors that are responsible for discriminatory activities or it can have discriminating effects on oppressed groups by not mentioning them. Two types of linguistic exclusion are singled out: ‘suppression’, referring to complete exclusion of the social actors with no mentioning of them whatsoever, and a less radical ‘backgrounding’, meaning that the reader can infer the excluded social actors with some degree of certainty as they have been mentioned elsewhere in the text. Linguistic inclusion, most of the time is a positive sign of fair and just treatment and representation, but can also have an averting function, for instance, mentioning many different social actors or groups of such can be disguised as a form of an equal treatment and hide the fact that a specific advantageous (or disadvantageous) treatment can only be applied to a part of the said actors or groups. An example of that could be found in the employment rights of the EU citizens. The general premise is that an EU citizen is allowed to work anywhere in the EU without the work permit, however, the citizens of the most recent EU member state, Croatia, still need to apply for one in the state of Austria (European Commission 2018). Inclusion in discourse can be present in a form of categorization, specification/genericization and impersonalization. Nominalization can already bear certain features of the following discursive strategy which is predication, since reference can already involve either deprecatory or appreciative labeling of the social actors.

Predication, the second discursive strategy in DHA, examines the discursive characterizations of the said social actors etc. either positively or negatively. Predication refers to the process of linguistically attributing certain qualities to persons, animals, objects, social phenomena, events or actions. Predications are evaluative, either deprecatory or appreciative, explicit or implicit and specific or vague. Predication is mainly realized by different forms of reference that is based on

explicit denotation as well as implicit connotation, attributes (adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative, conjunctive and infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups), predicates or predicative nouns, pronouns and adjectives, explicit comparisons and similes, rhetorical figures such as metaphors or metonymies, implicit allusions and presuppositions.

Argumentation is the third discursive strategy and it looks at the validity of certain claims of truth and normative rightness. This strategy employs topoi and fallacies. Both topoi and fallacies are argumentative schemes, however, while topoi are labeled 'reasonable', fallacies are, as the name suggests, fallacious, that is they flout the ten rules of "rational disputes and constructive arguing", namely (Reisigl & Wodak 2009:103, 2001:70-71):

- 1) the freedom to argue
- 2) the obligation to provide reasons
- 3) the correct reference to the previous discourse by the antagonist
- 4) obligation to 'matter-of-factness' (one must defend the standpoint only by using arguments relevant to the said standpoint)
- 5) correct reference to the implicit premises
- 6) respect of shared starting points
- 7) use of plausible arguments and argumentative schemes
- 8) logical validity
- 9) acceptance of the discussion's results
- 10) correct interpretation and clarity of expression.

Topoi are "parts of argumentation which belong to the required premises" (Reisigl & Wodak 2009:103). They can be formal or content related 'conclusion rules' which connect the argument and the conclusion. Topoi are often implicit, however, they can be made explicit as a paraphrase 'if x, then y' or 'y, because x' (ibid). It must be pointed out, though, that it is not always possible to state without having enough context knowledge whether an argumentation scheme employed in the discourse is a topos or a fallacy (ibid.).

A list of topoi, suggested by Reisigl and Wodak (2001:75-80), albeit extensive, is by no means, as the authors state, to be considered complete and includes the following:

- Topos of advantage/usefulness can be paraphrased as following: if action under a certain relevant point of view is useful then one should perform it, e.g. 'guest workers' are useful for the national economy, therefore, the country should accept them. Topos of advantage

can be subdivided into: topos of pro bono nobis ('to the advantage of us'), pro bono eorum ('to the advantage of them') and pro bono publico ('to the advantage of all').

- Topos of disadvantage/uselessness contrasts the previous one and relies on the conditional: if the consequences of the decision will not occur, the decision must be rejected. For instance, if existing law does not help to reach the declared aim, it must be amended.
- Topos of definition/name-interpretation adheres to the rule: if an action/thing/person is named x , that action/thing/person should exhibit the qualities or traits attributed to the meaning of x . Guest workers are an excellent example of topos of definition since they were seen as 'guests' only and were therefore expected to return to their countries of origin.
- Topos of danger and threat is based on a conditional: if a political action can have dangerous or threatening consequences, one should not perform it. In other words, if there are certain dangers or threats one must combat them.
- Topos of humanitarianism can be paraphrased as follows: if a political action does or does not adhere to human rights or humanitarian conventions, it should or should not be performed.
- Topos of justice is connected to the topos of humanitarianism and is based on the principle 'equal rights for all'. That is, if persons are equal in specific respects, they must be treated in the same way. For instance, since all workers are obliged to pay social security contributions, regardless of their citizenship they are subjects to equal treatment.
- Topos of responsibility is an argumentation scheme that is closely linked to the two mentioned above. If paraphrased as a conditional it would mean that in case persons or a state are responsible for certain problems, they must find solutions to this problem. This topos is often employed when arguing for reparations for Nazi crimes.
- Topos of burdening/weighing down is a topos of consequence, and as a conditional will mean the following: if a person or state is burdened by specific problems, they must act in order to diminish the problems.
- Topos of finances refers to the following: if an action is too expensive to be undertaken or causes financial losses, one should perform actions which would decrease the costs or help to avoid the losses.
- Topos of reality if changed into a conditional will mean: because the reality is the way it is, a particular action should be performed/ decision should be made. For instance, if the realities change, the laws that regard those realities must be amended.

- Topos of numbers can be subsumed as the following conclusion rule: if numbers prove a certain topos, a specific action should or should not be performed.
- Topos of law and right paraphrased would imply that in case a law or some other codified norm prescribes or forbids a specific action, the action must be either performed or disregarded.
- Topos of authority refers to the following: something is right or it has to be done or it has to be omitted because the authority says so. This topos is often applied in the arguments involving religion: it must be right because God said so.
- Topos of history implies that history teaches that certain actions have certain consequences and therefore an action must be performed or disregarded in a specific situation which is comparable with the historical example it is referred to.
- Topos of culture implies that because a culture of a specific group is the way it is, certain problems may come up in certain situations.
- Topos of abuse may be changed into a conclusion rule: if a right is abused, it should be changed or completely withdrawn and measures to diminish abuse must be taken. This topos is often employed by the right-wing politicians who claim that immigrants abuse the welfare system of the state.

In the analysis of discourse on global warming and climate change (Reisigl & Wodak 2009:104), several new topoi are introduced: e.g. topos of pressure/compulsion, of frightening, of uncertainty, of positive/negative consequences, of time, of complexity among others. Additionally, when conducting political discourse analysis, Wodak (2009:44) presents some new topoi, such as the topos of authority, of belonging, of urgency, of challenge etc. A number of topoi are also introduced by another DHA researcher Krzyzanowski (2009:103), when analyzing Polish national and European political discourse. However, a major drawback in the Krzyzanowski list, according to Zagar (2010:8) is that the former never gives any explanation on why he identified the topoi as such. Generally, Zagar (ibid.) considers it to be problematic, that the notion of topos in DHA appears to be used not in accordance with its classical Aristotelian understanding. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012:23) appear to be of similar opinion. They state that while some rather abstract topoi in DHA, such as the topos of definition or the topos of consequence, are aligned with the Aristotelian understanding, there are several concrete topoi, e.g. topos of culture or topos of finance, which, while being rather helpful at making the analyst more focused at the specifics of the text, would simultaneously conceal the “abstract argumentative schemes” that are behind certain arguments (ibid.:23-24). Fairclough and Fairclough (ibid.:246) also claim that the DHA

concept of topos is obscuring the Aristotelian “fundamental value of oppositions”, which is essential in many types of rhetoric

Perspectivization or framing/discourse representation focuses on analyzing the speaker’s or writer’s point of view and their expression of either involvement or detachment. The main aim of employing strategies of involvement is to express the speaker’s or writer’s attitudes, feelings and inner states as well as the degree of their interest or engagement. Involvement can be expressed through direct speech and free indirect speech and is most visible in constructed dialogue (the character’s speech is represented as direct quotation rather than reported speech) and voicing, which refers to “animation of voices of constructed or represented figures” (ibid.:83). Strategies of detachment signal the writer or speaker distancing themselves from the discourse. These strategies can be realized through relative and complement clauses, sequences of prepositional phrases, abstractive passive voice, indirect speech, personal, local and temporal deictics as well as nominalizations and metonymizations. Involvement is very often linked to intensification, while detachments can go hand in hand with mitigation, which both constitute the fifth discursive strategy in DHA.

Intensification or *mitigation* modifies the illocutionary force and, as a result, the epistemic or deontic status of the utterance. Intensification can be realized through emphasizing and amplifying particles and morphemes (mega-, super-), additionally to exaggerating quantifiers and intensifying verbs as well as verb phrases, adverbs or adjectives that transmit the author’s emotions and feelings. Other devices employed to express intensification include ellipses, rhetorical figures, interjections and also fictitious scenarios. Mitigation strategies include macro-and micro-mitigation; the latter can either be direct or indirect. Macro-mitigation is manifested in modal verbs in combination with the verbs of saying, verbs of feeling and thinking, anonymization by means of impersonalizing constructions and stereotypical conjunctive ‘I would like to...’. Indirect micro-mitigation is realized through usage of questions instead of assertions, assertions where ‘we/one/it’ are used instead of ‘you’ or ‘I’ as well as particles and adverbs in questions and directives. Finally, direct micro-mitigation is expressed by vague expressions, tag questions, particles and adverbs, subjunctives, negations or litotes and hesitations or repetitions.

Wodak and Mayer (2009:96) suggest that an ideal discourse-historical analysis should follow eight steps:

- 1) Activation and consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge, such as discussion of the previously conducted research.
- 2) Systematic collection of data and context information, which implies looking into various discourses and discursive events, social fields and social actors, genres and texts.

- 3) Selection and preparation of data for specific analyses, which refers to selecting and downsizing of data or transcribing the recordings.
- 4) Specification of the research questions and formulation of the assumptions, which is to be based on the literature review and rather superficial research of the data.
- 5) Qualitative pilot analysis, which includes context analysis, macro-analysis, and micro-analysis. As a result, the researcher(s) can present testing categories and first assumptions.
- 6) Detailed case studies, which expands the pilot analysis.
- 7) Formulation of critique, which presupposes interpretation and explanation of the results.
- 8) Application of the detailed analytical result (in case it is possible to do so).

However, as it is noted by Reisigl and Wodak (2016:34), it is not always possible to apply all eight steps while conducting the analysis. Only large-scale interdisciplinary projects that are not constraint by the lack of finances, time or personnel, can follow all of the eight steps of DHA. Therefore, given that the current analysis is rather small-scale and executed by one person, it is infeasible to go through all the steps. The steps I chose to focus on are (1), (2), (4), (5) and (7). Steps (1) and in part (2), which involve consultation of preceding theoretical knowledge and discussion of context, have already been realized (see: Chapters 2, 3-4). Step 4, which refers to specification of research question, has also been completed (see: Chapter 1). Steps (5) and (7) will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent Chapter 6.

6. Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis of policy texts

This chapter will present the analysis of the three documents that have been selected to analyze the migrant integration legislation in the EU and its two Member States: Italy and Austria. I will discuss in more detail how the main social actors – the immigrants and the host country/local population, are presented as well as which arguments are used to defend the necessity of integration. As the Council Directive 2003/109/EC “Concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents” together with Directive 2001/51/EU “Amending Council Directive 2003/109/EC to extend its scope to beneficiaries of international protection” are the EU documents that led to the development of the integration legislation in a variety of Member States, I will begin by looking into these two texts. Following that, I will focus on the documents for Italy – “Piano per l’integrazione nella sicurezza: identità e incontro” or “Plan for Integration in a secure environment”, and Austria – “National Action Plan for Integration”. While the Discourse-Historical Approach to Critical Discourse Analysis is used as the research method in my analysis, out of the five discursive strategies I will focus mainly on the argumentation strategy to discover,

which arguments are employed to discuss immigration and immigrants and defend the need for their integration.

6.1. Directive 2003/109/EC “Concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long term residents” and Directive 2011/51/EU “Amending Council Directive 2003/109/EC to extend its scope to beneficiaries of international protection”

Along with the Directive on the Right to Family Reunification and EU Blue Card Directive, the Directive on Long-Term Resident Status is one of the most important legislations concerned with migration and integration in the Union (Carrera 2011). The 2003 Directive’s main aim was to help the EU Member States produce a common legislature regarding the status of long-term residents of the third-country nationals, which would result in TCNs having equal treatment in the Union regardless of the Member State they live in. The Directive applied only to the non-EU nationals who have been legally residing in the Union. Since the Directive made no mention of the beneficiaries of international protection, it was amended in 2011 in order to also apply to third-country nationals or stateless people that are refugees or persons who are otherwise in need of international protection and who have since obtaining their refugee status been residing on the territory of a Member State for a period of five years. All Member States, with the exception of the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark, are subject to the provisions of the Directive.

The Directive consists of a Preamble and 28 Articles, which are divided between four Chapters. Chapter I deals with ‘General Provisions’, Chapter II with ‘Long-term Resident Status in a Member State’, Chapter III with ‘Residence in the Other Member States’ and Chapter V gives ‘Final Provisions’. The 2011 Amendment also contains a Preamble along with four Articles. Article 1 mentions the 2003 Directive Articles that have been amended. These include Articles 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 12, 19, 22 and 25 which were amended in order to include beneficiaries of international protection into the category of third-country nationals. The other three Articles deal with the subjects of the Directive and the Directive entering into force.

Following Reisigl and Wodak (2016:29), I locate the Directive within the lawmaking procedure field of action. The topics that were identified in the document include migration legislation, migrant integration, healthcare, labor market integration, and (language) education. The Directive, being a legal document, contains a number of explicit intertextual references to other documents. For instance, to the Treaty establishing the European Community (line 5), to the Family Reunification Directive of the Council of Europe from 2003 (line 450), the Directive on Minimum Standards for the Qualification and Status of Third Country Nationals or Stateless Persons as Refugees (lines 690, 695, 720, 725, 741, 743, 762 and 765), the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (line 23), the Charter of Fundamental

Rights of the European Union (line 24), the European Social Charter (lines 680-681), European Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers (lines 681-682), the Schedule to the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (line 683) and the European Agreement on Transfer of Responsibility for Refugees (lines 684-685).

Following DHA's three-dimensional model of analysis, I shall begin by identifying the discourse topics of the 2003 Directive and its 2011 Amendment. They include legal migration to the EU, intra-EU mobility, rights and duties of TCNs who have (applied for) long-term residence and migrant integration.

Next, I should address the discursive strategies, beginning with the nomination. Several social actors are mentioned in the document, and are discursively constructed in the following ways¹¹:

- anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of membership to the supranational political organization: *third-country national(s)* (first mention in the document: line¹² 16, overall 28 mentions), *citizens of the European Union* (21)
- anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of membership to a national/state organization: *Member States' nationals* (18), *nationals in the Member State* (209-210), or *citizens of the Member State* (57, 615), *nationals in a host country* (467);
- anthroponym referring to people in terms of living in a place: *long-term residents* (first mention in 25, overall 21 mentions in the document)
- anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of being in need of political support: *refugees* (158, 598,668), *beneficiaries of international protection* (601, 603, 607, 610, 614,618), *stateless persons* (598, 668);
- relationym: *family members* (87, 89, 140, 203, 320, 343,439, 519, 525, 540, 737);
- professionyms: *employer* (313, 418), *seasonal worker* (160, 383), *workers* (160, 312, 378)
- generalizing anthroponym: *person(s)* (first mention: 14, overall 42 mentions in the document);
- supranational political unit: *the (European) Community* (13, 26, 108, 113, 116, 168, 261, 324, 370, 385, 579);
- supranational institution: *the European Council* (17);

¹¹ Classification is based on the one suggested by Reisigl and Wodak (2011), see: Chapter 5.4.3. and Appendix 4

¹² Further the word 'line' will be omitted for the sake of space and only the number of the line(s) containing the word, phrase or sentence will be indicated.

- political units that are members of a supranational organization: *Member States* (first mention: 28, overall 21 mentions) or *Member State* (first mention: 38, overall 42 mentions).

Given that the Directive deals with the third-country nationals who are long-term residents, I view the TCNs as the most significant actors in the Directive along with Member States' nationals (who are also by default citizens of the Union). Other actors include the European Community together with the Member State(s) as well as the European Council. Integration (25) can be identified as a social process in the discourse. Following Reisigl and Wodak (2001), I believe that certain linguistic manifestations of the nomination strategy overlap with the predication strategy. For instance, the term "third-country national" can be treated as both nomination and predication of an immigrant from outside the European Union. It both names and attributes characteristics to the social actor, implying that a person moved not from another Member State (a 'second' country), but from a country that is not a member of the Union. It is also worth mentioning, that while the terms "citizens of the European Union" and "Member States' nationals" appear to be used interchangeably, "third-country nationals" is the only term used to refer to those who moved to the EU from outside its borders. It is also rather peculiar that the term 'nationals' rather than 'citizens' was chosen to denote immigrants from the non-EU states. It remains unclear why both the plural form 'third-country nationals' as in "This Chapter is without prejudice to the relevant Community legislation on social security with regard to third-country nationals." (385-386) and generalizing singular 'the third-country national', e.g. in "It shall be notified to the third-country national concerned in accordance with the notification procedures under the relevant national legislation." (491-493) are used interchangeably in the text of the Directive.

As regards predication strategies concerning other social actors, one notices that both the (European) Community and the Member States are regarded as authoritative actors. For instance, "the Community may adopt measures, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity as set out in Article 5 of the Treaty" (108-109), a statement, which both refers to the European Community being an authority and is an example of topos of law, since Article 5 of the Treaty of the European Community must be respected. The EC also maintains its authority over the Member States: "Member States should give effect to the provisions of this Directive without discrimination on the basis of sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic characteristics, language [...]" (28-29). This excerpt, too, exemplifies topos of law, since the EU Member States must abide by the Directive and combat every kind of discriminations against the TCNs.

Member States are also given authority: "The granting of benefits under social assistance is without prejudice to the possibility for the Member States to withdraw the residence permit if the

person concerned no longer fulfills the requirements set by this directive” (98-100). Suggesting that it is up to the Member States to decide upon withdrawing a residence permit is an example of topos of authority since it must be done if a Member State decides so. Additionally, through the legal phrase “without prejudice” the strategy of mitigation is realized, as in plain English the phrase means ‘without having an effect on something’. Thus, while the EU suggests the possibility of a TCN to receive certain benefits, this possibility can be taken away if the Member State chooses to do so. The perception of Member States as an authoritative body continues in the following fragment of the Directive: “Member States may limit the total number of persons entitled to be granted right of residence, provided that such limitations are already set out for the admission of third-country nationals in the existing legislation at the time of the adoption of this Directive” (372-375). Topos of authority – the Member State says so, so it must be done – is present in the following excerpt:

Until the third-country national has obtained long-term resident status, the second Member State may decide to refuse to renew or to withdraw the resident permit and to oblige the person concerned and his/her family members, in accordance with the procedures provided by the national law, including removal procedures, to leave its territory. (517-520)

The statement above, aside from yet again referring to the Member State as an authoritative body, also contains topos of law – since if the law prescribes certain procedures, it must be followed – and topos of authority, because if the Member State decides to refuse the renewal or perform the withdrawal of a permit, that decision must be accepted.

The third-country nationals and the Member States’ nationals (or citizens of the European Union) along with the European Council are introduced in the opening statement of the Directive:

The European Council, at its special meeting in Tampere on 15 and 16 October 1999, stated that the legal status of third-country nationals should be approximated to that of Member States’ nationals and that a person who has resided legally in a Member State for a period of time to be determined and who holds a long-term resident permit should be granted in that Member State a set of uniform rights which are as near as possible to those enjoyed by the citizens of the European Union. (17-21)

The European Council, much like the Member States and the European Community, is also described as an authoritative body, as it is within its power to make decisions about the rights of TCNs. This can be regarded as topos of authority since it is based on a conclusion rule: “the rights of TCNs and EU citizens must be approximated, as the European Council say this must be done”.

Saying that the rights of TCNs and Member States’ nationals “should be approximated” and that a long-term resident permit holder “should be granted [...] a set of uniform rights which are as near as possible to those enjoyed by the citizens of the European Union” implies that third-country nationals and the nationals of the European Union are not equal, there is a distinction between

them. Equality can be achieved with the help of the EU's authority: "Long-term residents should enjoy equality of treatment with citizens of the Member States in a wide range of economic and social matters" (57-58). This fragment contains topos of justice, since it refers to long-term residents having their rights equated with those of the EU citizens. Another example of topos of justice in connection with the equal treatment of TCNs and the Member States' nationals can be found in the following excerpt:

Long-term residents shall enjoy equal treatment with nationals as regards:

- (a) access to employment and self-employment activity [...];
- (b) education and vocational training, including study grants [...];
- (c) recognition of professional diplomas, certificates and other qualifications [...];
- (d) social security, social assistance and social protection [...];
- (e) tax benefits;
- (f) access to goods and services [...] made available to the public and to procedures for obtaining housing [...] (301-311).

Another example of a claim "equal rights for all" (and thus of the topos of justice) can be found in the following excerpt: "Legal aid should be given to long-term residents lacking adequate resources, on the same terms as apply to nationals of the State where they reside" (347-348). Similarly, in the amendment the rights of the beneficiaries of international protection who hold long-term residence are equalized with the rights of the EU citizens: "Beneficiaries of international protection who are long-term residents should, under certain conditions, enjoy equality of treatment with citizens of the Member State of residence in a wide range of economic and social matters" (614-616).

At first glance, one might get an assumption that the Directive secures equal treatment and equal possibilities for the TCNs and citizens of the European Union. Nonetheless, equality is limited on several occasions. While the long-term residents indeed have access to labor market on the conditions similar to those of Member States' nationals, they are, however, prevented from occupying positions which involve, albeit occasional, "exercise of public authority" (303). Member States are also given a right to restrict equal access to "employment and self-employment activities in cases where, in accordance with existing national or Community legislation, these activities are reserved to nationals, EU or EEA citizens" (323-325). Similarly, Member States "may limit equal treatment in respect of social assistance and social protection to core benefits" (328-329). Thus, even though topos of justice is present throughout the document, one can see that despite the equal treatment discussions, TCNs who are long-term residents are not, in fact, fully equal in their rights to the citizens of the EU as the Directive grants the Member States the power to limit equality.

Granting the TCNs rights similar to what the Member States' nationals have can be interpreted as the EU's contribution to facilitating integration. Integration must take place since there is clearly a distinction between the TCNs and the EU citizens (as can be deduced from the opening statement). Integration in the Directive is presented as something that the Community can benefit from: "The integration of the third-country nationals who are long-term residents in the Member States is a key element in promoting economic and social cohesion" (25-27). In other words, integration of TCNs who have resided in an EU country for a long time will be advantageous and therefore should be performed, e.g. the TCNs under certain conditions should obtain a long-term permit. This is an example of topos of advantage, more specifically 'pro bono nobis', or 'to the advantage of us' since it is the Community that profits from the process of integration. Integration should happen on non-discriminatory terms, as the Directive continues that

Member States should give effect to the provisions of this Directive without discrimination on the basis of sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic characteristics, language, religion or beliefs, political or other opinions, membership of a national minority, fortune, birth, disabilities, age or sexual orientation (28-31).

This statement implicitly shows the authority of the EU and also contains a topos of law: it forbids any kind of discrimination and therefore the Member States must avoid any manifestations of it. The topos of justice is evoked in connection with integration in the following excerpt: "In order to constitute a genuine instrument for the integration of long-term residents into society in which they live, long-term residents should enjoy equality of treatment with citizens of the Member State in a wide range of economic and social matters, under the relevant conditions defined by this Directive" (56-59). The utterance is mitigated by the final prepositional phrase which implies that the "equality of treatment" is only possible under certain conditions. And as it has been discussed above, there is a rather significant number of instances when equal treatment is either limited or completely non-existent.

But as integration is a two-way process, the TCNs must also make an effort. The Directive, therefore, stipulates certain conditions for integration. For instance, integration is effective if a person has resided in a Member State for some time: "The main criterion for acquiring the status of long-term resident should be the duration of residence in the territory of a Member State. Residence should be both legal and continuous in order to show that the person has put down roots in the country (32-34)". By using the metaphor "to put down roots" the Directive implies that in order to obtain a long-term permit one must live in the country long enough to have grown to become a part of it. The document suggests that one cannot properly integrate if their stay in the country had interruptions or they resided in a state illegally. Thus, according to the Directive, integration can only occur in case one has been a legal long-term resident. The duration of the stay

is also specified: “Member States shall grant long-term resident status to third-country nationals who have resided legally and continuously within its territory for five years immediately prior to the submission of the relevant application” (179-181). The statement evokes the topos of law through the topos of number, as according to the law, long-term residency must be granted to those who have lived in an EU state for over 5 years.

The document specifies further conditions for integration : “To acquire long-term resident status, third-country nationals should prove that they have adequate resources and sickness insurance, to avoid becoming a burden for the Member State” (37-38). The statement constitutes a topos of burden. Topos of burden is a causal topos, which, if paraphrased, in this case, would indicate: “If a Member State is burdened by the financial matters of a TCN, they should act to diminish this burden”. TCNs, along with their family members if such are also present, should be capable of financially supporting themselves and not burden the Member State they reside in:

Member States shall require third-country nationals to provide evidence that they have, for themselves and for dependent family members [...] stable and regular resources which are sufficient to maintain himself/herself and the members of his/her family, without recourse to the social assistance system of the Member State concerned. (202-208)

In addition, “third-country nationals who wish to acquire and maintain long-term resident status should not constitute a threat to public policy or public security” (41-42). This argument is based on the topos of threat since the TCN can only apply for and maintain their residence status as long as they are not regarded a threat to national security. Aside from that, the application might even be declined if a non-EU national is suspected of being sick: “Member States may refuse applications for residence from long-term residents or their family members where the person concerned constitutes a threat to public health” (462-463), which is another example of topos of threat. In other words, a TCN can face expulsion for being a disease vector, something that would never be done to a country national. This again contradicts the omnipresent topos of justice embodied in statements of “equality of treatment” (57) or “equal treatment” (301, 319, 322, 328, 332, 503) of TCNs and Member States’ nationals. A Member state can even “require a medical examination, for persons to whom this Directive applies, in order to certify that they do not suffer from any of the diseases” (471-472), which is an example of topos of authority. The topos of threat does seem to prevail in the discourse. Not only can a third-country national be denied their application if they are perceived as a threat to the host country’s security, but also one’s long-term permit might be revoked if the state considers the holder to be a threat: “Member States may provide that the long-term resident shall no longer be entitled to maintain his/her long-term resident status in cases where he/she constitutes a threat to public policy, in consideration of the seriousness of the offences he/she committed” (264-266). If the threat is too severe, then one might

even face expulsion: “Member States may take a decision to expel a long-term resident solely where he/she constitutes an actual and sufficiently serious threat to public policy or public security” (336-337). This can simultaneously be perceived as a perspectivation and mitigation strategy (more precisely, direct-micro-mitigation), as nowhere it is specified what is being implied by “sufficiently serious threat” and hence it is left up to Member States to decide what constitutes such a threat. However, it should be mentioned that even though a third-country national might have their application denied or their status withdrawn, they still have the right to appeal the decision: “Where an application for long-term resident status is rejected or that status is withdrawn or lost or the residence permit is not renewed, the person concerned shall have the right to mount a legal challenge in the Member State concerned” (296-298). This statement is an example of the topos of justice since the right to mount a legal challenge is prescribed in the Directive.

It should be stated that it was indeed rather challenging to find any perspectivation strategies in the Directive. The following passage can be regarded as a framing of the discourse from the perspective of the EU, or the Council of the European Union in particular:

Establishing the conditions subject to which the right to reside in another Member State may be acquired by third-country nationals who are long-term residents should contribute to the effective attainment of an internal market as an area in which the free movement of persons is ensured. It could also constitute a major factor of mobility, notably on the Union's employment market (80-83).

The ratification of the common conditions is viewed as something beneficial for Europe, therefore it also constitutes the topos of advantage (*pro bono nobis* as it is for the good of the EU). The perspective is seen in the use of adjectives “effective attainment” or “major factor of mobility”, but at the same time it can be regarded as the intensification strategy. The next statement is another example of what is believed to be a strategy of perspectivation intertwined with the strategy of intensification: “Provision should be made that the right of residence in another Member State may be exercised in order to work in an employed or self-employed capacity, to study or even to settle without exercising any form of economic activity” (84-86), where the intensification is manifested in the intensifier ‘even’.

Overall, the strategies of detachment seem to prevail in the text of the Directive. This is expectable as it is a legal document and not a speech or a newspaper article, therefore it should present itself as impartial as possible. As it has been previously mentioned in Chapter 5.3., detachment can be manifested through complex syntax, such as relative clauses: “The long-term resident who has resided in another Member State in accordance with Chapter III shall no longer be entitled to maintain his/her long-term resident status acquired in the first Member State when such a status is granted in another Member State pursuant to Article 23” (268-270) or complement clauses: “The Member State in which a long-term resident intends to exercise his/her right of residence should

be able to check that the person concerned meets the conditions for residing in its territory” (92-93). Aside from the complex syntactic structures, detachment in the Directive is embodied in nominalization: “Member States may take a decision to expel a long-term resident solely where he/she constitutes an actual and sufficiently serious threat to public policy or public authority.” (336-338), where ‘take a decision’ instead of ‘decide’ is used. Another marker of detachment present in the document on several instances is the sequence of prepositional phrases, such as in the following case: “In view of the right of beneficiaries of international protection to reside in Member States other than the one which granted them international protection it is necessary to ensure that those other Member States are informed of the protection background of the persons concerned.” (610-612). But of all the means of expressing detachment mentioned by Teisigl and Wodak (2001), the abstractive passive voice appears to be the most prevalent. It can be seen in the following excerpts:

- (1) “A set of rules governing the procedures for the examination of application for long-term resident status should be laid down.” (46-47).
- (2) “Periods of residence for the reasons referred to in Article 3(2)(e) and (f) shall not be taken into account for the purposes of calculating the period referred to in paragraph 1.” (182-183).
- (3) “Long-term residents shall no longer be entitled to maintain long-term resident status in the following cases [...]” (257-258).
- (4) “In exceptional circumstances linked to the complexity of the examination of the application, the time limit referred to in the first subparagraph may be extended.” (235-236).

In neither of the utterances the social actor is explicitly named, however, they can be inferred from the context. This refers to ‘backgrounding’ which is a means of facilitating exclusion. In the example (1) the reader can deduce that the rules “should be laid down” by the European Council for the Member States. In the excerpts (2)-(4) the social actor that is implicitly referred to is the Member State. ‘Backgrounding’, as mentioned in Chapter 5.3, is one of the strategies of linguistic exclusion, and is a means of conveying referential strategy. Therefore, the examples above through passivation exemplify both referential strategy and the strategy of perspectivation.

Reisigl and Wodak (2001) mention that the strategy of detachment goes hand in hand with the mitigation strategy, which seems to be accurate for the analyzed text as well. Aside from the instances that have already been mentioned, mitigation is also realized through

- anonymisation by means of impersonalizing constructions: “However, for the purposes of this Directive, it should be provided that permits issued on more favourable terms do not confer the right to reside in other Member States.” (78-79);

- litotes: “To avoid rendering the right of residence nugatory, long-term residents should enjoy in the second Member State the same treatment, under the conditions defined by this Directive, they enjoy in the Member State in which they acquired the status.” (96-98), where the infinitive clause could perhaps be better expressed through a phrase “to grant validity to the right of residence”;
- epistemic modality: “[...] only half of the periods of residence for study purposes or vocational training may be taken into account in the calculation of the period referred to in paragraph 1.” (185-187), where ‘may’ implies possibility, however, the use of ‘may’ decreases the weight of the utterance as it is certain that the periods will be taken into account;
- deontic modality: “The Member States should remain subject to the obligation to afford access for minors to the educational system under conditions similar to those laid down for their nationals.” (64-65). The general implication here is that the Member States must guarantee access to education, however, ‘should’ is used instead of ‘must’ to express the obligation.

The Directive, albeit briefly, mentions the importance of the acquisitions of the host country’s language for integration, but only for study purposes: “Member States may require proof of appropriate language proficiency for access to education and training.” (326-327). The only other time that linguistic integration is mentioned in the Directive is when discussing a long-term resident moving to a Member State other than the one that has issued the permit. In this case, “the persons concerned may be required to attend language courses” (407-408), which also exemplifies the mitigation strategy by using epistemic modality. Demanding that a TCN acquires the language after moving to a second Member State seems rather unfair, as a Union Citizen is never required to learn the national language after relocating to a Member State other than their own. The inextensive mentioning of the linguistic integration can be justified by the fact that at the beginning of the 2000s it was not as significant as it became in the years that followed. Another possible explanation for such a concise mention could be that since it is the long-term residents who are discussed in the Directive, due to the length of their residence in a Member State they are presumed to have already acquired a language and therefore it is unnecessary to specify the need for linguistic integration in the document.

Even though covertly, the Directive adheres to the EU’s definition of integration as a two-way process, since it specifies obligations of both sides, the third-country nationals, and the Member States they chose to reside in, in facilitating the integration process. Nonetheless, TCNs have more responsibilities than Member States, and more conditions they are required to comply with. Aside

from that, despite specifying the provisions that the Member States have to enforce, they are given enough leeway to adapt said provisions to their own needs. Obviously, the Directive needed to be tailored to the demands of each EU state, therefore the majority of countries produced their own texts with regards to migration and integration of the third-country nationals. Therefore, it will be useful to analyze how the Directive has been implemented in the two different EU Member States. Italy and Austria were chosen as despite (currently) having similar political climate, the countries differ in terms of their economy and size. Apart from that, Italy for years has been functioning as an external border of the EU and had to deal with the massive influx of migrants and refugees over the Mediterranean Sea. However, as it has been mentioned before, the two countries do have a history of migration and both can be regarded as popular destinations for migrants. In order to see in what way the Directive has been executed in the Republic of Italy, I will now turn to analyzing the Plan for Integration in a Secure Environment, a document, which lies down provisions for migrant integration in the country.

6.2 Piano per l'integrazione nella sicurezza: identità e incontro

First introduced in 2010, the Integration Plan (further: 'the Plan' or 'Integration Plan'), in combination with the Integration Agreement constitutes the so-called 'Security Package'. The document consists of a Preamble, which contains two parts: 'Migration to Italy' and the 'Italian 'model' of integration', and five areas of integration: 'education and learning process', 'employment', 'housing and territorial governance', 'access to basic services' and 'children and second-generation migrants'. All of the five areas were mentioned in the 2003 Directive, most of them, however, rather briefly.

The document is located within the lawmaking procedure field of action. Similarly to the Directive, the topics include migration legislation, integration, healthcare and employment. Two topics are given more prominence in the Plan as compared to the Directive: housing and education of foreign minors. Integration of female migrants is also highlighted in the document. The topic that is the most significant is that of language and civic education, something that was barely mentioned in the Directive. A lot of emphasis is also put on the topic of Italian culture and country's values in all the integration Areas, something that distinguishes the Italian Integration Plan from the Council Directive. Several intertextual references were identified in the Integration Plan. The Plan is based on the "White Paper on the Future of the Social Model" / "Libro bianco sul futuro del modello sociale" (3), a document published a year prior by the Ministry of Labor, Health and Social Affairs (later has been divided into two Ministries recently: of Health and of Labor and Social Affairs). Other references include the "Biagi law" / "legge Biagi" (296, 299, 324, 385) – a labor law reform, the Italian Constitution / "Carta Costituzionale" (194) and "The

National Plan for Acquisition and Instruction of Italian as L2 at Schools” / “Il Piano nazionale per l’apprendimento e Instruction dell’italiano L2 nelle scuole” (154-155).

Social actors present in this discourse are similar to those discussed in the Directive:

- actionyms: *immigrants* ‘le persone immigrate’ (2, 472, 498) or ‘immigrati’ (18, 31, 126, 129, 340, 370, 406, 434, 445, 454, 492, 556, 557);
- anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of membership to a national/state organization: *foreign citizens* ‘cittadini stranieri’ (232, 244); *Italian citizens* ‘cittadini italiani’ (192, 433, 436);
- de-toponymic anthroponyms (including the reference based on local orientation): *the Italian people* ‘il popolo italiano’ (116-117) or *the Italians* ‘italiani’ (27, 126, 129, 435, 492)
- de-toponymic anthroponym: *foreigners* ‘stranieri’ (18, 20, 22, 26, 28, 149, 190, 263, 407, 423);
- de-toponymic collectives: *immigrant population* ‘popolazione immigrata’ (24, 35, 308, 409, 457) or *foreign population* ‘popolazione straniera’ (15, 33);
- genderonyms: *foreign women* ‘donne (straniere)’ (143, 144, 191, 495, 496,) or *immigrant women* ‘donne immigrate’ (188);
- gerontonyms: *foreign minors* ‘minori stranieri’ (38, 501, 515, 518, 525) or *immigrant minors* ‘minori immigrati’ (511);
- professionyms: *immigrant workers* ‘lavoratori immigrati’ (26, 322) or *foreign workers* ‘lavoratori stranieri’ (213, 238, 306, 347, 377, 415);
- political organizationyms: *(Italian) government* ‘il Governo’ (1, 4, 224, 303, 331, 426, 547); *the State* ‘lo Stato’ (109, 110, 113, 202);
- toponym: *Italy* ‘Italia’ (first mention: 12, overall 22 mentions); countries of origin ‘Paesi di origine’ (30, 45, 47, 241, 244, 253, 287, 313, 359, 367).

(Im)migration and integration are the social processes identified in the document.

The process of migration is discussed in the opening lines of the document:

The migration of people defines the history of humankind since its birth. In the modern age due to remarkable advancement of technology as well as the growing social and economic instability, the migration flows are constantly becoming stronger and more difficult to regulate.

Le migrazioni dei popoli caratterizzano la storia dell'umanità fin dalla sua origine. Nell'età contemporanea, a causa degli straordinari progressi in campo tecnologico e della crescente instabilità sociale ed economica, si registrano flussi migratori sempre più robusti e difficilmente comprimibili. (9-12)

At first, migration is given a positive attribution as it is seen as an integral part of the human civilization. However, in the second sentence, “migration flows” are described as something that is “stronger and more difficult to regulate”, which constitutes the topos of danger, as in other words some action must be undertaken in order to make the migration flows less threatening and easier to control. The document continues:

Italy, too, has followed these global trends and in the past decade has become a country of substantial migratory pressures which strongly impact the society. Italy, along with Spain, among other EU-15 States in the past decade has witnessed significant foreign population growth, which has doubled reaching over 8% of the population or more than 5 million people.

Anche l'Italia ha seguito queste tendenze globali e nell'ultimo decennio è divenuta paese di ingenti pressioni migratorie che ne stanno condizionando profondamente l'assetto sociale. L'Italia, con la Spagna, nell'ultimo decennio ha visto tra i paesi dell'UE-15 i maggiori tassi di crescita di popolazione straniera che è raddoppiata fino a raggiungere oltre l'8% della popolazione per più di 5 milioni di presenze. (12-16)

In the excerpt, Italy is described as “a country of substantial migratory pressures” which implies that it perceives itself as a ‘victim’ of migration and together with Spain positions itself at the forefront of dealing with immigration in the EU. The use of the adjective “substantial” also intensifies the utterance. The fact that “migratory pressures strongly impact the society” can be indicative of topos of burden, as Italy is encumbered by the migration, which shapes its societal fabric. The topos of burden is further amplified by the topos of number present in the second sentence of the passage, as it states that the migrant population in Italy keeps growing constantly. The perception of immigration as something difficult to deal with is introduced again later in the document: “We cannot evade the momentous challenge that the migration poses in front of us.” / “Non possiamo eludere la sfida epocale che le migrazioni ci pongono di fronte” (54). This again can be interpreted as topos of burden (or, alternatively, topos of challenge), as “we”, the Italians, see the migration as some sort of an epochal battle. The adjective “epocale” or “momentous” contributes to the intensification of the utterance as does the use of epistemic modality “we cannot evade” / “non possiamo eludere”.

Topos of burden is also present in the following excerpt regarding migration flows: “On the one hand, we have to face stronger migration flows, but on the other, they will become predominantly rotational with potentially shorter periods of migration.” / “Se da un lato dovremo affrontare flussi migratori sempre più robusti, dall'altro questi ultimi saranno maggiormente rotatori e con periodi di migrazione tendenzialmente contratti” (41-42). Here, the migration flows are yet again

described as “stronger” and therefore such that will require a lot of effort from the State, but the utterance is somewhat mitigated by the next statement (macro-mitigation), as the migration flows, despite being constantly stronger, will also eventually become temporary.

Aside from emphasizing the steady increase in the immigrant population, the Plan also presents it as extremely diverse:

In fact, citizens of over 150 various countries reside in Italy, [...] and the first twenty nationalities combined include over 4 million foreigners: one million of immigrants from Romania, 500 thousand from Albania and Marocco, whereas those from China and Ukraine are 200 thousand each. [...] However, looking at the figures from a different perspective, we notice that half of the foreigners come from Eastern Europe, from states that either are already in the Union or will become a member in the future.

In Italia, infatti, risiedono cittadini di oltre 150 diversi Paesi [...] e le prime venti nazionalità raggruppano oltre 4 milioni di stranieri: un milione di immigrati dalla Romania, circa 500 mila rispettivamente dall’Albania e dal Marocco, mentre quelli provenienti dalla Cina e dall’Ucraina sono rispettivamente nell’ordine di 200mila. [...] Ma leggendo il dato da un’altra angolazione, rileviamo altresì come la metà degli stranieri provenga dall’Est Europa, da Paesi dunque che fanno già parte dell’Unione europea o che vi entreranno in futuro (16-23).

The numbers convince the reader that the migrant population of Italy is rather heterogeneous and therefore integration is a necessity. The last sentence of the excerpt, however, somewhat mitigates that statement, since half of the foreigners are European (some even EU nationals), which insinuates that they are perhaps culturally ‘closer’ to the Italians.

The document discusses the housing conditions of foreign population:

75% of the foreign population lives in rented properties in the overcrowded conditions with a growing presence in the public housing lodging. The latter goes hand-in-hand with constantly stronger participation of the migrant population in welfare policies which regard basic services such as housing, social and healthcare services, child services and income support.

Il 75% della popolazione straniera abita in affitto, specialmente in condizioni di sovraffollamento e con una presenza crescente negli alloggi di edilizia residenziale pubblica. Questo ultima notazione si accompagna all’ingresso sempre più robusto della popolazione immigrata nel circuito delle politiche sociali locali per quanto riguarda i servizi essenziali come l’alloggio, l’assistenza socio- sanitario-assistenziale, i servizi per i minori e il sostegno al reddito (33-37).

The foreigners in the excerpt are not only described as being at disadvantage but also as such that are living off the Italian state. The entire passage constitutes topos of burden. A large number of migrants live in public housing and make more use of the welfare policies, therefore can be considered a financial strain to the country.

The immigrant population is concentrated where it has more chances of finding work, predominantly in Northern and Central Italy – 85% of all immigrants – and in the large

urban centers, where the neighborhoods with high concentration of foreigners keep growing.

La popolazione immigrata si concentra dove ha più possibilità di trovare lavoro, prevalentemente nel Nord e nel Centro Italia – 85% delle presenze – e nei grandi centri urbani, dove stanno crescendo quartieri ad alta concentrazione di stranieri. (24-26).

The immigrant population in the excerpt is described as such that “is concentrated where it has more chances of finding work”. The statement “neighborhoods with high concentration of foreigners keep growing” evokes topos of threat, as it implies the possibility of ghettoization of the neighborhoods due to the prevalence of migrants there, which can constitute a threat to the local population in the cities. This idea is introduced again later in the document in the Area dedicated to housing:

The subject of cohabitation of people with different customs and traditions certainly is a decisive point on whether the city is liveable or not. Unfortunately, often high concentration of foreign ethnic groups in one district causes widespread unsafety for both the Italian citizens and the immigrants.

Il tema, dunque, della convivenza con persone di diversi usi e tradizioni è certamente un aspetto decisivo nel giudizio sulla vivibilità di una città. Purtroppo, spesso, la presenza concentrata di etnie straniere in un quartiere porta con sé insicurezza diffusa sia per i cittadini italiani che per gli immigrati stessi. (431-434)

Mentioning “different customs and traditions” evokes topos of culture, which is merged with the topos of danger: since the culture of foreigners is the way it is, it might put the Italians as well as immigrants in danger. In this specific excerpt, one can see that the Plan draws a clear distinction between the immigrants and the Italian citizens, as it could have just been argued that “high concentration of ethnic groups” is dangerous to everybody or to all instead of mentioning both groups separately. And since there is a risk of threat to the safety of both Italians and foreigners, something must be done to diminish that risk:

It is crucial to restore balance in the distribution of the foreign population in those districts of the city where Italians no longer live. Particularly for the historic centers of the small towns or the suburbs of the cities it is the matter of priority to create the conditions which would make them attractive to the Italian citizens. This must be done to avoid the formation of enclaves reigned by deterioration and criminal activity. Wherever there are monoethnic areas with cultures different from ours, we observe an increase in social tensions which completely destroys any hope for integration.

E' urgente riequilibrare la presenza etnica straniera in quelle zone della città dove non abitano più italiani. Particolarmente per i centri storici delle piccole città o le periferie di quelle grandi, risulta prioritario creare le condizioni perché tornino appetibili anche per i cittadini italiani. Questo per evitare il formarsi di enclave dove regna il degrado e la microcriminalità. Laddove si costituiscano ambiti monoetnici di culture differenti dalla nostra, è nota la crescita del tasso di tensione sociale che porta con sé una sterilizzazione della speranza di integrazione. (434-439)

The population equilibrium must be restored because that would be beneficial to the Italians: this constitutes the topos of advantage, more specifically, pro bono nobis or to the advantage of us.

Topos of danger is again elicited in combination with topos of culture in the last two sentences of the passage: the concentration of one ethnicity (and therefore one culture) in one place proves to be perilous as it leads to criminality, especially since the culture is “different from ours” which indirectly implies that ‘our’ Italian culture is better in that it is safer than that of the foreigners.

It should be pointed out, that unlike the 2003 Directive, the Plan has no mention of the third-country nationals, making no use of the existing Italian term ‘extracomunitari’ or ‘those from outside the European Community’ which carries exactly the same meaning as the ‘TCNs’; persons arriving to Italy are predominantly regarded as immigrants or ‘immigrati’. One might claim that this is due to the fact that the citizens of other EU countries are also included in the term ‘immigrant’ (e.g. Romanian immigrants are mentioned as being one of the largest migrant groups in Italy), but at the same time the nationals of the Union are not subjects to the Integration Pact and therefore are not obliged to comply with any integration conditions. Immigrant(s) in the document are used interchangeably with ‘foreigner(s)’, or ‘straniero’ which can also mean ‘alien’ or ‘stranger’. The Plan defines an immigrant as such who “arrives to Italy in hopes of a better life as compared to the circumstances in their places of origin (poverty, political unrest or war)” / “Ciascun immigrato arriva in Italia sperando in una vita migliore rispetto alla condizioni di provenienza (povertà, instabilità politica o guerra)” (91-92). Mentioning the reasons for emigration in the parenthetical clause can be regarded as an attempt at mitigation of the utterance (macro-mitigation).

Three distinct groups of immigrants are brought into focus in the Integration Plan: foreign workers, immigrant women and foreign minors. Immigrant workers are introduced at the beginning of the Plan:

Foreign workers are linked to higher economic activity and employment in comparison to the Italians, but at the same time to high unemployment rates. The foreigners are predominantly employed in low-skilled and low-paid sectors, such as construction work, agriculture, tourism and care services.

Ai lavoratori immigrati sono legati indici di attività e di occupazione più alti rispetto a quelli degli italiani, ma anche maggiori tassi di disoccupazione. Gli stranieri sono impiegati prevalentemente in settori a bassa qualificazione e remunerazione come l’edilizia, l’agricoltura, il turismo e i servizi di cura. (26-29)

Foreign workers are discursively constructed as both being more advantageous in comparison to the hosts as they have “higher economic activity”, and less fortunate, as they are “employed in low-skilled and low-paid sectors”. Immigrants in Italy are also “most vulnerable when it comes to irregular employment” / “maggiormente esposti al lavoro irregolare” (370). *Foreign workers* without work permits are seen as victims of “illegal, ‘black’ employment and criminality” / “sommerso, caporalato e criminalità” (376) and that can lead to “work accidents, even life-

threatening ones” / “infortuni sul lavoro, anche fatali” (379). Therefore, the State needs to intervene:

It is thus necessary to remove illegality and danger from the job market qualitatively strengthening security activities, to focus primarily on substantial violations, beginning with the most serious which often constitute an imminent threat to the person's life. In this regard, we must continue the work started with the macro-proposal on inspection services from the 18 September 2008, which relaunched the ambitious approach that is preventative and promoting the inspection and supervisory services outlined by the Biagi law and the relevant implementation decree.

È necessario perciò liberare il lavoro dalla illegalità e dal pericolo, potenziando qualitativamente le attività di vigilanza, da orientarsi prioritariamente alle violazioni sostanziali, a partire da quelle più gravi che spesso costituiscono un pericolo imminente per l'incolumità della persona. In questo senso va proseguito il lavoro iniziato con la macro-direttiva ai servizi ispettivi del 18 settembre 2008, che rilanciava l'ambiziosa impostazione, in chiave preventiva e promozionale delle funzioni ispettive e di vigilanza, delineata con la legge Biagi e il relativo decreto di attuazione. (380-385)

In this excerpt, the State positions itself as a facilitator of good workplace practice. The passage exemplifies both topos of authority – the State says monitoring and supervision at work must be done – and topos of law – Biagi law must be followed. Legal employment is also perceived as something useful for the migrant:

Being employed in a legal way for a foreign citizen means obtaining status and income which constitute social recognition and represent a factor of the legitimacy of their presence in Italy, facilitating and multiplying opportunities of cooperation with the local community.

Occupare una regolare posizione lavorativa per il cittadino straniero significa ottenere *status* e reddito che conferiscano riconoscibilità sociale e rappresentino un fattore di legittimazione della presenza in Italia, facilitando e moltiplicando le occasioni di scambio con la comunità locale di riferimento. (279-282)

The usefulness of a legal and regular job is introduced through topos of belonging: as the foreigner will gain a social standing and therefore will feel more as a part of their new country of residence, and through topos of advantage: both *pro bono eorum*, or ‘to the advantage of them’ as it is the immigrant who will profit from being formally employed and *pro bono nobis*, as “the local community” will benefit from the cooperation with the migrant. Using the Anglicism “status” and additionally putting the word in italics can be seen as a means of intensifying the utterance. Immigrant workers are discursively constructed as someone Italians can benefit from, especially in the area of business activity: “The foreign workers living in our land have a high tendency to found their own enterprises thus actively contributing to the economic growth and to the prosperity of the citizens” / “I lavoratori stranieri presenti sul nostro territorio esprimono una elevata propensione alla creazione di impresa contribuendo attivamente alla crescita economica ed al benessere dei cittadini” (347-348). Through topos of advantage, more precisely, *pro bono nobis*,

or to the advantage of us, as it is the Italian nationals who are presented as the ones profiting, the document argues for the usefulness of the foreign entrepreneurs.

Immigrant women are seen as a “driving force of integration” / “motore dell’integrazione” (142-143). They are viewed in the document as a “primary aim to achieve on the pathway towards integration” / “primo *target* da raggiungere per veicolare i percorsi di integrazione di seguito riportati” (144-145), a statement which is also intensified by the use of an Anglicism ‘target’, instead of an Italian ‘obiettivo’. It is further intensified as the word ‘target’ is put into italics in the document. The motives for choosing to use an Anglicism instead of an existing Italian word remain unclear, but as mentioned in Chapter 4.2.1, it has been a common practice to use English words in the Italian texts, something that is frowned upon by the purists of the Italian language. The document argues that the focus should be put on migrant women’s acquisition of the Italian language as “in fact, due to cultural factors typical for certain nationalities and because of their prolonged staying at home, they have less opportunities of encounters with the Italian citizens and therefore cannot learn the language” / “Soprattutto le donne, infatti, a causa di fattori culturali propri di alcune nazionalità e della loro prolungata permanenza in casa, hanno meno occasioni per confrontarsi con cittadini italiani e apprendere la lingua” (191-193). The Plan, similarly to the 2003 Directive, discusses health issues of migrants, and views migrant women as primary targets of healthcare : “Special attention must be dedicated to the activities of disease prevention and health and social education, particularly concerning exotic diseases, and towards women” / “Una particolare attenzione dovrà essere dedicata all’attività di prevenzione ed educazione sanitaria e sociale, specialmente per quanto riguarda malattie esotiche e nei confronti delle donne” (494-495). The excerpt above also contains a strategy of intensification, expressed by the means of deontic modality. The role of women in promoting health education is extremely significant, as the document states: “The implementation of a specific process of informing women that may belong to different ethnic groups, can guarantee that an immigrant family have a better access to the local services network” / “L’attivazione di percorsi specifici per informare le donne appartenenti a diverse etnie può garantire un migliore accesso delle famiglie immigrate alla rete dei servizi territoriali” (496-497). The Plan also argues that the focus should be put on migrant women’s acquisition of the Italian language as “in fact, due to cultural factors typical for certain nationalities and because of their prolonged staying at home, they have less opportunities of encounters with the Italian citizens and therefore cannot learn the language” / “le donne, infatti, a causa di fattori culturali propri di alcune nazionalità e della loro prolungata permanenza in casa, hanno meno occasioni per confrontarsi con cittadini italiani e apprendere la lingua” (191-193). This statement very overtly evokes the topos of culture, as in other words, because the culture of immigrant

women is the way it is, they lack chances to acquire Italian. The foreign culture is, therefore, to blame for the inefficiency of integration in this case.

Foreign minors are the most conspicuous group of immigrants single out in the Plan with the whole Area dedicated to their integration. Much like the number of immigrants in the country, the number of foreign minors has grown: “Finally, regarding the foreign minors, in the last decade they have reached 600 thousand, as we are seeing a tenfold increase of them enrolled in schools, which created public attention towards the so-called second-generation phenomenon” / “Per quanto riguarda, infine, i minori stranieri, nell’ultimo decennio sono aumentati di circa 600 mila unità, vedendo decuplicati gli iscritti alle scuole e ponendo all’attenzione pubblica il cosiddetto fenomeno delle seconde generazioni”(38-40). The utterance contains topos of definition or name-interpretation, “second-generation phenomenon” which can either refer to the children of immigrant parents born in the host country or to the immigrants who were brought to the host country at a very young age. In the first case, the term seems rather unsuitable since if a child was born in the state, they should no longer be considered an immigrant, but a person with an immigrant background. It is, however, used throughout the text of the Plan without a clear definition of what is meant under the “second-generation phenomenon”. Integration of *foreign minors* is given significant importance: “Education is paramount when it comes to integration of the foreign minors: they must be granted tools and resources which enable them to become people in their own right.” / “L’educazione è la priorità per l’integrazione dei minori stranieri: bisogna garantire ambiti e strumenti perché possano divenire loro stessi” (501-502). The topos of right is evoked in this excerpt, as the immigrant children must be granted the possibility of education. The strategy of intensification is manifested in the statement through deontic modality. The rights of foreign minors are protected under topos of humanitarianism: “In accordance with the national and international law, the protection of minors must be full and unconditional, regardless of their manner of entry to the Italian territory” / “In aderenza a tutte le norme nazionali e internazionali, la tutela dei minori deve essere piena e incondizionata, a prescindere dalle modalità di ingresso nel territorio italiano degli stessi” (504-505). Similarly to the previous one, this utterance is also intensified by means of deontic modality: the protection “must be full and unconditional”. The State clearly specifies its responsibilities regarding foreign minors:

[...] it is necessary to concentrate the forces in order to avoid the early school leaving of the immigrant minors, guarantee the effectiveness of the access and continuation of the development process and offer training opportunities that are important for the integration into the workforce [...].

[...] è opportuno concentrare gli sforzi per evitare l’abbandono scolastico da parte dei minori immigrati prima dell’età dell’obbligo, assicurare l’effettività nell’accesso e

nella prosecuzione dell'*iter* formativo, e offrire percorsi di formazione qualificanti per l'inserimento nel mondo del lavoro [...] (510-513).

This statement also constitutes topos of authority, since the State tells certain action must be performed. Unlike the majority of the text, the excerpt contains strategy of detachment, which is manifested in the anonymization by means of impersonalizing construction "it is necessary". The State even set up a specialized institution supposed to attend to the foreign minors and facilitate their integration:

Il Comitato per i minori stranieri, istituito presso il Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche sociali, in virtù della sua funzione di coordinamento delle attività dei molteplici attori interessati al fenomeno, rappresenta lo strumento centrale nel promuovere politiche di integrazione sistemiche (522-524).

The Committee for foreign minors, established within the Ministry of Labor and Social Policies, in accordance with its function of coordinating the activity of the numerous actors interested in the issue, represent the central tool in promoting the politics of systemic integration.

This had to be done as "the so-called second-generation had to endure the cultural weight of both multiculturalism and assimilation, like in certain countries where children of foreigners born in the country of immigration have not integrated" / "Sulle cosiddette seconde generazioni è saltato l'impianto culturale sia del multiculturalismo che dell'assimilazionismo, come in alcuni Paesi dove i figli di stranieri nati nel Paese di migrazione non si sono integrati" (530-531). This utterance is somewhat manipulated by the use of active voice, as it is implied that the children of immigrants are at fault for not having integrated. Through topos of danger the necessity of integration for foreign minors is introduced: letting multiculturalism and assimilation flourish can be hazardous and compromise the integration process. Therefore, it is the State's responsibility to secure integration of the immigrant children:

The hardest challenge that we have to face is hence the one regarding them, the young people who grow up simultaneously in the family environment which is an expression of their culture of origin, inside our national tradition. To avoid a divided life, which will inevitably lead to social tensions, we need to be ready to appreciate the enrichment of their tradition, emphasizing without any excuses the similarities and contact points and foreseeing the paths for effective and complete integration.

La sfida dunque più difficile che abbiamo di fronte riguarda proprio loro, i giovani che crescono contemporaneamente nell'ambiente familiare che esprime la loro cultura di origine all'interno della nostra tradizione nazionale. Per evitare una vita "divisa" che porta inevitabilmente a tensione sociale, dobbiamo essere pronti a valorizzare quanto esiste di edificante nella loro tradizione, sottolineando – certamente senza sconti – le affinità e i punti di contatto e prevedendo percorsi di integrazione effettiva e piena (532-537)

Here the topos of culture is intertwined with topos of threat and topos of challenge when discussing integration of the foreign minors. In other words, since the immigrant children will grow up within their culture mixed with that of Italians, they might later pose a danger to Italy, the place where

they are growing up. Despite showing the appreciation for the foreign culture, it is stressed that only things deemed ‘enriching’ and similar to the Italian culture will be appreciated. Which exactly elements of the foreign culture qualify as “the enrichment” of the Italian tradition remains open to interpretation. This utterance also contains the strategy of intensification expressed through deontic modality in “we need to be ready” / “dobbiamo essere pronti”.

A special category is singled out in the Area of the Plan dedicated to minors and second generations: the unaccompanied immigrant minors. They are perceived in the text of the Plan as such that “find themselves devoid of assistance or representation due to the absence of parents or other adults legally responsible for them” / “si trovano privi di assistenza e rappresentanza da parte dei genitori o di altri adulti legalmente responsabili” (516-517). In order to combat this phenomenon, the document states that “it is crucial to strengthen the policies of cooperation with the third countries – primarily Egypt and Morocco where one third of all unaccompanied minors comes from – in order to prevent and deter the illegal departures” / “è cruciale rinsaldare le politiche di collaborazione con i Paesi terzi - *in primis* Egitto e Marocco da cui proviene un terzo dei minori stranieri non accompagnati - al fine di prevenire e scoraggiare il fenomeno delle partenze illegali” (517-519). The statement above is mitigated by employing anomysation by means of impersonalizing construction (which also signals detachment), but at the same time intensified by the adjective “crucial” and the Latin term “*in primis*” put in italics for even more emphasis.

As can be seen from several examples discussed above, Italy, the Italians, Italian people or the Italian citizens are the social actors that are contrasted with the immigrants. Italy in the document is discursively constructed in a rather positive manner. At the very beginning of it, the Plan portrays Italy as a ‘sufferer’, a state that has to endure the constant migration flows (see lines 12-13 discussed above). The document later appeals to the Italian history as a proof the State can be successful in facilitating integration:

Italy, because of its history and geographical position has always been a meeting point of different cultures and traditions that – with few and short exceptions – have managed to maintain an equilibrium of peace and respect. In order to construct peaceful and stable coexistence in the context of growing social pressure, we are not allowed to not rediscover the conditions essential for reviving our past.

L’Italia, per storia e posizionamento geografico, è da sempre terra di incontro tra culture e tradizioni differenti che hanno saputo mantenersi – salvo poche e brevi eccezioni – in un equilibrio di rispetto e di pace. Per costruire una convivenza civile stabile, in un contesto di crescente pressione sociale, non possiamo non riscoprirne nel nostro passato le condizioni essenziali, rivitalizzandone le radici. (69-73)

The excerpt evokes topos of history, as according to it, Italy did and therefore will in the future manage to deal with different cultures that cohabit its territory. The first sentence is, however,

mitigated by the parenthetical clause “with few and short exceptions”, implying that in fact there were instances when conflicts did occur. The second sentence, on the other hand, is intensified by the double negation “we are not allowed to not rediscover”, which highlights the relevance of Italian history even more. The document continues with the description of the Italian people’s identity: “Our people’s identity has been molded by the Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian traditions which, united in a unique way, were able to make Italy into a State inclusive at its core and capable of hospitality and gratuitous respect to anyone coming into its territory” / “L’identità del nostro popolo è stata plasmata dalle tradizioni greco-romana e giudaico-cristiana, che unendosi in maniera originale hanno saputo fare dell’Italia un Paese solidale nel proprio interno e capace di ospitalità e gratuità rispetto a chiunque arrivi dentro i suoi confini” (73-75). The appeal to traditions that “molded” the country, similarly to the previous excerpt, evokes topos of history, as it is the past that made Italy and the Italian people into their present selves. Topos of culture transitions into the topos of Italian values in the next sentence: “The respect for life, importance of an individual, the ability to give back, the value of a family, work and community: these are the cornerstones of our society” / “Il rispetto della vita, la centralità della persona, la capacità del dono, il valore della famiglia, del lavoro e della comunità: questi sono i pilastri della nostra civiltà” (75-77); these values are subsequently formalized: “In the Constitution one can find the formal summary of this shared feeling of the people as a result of the fusion of the diverse political traditions into the shared vision of a person and society” / “Nella Costituzione si trova la sintesi formale di questo comune sentire popolare come risultato della convergenza di diverse tradizioni politiche su una visione condivisa di persona e società” (78-80). Here, the topos of culture and the topos of Italian values transition into the topos of law, as the common values are codified and put together into the Italian Constitution. The Italian State and its people are very accepting, but at the same time they do have some reservations, especially regarding the culture of newcomers:

The talents and creativeness of the people arriving in Italy must find fertile ground for the realization of their full potential in the social and economic processes, but at the same time, we cannot allow traditions and cultures of a different origin to collide with our framework of values.

I talenti e la creatività delle persone che giungono in Italia devono trovare terreno fertile per una loro piena valorizzazione nei processi economici e sociali ma, al tempo stesso, non possiamo permettere che le diverse tradizioni e culture di provenienza entrino in collisione con il nostro assetto valoriale. (54-57)

In this passage, Italy’s way in the integration process is introduced, as the country has to secure the welfare of the immigrants: their “talents and creativeness must find fertile ground” – which evokes topos of advantage (*pro bono eorum* as it is to the benefit of the migrants). However, by reiterating the two topoi: of culture and threat, the dangerous influence of the foreign culture is once again discussed.

And precisely because of the threat of a foreign culture, which is continuously perceived as somewhat hostile to the Italian values, as well as of the constant growth of the number of immigrants, integration must take place. The Plan adheres to the EU understanding of the integration as a two-way process where both the host society and the immigrants are involved:

Therefore, everyone is responsible and a protagonist in the transformative process that is passing through our society. But personal responsibility aside, it is the free common initiative of both Italians and immigrants that results into integration.

Ognuno dunque è responsabile e protagonista nel processo di trasformazione che sta attraversando la nostra società. Ma oltre alla responsabilità personale, gioca un ruolo fondamentale il servizio che la libera iniziativa comunitaria, sia di italiani sia di immigrati, fa alla riuscita dell'integrazione. (124-127)

This view is repeated several lines later: "Italians and immigrants can realistically face the challenge of the reciprocated encounter only if both are educated on being absolutely accepting of each other" / "Italiani e immigrati realisticamente possono affrontare l'avventura dell'incontro reciproco solo se vengono ambedue educati all'apertura all'altro in quanto valore assoluto" (129-130). This idea of openness towards each other, however, makes the whole discourse appear ambivalent due to the perpetual understanding of the foreign culture as dangerous one and such that might clash with the Italian values.

What differs the understanding of integration in the Plan from that presented in the 2003 Directive is the view on the role of the State as a facilitator of the integration process. The State has a secondary function in fostering integration, while the population of Italy is described as a protagonist of the process:

The appropriate subject that facilitates the interaction necessary for integration are the people, the living human experience, with its tradition, its culture and its values. The Italian people in its foundation holds all the human potential crucial to have a leading role in it.

Il soggetto adeguato che rende possibile l'interazione necessaria all'integrazione è il popolo, una esperienza umana viva, con la sua tradizione, la sua cultura e i suoi valori. Il popolo italiano serba nei suoi tratti costitutivi tutto il potenziale umano indispensabile per esserne protagonista. (115-118)

The role of the State in integration, according to the Plan, is "limited" to only assisting in integration through implementing the necessary legislation: "The State must be at the service of these subjects. The policy measures should offer a legal and preventive framework which reinforces the interaction." / "Lo Stato deve essere soprattutto al servizio di questi soggetti. Le misure politiche devono offrire il quadro normativo e preventivo che favorisce l'interazione" (113-115). Another function assigned to the State is to guarantee civic education of the immigrants: "The State before anything else should ensure the points of training and information regarding its own institutional system" / "Lo Stato innanzitutto deve garantire momenti di formazione e

informazione riguardo al proprio assetto istituzionale.” (202-203). The last two utterances (113-115 and 202-203) are intensified by means of deontic modality.

Perspectivation strategies used in the Integration Plan, differ from the ones present in the 2003 Directive. Unlike the latter, the former employs the strategies of involvement rather than detachment, despite it being an official text. Involvement in the Plan is realized through personal deixis: possessives and verbal endings. The possessives used in the text include “their” or “loro” and gender- and number-specific variations of “our” – “nostro” (masculine singular), “nostra” (feminine singular) and “nostri” (masculine plural). Italian, along with many other Romance languages, is a null-subject language. In the null-subject languages, it is the verb inflection, that expresses the person and number agreement, therefore, rendering a subject pronoun redundant. This phenomenon is referred to as pronoun dropping. Hence, the entire text is written from a first-person plural perspective. This largely contributes to the whole “us versus them” motif. Both the strategies of intensification and mitigation were found in the text. As it can be seen from the above-discussed examples, the strategy of mitigation is used fewer times and is realized predominantly through means of macro-mitigation. Since the document contains multiple manifestations of involvement, which usually goes hand in hand with intensification, it is not surprising that the former is the more dominant strategy. Intensification is expressed predominantly through deontic and (more rarely) epistemic modality as well as the use of Anglicisms or Latinisms. It is also realized through double negations and adjectives.

The focus in the document is on the language acquisition as well as respect for the Italian culture and values. Even though a whole area of the Plan is dedicated to language learning and civic education, the topic of Italian language, culture and values persists throughout the whole document. The document does not, however, specify the desired level of language competence that should be achieved by an immigrant, perhaps, as this is already defined in the supplementing Integration Agreement. In general, the Plan draws a clear distinction between the Italians/the Italian State and the immigrants, mainly with the help of strategies of argumentation. Similarly to the 2003 Directive, the document uses topos of threat to allude to prejudices towards foreigners present in or willing to move to Italy. However, the Italian Integration Plan appeals to culture, both Italian and foreign, to showcase the latter as carrying a potential threat due to it being very different from the local one. The presentation of Italians as a nation that is accepting of an immigrant culture is somewhat contradictory due to the constant mention of the perils that immigrants can possibly cause. Foreigners in the text are predominantly perceived as somewhat of a burden to Italy, and only on a few occasions are they discursively constructed as such that could bring benefit to their host country. The document does adhere to the understanding of integration as a two-way process,

in which both the immigrants and the host community must be engaged. It specifies the roles of both parties, at least to a certain extent. However, it should not be forgotten that much like the document that will be discussed in the following subchapter, the Integration Plan is more of a proposition than a strict set of rules that should be followed, and it is not the only legislative document regarding integration in Italy.

6.3 The National Action Plan for Integration

The National Action Plan for Integration was adopted by the Austrian Federal Government in 2010 after the extensive expert discussions in 2008 and 2009 took place in seven different fields of action. The NAPI consists of three different parts: the Integration Report, the Integration Indicators and the Integration Measures. The Integration Report, due to its similarity with the Italian Integration Plan, was chosen for the analysis. The Report contains a Preamble, a description of the process of drafting the NAPI, the relevant target groups, reference to the General guidelines on the integration policy and the implementation of integration within seven fields of action: Language and Education, Occupation and Work, Rule of Law and Values, Health and Social Services, Intercultural Dialogue, Sports and Leisure and Housing and Regional Dimension of Integration. The Report lays down measures for the integration of the third-country nationals, persons entitled to asylum and subsidiary protection as well as the EU citizens with a mother tongue other than German.

The document, just like the Italian Plan, being a guideline, can be placed within the lawmaking procedure field of action. Similarly to the 2003 Directive and the Italian Integration Plan, the main topics identified in NAPI Report include migrant integration, immigration to Austria, as well as labor market policy, social services and legal aspects of integration. The document also contains a number of intertextual references. Among the mentions is a work by one of the contributors to the development of NAPI, Peter Ulram's "Integration in Österreich – Einstellungen, Orientierungen und Erfahrungen von Migrant/innen und Angehörigen der Mehrheitsbevölkerung" or "Integration in Austria – Attitudes, Orientations and experiences of Immigrants and Members of the Majority Population" (57-58), the reference to the 25 Integration Indicators (60) as well as to the Integration before Immigration (296) concept. Another reference includes the National Action Plan on Prevention and Elimination of Female Genital Mutilation in Austria. The Report also mentions the "White Paper on the Preparation of National Plan for Integration" ("Einführungspapier zur Erstellung eines Nationalen Aktionsplans für Integration") (44), which was produced by the Ministry of the Interior.

The following social actors have been identified in the Report:

- actionyms: *migrants* ‘Migrant/innen’ (first mention in line 1; overall 58 mentions), *recent immigrants* ‘Neuzuwanderer/innen’ (204, 207);
- origonyms: people with a migration background ‘Personen mit Migrationshintergrund’ (8, 250, 315, 682, 317, 327, 350) and ‘Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund’ (11, 71, 161, 372, 400, 409, 479, 541, 551, 577); *immigrant population* ‘zugewanderte Bevölkerung’ (330, 581); *Austrian population* ‘österreichische Bevölkerung’ (149, 612) or ‘Bevölkerung Österreichs’ (612);
- anthroponym referring to persons in terms of membership to a national/state organization: *foreign citizens with permanent residency in Austria* ‘ausländische Staatsbürger, die dauerhaft in Österreich niedergelassen sind’ (70);
- anthroponym referring to persons in terms of being or not being in need of political support: *persons entitled to asylum or subsidiary protection* ‘Asylberechtigte und subsidiär Schutzberechtigte’ (106);
- genderonym: *women (with a migration background)* ‘Frauen (mit Migrationshintergrund)’ (100, 159, 198, 199, 343, 346, 347, 370, 426, 493, 542);
- gerontonyms: *adolescents with a migration background* ‘Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund’ (137, 221, 222, 224, 247, 336,) or *adolescent immigrants* ‘jugenliche Migrant/innen’ (341); *children with a migration background* ‘Kinder mit Migrationshintergrund’ (100, 136, 183, 190, 201);
- toponym: *Austria* ‘Österreich’ (1, 10, 74, 82, 109, 171, 209, 268, 272, 520, 576);
- political organizationym: *Ministry of the Interior* ‘Ministerium für Inneres’.

Similarly to the Italian Plan, the two significant social processes include *immigration* ‘Zuwanderung’ and *integration* ‘Integration’.

The Report opens with a statement about the importance of integration in the country: “The successful integration of immigrants for the benefit of the entire society is a central objective for Austria” / “Österreich ist die erfolgreiche Integration von Migrant/innen zum Wohle der gesamten Gesellschaft ein zentrales Anliegen” (1-2), thus employing the topos of advantage, more precisely, *pro bono pubblico*, as it is presented as to the advantage of all, to advocate for integration. It also introduces Austria and the immigrants as the key social actors in the document. The idea of the integration being beneficial for all parties involved continues further in the text:

Austria is committed to legal immigration, which has economic and demographic value. People with an immigrant background have contributed to the development and

prosperity of Austria. At the same time, immigrants find attractive development prospects in Austria – one of the most economically and socially successful countries of Europe – which allow them to lead an independent life. Thereby the immigrants are obligated to be an active part of the integration process under their own responsibility.

Österreich bekennt sich zu einer geregelten Zuwanderung, die einen wirtschaftlichen und demografischen Mehrwert darstellt. Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund haben zu Wachstum und Wohlstand in Österreich beigetragen. Gleichzeitig finden Migrant/innen in Österreich, einem der wirtschaftlich und sozial erfolgreichsten Länder Europas, attraktive Entwicklungsperspektiven, die es ihnen ermöglichen, ihr Leben selbstbestimmt zu gestalten. Dabei obliegt es Migrant/innen, sich eigenverantwortlich aktiv in den Integrationsprozess einzubringen. (10-15)

In this excerpt, Austria is discursively constructed as a country which only accepts the kind of immigration which would be of benefit to it. Through topos of advantage, *pro bono nostrum*, it recognizes the contributions made by the immigrants to the well-being of the State. Employing another subtype of topos of advantage, *pro bono eorum*, the Report presents Austria as a country that an immigrant can profit from living in. This is an allusion to integration as a two-way process – it refers to both what the state can offer and which obligations an immigrant must fulfill in order to become a part of the Austrian society. It does not, however, discuss the exact functions of the country, yet it is emphasized that the immigrants “are obligated” to be actively engaged in their own integration.

Similarly to the Italian Integration Plan, the Report sees successful integration built on both sides respecting each other: “Integration is a reciprocal process, which is shaped by mutual appreciation and respect, in which clear rules ensure social cohesion and harmony.” / “Integration ist ein wechselseitiger Prozess, der von gegenseitiger Wertschätzung und Respekt geprägt ist, wobei klare Regeln den gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhalt und den sozialen Frieden sichern” (16-18).

The Report continues, further defining integration: “Integration is both an individual and societal process, which is to be kept in motion constantly through autonomous involvement and the governmental framework.” / “Integration ist ein individueller ebenso wie ein gesellschaftlicher Prozess, der durch eigenverantwortliches Engagement sowie durch staatliche Rahmenbedingungen permanent zu gestalten ist” (27-29). The foundation for integration lies in the development of the unifying feeling of one, wholesome society, the so-called “We-feeling”:

The formation of an Austrian “We-feeling”, which will be shared by mainstream society and the immigrants, is a central objective of the integration policies. In this context, the measures against racism and discrimination must be put in place.

Die Herausbildung eines österreichischen Wir-Gefühls, das von der Mehrheitsgesellschaft und den Migrant/innen gemeinsam getragen wird, ist ein zentrales Anliegen integrationspolitischer Bemühungen. In diesem Zusammenhang sind auch Maßnahmen gegen Rassismus und Diskriminierung zu setzen. (29-33)

By mentioning the majority population and immigrants separately, the Report recognizes that there is a distinction between the two groups, hence the need for the “We-feeling”. The necessity to develop measures to combat racism and discrimination implicitly indicates that they are a part of Austrian society. Therefore, actions must be taken to prevent them: “Measures against racism and discrimination constitute Austrian integration policy and are to be pushed forward.” / “Maßnahmen gegen Rassismus und Diskriminierung sind Bestandteil österreichischer Integrationspolitik und entsprechend zu forcieren” (111-112). However, this idea is expressed by means of passivization and no actor responsible for implementing the said measures is named, which can indicate that the State attempts to somewhat evade liability for fighting discrimination.

The hardships of integration as well as the benefits of immigration are acknowledged: “Integration is one of the biggest challenges for Austria in terms of preservation of social peace and economic success. Social diversity should be used as an opportunity for economic development. / “Integration ist eine der großen Herausforderungen Österreichs für den Erhalt des sozialen Friedens und des wirtschaftlichen Erfolgs. Gesellschaftliche Vielfalt ist als Chance für die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung zu nutzen” (74-76). Recognizing the difficulties of integration and the importance of it in sustaining the social peace implicitly acknowledges the dangers of what could happen if integration does not take place. This utterance, therefore, evokes topos of challenge (and to a certain extent topos of threat). The second part of the passage admits that there are benefits to the diverse society (which is achieved through immigration), hence eliciting the topos of advantage. A similar idea where topos of threat is employed in order to justify the need for integration is reiterated in the following excerpt: “Integration policy is also a safety issue and acts as a protection of the rule of law. Integration is a key requirement in establishing social peace and helps to prevent conflicts and criminal activity” / “Integrationspolitik ist auch ein Sicherheitsthema und dient dem Schutz des Rechtsstaates. Integration ist eine wesentliche Voraussetzung zur Schaffung sozialen Friedens und trägt dadurch zur Vermeidung von Konflikten und zur Prävention von Kriminalität bei” (389-391). In other words, if unintegrated, the immigrants might constitute a threat to Austria, since they could create “conflicts and criminal activity”. The Report also discusses the economic obstacles that might complicate the way to successful integration: “The activity involving poor payment and working conditions is detrimental to integration. Appropriate measures are to be adopted to tackle the undercutting of wages and social contributions.” / “Die Beschäftigung zu schlechten Lohn- und Arbeitsbedingungen wirkt sich integrationshemmend aus. Geeignete Maßnahmen zur Bekämpfung von Lohn- und Sozialdumping sind daher zu ergreifen” (276-278). As the construction employs passivization to convey the idea, it is not possible to infer who the actor responsible for the said conditions is.

The document continuous, stating: “Integration is the task and responsibility of everyone. Integration can only be successful when all the parties involved show the appropriate willingness. / “Integration ist Aufgabe und Verantwortung jedes Einzelnen. Nur wenn alle Beteiligten eine entsprechende Bereitschaft zeigen, kann Integration erfolgreich sein” (77-78). This again alludes to the EU definition of integration as a two-way process where the involvement of both immigrants and the host community is needed for the successful outcome. What differentiates the Austrian model of integration from the Italian one is its attention to detail: integration should be tailored to every immigrant based on several distinctive features: “Integration requirements will be determined through factors like origin, gender, social status, culture or religion of the immigrants as well as their generation. / “Integrationserfordernisse werden durch Faktoren wie Herkunft, Geschlecht, sozialer Status, kulturelle oder religiöse Prägung von Migrant/innen sowie deren Zugehörigkeit zu einer Generation bestimmt” (97-99). The Italian document did discuss integration specifics with regards to gender and age, however, the importance of an immigrant’s culture or religion was never pointed out.

Through topos of authority the role of the Austrian Government, and in particular, the Ministry of the Interior, is emphasized, as it decides on the development of the framework for integration: “The drafting of a National Action Plan is foreseen in the government program of 24th legislative period. The Ministry of the Interior thereby took over the coordinating function” / “Im Regierungsprogramm der XXIV. Gesetzgebungsperiode ist die Erarbeitung eines Nationalen Aktionsplans für Integration vorgesehen. Das Bundesministerium für Inneres hat dabei eine koordinierende Funktion übernommen” (40-42). The responsibilities of the State are also given focus: “It is the State’s task to develop the appropriate framework conditions for successful integration.” / “Dem Staat kommt die Aufgabe zu, entsprechende Rahmenbedingungen für erfolgreiche Integration zu schaffen” (85-86).

The process of migration is not discussed as widely as it is in the Italian Integration Plan. It is, however, discursively constructed in a similar manner: “The increase of the immigrant population will make the population of Austria more ethnically diverse which presents a challenge of varying degree to the municipalities and cities to ensure successful integration process” / “Mit der Zunahme der Bevölkerungsteile mit Migrationshintergrund wird die Bevölkerung Österreichs ethnisch heterogener und stellt die Gemeinden und Städte in unterschiedlichem Ausmaß vor die Herausforderung, den Integrationsprozess erfolgreich zu gestalten” (612-614). In this passage, immigration is presented as a difficulty, more or less manageable depending on its scale. This constitutes topos of challenge, which was a common topos in the Integration Plan. Immigration in the text of the Report is described as a “particularly urban phenomenon” / “insbesondere ein

städtisches Phänomen” (615). The wording again resembles that of the Italian document, which also referred to the migration process as a ‘phenomenon’. The Report warns of dangers of unregulated migration: “Poorly managed immigration can trigger suppression of the foreign workers who have lived in Austria for a long time and/or of the Austrians with a migration background and therethrough increase the unemployment.” / “Eine mangelhaft gesteuerte Zuwanderung kann einen Verdrängungsprozess zulasten der schon länger aufhältigen ausländischen Arbeitskräfte und/oder Österreicher/innen mit Migrationshintergrund auslösen und dadurch die Arbeitslosigkeit anheben” (273-275). This utterance evokes topos of threat, as in other words, irregular migration threatens the legal immigrants resident in the country and the State must perform an action in order to diminish that threat.

The importance of the German language is emphasized throughout the Report and highlighted in every field of action. The acquisition of German as well as civic education both play a central role in integration, which is mentioned at the beginning of the Report:

Successful integration includes sufficient knowledge of German language for work, education and further development as well as for contact with public services, economic self-sufficiency, as well as recognition and observance of the Austrian and European laws and values.

Erfolgreiche Integration liegt vor, wenn jedenfalls ausreichende Kenntnisse der deutschen Sprache für das Arbeitsleben, für die Aus- und Weiterbildung sowie für den Kontakt zu öffentlichen Einrichtungen vorhanden sind, die wirtschaftliche Selbsterhaltungsfähigkeit gegeben ist sowie die Anerkennung und Einhaltung der dem Rechtsstaat zugrundeliegenden österreichischen und europäischen Rechts- und Werteordnung vorliegen. (18-22)

The reference to the European and Austrian law can be interpreted as a realization of topos of law. In other words, an immigrant will not be able to integrate and become an integral part of Austrian society unless they obey the laws. A similar thought is repeated again later in the text of the document:

The most important prerequisites for successful integration are the acquisition of German, the economic self-sufficiency, a clear commitment to Austria, its norms and values as well as readiness and willingness of immigrants to integrate.

Wichtigste Grundlagen für erfolgreiche Integration in Österreich sind das Erlernen der deutschen Sprache, die wirtschaftliche Selbsterhaltungsfähigkeit, ein klares Bekenntnis zu Österreich, seinen Normen und Werten sowie die Bereitschaft und der Wille der Migrant/innen sich zu integrieren. (81-84)

This excerpt bears a lot of similarity to several passages from the Italian Integration Plan, as it refers not only to the role of the local language in the integration process, but also to the values of the host country, thus evoking the topos of Austrian values. Evidently, the allegiance to the Austrian norms and values is of prime importance: “The norms and values of the Austrian rule of law are non-negotiable. They must be accepted and followed by all people.” / “Die Normen und

Werte des österreichischen Rechtsstaates sind nicht verhandelbar. Sie müssen von allen Menschen akzeptiert und befolgt werden.” (380-381). This passage elicits topos of law as well as topos of justice, since, if paraphrased, it would mean that everybody, regardless whether an immigrant or not, must respect the Austrian laws. Apart from demanding commitment to the country’s norms and values, the Report also specifies, that the foreign values conflicting with the Austrian ones will not be tolerated: “Religion- or culture-based legal and social systems which do not constitute a part of the Austrian legal order cannot be considered a justification for criminal acts” / “Religiös und kulturell begründete Rechts- bzw. Ordnungssysteme außerhalb der österreichischen Rechtsordnung sind keine Rechtfertigung für Straftaten” (385-386). This statement again evokes topos of law as no foreign values can go against the Austrian legal arrangements.

The acquisition of German is argued through topos of advantage (*pro bono eorum*): “The command of German language is also a prerequisite for the participation in the economic and societal life.” / “Das Beherrschen der deutschen Sprache ist auch eine Voraussetzung für die Teilhabe am wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Leben” (152-153). The immigrants are encouraged to learn German if they want to be a part of the Austrian society, so in this case the language is a tool of exclusion. Without adequate language skills, an immigrant will practically be barred from living and working in Austria: “Anyone wanting to live permanently in Austria and who wants to partake on economic and social life, must be prepared to learn the German language” / “Wer dauerhaft in Österreich leben und am wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Leben teilhaben will, muss bereit sein, die deutsche Sprache zu erlernen” (155-157). Aside from repeating the same idea as the passage discussed before, this excerpt is also intensified by means of deontic modality, which stresses the necessity of linguistic integration even more. What differs the Integration Report from the two previously analyzed documents is that it indicates the exact required level of German language competence. For those who must comply with the Integration Agreement, the level is established at B1 CEFR (however, as has been discussed in Chapter 2.3.2, only those applying for a permanent residence permit must pass the integration test and be able to communicate at the B1 level; this is not defined in the Report): “Within the framework of the Integration Agreement, language competence at the B1 level of the Common European Framework of Reference should be achieved” / “Im Rahmen der Integrationsvereinbarung soll eine Sprachkompetenz entsprechend dem Niveau B1 des Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmens erreicht werden” (206-207). It remains open to interpretation, why the modal “soll” or “should” instead of “muss” or “must” was chosen, as it is rather apparent that it is a necessity rather than an advice. Therefore, the utterance was mitigated by means of deontic modality. Apart from the language requirements, the newcomers must also comply with several other conditions: “Newly arrived immigrants should be assisted with obtaining basic knowledge

about the legal system, history and culture of Austria.” / “Neuzuwander/innen sollen dabei unterstützt werden, Grundkenntnisse der Rechtsordnung, der Geschichte und der Kultur Österreichs zu erwerben” (207-209). In this regard, the understanding of integration in Austria is similar to the Italian one – it is not enough to only master the host country’s language, one must also be aware of the state’s history, culture and values. The language requirement for those willing to immigrate to Austria is also specified:

For people who want to immigrate to Austria and permanently settle here, language integration measures before the immigration, established on the A1 level of the Common European Framework of References, with regard to the European and constitutional provisions must take place, if needed.

Für Personen, die neu nach Österreich zuwandern und sich hier dauerhaft niederlassen wollen, sind sprachliche Integrationsmaßnahmen vor Zuzug, unter Beachtung der europa- und verfassungsrechtlichen Bestimmungen, auf dem A1-Niveau des Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmens für Sprachen, bedarfsorientiert zu setzen. (211-214)

The requirement is justified by the reference to the European legislation and to the Austrian Constitution, which constitutes *topos* of law. However, it must be pointed out that no European Parliament or Council of the EU regulations and directives contain a direct and explicit instruction on employing pre-entry language tests as an integration requirement. The document recognizes the importance of not only German but also the native languages of immigrants: “The awareness about the benefit of linguistic diversity in the Austrian population should be raised” / “Der Nutzen von sprachlicher Vielfalt in der österreichischen Bevölkerung ist verstärkt zu vermitteln” (149-159). The linguistic integration hence is understood in the EU way: the immigrants must acquire the language of their host country but should also be supported in maintaining their own language. Although, this is done not so much with the interest of the immigrants in mind: “Austrian enterprises can profit from different language and intercultural skills” / “Österreichs Unternehmen können von unterschiedlichen Sprachkenntnissen sowie Kenntnissen anderer Kulturen profitieren” (292-294). Thus, the immigrants can and are encouraged to continue using their own languages, but only because this would be beneficial to the Austrian companies; the utterance hence constitutes the *topos* of advantage/*pro bono nobis*.

Similarly to the other two documents, the social actors in the Report can be roughly divided into two groups: the immigrants and the Austrian population as well as the state of Austria. Both the Austrians and various categories of immigrants are identified as such that the Integration Plan is aimed at:

The target groups of the National Action Plan for Integration are the society as a whole, foreign citizens that are permanent residents of Austria, Austrian citizens that were born abroad as well as people with a migration background with permanent residency in Austria i.e. already have Austrian citizenship, whose parents were born abroad.

Zielgruppen des Nationalen Aktionsplans für Integration sind die Gesamtgesellschaft, ausländische Staatsbürger, die dauerhaft in Österreich niedergelassen sind, österreichische Staatsbürger, die im Ausland geboren wurden sowie Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund, die dauerhaft in Österreich niedergelassen sind bzw. bereits die österreichische Staatsbürgerschaft besitzen, aber deren Eltern im Ausland geboren wurden. (69-73)

By defining not only the immigrants but also the rest of the Austrian society as the targets of the NAPI, the Report once again proves that it concurs with the EU's view on integration. It is, however, unclear, why people who have obtained permanent residence or citizenship are also subject to integration, since, according to the requirements the former had to fulfill the Integration Agreement and the latter needed to pass a citizenship test which both are proofs that these people are integrated. This can be interpreted that the immigrants, despite having obtained long-term residency or Austrian citizenship, are still not considered to be fully integrated due to their "migration background". The phrase "people/persons with a migration background" only appears in the Austrian Report and none of the other analyzed documents, which can be partially attributed to the attempted elimination of the word "Ausländer" that can mean "foreigner" but can also be translated as "alien" or "non-resident". The word was deemed to not be politically correct and therefore needed to be substituted with a different one.

On more than one occasion the immigrants are perceived as an asset to the country:

Immigrants, too, have contributed to our economic growth and our prosperity. Even if the situation with the workforce demands changes, their sustainable integration in the job market is a requirement for a consistent further development of our economy and society.

Auch Migrant/innen haben mit ihrer Arbeit zu unserem Wirtschaftswachstum und so zu unserem Wohlstand beigetragen. Wenngleich sich die Situation der Nachfrage nach Arbeitskräften ändern kann, ist ihre nachhaltige Integration in den Arbeitsmarkt Voraussetzung für eine kohärente Weiterentwicklung unserer Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. (89-92)

This view of immigrants as economically beneficial to Austria evokes the topos of advantage, particularly, pro bono nobis. By using the possessive "our", a clear distinction is drawn between the Austrians and immigrants, as it is "they" who benefit "our" well-being. Therefore, this passage also contains the manifestation of perspectivation strategy, more specifically, involvement realized through deixis. It should be pointed out, that unlike the Italian Plan, the Austrian Report contains a small number of deictic expressions. Another instance, where a possessive "our" is used, is in the following utterance: "A harmonious cohabitation requires clear rules. That who respects them should get a fair chance in our country" / "Ein gutes Zusammenleben bedarf klarer Regeln. Wer diese einhält, soll eine faire Chance in unserem Land erhalten" (95-96). The respect for the rules, demanded from the immigrants, elicits the topos of law. In other words, one must obey the Austrian laws if they wish to lead their life in the country. The possessive "our" once again

separates ‘us’ Austrians from ‘them’ immigrants, implying that even if they do comply with all the rules and laws they will still remain ‘they’ in ‘our’ land. The Report also reiterates the idea of immigrants being an asset to Austria’s welfare by employing topos of advantage/pro bono nobis:

Potential economic growth and prosperity are also closely linked to the utilization of the potential of the immigrants. With this in mind, the linguistic and professional qualification of the immigrants who have settled is to be systematically targeted.

Das wirtschaftliche Wachstumspotenzial und der Wohlstand Österreichs sind auch eng mit der Nutzung des Potenzials von Migrant/innen verbunden. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist die sprachliche und fachliche Qualifizierung der niedergelassenen Migrant/innen gezielt zu fördern. (171-174)

In other words, since Austria can have financial profit from integration, it should definitely facilitate the process. Nevertheless, despite the immigrant contribution to the Austrian economy, they still remain at a disadvantage when it comes to employment: “High unemployment among immigrants and fundamental challenges in the integration into economy and labor market are related to the limited German proficiency and low education level.” / “Hohe Arbeitslosigkeit unter Migrant/innen und grundlegende Herausforderungen bei der Integration in Wirtschaft und Arbeitsmarkt stehen in Zusammenhang mit geringen Deutschkenntnissen und einem geringen Bildungsgrad” (268-271). By defining the “limited German proficiency” and “low education level” as reasons for high unemployment rates, the Report defacto puts the responsibility for being jobless on the immigrants. Foreigners themselves are to be held accountable for creating obstacles in the process of integration by not learning the language or having better levels of education. The utterance, implicitly referring to limited language skills and education as obstacles on the way to successful integration, evokes the topos of challenge. Steps also must be taken to prevent the mishandling of the child benefit (or family benefit) – the money paid to the families with children, in some instances until they are 21 years old: “In order to secure higher qualification, it must be proved that the payment of the family benefit between 18 and 21 years of age is used in accordance with the existing legislation and practice.” / “Um eine nachhaltige Höherqualifizierung zu sichern, ist im Hinblick auf die Ausbezahlung der Familienbeihilfe zwischen dem 18. und 21. Lebensjahr zu prüfen, ob die Leistungsbereitschaft nach geltender Rechtslage und Praxis in geeigneter Weise berücksichtigt wird” (285-287). Even though it is not explicitly stated, who might resort to misusing the family benefit, given the general context, the unnamed actors are the immigrants. This utterance evokes the topos of abuse, as it is implied that the immigrants might misuse the child benefit and spend the money on something other than their children’s education. Therefore, the State must keep an eye on the situation and, perhaps, if necessary, can even resort to the withdrawal of the possibility of obtaining the payment.

When it comes to living conditions, the immigrants are also at disadvantage: “Immigrants at average have a lot less living space than the majority population. [...] only some own real estate” / “Migrant/innen steht im Durchschnitt wesentlich weniger Wohnfläche zur Verfügung als der Mehrheitsgesellschaft. [...] nur wenige erlangen Wohnungseigentum” (624-627). The blame for that is put on the immigrants, as they engage in the so-called “Investment split” or “Investitionssplitting”: “Immigrants tend to minimize their housing costs in Austria in order to obtain housing in the region of origin or to renovate the property. This does not benefit the targeted integration process.” / “Migrant/innen neigen tendenziell dazu, die Wohnkosten in Österreich zu minimieren, um Wohnraum in der Herkunftsregion zu schaffen oder diesen zu sanieren. Dies ist einem zielgerichteten Integrationsprozess nicht zuträglich” (632-635). To put it differently, the capital outflow can hinder integration, which means that the utterance employs the topos of challenge to convey this.

The Report, much like the Italian Integration Plan, warns about the danger of ghettoization of the cities: “The metropolitan areas are facing the task of population growth management and prevention of the formation of the social and ethnic ghettos [...]” / “Stehen die Ballungsräume insbesondere vor der Aufgabe der Bewältigung des Bevölkerungszuwachses und der Vermeidung der Bildung sozialer und ethnischer „Ghettos“ [...]” (617-618). Here, the immigrants, especially in high concentration, are perceived as a threat to the stability of Austria and therefore they must be managed – this invokes the topos of danger or threat. This idea is maintained throughout the Housing and Regional Dimension field of action. Since the threat of ghettoization is inevitable, the document calls for action: “In urban areas the segregation of the neighborhoods is to be prevented through appropriate measures to achieve social as well as ethnic heterogeneity.” / “Im städtischen Bereich ist durch geeignete Maßnahmen eine Segregation von Stadtvierteln zu verhindern, um eine soziale sowie ethnische Heterogenität zu erreichen” (649-650). At the same time, the danger of intercultural tensions is mentioned: “Intercultural conflicts in neighborhoods and in particularly large housing complexes are to be mitigated through local mediation and moderation” / “Interkulturelle Konflikte in Stadtvierteln und insbesondere großen Wohnanlagen sind durch Moderation und Mediation vor Ort zu entschärfen” (685-686). This utterance yet again employs topos of threat, as the immigration can cause danger to the cities, but it also draws on the hazards of immigrant’s culture – which elicits the topos of culture: precisely because of their culture the immigrants make the living conditions threatening. Another danger, which, according to the Report, can stem from the immigrants, is the religious radicalization: “The perceived pressure in the ethnic “communities” to be strongly engaged in the religious questions is seen as problematic in terms of self-ethnicization” / “Der in ethnischen „communities“ wahrgenommene Druck, sich in religiösen Fragen zu extrovertieren, wird im Sinne einer Selbstethnisierung als

problematisch angesehen” (521-523). The reference to the immigrants’ religions can be possibly classified as a subtype of topos of culture – topos of religion, which evokes and merges with the topos of threat: because their religion is the way it is, certain dangers may arise from it. The use of the Anglicism “communities” can be interpreted as a means of intensifying the utterance; a similar strategy was employed in the Italian Integration Plan. The sentence also employs passivization, which can be interpreted as perspectivation strategy realized through detachment.

It is worth noting, that the Report, similarly to the Directive, sees the importance of equality for immigrants and the majority society. This is mentioned particularly in connection with employment: “Measures against discrimination and the implementation of the equal opportunities are fundamental for the successful integration into the labor market” / “Maßnahmen gegen Diskriminierung und die Schaffung von Chancengleichheit sind auch am Arbeitsmarkt grundlegend für erfolgreiche Integration” (308-309). Through the topos of justice – “equal opportunities” for all – the topos of advantage, specifically, pro bono publico, is realized as all the parties would benefit from the “successful integration”. This idea is continued: “The equal opportunities for immigrants in the labor market promote fair competition between all the workers as well as between the enterprises” / “Die Gleichstellung der Migrant/innen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt fördert den fairen Wettbewerb aller Arbeitskräfte untereinander, aber auch zwischen den Unternehmen” (311-313). The same structure is employed in this utterance – topos of justice (as all employees are equal on the job market) leads to topos of advantage/pro bono public as all the labor market stakeholder profit from the even-handed treatment of immigrant workers. The perspectivation strategy, realized through nominalization, implies detachment. The importance of equality is also mentioned with regards to healthcare: “The hospital association and hospitals in the spirit of quality control have to ensure equal access to healthcare for all patients” / “Krankenanstaltenverbund und Krankenanstalten haben im Sinne der Qualitätssicherung den gleichen Zugang zu Gesundheitsleistungen für alle Patient/innen sicherzustellen” (481-482). Equality serves as a means of securing integration: the immigrants will be integrated if they are equalized in their rights with the Austrian citizens. Therefore: “Equal rights and equal treatment of people with an immigrant background are to be conveyed in all parts of the society.” / “Die Gleichberechtigung und Gleichbehandlung von Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund ist in allen gesellschaftlichen Schichten zu vermitteln” (409-410). This constitutes the topos of authority, as the NAPI says it must be done.

Two separate groups of immigrants are identified in the Report: children/adolescents and women with a migration background. The Report sees them as the primary targets of integration: “In the view of future-oriented integration policy special attention should be paid to the opening of

opportunities for women as well as children and adolescents with a migration background, in particular, the second and third generation, as well as to their specific needs.” / “Im Sinne einer zukunftsorientierten Integrationspolitik ist auf die Eröffnung von Perspektiven für Frauen sowie Kinder und Jugendliche mit Migrationshintergrund, vor allem der 2. und 3. Generation, besonders zu achten und auf ihre spezifischen Bedürfnisse einzugehen” (99-102). While it is undoubtedly important to single out women and minors as groups that need the most help in the integration process, it is unclear why second and especially third generation of immigrants is also considered a target. Women are discursively constructed similarly to the Italian Plan – in need of more support when it comes to language acquisition: “The language course participation support of certain target groups, especially women, is import, as the voluntary language acquisition could be complicated due to the traditions” / “Die Teilnahme an Sprachkursen ist im Hinblick auf die Förderung von Zielgruppen, insbesondere von Frauen, bedeutsam, da der Spracherwerb auf freiwilliger Basis aufgrund traditionsbedingter Einstellungen erschwert werden könnte” (158-160). The focus on foreign women in the field of language learning is justified through the topos of culture – because their culture is as it is, they might have less opportunities to acquire German and therefore would need support from the State. Gender equality is also put into focus: “Equality of treatment for men and women [is] indispensable for integration and societal participation.” “Gleichstellung von Frau und Mann [ist] unverzichtbare Basis für Integration und gesellschaftliche Partizipation” (383-384). The sentence also employs the perspectivation strategy, namely that of detachment, which is manifested in the nominalizing construction. Similarly to the Italian Integration Plan, foreign women are also the primary target in the Healthcare field of action: “There should be specific offers and measures in the area of health protection for immigrant women” / “Für den Schutz der Gesundheit von Migrantinnen soll es spezifische Angebote und Maßnahmen geben” (491-492). Much like the Italian Plan, the Report discusses the growing number of children and adolescents of immigrant background in the Austrian schools and the importance of their integration: “The share of the students with the first language other than German is especially high in the metropolitan areas and is rising further.” / “Der Anteil von Schüler/innen mit nichtdeutscher Erstsprache ist besonders in Ballungszentren hoch und hat eine steigende Tendenz” (142-143). Topos of burden is implied here, as, in other words, the State must act and diminish the burden that are the minors who cannot speak proper German. Apart from that, the Report recognizes the importance of the labor market integration for the young immigrants: “Especially the young immigrants, in particular, educationally disadvantaged adolescents, should have strong support in professional skills development, as there is a high demand for them on the labor market” / “Insbesondere junge Migrant/innen, vor allem bildungsferne Jugendliche, sollen verstärkt in Qualifizierungsmaßnahmen für Berufe einbezogen werden, für die am Arbeitsmarkt eine starke

Nachfrage besteht” (338-340). In this utterance the integration of young immigrant into the Austria workforce is seen as beneficial to country’s labor market – this elicits the topos of advantage/pro bono nobis. Adolescent immigrants are also portrayed as an at-risk group when it comes to criminal activity:

Conveying the constitutional values and their foundations is often insufficient, especially for adolescents, regardless their origin. People who have lacking understanding of the Austrian legal system, are under potential threat of becoming a target group of the organized crime, namely, being considered for recruiting and network building.

Die Vermittlung der rechtsstaatlichen Grundwerte und ihrer Fundamente ist, vor allem bei Jugendlichen ungeachtet ihrer Herkunft, oft unzureichend. Personen, die mangelndes Einverständnis mit der österreichischen Rechtsordnung aufweisen, sind potenziell eher gefährdet, Zielgruppe der organisierten Kriminalität bzw. Zur Rekrutierung und zum Aufbau von Netzwerken herangezogen zu werden. (374-378)

To put it differently, the younger immigrants, unless integrated, can be hazardous to the State, as they can eventually join crime groups. Therefore, the State must do everything to eliminate this threat. So, in this passage integration is advocated for by using the topos of threat. In addition, the passage exhibits the strategy of perspectivation, more precisely, detachment, which is manifested in the text through nominalization in the first and relative clause in the second part of the excerpt.

The perspectivation strategies in the Report are realized by both involvement and detachment, although the latter appears to prevail in the text. As can be seen from several passages discussed above, one of the main manifestations of detachment in the text is the passivization. In many instances, the agent is unclear, however, they might be interpreted from the general context. Nominalization, which conveys detachment as well is also employed in the text as are various complex syntactic structures. A single instance of involvement identified in the text is expressed by means of deictic expression (possessive ‘our’). The intensification strategy, as has been pointed out above, is realized through Anglicisms – similar tendency was observed in the Italian Plan – and deontic modality. Several utterances are mitigated through deontic modality as well. Another expression of mitigation on a macro-level concerns the discussion on “culture” and “traditions” which can be potentially dangerous or hinder the integration process without naming the actual cultures and traditions that are considered a threat.

Generally, the Report exhibits a lot of similarity to the Italian Integration Plan, both in the topics that it discusses as well as in the strategies it employs to advocate for the need of integration. The immigrants in the NAPI are portrayed as such that are at disadvantage to the majority population and it is implied that they could improve their position in Austrian society if they are successfully integrated. The Austrian population is a rather passive actor and there were not so many mentions of it overall. In some instances in the text the immigrant population was even recognized as part

of the overall Austrian population, however, in others, a clear distinction was drawn between the two, thus invoking the need for integration. The Report also seems to agree with the EU understanding of the integration as a two-way process and even calls for equality for immigrants. The integration is discursively constructed as a beneficial process, but also the need for it arises from the unintegrated immigrants being potentially threatening (predominantly because of their culture, traditions or religious beliefs). The Report gives an impression that integration is a continuous, perhaps, never-ending process, as it also discusses the importance of integration of foreign-born Austrian citizens and permanent residents (who, obviously, had to comply with integration requirements) as well as the children and even grandchildren of immigrants, who have lived in the country for their entire lives. Linguistic integration of immigrants is by far the most important issue raised in the Report, as it is seen to be the foundation for further integration. The Report, unlike the other documents, does specify the concrete requirements for linguistic integration, which are imposed on the immigrants willing to obtain entry visas or residence in the State.

6.4 Comparison and discussion of the findings

The most obvious proof of recontextualization of the European Directive and its implementation into the National Plans for Integration are the topics discussed in all three texts. All the Areas of the Italian Plan and nearly all the Fields of Action in the NAPI Report are mentioned in the Directive, at times, however, rather briefly. All three documents discuss the significance of education, labor market integration and legislation, access to housing and healthcare, as well as other social services. Additionally, they all recognize the importance of integration of foreign minors.

The three documents focus on the third-country national/immigrant/foreigner/person with a migration background who is hence the main social actor in the texts. Despite the fact that the term 'third-country national' became widespread in the European legislation years before the Plan for Integration in a Secure Environment and the National Action Plan for Integration were published and exists in both Italian and German, neither of the two resorts to the term, instead choosing to refer to newcomers in a variety of other names. Opposite to them is either the EU/Member State(s) or the State (either Italy or Austria) or the State's population. It is not, though, completely realized in the case of the NAPI Report, as the Austrian population only gets a brief mention in the text.

Immigration and integration of people from outside the Union is generally seen as something positive. However, the beneficiaries are usually the Union, its States or the Union citizens, as they are the ones who profit, mostly economically, from the newcomers. This idea is realized multiple times through the subtype of topos of advantage – pro bono nobis. Another commonly occurring

topos, which is utilized to both defend the necessity of integration and to assign characteristics to immigrants, is the topos of threat. The Directive, along with the Italian Integration Plan, acknowledges that the immigrants express potential hazard in terms of health security. They can be carriers of ‘exotic’ or ‘infectious’ diseases and thus pose a threat to the country or the Community. Aside from that, according to the NAPI Report and the Italian Integration Plan, the unintegrated foreigners can constitute a threat to the national security. In this specific case, the topos of threat is usually supported by the topos of culture, which implies that precisely because of their culture the immigrants can be threatening. The two texts claim that this can result in creation of ghettos, which would be dangerous to the citizens or it can lead to increase in criminal activity – both claims are simply reinforcements of the common stereotypes associated with immigrants. Topos of threat is also elicited in the context of the foreign minors and second and third generation immigrants in the two national documents.

In all fairness, two of the documents discuss the equality of treatment for immigrants. But both in the Directive and in the NAPI Report, this equality (and the topos of justice this claim invokes) is limited. Therefore, the attempt to approximate the rights of the immigrants to those of the EU citizens is not always successful.

In both the NAPI Report and the Italian Integration Plan, special focus is also given to female immigrants, especially with regards to language acquisition. The two texts emphasize the significance of linguistic integration for the foreign women even resorting to intensifying language, but only Austria discusses their integration into the labor market without specifying any legal provisions (like it does for the language acquisition).

As for perspectivation, all three documents employ different strategies. The Directive employs the authoritative third-person perspective, which is realized through a variety of manifestations of the strategy of detachment. The Italian Integration Plan is written entirely from the second-person plural perspective which makes it appear less objective than the other two documents. The NAPI Report employs the combination of both involvement and detachment as even though it, much like the Directive, is written from the authoritative third-person position, there are a few instances of deixis realized through possessives, which contributes to the ‘us vs. them’ divide.

7. Conclusion

Given the current migratory pressures that the EU has to face, it should come at no surprise that the Union as well as its Member States began implementing different frameworks for the migrant integration. Both Italy and Austria began the process of establishing their own integration legislation in the late 2000s, resulting into similar documents. The two countries require immigrants to sign the Integration Agreement, in which the foreigner willing to settle in the

country is obligated to comply with certain conditions, among which the language acquisition is the most important. Italy and Austria also produced the National Action Plans, which are recontextualizations of the EU Directive ‘Concerning the status of the third-country nationals who are long-term residents’. The documents cover certain areas/fields of action with regard to integration, among which the language acquisition is the most prominent as it is perceived as the foundation of any further integration of the immigrant. In both cases, the primary targets are the third-country nationals who either have lived in the country for some time or have just settled in the state.

Integration in all three texts – the Directive and the Italian and Austrian Plans – is understood as a two-way process. This implies that both the immigrants and the host country should actively participate in integration. The state should provide support in the different areas, such as healthcare, housing, social services or employment, while the foreigner must first and foremost acquire the country’s language as well as become aware of the civic values of the state. The Plans, while emphasizing the importance of linguistic integration (by means of language testing, as the immigrant must reach a certain CEFR level of language competence), do not provide any substantial support in language learning, leaving the job to the NGOs instead. The countries appear to fail to adhere to the EU’s devotion to multilingualism, as no rights are given to the immigrant languages.

With the help of the Discourse-Historical Approach to critically analyze the three documents: the EU Council Directive and the two National Plans, it was discovered that all three choose two major arguments to defend the need for integration: 1) it must take place because it is economically beneficial to the Community and the Member States; and 2) the immigrants are different from the EU citizens and can pose a threat, therefore they must be integrated as soon as possible. (the origin of the threat almost always comes from their culture, as it is different from the European one). This infers that the immigrants are seen in the similar ways – as financially profiting as they contribute to the growth of the state’s economy, but also as possible threatening – e.g. they might be criminals or carry potentially dangerous diseases. The states and their population, on the other hand, was either not discussed extensively (in the case of the NAPI Report) or were assigned rather positive attributions.

Several difficulties and limitations were encountered when conducting the study. The main complication was to work with and analyze three texts, which were similar in their content and topics, but were all written in different languages, and two of them therefore required to be translated. Precisely because of the translation, and the fact that there was no information provided regarding the application of the DHA framework to the translated texts, it was rather demanding to conduct the analysis. Only analyzing the Plans, which were just a small part of the integration frameworks in the two countries is a possible limitation of the study. Obviously, a more thorough

analysis including other documents (such as the Integration Agreement) could have been conducted, but this was deemed unattainable plainly due to the lack of space. Therefore, further research based on additional documents is necessary to gain a better picture of the integration discourse in the two countries.

Word count: 32,668

References

Primary sources

- Council of the European Union. 2003. *Directive concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents*. Brussels.
- Council of the European Union. 2011. *Directive amending Council Directive 2003/109/EC to extend its scope to beneficiaries of international protection*. Brussels.
- Piano per l'integrazione nella sicurezza Identità e Incontro./ *The National Plan for Integration in a framework of security*.
http://www.integrazionemigranti.gov.it/Attualita/Approfondimenti/approfondimento/Documenti/mediazione_ITALIA/Piano_Integrazione_Sicurezza.pdf
- Nationaler Aktionsplan für Integration / *The National Action Plan for Integration*.
<https://www.bmeia.gv.at/en/integration/national-action-plan/>

Secondary sources

- Acosta, Diego. 2010. *The Long-Term Residency Status as a Subsidiary Form of EU Citizenship*. Leiden: Brill.
- Al-Azaar, Rima. 2006. "Italian immigration policies: the metaphor of water". *The SAIS Europe Journal*.
- Ammon, Ulrich. 2012. "Language policy in the European Union (EU)". In Spolsky, Bernard (ed.). *The Cambridge handbook of language policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 570-591.
- Avermaet, Piet Van; Extra, Guus; Spotti, Massimiliano. 2009. "Testing regimes for newcomers". In Avermaet, Piet Van; Extra, Guus; Spotti, Massimiliano (eds.). *Language testing, migration and citizenship: cross-national perspectives on integration regimes*. Norfolk: Continuum, 1-34.
- Auer, Peter. 2013. "Enregistering pluricentric German". In da Silva, Augusto Soares (ed.) *Pluricentricity. Language Variation and Sociocognitive Dimensions*. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter Mouton, 19-48.
- Aumüller, Jutta. 2009. *Kontroversen um ein migrationspolitisches Konzept (Kultur und soziale Praxis)*. Bielefeld.
- Bailey, Rayna; Trujillo, Lorenzo A. 2008. *Immigration and migration*. New York : Facts On File.
- Bertossi, Christophe. 2011. "National models of integration in Europe: a comparative and critical analysis". *American Behavioral Scientist* 55 (12), 1561-1580.
- Biffl, Godrun. 2016. *Migration and labor integration in Austria*. Krems: Danube University Krems.
- Bisin, Alberto; Patacchini, Eleonora. 2012. "Cultural integration in Italy". In Algan, Yann; Bisin, Alberto; Manning, Alan; Verdier, Thierry (eds.). *Cultural integration of immigrants in Europe*. Oxford Scholarship Online, 125-147.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2005. *Discourse: A critical introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bonifazi, Corrado; Heins, Frank; Strozza, Salvatore; Vitiello, Mattia. 2009. "Italy: the Italian transition from an emigration to immigration country". *IDEA Working Papers*, 1-92.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Breeze, Ruth. 2011. "Critical Discourse Analysis and its critics". *Pragmatics* 21 (4), 493-525.
- Brünner, Gisela. Graefen, Gabriele. 1994. *Methoden und Forschungsergebnisse der Funktionalen Pragmatik*. Leverkusen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Bundesverfassung. 2018.
https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/GeltendeFassung.wxe?Abfrage=Bundesnormen&Gesetze_snummer=10000138
- Caneva, Elena. 2014. "The integration of migrants in Italy: an overview of policy instruments and actors". *INTERACT Research Report*.
- Carrera, Sergio; Atger, Anaïs Faure. 2011. *Integration as a Two-Way Process in the EU? Assessing the Relationship between the European Integration Fund and the Common Basic Principles on Integration*. CEPS: Paperbacks.
- Cerruti, Massimo. 2011. "Regional varieties of Italian in the linguistic repertoire". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*.
- Cuttitta, Paolo. 2014. "Mandatory integration measures and differential inclusion: the Italian case". *International Migration & Integration* 17, 289-302.
- De Cillia, Rudolf; Wodak, Ruth. 2002. "Zwischen Monolingualität und Mehrsprachigkeit. Zur Geschichte der österreichischen Sprachenpolitik". In Barkowski, Hans; Faistauer, Renate (eds.). ...in *Sachen Deutsch als Fremdsprache*. Berlin: Schneider Verlag, 12-27.
- De Cillia, Rudolph; Jutta, Ransmayr; Fink, Ilona Elisabeth. 2011. *Österreichisches Deutsch als Unterrichts- und Bildungssprache an österreichischen Schulen*. Bundesministerium für Bildung und Frauen.
- Demata, Massimiliano. 2014. "English Interferences in Italian Journalism: the Use of Anglicisms in *Il Fatto Quotidiano*". In Toretta, D. (ed.). *Contacts*. Modugno, 119-134.
- European Association for the Education of Adults (EAEA). 2011. *Country report on adult education in Italy*. Helsinki: EAEA.
- European Commission. 2003. *Communication on immigration, integration and employment*. European Commission. 2005. *A common agenda for integration: framework for integration of the third-country nationals in the European Union*. Brussels.
- European Commission. 2016. *Action Plan on the integration of the third country nationals*. Brussels.
- European Commission. 2017. *Migration and Home Affairs*.
https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies_en
- European Parliament. 1997. *Treaty of Amsterdam Amending the Treaty of the European Union, the Treaties Establishing the European Communities and Certain Related Acts*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publication of the European Communities.
- European Parliament. 2017. *Fact Sheets on the European Union: Language Policy*.
http://www.europarl.europa.eu/atyourservice/en/displayFtu.html?ftuId=FTU_3.6.6.html
- European Union. 2000. *EU Motto*. https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/symbols/motto_en
- EUROSTAT. 2018. *Foreign language learning statistics*.
http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics.explained/index.php/Foreign_language_learning_statistics
- EUROSTAT. 2018. *Migration and Population Statistics*.
https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics

- Faingold, Eduardo. 2015. "Language rights in the European Union and the Treaty of Lisbon". *Language Problems & Language Planning* 39(1), 33-49.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1995. *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2012. "Critical Discourse Analysis". *International advances in engineering and technology* 7, 452-487.
- Fairclough, Isabela; Fairclough, Norman. 2012. *Political discourse analysis: a method for advanced students*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, Norman. 2013. "Critical discourse analysis and critical policy studies". *Critical Policy Studies* 7 (2), 177-197.
- Fishman, Joshua. 1968. "Sociolinguistics and the language problems of the developing countries". In Fishman, Joshua (ed.). *Language problems of the developing nations*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 3-16.
- Flowerdew, John. 2008. "Critical discourse analysis and strategies of resistance" In Bhatia, Vijay; Flowerdew, John; Jones, Rodney (eds.). *Advances in discourse studies*, 195-211.
- Flowerdew, John. 2013. *Discourse in English language education*. London: Routledge.
- Flowerdew, John; Richardson, John. 2018. "Introduction". In Flowerdew, John; Richardson, John (eds.). *The Routledge handbook of critical discourse studies*. Abingdon: Routledge, 1-11.
- Forchtner, Bernhard. 2011. "Critique, the discourse-historical approach, and the Frankfurt School". *Critical Discourse Studies* 8 (1), 1-14.
- Foucault, Michel. 1982. "The subject and power". In Dreyfus, Hubert; Rabinow, Paul (eds.). *Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 208-226.
- García, Ofelia; Peltz, Rakhmiel; Schiffman, Harold; Fishman, Joshua. 2006. *Language loyalty, continuity and change: Joshua A. Fishman's contributions to international sociolinguistics*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Geddes, Andrew; Scholten, Peter. 2016. *The politics of migration and immigration in Europe*. Chennai: SAGE.
- Gruber, Oliver; Mattes, Astrid; Stadlmair, Jeremias. 2016. "Die meritokratische Neugestaltung der österreichischen Integrationspolitik zwischen Rhetorik und Policy". *Austrian Journal of Political Science* 45 (1), 65-80.
- Guerini, Federica. 2011. "Language policy and ideology in Italy". *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 210, 109-126.
- Haig, Edward. 2004. *Some Observations on the Critique of Critical Discourse Analysis*. Nagoya University.
- Hansen, Randall. 2003. "Migration to Europe since 1945: its history and lessons". *The Political Quarterly* 74 (1), 25-38.
- Hammersley, Martyn. 1997. On the foundations of critical discourse analysis. *Language and Communication* 17, 237-248.
- International Organization for Migration. 2018. *Key Migration Terms*. <https://www.iom.int/key-migration-terms>
- Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (ISTAT). 2018. *Società e Istituzioni*.
- Ives, Peter. 2004. *Language and Hegemony in Gramsci*. London: Pluto Press.
- Johnson, David Cassels. 2013. *Language policy*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Joppke, Christian. 2007. "Beyond national models of models: civic integration policies for immigrants in Western Europe". *West European Policies* 30 (1), 1-22.
- Justice and Home Affairs Council. 2004. *Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration*.

- Kaplan, Robert; Baldauf, Richard. 1997. *Language planning: from practice to theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Kienpointner, Manfred. 1992. *Alltagslogik*. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommannholzboog.
- Kraler, Albert. 2012. "The case of Austria". In Zincone, Giovanna; Penninx, Rens; Borkert, Maren (eds.). *Migration policymaking in Europe: the dynamics of actors and contexts in past and present*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 21-60.
- Krzyzanowski, Michal; Wodak, Ruth. 2001. "Hegemonic multiculturalism in/of the EU institutions: an inside-outside perspective on European language policies and practices". In Hülmbauer, Cornelia; Vetter, Eva; Böhringer, Haike (eds.). *Mehrsprachigkeit aus der Perspektive zweier EU-Projekte: DYLAN meets LINEE*. Frankfurt-am-Main: Peter Lang.
- Kuzelewska, Elzbieta. 2014. "Unity in diversity: the language policy of the European Union". *Studies in logic, grammar and rhetoric* 38 (51), 151-165.
- Krumm, Hans-Jürgen; Plutzar, Verena. 2010. *Tailoring language provision and requirements to the needs and capacities of adult migrants*. Council of Europe. <https://rm.coe.int/16802fc1c8>
- Language Policy Unit. 2001. *Common European Framework of Reference for languages: learning, teaching, assessment*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.
- Legge 482. 1999. "Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche".
- Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants (LIAM). 2014. *Linguistic integration of adult migrants: policy and practice. Final report on the 3rd Council of Europe Survey*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.
- Love, Stephanie. 2014. "Language testing, 'integration' and subtractive multilingualism in Italy: challenges for adult immigrant second language and literacy education". *Current Issues in Language Planning* 16 (1-2), 26-42.
- Mastromarino, Martina. 2016. *English and Italian in Italy: from the second Europeanization to Dillo in Italiano*. Università degli Studi di Padova.
- McCarty, Theresa. 2011. "Introducing ethnography and language policy". In McCarthy, Theresa (ed.). *Ethnography and language policy*. New York: Routledge.
- Merlino, Massimo. 2009. "The Italian (In) Security Package: security vs. rule of law and fundamental rights in the EU". *Challenge: Liberty and Security* 14, 1-34.
- Migration Policy Institute. 2017. *Immigrant Integration*. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/topics/immigrant-integration>
- Niessen, Jan; Huddleston, Thomas. 2010. *Handbook on integration for policy-makers and practitioners*. European Commission.
- Nusche, Deborah; Shewbridge, Claire; Rasmussen, Christian Lamhauge. 2009. *OECD. Reviews of migrant education: Austria*. OECD.
- OECD. 2014. *Jobs for immigrants. Labor market integration in Italy*. OECD Publishing.
- Österreichische Integrationsfonds. 2018. <https://www.integrationsfonds.at/>
- Peers, Steve; Rogers, Nicola. 2006. *EU immigration and asylum law: text and commentary*. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Perchinig, Bernhard. 2012. "The national policy frames for the integration of newcomers: comparative report". *Promoting Sustainable Policies for Integration (PROSINT)*.
- Permoser, Julia Mourao. 2012. "Civic integration as symbolic politics: insights from Austria". *European Journal of Migration and Law* 14, 173-198.
- Permoser, Julia Mourao; Rosenberger; Sieglinde. 2012. "Integration policy in Austria". In Frideres, James; Biles, John (eds.). *International perspectives: integration and inclusion*, 39-58.

- Portnoy, Katherine. "Grüss Gott!" a study of Austrian identity through language". MA thesis, Bowling Green State University.
- Ransmayr, Jutta. 2015. "Monolingual country? Multilingual society. Aspects of language use in public administration in Austria". *Contributions to the EFNIL Conference 2015 in Helsinki*.
- Reisigl, Martin. 2018. "The discourse-historical approach". In Flowerdew, John; Richardson, John (eds.). *The Routledge handbook of critical discourse studies*. Abingdon: Routledge, 44-59.
- Ricento, Thomas. 2006. "Theoretical perspectives in language policy: an overview". In Ricento, Thomas (ed.). *An introduction to language policy: theory and method*. India: Blackwell, 3-9.
- Schiffman, Harold. 1996. *Linguistic culture and language policy*. London: Routledge.
- Schiffman, Harold. 2006. "Language policy and linguistic culture". In Ricento, Thomas (ed.). *An introduction to Language Policy: theory and method*. India: Blackwell, 111-126.
- Schropper, Isabel. 2013. "Austria, migration, mid-19th century to present". In Ness, Immanuel (ed.). *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration vol.2*, 1-15.
- Shohamy, Illanah. 2006. *Language policy: hidden agendas and new approaches*. London: Routledge.
- Spahl, Wanda; Weiss, Sabine; Kohlenberger, Judith; Buber-Ennsner, Isabella. 2017. *Immigration and the Social Welfare State in Austria, Germany and Switzerland: A Comparative Meta-Study*. Vienna Institute of Demography. Working Papers.
- Spolsky, Bernard. 2012. "What is language policy?" In Spolsky, Bernard (ed.). *The Cambridge handbook of language policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 3-15.
- Stubbs, Michael. 1994. "Grammar, text and ideology. Computer-assisted methods in the linguistics of representation". *Applied Linguistics* 15 (2), 201-223.
- Szul, Roman. 2015. "(In)Equality of languages in the EU and its economic and political consequences". *Politeja* 8 (31/2), 67-79.
- Tollefson, James. 1991. *Planning language, planning inequality*. Singapore: Longman.
- Tosi, Arturo. 2004. "The language situation in Italy". *Current Issues in Language Planning* 5 (3), 247-355.
- United Nations Population Fund. 2018. *Migration*. <https://www.unfpa.org/migration>
- Van der Jeught, Stephan. 2015. *EU language law*. Amsterdam: Europa Law Publishing.
- Van Dijk, Teun. 1993. "Principles of critical discourse analysis". *Discourse & Society* 4 (2), 249-283.
- Van Dijk, Teun. 1998. *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London: Sage.
- Van Dijk, Teun. 2001. "Critical discourse analysis". In Schiffrin, Deborah; Tannen, Deborah; Hamilton, Heidi (eds.). *The handbook of discourse analysis*, 352-371.
- Van Dijk, Teun. 2016. "Critical discourse studies: a sociocognitive approach". In Wodak, Ruth; Meyer Michael (eds.). *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*. London: Sage, 62-85.
- Van Dijk, Teun. 2018. "Socio-cognitive discourse studies". In Flowerdew, John; Richardson, John (eds.). *The Routledge handbook of critical discourse studies*. Abingdon: Routledge, 26-43.
- Van Els, Theo. 2005. "The European Union, its institutions and its languages: some language political observations". In Kaplan, Robert; Baldauf Richard (eds.). *Language Policy and Planning in Europe. Vol 2*. Clevedon: Language Matters, 202-251.
- Van Leeuwen, Theo. 2006. "Critical Discourse Analysis". In Brown, Keith (ed.). *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. Oxford: Elsevier, 290-294.

- Van Mol, Christof; de Valk, Helga. 2016. "Migration and Immigrants in Europe: A Historical and Demographic Perspective". In Garcés-Mascareñas, Blanca; Penninx, Rinnux (eds). *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*. New York: Springer, 31-55.
- Weber, Max. 1978. *Economy and society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Widdowson, Henry. 1995. "Discourse analysis: A critical view". *Language and Literature* 4 (3), 157-172.
- Widdowson, Henry. 2004. *Text, context, pretext: critical issues in discourse analysis*. New Jersey: Blackwell.
- Wodak, Ruth. 2001. "What CDA is about – a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments". In Wodak, Ruth, Meyer, Michael (eds.). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, 1-13.
- Wodak, Ruth. 2002. "Aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis". *Zeitschrift für Angewandte Linguistik* 36, 5-31.
- Wodak, Ruth. 2007. "What is Critical Discourse Analysis?". *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 8 (2), Article 29.
- Wodak, Ruth. 2011. "Critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis". In Zienkowski, Jan; Östman, Jan-Ola; Verschueren, Jef (eds.). *Discursive pragmatics*, 50-70.
- Wodak, Ruth. 2015. "Critical discourse analysis, discourse-historical approach". In Tracy, Karen; Sandel, Todd; Ilie, Cornelia (eds.). *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction*. London: Blackwell, 2-15.
- Wodak, Ruth; Fairclough, Norman. 1997. "Critical discourse analysis". In Van Dijk, Teun (ed.). *Discourse as social interaction*. London: Sage, 258-284.
- Wodak, Ruth; Reisigl, Martin. 2001. *Discourse and discrimination: rhetorics of racism and antisemitism*. London: Routledge.
- Wodak, Ruth; de Cillia, Rudolf; Reisigl, Martin; Liebhart, Karin. 2009. *The discursive construction of national identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Wodak, Ruth; Meyer, Michael. 2009. "Critical discourse analysis: history, agenda, theory and methodology". In Wodak, Ruth; Meyer Michael (eds.). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Sage, 1-33.
- Wodak, Ruth; Krzyzanowski, Michal. 2011. *The politics of exclusion: debating migration in Austria*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Wodak, Ruth; Boukala, Salomi. 2015. "(Supra)national identity and language: rethinking national and European migration policies and the linguistic integration of migrants". *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 35, 253-273.
- Wodak, Ruth; Meyer Michael. 2016. *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*. London: Sage.
- Žagar, Igor Ž. 2010. „Topoi in Critical Discourse Analysis". *Lodz Papers in Pragmatics* 6.1 (2010), 3-27.
- Zincone, Giovanna. 2006. "Italian immigrants and immigration policy-making: structures, actors and practices". *IMMISCOE Working Papers*.

Appendix 1

Council Directive 2003/109/EC

of 25 November 2003

concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents

THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION,

Having regard to the Treaty establishing the European Community, and in particular Article 63(3) and (4) thereof,

Having regard to the proposal from the Commission(1),

Having regard to the opinion of the European Parliament(2),

Having regard to the opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee(3),

Having regard to the opinion of the Committee of the Regions(4),

Whereas:

(1) With a view to the progressive establishment of an area of freedom, security and justice, the Treaty establishing the European Community provides both for the adoption of measures aimed at ensuring the free movement of persons, in conjunction with flanking measures relating to external border controls, asylum and immigration, and for the adoption of measures relating to asylum, immigration and safeguarding the rights of third-country nationals.

(2) The European Council, at its special meeting in Tampere on 15 and 16 October 1999, stated that the legal status of third-country nationals should be approximated to that of Member States' nationals and that a person who has resided legally in a Member State for a period of time to be determined and who holds a long-term residence permit should be granted in that Member State a set of uniform rights which are as near as possible to those enjoyed by citizens of the European Union.

(3) This Directive respects the fundamental rights and observes the principles recognised in particular by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and by the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.

(4) The integration of third-country nationals who are long-term residents in the Member States is a key element in promoting economic and social cohesion, a fundamental objective of the Community stated in the Treaty.

(5) Member States should give effect to the provisions of this Directive without discrimination on the basis of sex, race, colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic characteristics, language, religion or beliefs, political or other opinions, membership of a national minority, fortune, birth, disabilities, age or sexual orientation.

(6) The main criterion for acquiring the status of long-term resident should be the duration of residence in the territory of a Member State. Residence should be both legal and continuous in order to show that the person has put down roots in the country. Provision should be made for a degree of flexibility so that account can be taken of circumstances in which a person might have to leave the territory on a temporary basis.

37 (7) To acquire long-term resident status, third-country nationals should prove that they have adequate
38 resources and sickness insurance, to avoid becoming a burden for the Member State. Member States,
39 when making an assessment of the possession of stable and regular resources may take into account
40 factors such as contributions to the pension system and fulfilment of tax obligations.

41 (8) Moreover, third-country nationals who wish to acquire and maintain long-term resident status
42 should not constitute a threat to public policy or public security. The notion of public policy may cover
43 a conviction for committing a serious crime.

44 (9) Economic considerations should not be a ground for refusing to grant long-term resident status and
45 shall not be considered as interfering with the relevant conditions.

46 (10) A set of rules governing the procedures for the examination of application for long-term resident
47 status should be laid down. Those procedures should be effective and manageable, taking account of
48 the normal workload of the Member States' administrations, as well as being transparent and fair, in
49 order to offer appropriate legal certainty to those concerned. They should not constitute a means of
50 hindering the exercise of the right of residence.

51 (11) The acquisition of long-term resident status should be certified by residence permits enabling
52 those concerned to prove their legal status easily and immediately. Such residence permits should also
53 satisfy high-level technical standards, notably as regards protection against falsification and
54 counterfeiting, in order to avoid abuses in the Member State in which the status is acquired and in
55 Member States in which the right of residence is exercised.

56 (12) In order to constitute a genuine instrument for the integration of long-term residents into society
57 in which they live, long-term residents should enjoy equality of treatment with citizens of the Member
58 State in a wide range of economic and social matters, under the relevant conditions defined by this
59 Directive.

60 (13) With regard to social assistance, the possibility of limiting the benefits for long-term residents to
61 core benefits is to be understood in the sense that this notion covers at least minimum income support,
62 assistance in case of illness, pregnancy, parental assistance and long-term care. The modalities for
63 granting such benefits should be determined by national law.

64 (14) The Member States should remain subject to the obligation to afford access for minors to the
65 educational system under conditions similar to those laid down for their nationals.

66 (15) The notion of study grants in the field of vocational training does not cover measures which are
67 financed under social assistance schemes. Moreover, access to study grants may be dependent on the
68 fact that the person who applies for such grants fulfils on his/her own the conditions for acquiring
69 long-term resident status. As regards the issuing of study grants, Member States may take into account
70 the fact that Union citizens may benefit from this same advantage in the country of origin.

71 (16) Long-term residents should enjoy reinforced protection against expulsion. This protection is based
72 on the criteria determined by the decisions of the European Court of Human Rights. In order to ensure
73 protection against expulsion Member States should provide for effective legal redress.

74 (17) Harmonisation of the terms for acquisition of long-term resident status promotes mutual
75 confidence between Member States. Certain Member States issue permits with a permanent or
76 unlimited validity on conditions that are more favourable than those provided for by this Directive.
77 The possibility of applying more favourable national provisions is not excluded by the Treaty.
78 However, for the purposes of this Directive, it should be provided that permits issued on more
79 favourable terms do not confer the right to reside in other Member States.

80 (18) Establishing the conditions subject to which the right to reside in another Member State may be
81 acquired by third-country nationals who are long-term residents should contribute to the effective
82 attainment of an internal market as an area in which the free movement of persons is ensured. It could
83 also constitute a major factor of mobility, notably on the Union's employment market.

84 (19) Provision should be made that the right of residence in another Member State may be exercised in
85 order to work in an employed or self-employed capacity, to study or even to settle without exercising
86 any form of economic activity.

87 (20) Family members should also be able to settle in another Member State with a long-term resident
88 in order to preserve family unity and to avoid hindering the exercise of the long-term resident's right of
89 residence. With regard to the family members who may be authorised to accompany or to join the
90 long-term residents, Member States should pay special attention to the situation of disabled adult
91 children and of first-degree relatives in the direct ascending line who are dependent on them.

92 (21) The Member State in which a long-term resident intends to exercise his/her right of residence
93 should be able to check that the person concerned meets the conditions for residing in its territory. It
94 should also be able to check that the person concerned does not constitute a threat to public policy,
95 public security or public health.

96 (22) To avoid rendering the right of residence nugatory, long-term residents should enjoy in the second
97 Member State the same treatment, under the conditions defined by this Directive, they enjoy in the
98 Member State in which they acquired the status. The granting of benefits under social assistance is
99 without prejudice to the possibility for the Member States to withdraw the residence permit if the
100 person concerned no longer fulfils the requirements set by this Directive.

101 (23) Third-country nationals should be granted the possibility of acquiring long-term resident status in
102 the Member State where they have moved and have decided to settle under comparable conditions to
103 those required for its acquisition in the first Member State.

104 (24) Since the objectives of the proposed action, namely the determination of terms for granting and
105 withdrawing long-term resident status and the rights pertaining thereto and terms for the exercise of
106 rights of residence by long-term residents in other Member States, cannot be sufficiently achieved by
107 the Member States and can therefore, by reason of the scale and effects of the action, be better
108 achieved by the Community, the Community may adopt measures, in accordance with the principle of
109 subsidiarity as set out in Article 5 of the Treaty. In accordance with the principle of proportionality, as
110 set out in that Article, this Directive does not go beyond what is necessary to achieve those objectives.

111 (25) In accordance with Articles 1 and 2 of the Protocol on the position of the United Kingdom and
112 Ireland, annexed to the Treaty on European Union and to the Treaty establishing the European
113 Community, and without prejudice to Article 4 of the said Protocol, these Member States are not
114 participating in the adoption of this Directive and are not bound by or subject to its application.

115 (26) In accordance with Articles 1 and 2 of the Protocol on the position of Denmark, annexed to the
116 Treaty on European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community, Denmark does not
117 take part in the adoption of this Directive, and is not bound by it or subject to its application,

118 HAS ADOPTED THIS DIRECTIVE:

119

120

121

122

123

124
125

126
127

128

129

130

131
132

133
134

135
136

137
138
139

140
141
142

143
144
145

146
147

CHAPTER I

GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1

Subject matter

- This Directive determines:
- (a) the terms for conferring and withdrawing long-term resident status granted by a Member State in relation to third-country nationals legally residing in its territory, and the rights pertaining thereto; and
 - (b) the terms of residence in Member States other than the one which conferred long-term status on them for third-country nationals enjoying that status.

Article 2

Definitions

- For the purposes of this Directive:
- (a) "third-country national" means any person who is not a citizen of the Union within the meaning of Article 17(1) of the Treaty;
 - (b) "long-term resident" means any third-country national who has long-term resident status as provided for under Articles 4 to 7;
 - (c) "first Member State" means the Member State which for the first time granted long-term resident status to a third-country national;
 - (d) "second Member State" means any Member State other than the one which for the first time granted long-term resident status to a third-country national and in which that long-term resident exercises the right of residence;
 - (e) "family members" means the third-country nationals who reside in the Member State concerned in accordance with Council Directive 2003/86/EC of 22 September 2003 on the right to family reunification(5);
 - (f) "refugee" means any third-country national enjoying refugee status within the meaning of the Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951, as amended by the Protocol signed in New York on 31 January 1967;
 - (g) "long-term resident's EC residence permit" means a residence permit issued by the Member State concerned upon the acquisition of long-term resident status.

Scope

- 150 1. This Directive applies to third-country nationals residing legally in the territory of a Member State.
- 151 2. This Directive does not apply to third-country nationals who:
- 152 (a) reside in order to pursue studies or vocational training;
- 153 (b) are authorised to reside in a Member State on the basis of temporary protection or have applied for
154 authorisation to reside on that basis and are awaiting a decision on their status;
- 155 (c) are authorised to reside in a Member State on the basis of a subsidiary form of protection in
156 accordance with international obligations, national legislation or the practice of the Member States or
157 have applied for authorisation to reside on that basis and are awaiting a decision on their status;
- 158 (d) are refugees or have applied for recognition as refugees and whose application has not yet given
159 rise to a final decision;
- 160 (e) reside solely on temporary grounds such as au pair or seasonal worker, or as workers posted by a
161 service provider for the purposes of cross-border provision of services, or as cross-border providers of
162 services or in cases where their residence permit has been formally limited;
- 163 (f) enjoy a legal status governed by the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961, the
164 Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963, the Convention of 1969 on Special Missions or the
165 Vienna Convention on the Representation of States in their Relations with International Organisations
166 of a Universal Character of 1975.
- 167 3. This Directive shall apply without prejudice to more favourable provisions of:
- 168 (a) bilateral and multilateral agreements between the Community or the Community and its Member
169 States, on the one hand, and third countries, on the other;
- 170 (b) bilateral agreements already concluded between a Member State and a third country before the date
171 of entry into force of this Directive;
- 172 (c) the European Convention on Establishment of 13 December 1955, the European Social Charter of
173 18 October 1961, the amended European Social Charter of 3 May 1987 and the European Convention
174 on the Legal Status of the community Workers of 24 November 1977.

CHAPTER II**LONG-TERM RESIDENT STATUS IN A MEMBER STATE****Article 4****Duration of residence**

179 1. Member States shall grant long-term resident status to third-country nationals who have resided
180 legally and continuously within its territory for five years immediately prior to the submission of the
181 relevant application.

182 2. Periods of residence for the reasons referred to in Article 3(2)(e) and (f) shall not be taken into
183 account for the purposes of calculating the period referred to in paragraph 1.

184 Regarding the cases covered in Article 3(2)(a), where the third-country national concerned has
185 acquired a title of residence which will enable him/her to be granted long-term resident status, only
186 half of the periods of residence for study purposes or vocational training may be taken into account in
187 the calculation of the period referred to in paragraph 1.

188 3. Periods of absence from the territory of the Member State concerned shall not interrupt the period
189 referred to in paragraph 1 and shall be taken into account for its calculation where they are shorter than
190 six consecutive months and do not exceed in total 10 months within the period referred to in paragraph
191 1.

192 In cases of specific or exceptional reasons of a temporary nature and in accordance with their national
193 law, Member States may accept that a longer period of absence than that which is referred to in the
194 first subparagraph shall not interrupt the period referred to in paragraph 1. In such cases Member
195 States shall not take into account the relevant period of absence in the calculation of the period referred
196 to in paragraph 1.

197 By way of derogation from the second subparagraph, Member States may take into account in the
198 calculation of the total period referred to in paragraph 1 periods of absence relating to secondment for
199 employment purposes, including the provision of cross-border services.

200

Article 5

201

Conditions for acquiring long-term resident status

202 1. Member States shall require third-country nationals to provide evidence that they have, for
203 themselves and for dependent family members:

204 (a) stable and regular resources which are sufficient to maintain himself/herself and the members of
205 his/her family, without recourse to the social assistance system of the Member State concerned.
206 Member States shall evaluate these resources by reference to their nature and regularity and may take
207 into account the level of minimum wages and pensions prior to the application for long-term resident
208 status;

209 (b) sickness insurance in respect of all risks normally covered for his/her own nationals in the Member
210 State concerned.

211 2. Member States may require third-country nationals to comply with integration conditions, in
212 accordance with national law.

213

Article 6

214

Public policy and public security

215 1. Member States may refuse to grant long-term resident status on grounds of public policy or public
216 security.

217 When taking the relevant decision, the Member State shall consider the severity or type of offence
218 against public policy or public security, or the danger that emanates from the person concerned, while
219 also having proper regard to the duration of residence and to the existence of links with the country of
220 residence.

221 2. The refusal referred to in paragraph 1 shall not be founded on economic considerations.

222 Article 7

223 Acquisition of long-term resident status

224 1. To acquire long-term resident status, the third-country national concerned shall lodge an application
225 with the competent authorities of the Member State in which he/she resides. The application shall be
226 accompanied by documentary evidence to be determined by national law that he/she meets the
227 conditions set out in Articles 4 and 5 as well as, if required, by a valid travel document or its certified
228 copy.

229 The evidence referred to in the first subparagraph may also include documentation with regard to
230 appropriate accommodation.

231 2. The competent national authorities shall give the applicant written notification of the decision as
232 soon as possible and in any event no later than six months from the date on which the application was
233 lodged. Any such decision shall be notified to the third-country national concerned in accordance with
234 the notification procedures under the relevant national legislation.

235 In exceptional circumstances linked to the complexity of the examination of the application, the time
236 limit referred to in the first subparagraph may be extended.

237 In addition, the person concerned shall be informed about his/her rights and obligations under this
238 Directive.

239 Any consequences of no decision being taken by the end of the period provided for in this provision
240 shall be determined by national legislation of the relevant Member State.

241 3. If the conditions provided for by Articles 4 and 5 are met, and the person does not represent a threat
242 within the meaning of Article 6, the Member State concerned shall grant the third-country national
243 concerned long-term resident status.

244 Article 8

245 Long-term resident's EC residence permit

246 1. The status as long-term resident shall be permanent, subject to Article 9.

247 2. Member States shall issue a long-term resident's EC residence permit to long-term residents. The
248 permit shall be valid at least for five years; it shall, upon application if required, be automatically
249 renewable on expiry.

250 3. A long-term resident's EC residence permit may be issued in the form of a sticker or of a separate
251 document. It shall be issued in accordance with the rules and standard model as set out in Council
252 Regulation (EC) No 1030/2002 of 13 June 2002 laying down a uniform format for residence permits
253 for third-country nationals(6). Under the heading "type of permit", the Member States shall enter
254 "long-term resident - EC".

255 Article 9

256 **Withdrawal or loss of status**

257 1. Long-term residents shall no longer be entitled to maintain long-term resident status in the following
258 cases:

259 (a) detection of fraudulent acquisition of long-term resident status;

260 (b) adoption of an expulsion measure under the conditions provided for in Article 12;

261 (c) in the event of absence from the territory of the Community for a period of 12 consecutive months.

262 2. By way of derogation from paragraph 1(c), Member States may provide that absences exceeding 12
263 consecutive months or for specific or exceptional reasons shall not entail withdrawal or loss of status.

264 3. Member States may provide that the long-term resident shall no longer be entitled to maintain
265 his/her long-term resident status in cases where he/she constitutes a threat to public policy, in
266 consideration of the seriousness of the offences he/she committed, but such threat is not a reason for
267 expulsion within the meaning of Article 12.

268 4. The long-term resident who has resided in another Member State in accordance with Chapter III
269 shall no longer be entitled to maintain his/her long-term resident status acquired in the first Member
270 State when such a status is granted in another Member State pursuant to Article 23.

271 In any case after six years of absence from the territory of the Member State that granted long-term
272 resident status the person concerned shall no longer be entitled to maintain his/her long term resident
273 status in the said Member State.

274 By way of derogation from the second subparagraph the Member State concerned may provide that for
275 specific reasons the long-term resident shall maintain his/her status in the said Member State in case of
276 absences for a period exceeding six years.

277 5. With regard to the cases referred to in paragraph 1(c) and in paragraph 4, Member States who have
278 granted the status shall provide for a facilitated procedure for the re-acquisition of long-term resident
279 status.

280 The said procedure shall apply in particular to the cases of persons that have resided in a second
281 Member State on grounds of pursuit of studies.

282 The conditions and the procedure for the re-acquisition of long-term resident status shall be determined
283 by national law.

284 6. The expiry of a long-term resident's EC residence permit shall in no case entail withdrawal or loss of
285 long-term resident status.

286 7. Where the withdrawal or loss of long-term resident status does not lead to removal, the Member
287 State shall authorise the person concerned to remain in its territory if he/she fulfils the conditions
288 provided for in its national legislation and/or if he/she does not constitute a threat to public policy or
289 public security.

290 Article 10

291 **Procedural guarantees**

292 1. Reasons shall be given for any decision rejecting an application for long-term resident status or
293 withdrawing that status. Any such decision shall be notified to the third-country national concerned in
294 accordance with the notification procedures under the relevant national legislation. The notification
295 shall specify the redress procedures available and the time within which he/she may act.

296 2. Where an application for long-term resident status is rejected or that status is withdrawn or lost or
297 the residence permit is not renewed, the person concerned shall have the right to mount a legal
298 challenge in the Member State concerned.

299 Article 11

300 **Equal treatment**

301 1. Long-term residents shall enjoy equal treatment with nationals as regards:

302 (a) access to employment and self-employed activity, provided such activities do not entail even
303 occasional involvement in the exercise of public authority, and conditions of employment and working
304 conditions, including conditions regarding dismissal and remuneration;

305 (b) education and vocational training, including study grants in accordance with national law;

306 (c) recognition of professional diplomas, certificates and other qualifications, in accordance with the
307 relevant national procedures;

308 (d) social security, social assistance and social protection as defined by national law;

309 (e) tax benefits;

310 (f) access to goods and services and the supply of goods and services made available to the public and
311 to procedures for obtaining housing;

312 (g) freedom of association and affiliation and membership of an organisation representing workers or
313 employers or of any organisation whose members are engaged in a specific occupation, including the
314 benefits conferred by such organisations, without prejudice to the national provisions on public policy
315 and public security;

316 (h) free access to the entire territory of the Member State concerned, within the limits provided for by
317 the national legislation for reasons of security.

318 2. With respect to the provisions of paragraph 1, points (b), (d), (e), (f) and (g), the Member State
319 concerned may restrict equal treatment to cases where the registered or usual place of residence of the

320 long-term resident, or that of family members for whom he/she claims benefits, lies within the territory
321 of the Member State concerned.

322 3. Member States may restrict equal treatment with nationals in the following cases:

323 (a) Member States may retain restrictions to access to employment or self-employed activities in cases
324 where, in accordance with existing national or Community legislation, these activities are reserved to
325 nationals, EU or EEA citizens;

326 (b) Member States may require proof of appropriate language proficiency for access to education and
327 training. Access to university may be subject to the fulfilment of specific educational prerequisites.

328 4. Member States may limit equal treatment in respect of social assistance and social protection to core
329 benefits.

330 5. Member States may decide to grant access to additional benefits in the areas referred to in paragraph
331 1.

332 Member States may also decide to grant equal treatment with regard to areas not covered in paragraph
333 1.

334 Article 12

335 **Protection against expulsion**

336 1. Member States may take a decision to expel a long-term resident solely where he/she constitutes an
337 actual and sufficiently serious threat to public policy or public security.

338 2. The decision referred to in paragraph 1 shall not be founded on economic considerations.

339 3. Before taking a decision to expel a long-term resident, Member States shall have regard to the
340 following factors:

341 (a) the duration of residence in their territory;

342 (b) the age of the person concerned;

343 (c) the consequences for the person concerned and family members;

344 (d) links with the country of residence or the absence of links with the country of origin.

345 4. Where an expulsion decision has been adopted, a judicial redress procedure shall be available to the
346 long-term resident in the Member State concerned.

347 5. Legal aid shall be given to long-term residents lacking adequate resources, on the same terms as
348 apply to nationals of the State where they reside.

349 Article 13

350 **More favourable national provisions**

351 Member States may issue residence permits of permanent or unlimited validity on terms that are more
352 favourable than those laid down by this Directive. Such residence permits shall not confer the right of
353 residence in the other Member States as provided by Chapter III of this Directive.

354 CHAPTER III

355 RESIDENCE IN THE OTHER MEMBER STATES

356 Article 14

357 Principle

358 1. A long-term resident shall acquire the right to reside in the territory of Member States other than the
359 one which granted him/her the long-term residence status, for a period exceeding three months,
360 provided that the conditions set out in this chapter are met.

361 2. A long-term resident may reside in a second Member State on the following grounds:

362 (a) exercise of an economic activity in an employed or self-employed capacity;

363 (b) pursuit of studies or vocational training;

364 (c) other purposes.

365 3. In cases of an economic activity in an employed or self-employed capacity referred to in paragraph
366 2(a), Member States may examine the situation of their labour market and apply their national
367 procedures regarding the requirements for, respectively, filling a vacancy, or for exercising such
368 activities.

369 For reasons of labour market policy, Member States may give preference to Union citizens, to third-
370 country nationals, when provided for by Community legislation, as well as to third-country nationals
371 who reside legally and receive unemployment benefits in the Member State concerned.

372 4. By way of derogation from the provisions of paragraph 1, Member States may limit the total number
373 of persons entitled to be granted right of residence, provided that such limitations are already set out
374 for the admission of third-country nationals in the existing legislation at the time of the adoption of this
375 Directive.

376 5. This chapter does not concern the residence of long-term residents in the territory of the Member
377 States:

378 (a) as employed workers posted by a service provider for the purposes of cross-border provision of
379 services;

380 (b) as providers of cross-border services.

381 Member States may decide, in accordance with national law, the conditions under which long-term
382 residents who wish to move to a second Member State with a view to exercising an economic activity
383 as seasonal workers may reside in that Member State. Cross-border workers may also be subject to
384 specific provisions of national law.

385 6. This Chapter is without prejudice to the relevant Community legislation on social security with
386 regard to third-country nationals.

387 Article 15

388 **Conditions for residence in a second Member State**

389 1. As soon as possible and no later than three months after entering the territory of the second Member
390 State, the long-term resident shall apply to the competent authorities of that Member State for a
391 residence permit.

392 Member States may accept that the long-term resident submits the application for a residence permit to
393 the competent authorities of the second Member State while still residing in the territory of the first
394 Member State.

395 2. Member States may require the persons concerned to provide evidence that they have:

396 (a) stable and regular resources which are sufficient to maintain themselves and the members of their
397 families, without recourse to the social assistance of the Member State concerned. For each of the
398 categories referred to in Article 14(2), Member States shall evaluate these resources by reference to
399 their nature and regularity and may take into account the level of minimum wages and pensions;

400 (b) sickness insurance covering all risks in the second Member State normally covered for its own
401 nationals in the Member State concerned.

402 3. Member States may require third-country nationals to comply with integration measures, in
403 accordance with national law.

404 This condition shall not apply where the third-country nationals concerned have been required to
405 comply with integration conditions in order to be granted long-term resident status, in accordance with
406 the provisions of Article 5(2).

407 Without prejudice to the second subparagraph, the persons concerned may be required to attend
408 language courses.

409 4. The application shall be accompanied by documentary evidence, to be determined by national law,
410 that the persons concerned meets the relevant conditions, as well as by their long-term resident permit
411 and a valid travel document or their certified copies.

412 The evidence referred to in the first subparagraph may also include documentation with regard to
413 appropriate accommodation.

414 In particular:

415 (a) in case of exercise of an economic activity the second Member State may require the persons
416 concerned to provide evidence:

417 (i) if they are in an employed capacity, that they have an employment contract, a statement by the
418 employer that they are hired or a proposal for an employment contract, under the conditions provided
419 for by national legislation. Member States shall determine which of the said forms of evidence is
420 required;

- 421 (ii) if they are in a self-employed capacity, that they have the appropriate funds which are needed, in
422 accordance with national law, to exercise an economic activity in such capacity, presenting the
423 necessary documents and permits;
- 424 (b) in case of study or vocational training the second Member State may require the persons concerned
425 to provide evidence of enrolment in an accredited establishment in order to pursue studies or
426 vocational training.

427 Article 16

428 **Family members**

- 429 1. When the long-term resident exercises his/her right of residence in a second Member State and when
430 the family was already constituted in the first Member State, the members of his/her family, who fulfil
431 the conditions referred to in Article 4(1) of Directive 2003/86/EC shall be authorised to accompany or
432 to join the long-term resident.
- 433 2. When the long-term resident exercises his/her right of residence in a second Member State and when
434 the family was already constituted in the first Member State, the members of his/her family, other than
435 those referred to in Article 4(1) of Directive 2003/86/EC may be authorised to accompany or to join
436 the long-term resident.
- 437 3. With respect to the submission of the application for a residence permit, the provisions of Article
438 15(1) apply.
- 439 4. The second Member State may require the family members concerned to present with their
440 application for a residence permit:
- 441 (a) their long-term resident's EC residence permit or residence permit and a valid travel document or
442 their certified copies;
- 443 (b) evidence that they have resided as members of the family of the long-term resident in the first
444 Member State;
- 445 (c) evidence that they have stable and regular resources which are sufficient to maintain themselves
446 without recourse to the social assistance of the Member State concerned or that the long-term resident
447 has such resources and insurance for them, as text as sickness insurance covering all risks in the
448 second Member State. Member States shall evaluate these resources by reference to their nature and
449 regularity and may take into account the level of minimum wages and pensions.
- 450 5. Where the family was not already constituted in the first Member State, Directive 2003/86/EC shall
451 apply.

452 Article 17

453 **Public policy and public security**

- 454 1. Member States may refuse applications for residence from long-term residents or their family
455 members where the person concerned constitutes a threat to public policy or public security.

456 When taking the relevant decision, the Member State shall consider the severity or type of offence
457 against public policy or public security committed by the long-term resident or his/her family
458 member(s), or the danger that emanates from the person concerned.

459 2. The decision referred to in paragraph 1 shall not be based on economic considerations.

460 Article 18

461 **Public health**

462 1. Member States may refuse applications for residence from long-term residents or their family
463 members where the person concerned constitutes a threat to public health.

464 2. The only diseases that may justify a refusal to allow entry or the right of residence in the territory of
465 the second Member State shall be the diseases as defined by the relevant applicable instruments of the
466 World Health Organisation's and such other infectious or contagious parasite-based diseases as are the
467 subject of protective provisions in relation to nationals in the host country. Member States shall not
468 introduce new more restrictive provisions or practices.

469 3. Diseases contracted after the first residence permit was issued in the second Member State shall not
470 justify a refusal to renew the permit or expulsion from the territory.

471 4. A Member State may require a medical examination, for persons to whom this Directive applies, in
472 order to certify that they do not suffer from any of the diseases referred to in paragraph 2. Such
473 medical examinations, which may be free of charge, shall not be performed on a systematic basis.

474 Article 19

475 **Examination of applications and issue of a residence permit**

476 1. The competent national authorities shall process applications within four months from the date that
477 these have been lodged.

478 If an application is not accompanied by the documentary evidence listed in Articles 15 and 16, or in
479 exceptional circumstances linked with the complexity of the examination of the application, the time
480 limit referred to in the first subparagraph may be extended for a period not exceeding three months. In
481 such cases the competent national authorities shall inform the applicant thereof.

482 2. If the conditions provided for in Articles 14, 15 and 16 are met, then, subject to the provisions
483 relating to public policy, public security and public health in Articles 17 and 18, the second Member
484 State shall issue the long-term resident with a renewable residence permit. This residence permit shall,
485 upon application, if required, be renewable on expiry. The second Member State shall inform the first
486 Member State of its decision.

487 3. The second Member State shall issue members of the long-term resident's family with renewable
488 residence permits valid for the same period as the permit issued to the long-term resident.

Procedural guarantees

491 1. Reasons shall be given for any decision rejecting an application for a residence permit. It shall be
492 notified to the third-country national concerned in accordance with the notification procedures under
493 the relevant national legislation. The notification shall specify the possible redress procedures available
494 and the time limit for taking action.

495 Any consequences of no decision being taken by the end of the period referred to in Article 19(1) shall
496 be determined by the national legislation of the relevant Member State.

497 2. Where an application for a residence permit is rejected, or the permit is not renewed or is
498 withdrawn, the person concerned shall have the right to mount a legal challenge in the Member State
499 concerned.

Treatment granted in the second Member State

502 1. As soon as they have received the residence permit provided for by Article 19 in the second Member
503 State, long-term residents shall in that Member State enjoy equal treatment in the areas and under the
504 conditions referred to in Article 11.

505 2. Long-term residents shall have access to the labour market in accordance with the provisions of
506 paragraph 1.

507 Member States may provide that the persons referred to in Article 14(2)(a) shall have restricted access
508 to employed activities different than those for which they have been granted their residence permit
509 under the conditions set by national legislation for a period not exceeding 12 months.

510 Member States may decide in accordance with national law the conditions under which the persons
511 referred to in Article 14(2)(b) or (c) may have access to an employed or self-employed activity.

512 3. As soon as they have received the residence permit provided for by Article 19 in the second Member
513 State, members of the family of the long-term resident shall in that Member State enjoy the rights
514 listed in Article 14 of Directive 2003/86/EC.

Withdrawal of residence permit and obligation to readmit

517 1. Until the third-country national has obtained long-term resident status, the second Member State
518 may decide to refuse to renew or to withdraw the resident permit and to oblige the person concerned
519 and his/her family members, in accordance with the procedures provided for by national law, including
520 removal procedures, to leave its territory in the following cases:

521 (a) on grounds of public policy or public security as defined in Article 17;

522 (b) where the conditions provided for in Articles 14, 15 and 16 are no longer met;

- 523 (c) where the third-country national is not lawfully residing in the Member State concerned.
- 524 2. If the second Member State adopts one of the measures referred to in paragraph 1, the first Member
525 State shall immediately readmit without formalities the long-term resident and his/her family members.
526 The second Member State shall notify the first Member State of its decision.
- 527 3. Until the third-country national has obtained long-term resident status and without prejudice to the
528 obligation to readmit referred to in paragraph 2, the second Member State may adopt a decision to
529 remove the third-country national from the territory of the Union, in accordance with and under the
530 guarantees of Article 12, on serious grounds of public policy or public security.
- 531 In such cases, when adopting the said decision the second Member State shall consult the first Member
532 State.
- 533 When the second Member State adopts a decision to remove the third-country national concerned, it
534 shall take all the appropriate measures to effectively implement it. In such cases the second Member
535 State shall provide to the first Member State appropriate information with respect to the
536 implementation of the removal decision.
- 537 4. Removal decisions may not be accompanied by a permanent ban on residence in the cases referred
538 to in paragraph 1(b) and (c).
- 539 5. The obligation to readmit referred to in paragraph 2 shall be without prejudice to the possibility of
540 the long-term resident and his/her family members moving to a third Member State.

541 Article 23

542 **Acquisition of long-term resident status in the second Member State**

- 543 1. Upon application, the second Member State shall grant long-term residents the status provided for
544 by Article 7, subject to the provisions of Articles 3, 4, 5 and 6. The second Member State shall notify
545 its decision to the first Member State.
- 546 2. The procedure laid down in Article 7 shall apply to the presentation and examination of applications
547 for long-term resident status in the second Member State. Article 8 shall apply for the issuance of the
548 residence permit. Where the application is rejected, the procedural guarantees provided for by Article
549 10 shall apply.

550 CHAPTER IV

551 **FINAL PROVISIONS**

552 Article 24

553 **Report and rendez-vous clause**

- 554 Periodically, and for the first time no later than 23 January 2011, the Commission shall report to the
555 European Parliament and to the Council on the application of this Directive in the Member States and

556 shall propose such amendments as may be necessary. These proposals for amendments shall be made
557 by way of priority in relation to Articles 4, 5, 9, 11 and to Chapter III.

558 Article 25

559 **Contact points**

560 Member States shall appoint contact points who will be responsible for receiving and transmitting the
561 information referred to in Article 19(2), Article 22(2) and Article 23(1).

562 Member States shall provide appropriate cooperation in the exchange of the information and
563 documentation referred to in the first paragraph.

564 Article 26

565 **Transposition**

566 Member States shall bring into force the laws, regulations and administrative provisions necessary to
567 comply with this Directive by 23 January 2006 at the latest. They shall forthwith inform the
568 Commission thereof.

569 When Member States adopt these measures, they shall contain a reference to this Directive or shall be
570 accompanied by such reference on the occasion of their official publication. The methods of making
571 such reference shall be laid down by Member States.

572 Article 27

573 **Entry into force**

574 This Directive shall enter into force on the day of its publication in the Official Journal of the
575 European Union.

576 Article 28

577 **Addressees**

578 This Directive is addressed to the Member States in accordance with the Treaty establishing the
579 European Community.

580 Done at Brussels, 25 November 2003.

581 For the Council

582 The President

583 G. Tremonti

DIRECTIVE 2011/51/EU OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL

of 11 May 2011

amending Council Directive 2003/109/EC to extend its scope to beneficiaries of international protection

(Text with EEA relevance)

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION,

Having regard to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, and in particular Article 79(2)(a) and (b) thereof,

Having regard to the proposal from the European Commission,

Acting in accordance with the ordinary legislative procedure (1),

Whereas:

(1) Council Directive 2003/109/EC of 25 November 2003 concerning the status of third-country nationals who are long-term residents (2) does not apply to beneficiaries of international protection as defined in Council Directive 2004/83/EC of 29 April 2004 on minimum standards for the qualification and status of third-country nationals or stateless persons as refugees or as persons who otherwise need international protection and the content of the protection granted (3).

(2) The prospect of obtaining long-term resident status in a Member State after a certain time is an important element for the full integration of beneficiaries of international protection in the Member State of residence.

(3) Long-term resident status for beneficiaries of international protection is also important in promoting economic and social cohesion, which is a fundamental objective of the Union as stated in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union.

(4) Beneficiaries of international protection should therefore be able to obtain long-term resident status in the Member State which granted them international protection, subject to the same conditions as other third-country nationals.

610 (5) In view of the right of beneficiaries of international protection to reside in Member States other
611 than the one which granted them international protection, it is necessary to ensure that those other
612 Member States are informed of the protection background of the persons concerned to enable
613 them to comply with their obligations regarding the principle of non-refoulement.

614 (6) Beneficiaries of international protection who are long-term residents should, under certain
615 conditions, enjoy equality of treatment with citizens of the Member State of residence in a wide
616 range of economic and social matters so that long-term resident status constitutes a genuine
617 instrument for the integration of long-term residents into the society in which they live.

618 (7) The equality of treatment of beneficiaries of international protection in the Member State which
619 granted them international protection should be without prejudice to the rights and benefits
620 guaranteed under Directive 2004/83/EC and under the Convention Relating to the Status of
621 Refugees of 28 July 1951, as amended by the Protocol signed in New York on 31 January 1967
622 ('the Geneva Convention').

623 (8) The conditions set out in Directive 2003/109/EC concerning the right of a long-term resident to
624 reside in another Member State and obtain long-term resident status there should apply in the
625 same way to all third-country nationals who have obtained long-term resident status.

626 (9) Transfer of responsibility for protection of beneficiaries of international protection is outside the
627 scope of this Directive.

628 (10) Where a Member State intends to expel, on a ground provided for in Directive
629 2003/109/EC, a beneficiary of international protection who has acquired long-term resident
630 status in that Member State, that person should enjoy the protection against refoulement
631 guaranteed under Directive 2004/83/EC and under Article 33 of the Geneva Convention. For that
632 purpose, where the person enjoys international protection in a Member State other than the one
633 in which that person is currently residing as a long-term resident, it is necessary to provide, unless
634 refoulement is permitted under Directive 2004/83/EC, that that person may be expelled only to
635 the Member State which granted international protection and that that Member State is obliged
636 to readmit that person. The same safeguards should apply to a beneficiary of international
637 protection who has taken up residence but has not yet obtained long-term resident status in a
638 second Member State.

639 (11) Where the expulsion of a beneficiary of international protection outside the territory of
640 the Union is permitted under Directive 2004/83/EC, Member States should be obliged to ensure
641 that all information is obtained from relevant sources, including, where appropriate, from the

642 Member State that granted international protection, and that it is thoroughly assessed with a view
643 to guaranteeing that the decision to expel that beneficiary is in accordance with Article 4 and
644 Article 19(2) of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union.

645 (12) This Directive respects the fundamental rights and observes the principles recognised by
646 Article 6 of the Treaty on European Union and by the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the
647 European Union, and in particular in Article 7 thereof.

648 (13) In accordance with point 34 of the Interinstitutional Agreement on better law-making (4),
649 Member States are encouraged to draw up, for themselves and in the interest of the Union, their
650 own tables, illustrating, as far as possible, the correlation between this Directive and the
651 transposition measures, and to make them public.

652 (14) In accordance with Articles 1 and 2 of the Protocol (No 21) on the Position of the United
653 Kingdom and Ireland in respect of the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, annexed to the
654 Treaty on European Union and to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union, and
655 without prejudice to Article 4 of that Protocol, those Member States are not taking part in the
656 adoption of this Directive and are not bound by it or subject to its application.

657 (15) In accordance with Articles 1 and 2 of the Protocol (No 22) on the Position of Denmark,
658 annexed to the Treaty on European Union and to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European
659 Union, Denmark is not taking part in the adoption of this Directive and is not bound by it or
660 subject to its application,
661

662 HAVE ADOPTED THIS DIRECTIVE:

663 Article 1

664 Directive 2003/109/EC is amended as follows:

665 (1) In Article 2, point (f) is replaced by the following:

666 ‘(f) “international protection” means international protection as defined in Article 2(a) of
667 Council Directive 2004/83/EC of 29 April 2004 on minimum standards for the
668 qualification and status of third-country nationals or stateless persons as refugees or as
669 persons who otherwise need international protection and the content of the protection
670 granted (5);

671

672 (2) Article 3 is amended as follows:

673 (a) in paragraph 2, points (c) and (d) are replaced by the following:

674 ‘(c) are authorised to reside in a Member State on the basis of a form of protection other than
675 international protection or have applied for authorisation to reside on that basis and are awaiting
676 a decision on their status;

677 (d) have applied for international protection and whose application has not yet given rise to a
678 final decision;’;

679 (b) in paragraph 3, point (c) is replaced by the following:

680 ‘(c) the European Convention on Establishment of 13 December 1955, the European Social
681 Charter of 18 October 1961, the amended European Social Charter of 3 May 1987, the European
682 Convention on the Legal Status of Migrant Workers of 24 November 1977, paragraph 11 of the
683 Schedule to the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 28 July 1951, as amended by
684 the Protocol signed in New York on 31 January 1967, and the European Agreement on Transfer
685 of Responsibility for Refugees of 16 October 1980.’;

686 (3) Article 4 is amended as follows:

687 (a) The following paragraph is inserted:

688 ‘1a. Member States shall not grant long-term resident status on the basis of international
689 protection in the event of the revocation of, ending of or refusal to renew international protection
690 as laid down in Articles 14(3) and 19(3) of Directive 2004/83/EC.’;

691 (b) In paragraph 2, the following subparagraph is added:

692 ‘Regarding persons to whom international protection has been granted, at least half of the period
693 between the date of the lodging of the application for international protection on the basis of
694 which that international protection was granted and the date of the grant of the residence permit
695 referred to in Article 24 of Directive 2004/83/EC, or the whole of that period if it exceeds 18
696 months, shall be taken into account in the calculation of the period referred to in paragraph 1.’;

697 (4) In Article 8, the following paragraphs are added:

698 ‘4. Where a Member State issues a long-term resident’s EU residence permit to a third-country
699 national to whom it granted international protection, it shall enter the following remark in that
700 long-term resident’s EU residence permit, under the heading “Remarks”: “International
701 protection granted by [name of the Member State] on [date]”.

702 5. Where a long-term resident’s EU residence permit is issued by a second Member State to a
703 third-country national who already has a long-term resident’s EU residence permit issued by
704 another Member State which contains the remark referred to in paragraph 4, the second Member
705 State shall enter the same remark in the long-term resident’s EU residence permit.

706 Before the second Member State enters the remark referred to in paragraph 4, it shall request the
707 Member State mentioned in that remark to provide information as to whether the long-term
708 resident is still a beneficiary of international protection. The Member State mentioned in the
709 remark shall reply no later than 1 month after receiving the request for information. Where
710 international protection has been withdrawn by a final decision, the second Member State shall
711 not enter that remark.

712 6. Where, in accordance with the relevant international instruments or national law,
713 responsibility for the international protection of the long-term resident was transferred to the
714 second Member State after the long-term resident’s EU residence permit referred to in paragraph

715 5 was issued, the second Member State shall amend accordingly the remark referred to in
716 paragraph 4 no later than 3 months after the transfer.’;

717 (5) In Article 9, the following paragraph is inserted:

718 ‘3a. Member States may withdraw the long-term resident status in the event of the revocation
719 of, ending of or refusal to renew international protection as laid down in Articles 14(3)
720 and 19(3) of Directive 2004/83/EC if the long-term resident status was obtained on the
721 basis of international protection.’;

722

723 (6) In Article 11, the following paragraph is inserted:

724 ‘4a. As far as the Member State which granted international protection is concerned,
725 paragraphs 3 and 4 shall be without prejudice to Directive 2004/83/EC.’;

726

727 (7) Article 12 is amended as follows:

728 (a) The following paragraphs are inserted:

729 ‘3a. Where a Member State decides to expel a long-term resident whose long-term resident’s
730 EU residence permit contains the remark referred to in Article 8(4), it shall request the Member
731 State mentioned in that remark to confirm whether the person concerned is still a beneficiary of
732 international protection in that Member State. The Member State mentioned in the remark shall
733 reply no later than 1 month after receiving the request for information.

734 3b. If the long-term resident is still a beneficiary of international protection in the Member State
735 mentioned in the remark, that person shall be expelled to that Member State, which shall, without
736 prejudice to the applicable Union or national law and to the principle of family unity, immediately
737 readmit, without formalities, that beneficiary and his/her family members.

738 3c. By way of derogation from paragraph 3b, the Member State which adopted the expulsion
739 decision shall retain the right to remove, in accordance with its international obligations, the long -
740 term resident to a country other than the Member State which granted international protection
741 where that person fulfils the conditions specified in Article 21(2) of Directive 2004/83/EC.’;

742 (b) The following paragraph is added:

743 ‘6. This Article shall be without prejudice to Article 21(1) of Directive 2004/83/EC.’;

744 (8) The following Article is inserted:

745 ‘Article 19a

746 **Amendments of long-term resident’s EU residence permits**

747 1. Where a long-term resident’s EU residence permit contains the remark referred to in Article 8(4),
748 and where, in accordance with the relevant international instruments or national law, responsibility for
749 the international protection of the long-term resident is transferred to a second Member State before that
750 Member State issues the long-term resident’s EU residence permit referred to in Article 8(5), the second
751 Member State shall ask the Member State which has issued the long-term resident’s EU residence permit
752 to amend that remark accordingly.

753 2. Where a long-term resident is granted international protection in the second Member State before
754 that Member State issued the long-term resident's EU residence permit referred to in Article 8(5), that
755 Member State shall ask the Member State which has issued the long-term resident's EU residence permit
756 to amend it in order to enter the remark referred to in Article 8(4).

757 3. Following the request referred to in paragraphs 1 and 2, the Member State which has issued the long-
758 term resident's EU residence permit shall issue the amended long-term resident's EU residence permit
759 no later than 3 months after receiving the request from the second Member State.';

760 (9) In Article 22, the following paragraph is inserted:

761 '3a. Unless, in the meantime, the international protection has been withdrawn or the person falls within
762 one of the categories specified in Article 21(2) of Directive 2004/83/EC, paragraph 3 of this Article shall
763 not apply to third-country nationals whose long-term resident's EU residence permit issued by the first
764 Member State contains the remark referred to in Article 8(4) of this Directive.

765 This paragraph shall be without prejudice to Article 21(1) of Directive 2004/83/EC.';

766 (10) in Article 25, the first paragraph is replaced by the following:

767 'Member States shall appoint contact points who will be responsible for receiving and transmitting the
768 information and documentation referred to in Articles 8, 12, 19, 19a, 22 and 23.'.

769 Article 2

770 1. Member States shall bring into force the laws, regulations and administrative provisions necessary
771 to comply with this Directive by 20 May 2013. They shall forthwith inform the Commission thereof.

772 When Member States adopt these measures, they shall contain a reference to this Directive or be
773 accompanied by such a reference on the occasion of their official publication. The methods of making
774 such reference shall be laid down by Member States.

775 2. Member States shall communicate to the Commission the text of the main provisions of national law
776 which they adopt in the field covered by this Directive.

777 Article 3

778 This Directive shall enter into force on the day following its publication in the Official Journal of the
779 European Union.

780 Article 4

781 This Directive is addressed to the s in accordance with the Treaties.

782 Done at Strasbourg, 11 May 2011.

783 For the European Parliament

784 The President

785 J. BUZEK

786 For the Council

787 The President

788 GYÖRI E.



***Ministero del
Lavoro
e delle Politiche
Sociali***



***Ministero
dell'Interno***



***Ministero
dell'Istruzione
dell'Università e
della Ricerca***

Piano per l'integrazione nella sicurezza Identità e Incontro



Sommario

LA PRESENZA STRANIERA IN ITALIA: IL QUADRO DI RIFERIMENTO	2
IL MODELLO ITALIANO: IDENTITA' E INCONTRO	3
I CINQUE ASSI DELL'INTEGRAZIONE	6
ASSE I – EDUCAZIONE E APPRENDIMENTO: DALLA LINGUA AI VALORI.....	6
ASSE II - LAVORO	9
ASSE III – ALLOGGIO E GOVERNO DEL TERRITORIO	16
ASSE IV – ACCESSO AI SERVIZI ESSENZIALI	17
ASSE V – MINORI E SECONDE GENERAZIONI.....	19
GLI STRUMENTI DELL'INTEGRAZIONE.....	20

1 Con il presente documento si intende riassumere la strategia che il Governo, nella sua collegialità,
2 vuole perseguire in materia di politiche per l'integrazione per le persone immigrate, coniugando
3 accoglienza e sicurezza. Il Piano, alla luce del *Libro bianco sul futuro del modello sociale* promosso
4 dal Governo lo scorso anno, individua le principali linee di azione e gli strumenti da adottare al fine
5 di promuovere un efficace percorso di integrazione, nel rispetto delle prerogative e delle
6 competenze dei diversi attori istituzionali interessati, nonché delle procedure previste a legislazione
7 vigente. Il Piano si accompagna all'Accordo di integrazione, principale strumento operativo previsto
8 dal recente "Pacchetto sicurezza".

LA PRESENZA STRANIERA IN ITALIA: IL QUADRO DI RIFERIMENTO

9 Le migrazioni dei popoli caratterizzano la storia dell'umanità fin dalla sua origine. Nell'età
10 contemporanea, a causa degli straordinari progressi in campo tecnologico e della crescente
11 instabilità sociale ed economica, si registrano flussi migratori sempre più robusti e difficilmente
12 comprimibili. Anche l'Italia ha seguito queste tendenze globali e nell'ultimo decennio è divenuta
13 paese di ingenti pressioni migratorie che ne stanno condizionando profondamente l'assetto sociale.
14 L'Italia, con la Spagna, nell'ultimo decennio ha visto tra i paesi dell'UE-15 i maggiori tassi di crescita
15 di popolazione straniera che è raddoppiata fino a raggiungere oltre l'8% della popolazione per più
16 di 5 milioni di presenze. La pressione migratoria proviene da un numero ridotto di Paesi. In Italia,
17 infatti, risiedono cittadini di oltre 150 diversi Paesi ma di questi solo dodici superano le 100mila unità
18 e le prime venti nazionalità raggruppano oltre 4 milioni di stranieri: un milione di immigrati dalla
19 Romania, circa 500mila rispettivamente dall'Albania e dal Marocco, mentre quelli provenienti dalla
20 Cina e dall'Ucraina sono rispettivamente nell'ordine di 200mila. La metà dunque degli stranieri
21 presenti in Italia proviene unicamente da questi cinque Paesi. Ma leggendo il dato da un'altra
22 angolazione, rileviamo altresì come la metà degli stranieri provenga dall'Est Europa, da Paesi dunque
23 che fanno già parte dell'Unione europea o che vi entreranno in futuro.
24 La popolazione immigrata si concentra dove ha più possibilità di trovare lavoro, prevalentemente
25 nel Nord e nel Centro Italia – 85% delle presenze – e nei grandi centri urbani, dove stanno crescendo
26 quartieri ad alta concentrazione di stranieri. Ai lavoratori immigrati sono legati indici di attività e di
27 occupazione più alti rispetto a quelli degli italiani, ma anche maggiori tassi di disoccupazione. Gli
28 stranieri sono impiegati prevalentemente in settori a bassa qualificazione e remunerazione come
29 l'edilizia, l'agricoltura, il turismo e i servizi di cura. Si registra poi un ingente

30 flusso di rimesse verso i Paesi di origine, quantificato da Banca d'Italia intorno ai 6 miliardi di euro
31 nel 2008, che evidenzia la forte interdipendenza tra gli immigrati e le comunità di origine e che
32 sorprendentemente non diminuisce con la stabilizzazione in Italia dello straniero.

33 Il 75% della popolazione straniera abita in affitto, specialmente in condizioni di sovraffollamento e
34 con una presenza crescente negli alloggi di edilizia residenziale pubblica. Questo ultima notazione si
35 accompagna all'ingresso sempre più robusto della popolazione immigrata nel circuito delle politiche
36 sociali locali per quanto riguarda i servizi essenziali come l'alloggio, l'assistenza socio- sanitario-
37 assistenziale, i servizi per i minori e il sostegno al reddito.

38 Per quanto riguarda, infine, i minori stranieri, nell'ultimo decennio sono aumentati di circa 600mila
39 unità, vedendo decuplicati gli iscritti alle scuole e ponendo all'attenzione pubblica il cosiddetto
40 fenomeno delle seconde generazioni.

41 Se da un lato dovremo affrontare flussi migratori sempre più robusti, dall'altro questi ultimi saranno
42 maggiormente rotatori e con periodi di migrazione tendenzialmente contratti. La crescita di quelli
43 che sono oggi Paesi in via di sviluppo richiamerà in patria i migranti con possibilità di vita ed
44 investimento oggi impossibili. La sfida che ci attende è dunque di costruire un sistema nel quale
45 percorsi di inclusione nella nostra società e di rientro nel Paese di origine si consolidino di pari passo.

46 A capo quanto riportato sottolinea come la gestione del fenomeno si componga di tre principali
47 ambiti di azione: gli aiuti diretti allo sviluppo dei Paesi di origine, la regolamentazione dei flussi di
48 ingresso e le politiche di integrazione sul territorio.

IL MODELLO ITALIANO: IDENTITA' E INCONTRO

49 La complessità e la dimensione dei fenomeni migratori che stanno interessando l'Italia richiedono
50 l'urgente definizione di una chiara cornice culturale entro cui condurre in sicurezza il delicato
51 processo di integrazione cui siamo chiamati. Ogni azione politica e legislativa deve infatti essere
52 coerente con una visione di fondo che attiene innanzitutto alla dimensione antropologica e quindi
53 sociale.

54 Non possiamo eludere la sfida epocale che le migrazioni ci pongono di fronte. I talenti e la creatività
55 delle persone che giungono in Italia devono trovare terreno fertile per una loro piena valorizzazione
56 nei processi economici e sociali ma, al tempo stesso, non possiamo permettere che le diverse
57 tradizioni e culture di provenienza entrino in collisione con il nostro assetto valoriale.

58 Integrazione e sicurezza, accoglienza e legalità entrano in gioco come facce della stessa medaglia,
59 in quanto l'incontro non è mai in astratto tra culture, ma sempre tra persone. Ed esso non è

60 possibile senza ordine e garanzia delle basilari regole di convivenza che si traducono in politiche di
61 accoglienza definite. Solo in questa ottica è possibile, dunque, sviluppare percorsi di integrazione
62 fatti di diritti e doveri, di responsabilità e opportunità, che siano accompagnati e corretti strada
63 facendo.

64 Identità, incontro ed educazione sono le parole chiave di un “modello italiano” di integrazione.
65 Diffidiamo, dunque, dell’approccio culturale per cui il confronto avvenga tra categorie sociali,
66 etniche o religiose, tagliando fuori, in modo ideologico, la responsabilità di ciascuno nell’essere
67 protagonista dell’incontro con l’altro.

68 Il presupposto di ogni interazione è la capacità di comunicare se stessi, di trasmettere la propria
69 identità. L’Italia, per storia e posizionamento geografico, è da sempre terra di incontro tra culture e
70 tradizioni differenti che hanno saputo mantenersi – salvo poche e brevi eccezioni – in un equilibrio
71 di rispetto e di pace. Per costruire una convivenza civile stabile, in un contesto di crescente pressione
72 sociale, non possiamo non riscoprirne nel nostro passato le condizioni essenziali, rivitalizzandone le
73 radici. L’identità del nostro popolo è stata plasmata dalle tradizioni greco-romana e giudaico-
74 cristiana, che unendosi in maniera originale hanno saputo fare dell’Italia un Paese solidale nel
75 proprio interno e capace di ospitalità e gratuità rispetto a chiunque arrivi dentro i suoi confini. Il
76 rispetto della vita, la centralità della persona, la capacità del dono, il valore della famiglia, del lavoro
77 e della comunità: questi sono i pilastri della nostra civiltà, traendo origine e linfa vitale direttamente
78 da quella apertura verso l’altro e verso l’oltre che ci caratterizza. Nella Costituzione si trova la sintesi
79 formale di questo comune sentire popolare come risultato della convergenza di diverse tradizioni
80 politiche su una visione condivisa di persona e società.

81 L’assunto di tale visione, che vogliamo definire dell’Identità Aperta, è la consapevolezza di un livello
82 elementare di esperienza comune a tutti gli uomini, che abbatte gli steccati delle ideologie ed è
83 premessa per un incontro sincero e per una accoglienza all’interno dell’alveo tramandato dai nostri
84 padri. Si tratta, dunque, di una lettura dell’umana vicenda che supera, da un lato, l’impostazione
85 multiculturalista (per la quale le differenti culture per convivere debbono rimanere giustapposte e
86 perfettamente divise), e, dall’altro, la matrice assimilazionista (che mira alla neutralizzazione delle
87 tradizioni presenti in un ambito sociale a vantaggio di quella che ospita le altre). Entrambe le visioni,
88 frutto di un pensiero relativista che di fatto ritiene impossibile l’incontro, portano a una
89 ghettizzazione perfetta, inesorabile premessa del conflitto sociale come già verificato in molti altri
90 Paesi.

91 Ciascun immigrato arriva in Italia sperando in una vita migliore rispetto alla condizioni di
92 provenienza (povertà, instabilità politica o guerra). Fatte salve le tutele e le garanzie previste per i
93 richiedenti asilo politico in senso stretto, in una visione che superi le opposte posizioni dell'ostilità
94 fondata sulla paura e dell'accoglienza disordinata, è opportuno offrire strumenti differenziati in
95 relazione ai diversi progetti. C'è chi vuole tornare in patria dopo avere imparato un lavoro o
96 accumulato risparmi. C'è chi desidera invece fermarsi in Italia come tappa per una ulteriore
97 migrazione. E c'è anche chi spera di poter rimanere definitivamente da noi.

98 Proprio in considerazione di queste tre fattispecie è indispensabile ricorrere a una programmazione
99 dei flussi di accesso, al fine di passare da una immigrazione subita ad una programmata. E' infatti
100 nel disordine che si produce deresponsabilizzazione dell'immigrato e chiusura nella comunità di
101 accoglienza. Una prospettiva di questo tipo può prevedere percorsi apparentemente aspri,
102 bisognosi di grande determinazione e perseveranza. In questo senso diventa intollerabile il concetto
103 stesso di clandestinità, perché essa – in quanto condizione oggettivamente sleale e squilibrata
104 rispetto alle norme della convivenza - vanifica anche le tante iniziative di buona integrazione che
105 nascono dal territorio.

106 Il modello di Identità Aperta si basa sul metodo della possibilità di un incontro autentico fondato
107 sulla conoscenza e sul rispetto di ciò che siamo, ricambiato con la naturale curiosità per l'altrui
108 cultura e tradizione. Se l'integrazione vera richiede una relazione reciproca, il centro di tutto è
109 ancora una volta la persona e non lo Stato. Per questo il nostro modello è prettamente sussidiario.
110 Nelle società occidentali spesso predomina la tendenza a considerare lo Stato come primo
111 interlocutore di questi processi: tuttavia l'accoglienza e l'interscambio possono avere luogo
112 solamente laddove c'è un soggetto vivo, con una identità propria, che li propone e li porta avanti, di
113 fronte ad altri soggetti ugualmente vivi. Lo Stato deve essere soprattutto al servizio di questi
114 soggetti. Le misure politiche devono offrire il quadro normativo e preventivo che favorisca
115 l'interazione. Il soggetto adeguato che rende possibile l'interazione necessaria all'integrazione è il
116 popolo, una esperienza umana viva, con la sua tradizione, la sua cultura e i suoi valori. Il popolo
117 italiano serba nei suoi tratti costitutivi tutto il potenziale umano indispensabile per esserne
118 protagonista. Ciò di cui abbiamo bisogno sono quindi persone e operatori sociali che non temano
119 l'umanità degli altri e che siano coscienti di portare in sé qualcosa capace di sostenere la sfida delle
120 aspettative e delle esigenze di tutti gli altri in quanto uomini, al di sopra delle determinazioni
121 culturali particolari. Da questo punto di vista è possibile parlare di amicizia e fratellanza umane in
122 maniera non retorica.

123 Ciascuna persona è chiamata ad accettare la sfida dell'incontro nel contesto sociale dove vive e
124 lavora. Ognuno dunque è responsabile e protagonista nel processo di trasformazione che sta
125 attraversando la nostra società. Ma oltre alla responsabilità personale, gioca un ruolo fondamentale
126 il servizio che la libera iniziativa comunitaria, sia di italiani sia di immigrati, fa alla riuscita
127 dell'integrazione.

128 Infine, ciò che sostiene la peculiarità del modello italiano è il suo fondarsi su una dimensione
129 educativa. Italiani e immigrati realisticamente possono affrontare l'avventura dell'incontro
130 reciproco solo se vengono ambedue educati all'apertura all'altro in quanto valore assoluto. Questo
131 compito necessita dell'impegno anzitutto dei luoghi tradizionalmente deputati alla formazione
132 (famiglia, scuola, associazionismo), dove anche il rispetto delle regole venga vissuto in maniera non
133 formale ma come espressione pratica del bene comune.

I CINQUE ASSI DELL'INTEGRAZIONE

134 Il successo di un percorso di integrazione si sviluppa prioritariamente su cinque assi dove si dipana
135 la vita di chi migra. Data la centralità della persona con la sua libertà responsabile e della famiglia
136 con la sua funzione educativa quali elementi essenziali di integrazione, le condizioni che potremmo
137 definire prioritarie per rendere possibile l'incontro sono l'apprendimento della lingua italiana e dei
138 valori costituzionali su cui si fonda il nostro Paese. La scuola per i minori e il lavoro per gli adulti sono
139 pertanto i luoghi dove questi vengono veicolati in modo preminente. Ma senza l'accesso alla casa e
140 ai servizi essenziali tutto ciò non sarebbe sufficiente per determinare un inserimento completo
141 dell'immigrato nella vita della nostra società.

142 Trasversalmente a quanto detto, sottolineiamo infine il ruolo della donna come motore
143 dell'integrazione. L'inclusione sociale delle donne straniere è certamente la cartina tornasole del
144 grado di integrazione raggiunto da una società. Pensiamo pertanto alle donne quale primo *target*
145 da raggiungere per veicolare i percorsi di integrazione di seguito riportati.

ASSE I – EDUCAZIONE E APPRENDIMENTO: DALLA LINGUA

AI VALORI La scuola come luogo primario di integrazione

146 Il fenomeno della elevata presenza di alunni stranieri, in particolare della loro concentrazione in
147 alcuni territori e in alcune scuole o classi, richiede nuove regole e strategie per una integrazione
148 piena e che non penalizzi gli alunni italiani. E' necessario evitare la formazione di classi ad

149 eccessiva concentrazione di stranieri: va in questa direzione l'indicazione di un tetto del 30% di
150 alunni stranieri posto dal Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca per le scuole
151 dell'obbligo.

152 L'integrazione può attuarsi solo a partire dall'acquisizione della capacità di capire e di essere capiti,
153 dalla padronanza efficace e approfondita dell'italiano considerato come seconda lingua ovvero
154 come mezzo di contatto interpersonale. Il *Piano nazionale per l'apprendimento e insegnamento*
155 *dell'italiano L2 nelle scuole*, promosso dal Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca,
156 intende dare risposta ai bisogni comunicativi e linguistici degli alunni stranieri giunti in Italia da meno
157 di due anni, inseriti in scuole di diverso ordine e grado e rilevati direttamente dai docenti e dai
158 dirigenti scolastici. Si può stimare che la presenza di alunni stranieri che esprime bisogni di questo
159 tipo sia pari a circa il 20% del numero totale di alunni con cittadinanza non italiana (nell'anno
160 scolastico 2009/2010 il numero totale è di circa 700.000). Essi sono inseriti, in particolare, nelle
161 scuole secondarie di primo e secondo grado - con una forte concentrazione negli istituti tecnici e
162 professionali dove sono iscritti l'80% degli allievi stranieri - e nelle località e regioni evidenziate
163 dall'annuale rapporto statistico realizzato dal Ministero promotore del Piano. Sono questi dunque i
164 criteri con cui dovranno essere indirizzate le risorse del fondo appositamente creato.

165 Si tratta di un intervento integrato dal momento che accompagna l'inserimento scolastico degli
166 alunni stranieri nella classe ordinaria di pertinenza e che occupa solo una parte del monte-ore
167 scolastico. L'alunno segue il programma della classe di inserimento per una parte della giornata e
168 frequenta il modulo di italiano L2 durante le ore in cui è previsto nella classe l'insegnamento di
169 discipline a carattere prevalentemente verbale. Il Piano è articolato per fasi e per moduli all'interno
170 di tutto l'anno solare, contemplando la possibilità di precorsi, corsi di recupero pomeridiani e corsi
171 estivi a seconda del livello di partenza dell'alunno. L'intervento linguistico è inoltre "a scalare", più
172 intensivo nella prima fase e meno nelle seguenti, e, in questi anni, sono stati elaborati, diffusi e
173 sperimentati numerosi strumenti didattici per età, livello e classe di inserimento diverse.

174 Nella scuola dell'autonomia, la dirigenza e il corpo docente devono essere sostenuti e formati
175 adeguatamente per affrontare questi nuovi contesti multiculturali e a forte complessità. Si rende
176 pertanto indispensabile un adeguato piano di formazione, in presenza e on-line, per accrescere

177 specifiche competenze didattiche e gestionali nelle scuole ad alta concentrazione di alunni stranieri.
178 Al di là del livello di conoscenza linguistica degli studenti immigrati, è utile realizzare programmi
179 didattici, attività para ed extra scolastiche con il contributo dei diversi soggetti comunitari, legate
180 soprattutto alla musica e allo sport, che valorizzino i loro talenti e le loro tradizioni, soprattutto nei
181 primi anni di scuola affinché la vita familiare non sia in contrapposizione con quella sociale.

La formazione linguistica

182 L'istituto delle 150 ore di formazione riservate al lavoratore dalla contrattazione collettiva ai fini di
183 studio, formazione, riqualificazione e aggiornamento professionale, potrebbe utilmente essere
184 rivitalizzato e adeguato alle trasformazioni che il mercato del lavoro italiano ha subito negli ultimi
185 anni con l'arrivo di forza lavoro immigrata. Corsi per una nuova alfabetizzazione potranno essere
186 organizzati anche secondo l'approccio bilaterale perseguito con la costituzione dei fondi
187 interprofessionali e realizzati presso sedi pubbliche o private accreditate dalle Regioni.

188 Con particolare riferimento alle donne immigrate e in linea con quanto già intrapreso dal Ministero
189 dell'Interno, vanno promossi programmi televisivi quotidiani in specifiche fasce orarie per migliorare
190 la conoscenza e l'uso della lingua italiana e per avvicinare gli stranieri residenti in Italia alla nostra
191 cultura. Soprattutto le donne, infatti, a causa di fattori culturali propri di alcune nazionalità e della
192 loro prolungata permanenza in casa, hanno meno occasioni per confrontarsi con cittadini italiani e
193 apprendere la lingua.

Valori ed educazione civica

194 La conoscenza e il rispetto della nostra Carta costituzionale e dei valori in essa contenuti sono alla
195 base del percorso di integrazione. A questo si aggiunge la conoscenza della nostra vita civile e il
196 rispetto delle leggi che nascono dallo stesso impianto costituzionale. Si tratta di definire la cornice
197 entro la quale realizzare l'inclusione e l'accoglienza per chi proviene da tradizioni e modi di
198 convivenza differenti dai nostri: una proposta chiara aiuta l'integrazione, una proposta confusa
199 genera solo smarrimento e illegalità. E' importante dunque che i valori costituzionali, i prioritari
200 obblighi di legge, i nostri usi e costumi e i servizi per l'integrazione messi in campo a livello nazionale,
201 e soprattutto locale, vengano resi noti all'immigrato nei primi mesi di permanenza in Italia.

202 Lo Stato innanzitutto deve garantire momenti di formazione e informazione riguardo al proprio
203 assetto istituzionale. Molti sono i luoghi dove ciò si può realizzare: dagli sportelli unici e dagli uffici
204 per l'immigrazione delle questure alle scuole, dagli ospedali ai centri di assistenza socio-sanitari-
205 assistenziali, dalle parrocchie alle sedi territoriali del Ministero del lavoro, dell'Inps e dell'Inail, dalle
206 grandi aziende ai sindacati, dai caaf ai patronati, fino alle associazioni di immigrati e in generale a
207 tutto il terzo settore. Si tratti di ambiti con cui ciascun immigrato viene a contatto e dove può essere
208 accompagnato, in un incontro umano, per crescere nella consapevolezza dei suoi diritti e doveri
209 come residente in Italia.

ASSE II - LAVORO

Lavoro e programmazione dei flussi

210 Per evitare che l'ingresso incontrollato di manodopera straniera produca situazioni di *surplus* di una
211 offerta di lavoro poco o nulla qualificata e a basso costo, come tale funzionale all'espansione di
212 circuiti economici "sommersi" quando non addirittura criminali, diventa essenziale una corretta e
213 trasparente programmazione dei flussi annuali d'ingresso di lavoratori stranieri.

214 La programmazione dei flussi deve essere coerente con le rilevazioni dei fabbisogni di manodopera
215 nei mercati locali del lavoro e compatibile con le effettive capacità di assorbimento nel tessuto
216 sociale e produttivo del Paese. Pertanto essa deve essere guidata dalla domanda interna
217 proveniente dal sistema delle imprese e delle famiglie piuttosto che essere effetto della pressione
218 migratoria dall'esterno.

219 In questo quadro risulta necessario sviluppare, con una appropriata strumentazione, una effettiva
220 capacità previsionale che dia conto, da un lato, dei fabbisogni professionali nel breve e nel medio
221 termine e, dall'altro lato, della opportunità di soddisfare il fabbisogno con lo stock di lavoratori già
222 presenti sul territorio al fine di evitare la creazione di sacche di disoccupazione e marginalità sociale.

223 In questa direzione si muovono anche le linee guida per la formazione nel 2010 frutto della intesa
224 tra Governo, Regioni e parti sociali, che si sono impegnati ad effettuare periodicamente rilevazioni
225 miste, prevalentemente qualitative, sui fabbisogni di breve termine, a livello territoriale e settoriale,
226 da integrare con le macro tendenze di lungo periodo elaborate a livello nazionale e internazionale.
227 Questo al fine di rendere visibili i bacini di occupazione nascosta, ma anche e soprattutto per fornire
228 precise indicazioni circa le conoscenze, abilità e competenze che è

229 necessario promuovere per una qualificata ed effettiva integrazione delle persone nel nostro
230 mercato del lavoro.

231 Questa strumentazione previsionale deve inoltre integrarsi con meccanismi di monitoraggio che
232 consentano la tracciabilità dei percorsi lavorativi dei cittadini stranieri entrati nei flussi. Si tratta di
233 un traguardo da raggiungere in breve tempo attraverso una maggior cooperazione tra le istituzioni
234 e gli enti nazionali, il coinvolgimento delle Regioni e degli Enti locali, la partecipazione attiva delle
235 associazioni imprenditoriali e di categoria, delle agenzie di intermediazione e di tutte le parti sociali.
236 Già oggi le informazioni contenute nelle comunicazioni obbligatorie legate ai movimenti del mercato
237 del lavoro integrate con il monitoraggio degli ammortizzatori in deroga hanno consentito di ridurre
238 positivamente l'impatto della crisi anche per i lavoratori stranieri, grazie all'estensione degli
239 strumenti di protezione del reddito a tutti i settori produttivi e a tutte le tipologie di lavoro
240 dipendente.

241 In realtà il processo di integrazione può e deve iniziare già nei Paesi di origine promuovendo una
242 adeguata informazione e formazione per le persone che intendano migrare nel nostro Paese ed
243 efficaci servizi di selezione, orientamento ed accompagnamento al lavoro. La formazione nei Paesi
244 di origine rappresenta uno strumento di indubbia validità nel momento in cui i cittadini stranieri
245 sono messi in condizione di apprendere, sia pure ad un livello basico, la lingua italiana e gli elementi
246 essenziali dell'educazione civica. Ciò significa che, nel momento in cui costoro vengono a lavorare in
247 Italia, possono essere significativamente ridotti sia i rischi negli ambienti di lavoro sia i rischi sociali
248 derivanti dalla mancanza di conoscenza dei valori fondanti della nostra società. In particolare, per
249 quanto riguarda la salute e sicurezza nei luoghi di lavoro gli infortuni delle persone straniere
250 dipendono, oltre che da una ridotta cultura della sicurezza del lavoro, da un insufficiente livello di
251 comprensione delle informazioni e delle disposizioni impartite nei luoghi di lavoro per la incolumità
252 delle persone.

253 Il meccanismo della formazione nei Paesi di origine - i cosiddetti titoli di prelazione - è oggi inefficace.
254 Un'azione pubblica deve condurre ad una effettiva possibilità per le imprese e gli intermediari
255 autorizzati di poter sviluppare le opportune forme di selezione e reclutamento sulla base di liste di
256 lavoratori disponibili e formati, inseriti in percorsi che possano, nel caso di personale altamente
257 qualificato, essere perfezionati e conclusi in Italia, intrecciando gli istituti normativi e le misure di
258 politica attiva del lavoro attualmente disponibili, a partire dall'apprendistato e dal tirocinio
259 formativo.

260 La formazione, la selezione e il reclutamento dei lavoratori già nel Paese d'origine sono anche una
261 grande possibilità per la cooperazione internazionale tra le associazioni di rappresentanza datoriali
262 e sindacali e per lo sviluppo di specifiche competenze e funzioni di integrazione sociale e nel lavoro
263 degli stranieri nell'ambito della bilateralità. Il fabbisogno di un determinato settore e le competenze
264 richieste per operare sul campo in modo sicuro e qualificato sono conosciuti, innanzitutto, da chi
265 lavora quotidianamente in quell'ambito. Proprio per questo il rapporto tra associazioni ed enti
266 bilaterali di Stati diversi può essere un canale solido e affidabile per segnalare le esigenze di
267 manodopera, individuare i lavoratori idonei e formarli secondo le competenze richieste dal Paese di
268 destinazione.

269 In questa prospettiva, la relazione e la cooperazione con specifiche comunità all'estero che
270 esprimano interesse e capacità progettuali, con le quali sviluppare un dialogo continuativo ed aperto
271 all'integrazione ed alla circolarità dell'immigrazione, rappresentano un modello da privilegiare ed
272 implementare.

273 Affinché l'investimento effettuato, pubblico e privato, si riveli realmente conveniente si potrebbe
274 svincolare l'ingresso dei lavoratori adeguatamente formati all'estero dal sistema delle quote
275 consentendone l'accesso al mercato del lavoro italiano in qualsiasi momento al pari delle categorie
276 professionali a cui è consentito l'ingresso fuori quota. Si rende di conseguenza opportuna una
277 semplificazione degli adempimenti procedurali al fine di garantire che la risposta al fabbisogno
278 espresso dal sistema produttivo possa essere fornita in tempi coerenti e certi.

Lavoro e qualificazione professionale

279 Occupare una regolare posizione lavorativa per il cittadino straniero significa ottenere *status* e
280 reddito che conferiscano riconoscibilità sociale e rappresentino un fattore di legittimazione della
281 presenza in Italia, facilitando e moltiplicando le occasioni di scambio con la comunità locale di
282 riferimento.

283 Un passo indispensabile nel percorso di integrazione diviene oggi lo sviluppo di un sistema di
284 riconoscimento e certificazione delle competenze professionali che consenta anche al lavoratore
285 straniero di posizionarsi sul mercato del lavoro e progettare con più chiarezza il proprio percorso di
286 crescita e valorizzazione – personale oltre che professionale – anche in funzione del suo possibile
287 rientro al Paese di origine. In questa prospettiva, le politiche attive del lavoro e la rete dei servizi per
288 il lavoro, pubblici e privati, autorizzati e accreditati, svolgono una funzione rilevante, se
289 non decisiva, nei processi di integrazione sociale.

290 La temporaneità dei permessi di soggiorno per lavoro va coniugata più strettamente con le politiche
291 attive e gli strumenti di reimpiego dei lavoratori al fine di scongiurare la dispersione dei lavoratori
292 stranieri nel lavoro irregolare alimentando la catena dello sfruttamento della manodopera
293 immigrata. Ciò richiede il potenziamento del raccordo e della cooperazione tra i servizi per l'impiego
294 e la filiera dei servizi territoriali che interviene nella gestione dei permessi, anche attraverso un
295 sistema di convenzioni che da un lato consenta una semplificazione delle procedure e dall'altro
296 valorizzi appieno il ruolo e la funzione che la legge Biagi ha assegnato agli operatori del mercato del
297 lavoro, autorizzati o accreditati, al fine di contrastare la presenza di intermediari che operano in
298 contrasto alla legge e in funzione dello sfruttamento della manodopera (caporali e capocottimisti).

299 Anche in questo caso, e nell'ambito delle potenzialità della legge Biagi che sul punto appaiono
300 ancora largamente inesprese, la costruzione di coordinate reti associative e/o bilaterali può essere
301 l'occasione perché la certificazione delle competenze del lavoratore immigrato e il suo inserimento
302 nel mercato possano essere effettuate dalle associazioni stesse, in forza della loro esperienza nel
303 contesto lavorativo concreto, come recentemente ipotizzato da Governo, Regioni e parti sociali
304 nelle linee guida sulla formazione per il 2010.

305 Gli stili di vita e lavorativi, la difficoltà di relazione con i servizi pubblici e l'elevata mobilità territoriale
306 di una parte consistente di lavoratori stranieri limitano, spesso, l'efficacia dei servizi locali per
307 l'impiego particolarmente nei processi di reinserimento al lavoro. Per dare maggiore efficacia alle
308 politiche attive del lavoro a sostegno della popolazione immigrata è pertanto necessario potenziare
309 l'informazione sulle opportunità occupazionali, riqualificare la rete pubblica e privata dei servizi al
310 lavoro prevedendo specifiche azioni di orientamento e la presenza di mediatori linguistici e culturali,
311 potenziare il raccordo con le reti associative e di rappresentanza e con la bilateralità per aumentare
312 l'occupabilità e correggere la discontinuità del mercato del lavoro.

313 Formazione nei Paesi di origine, accoglienza e orientamento al lavoro, formazione alla cittadinanza,
314 certificazione delle competenze, riqualificazione professionale, rappresentano le tappe del percorso
315 di integrazione socio-lavorativa per la persona, la famiglia e la comunità che richiede la convergenza
316 degli interventi nazionali, delle Regioni e degli Enti locali, all'interno di una prospettiva di
317 valorizzazione delle potenzialità della persona in relazione dialogante con i valori ed il sistema dei
318 diritti e dei doveri che caratterizzano il nostro Paese.

319 Il contrasto allo sfruttamento della manodopera immigrata va condotto anche attraverso opportuni
320 accordi in sede di contrattazione collettiva, operando soprattutto a livello territoriale e aziendale, e
321 con l'uso esteso dei buoni lavoro come strumento di flessibilità ma anche di salvaguardia dei
322 lavoratori immigrati, in particolare nel settore del lavoro domestico e dell'assistenza alla persona
323 nel quale più forte è la pressione alla irregolarità e debole la capacità negoziale dei lavoratori. Il
324 buono prepagato – disciplinato dalle legge Biagi ma previsto in molti altri Paesi europei – consente
325 di far emergere agevolmente importanti spezzoni di lavoro sommerso, la cui regolarizzazione
326 garantisce tutele previdenziali, assicurative e retributive ai lavoratori e oneri ridotti per i beneficiari
327 della prestazione lavorativa. Con il buono lavoro possono finalmente emergere nominativi di
328 lavoratori e di datori di lavoro fino ad allora sommersi, ponendo le premesse per la tracciabilità dei
329 successivi comportamenti.

Bilateralità e cooperazione

330 Gli enti bilaterali possono rappresentare in sussidiarietà un affidabile complemento delle funzioni
331 pubbliche con riferimento al collocamento e alla formazione, al governo dei flussi migratori
332 stagionali, alla gestione dei *voucher*, alla salute e sicurezza nel lavoro, alla stessa integrazione del
333 reddito nei periodi di inattività. Si tratta di sostituire intermediari inefficienti, quando non criminali,
334 con sobrie e concrete attività di mediazione sociale non profittevole garantite dalla
335 rappresentatività degli attori sociali. Gli enti bilaterali possono fornire anche utili elementi
336 conoscitivi in ordine ai fenomeni di maggiore criticità presenti sul territorio, dando così agli enti
337 pubblici competenti elementi utili per programmare e gestire in modo più puntuale le diverse
338 tipologie di intervento.

339 Anche le grandi organizzazioni rappresentative della cooperazione italiana possono svolgere una
340 significativa funzione ai fini della emersione del lavoro irregolare degli immigrati, non soltanto per
341 la loro capacità diffusa di monitorare e segnalare le forme di cooperazione spuria ma anche per la
342 loro capacità di promuovere modelli di cooperazione in grado di organizzare in termini trasparenti
343 le attività lavorative che, in modo dipendente o autonomo, prestano servizi di cura e assistenza
344 familiare. Come in passato la cooperazione ha consentito l'emersione e lo sviluppo di attività
345 tradizionalmente irregolari, tra cui il facchinaggio, così oggi essa può concorrere alla diffusione
346 organizzata dei nidi familiari o alla regolarizzazione e qualificazione delle cosiddette "badanti".

Imprenditorialità

347 I lavoratori stranieri presenti sul nostro territorio esprimono una elevata propensione alla creazione
348 di impresa contribuendo attivamente alla crescita economica ed al benessere dei cittadini. Ciò
349 costituisce un segnale importante di integrazione, fornendo un esempio ed una prospettiva di
350 crescita per le seconde generazioni nella condivisione del nostro modello aperto di accoglienza e
351 sviluppo.

352 L'impresa rappresenta un pilastro per l'occupazione e la crescita, va aiutata al nascere e sostenuta
353 nel suo sviluppo soprattutto grazie a un quadro regolatorio del lavoro meno formalistico, semplice
354 e adattabile. Accanto alle politiche per il lavoro, il sistema bancario ed assicurativo, le associazioni
355 imprenditoriali e di categoria sono chiamate ad una attenzione specifica nel promuovere e
356 sostenere questa imprenditorialità giovane e spesso impreparata alla complessità ed alle asperità
357 della globalizzazione. Le storie di successo di alcuni individui sostengono certamente i molti che
358 iniziano il duro percorso di integrazione. Altrettanto rilevante è il sostegno all'imprenditorialità nei
359 Paesi di origine, sia per prevenire decisioni migratorie sia per facilitare laddove sia possibile un
360 pronto rientro in patria.

Lavoro e previdenza

361 L'accoglienza nell'ordine e nel dialogo si esprime anche nell'accompagnamento al rientro in patria.
362 Analizzando i dati sulle rimesse, in futuro aumenterà il numero di coloro che acquisita una
363 esperienza significativa di vita e lavoro nel nostro Paese si orienteranno al ritorno nei loro Paese di
364 origine. E' dunque opportuno allargare l'offerta di servizi e misure di accompagnamento con il
365 coinvolgimento ampio delle associazioni imprenditoriali, dei gruppi bancari e assicurativi e degli
366 operatori ONG operanti all'estero. Sempre nell'ottica di sostenere ed accompagnare percorsi di
367 rientro, sarà importante sviluppare accordi con i Paesi di origine per permettere una riscossione
368 certa e completa dei contributi previdenziali versati in Italia dal lavoratore immigrato che desidera
369 tornare in patria.

Lavoro nero e vigilanza

370 In Italia i soggetti maggiormente esposti al lavoro irregolare sono gli immigrati. In particolare al Sud
371 appaiono accentuarsi odiosi fenomeni di abuso della situazione di disagio vissuta da molti migranti,
372 utilizzati come bassa manovalanza reclutata da "caporali" al servizio di pseudo- imprenditori che
373 intervengono in subappalto o gestiscono direttamente, in forme più o meno

374 irregolari, commesse pubbliche e private. Il caporalato continua a persistere in forme gravi anche
375 per effetto della pervasività delle organizzazioni criminali, in grado di esercitare un forte controllo
376 su determinati settori, l'edilizia soprattutto. L'intreccio tra sommerso, caporalato e criminalità vede
377 tra le principali vittime proprio i lavoratori stranieri senza permesso di soggiorno, cui vengono
378 affidate le mansioni più dequalificate e usuranti, la cui pericolosità è spesso causa di infortuni sul
379 lavoro, anche fatali.

380 È necessario perciò liberare il lavoro dalla illegalità e dal pericolo, potenziando qualitativamente le
381 attività di vigilanza, da orientarsi prioritariamente alle violazioni sostanziali, a partire da quelle più
382 gravi che spesso costituiscono un pericolo imminente per l'incolumità della persona. In questo
383 senso va proseguito il lavoro iniziato con la macro-direttiva ai servizi ispettivi del 18 settembre 2008,
384 che rilanciava l'ambiziosa impostazione, in chiave preventiva e promozionale delle funzioni ispettive
385 e di vigilanza, delineata con la legge Biagi e il relativo decreto di attuazione.

386 Per contrastare lo sfruttamento della manodopera immigrata l'azione ispettiva deve sempre più
387 divenire sintesi sinergica delle azioni programmate dai diversi organi di vigilanza, unitamente agli
388 interventi delle forze di Polizia, dei Carabinieri e della Guardia di Finanza, e attuate, in modo
389 coordinato e in linea di principio uniforme, a livello territoriale, anche in considerazione delle
390 specifiche realtà e delle caratteristiche peculiari delle singole aree e dei diversi distretti economici.

391 Appare fondamentale portare a compimento la piena integrazione operativa dei servizi ispettivi e
392 delle forze armate e di polizia anche attraverso l'impiego di tecnologie condivise e d'avanguardia
393 che consentano collegamenti informatici e controlli incrociati. La collaborazione con l'Arma dei
394 Carabinieri, che oggi si realizza attraverso un suo nucleo specializzato, potrà opportunamente
395 avvalersi soprattutto delle stazioni territoriali che costituiscono un presidio capillare nei territori,
396 fonte privilegiata di informazioni e di percezioni su quanto in essi realmente accade. La
397 collaborazione con la Guardia di Finanza, avviatasi positivamente nell'ambito del piano straordinario
398 di vigilanza nel Mezzogiorno, potrà consentire l'incrocio di informazioni essenziali per selezionare
399 gli obiettivi.

400 Più in generale l'evoluzione della attività ispettiva consiste proprio nell'approfondimento del lavoro
401 di *intelligence* a monte delle attività operative affinché il numero inesorabilmente limitato di queste
402 in rapporto al numero complessivo delle imprese sia tuttavia orientato verso obiettivi mirati in
403 quanto ragionevolmente luogo delle più gravi patologie tra cui appunto lo sfruttamento della
404 manodopera immigrata e clandestina.

ASSE III – ALLOGGIO E GOVERNO DEL TERRITORIO

405 Con riferimento all'alloggio occorre preliminarmente distinguere due aspetti: da un lato l'accesso alla
406 casa da parte degli immigrati, dall'altro la necessità di favorire una coesistenza pacifica tra cittadini
407 italiani e stranieri per favorire la costruzione di un "patto sociale" nel rispetto delle regole di
408 convivenza civile.

409 Per quanto riguarda l'accesso all'alloggio, la popolazione immigrata necessita di servizi di
410 accompagnamento, anche di tipo finanziario, adeguati a condizioni di disorientamento e di difficoltà
411 economica. Innanzitutto i datori di lavoro, sostenuti dalle loro associazioni di categoria, hanno la
412 responsabilità di accompagnare il lavoratore straniero nel trovare un alloggio adeguato. Da questo
413 punto di vista, la verifica degli impegni assunti dal datore di lavoro con la sottoscrizione del contratto
414 di soggiorno per lavoro subordinato, si accompagna alla valorizzazione ed alla diffusione di iniziative
415 riguardanti alloggi offerti "a rotazione" ai lavoratori stranieri. Si tratta di soluzioni di primo alloggio
416 temporaneo per permettere una stabilizzazione abitativa del lavoratore corrispondente a quella
417 lavorativa.

418 Per quanto concerne invece il *matching* tra domanda e offerta di alloggio, auspichiamo il moltiplicarsi
419 in sussidiarietà di punti di contatto affinché l'immigrato abbia a disposizione una rete, non solo
420 informale, fatta di camere di commercio, mondo cooperativo, fondazioni, associazioni di categoria,
421 sindacati e tutti quei soggetti con cui vengono a contatto. Tra l'altro, molto spesso queste realtà già
422 oggi rispondono all'esigenza di garanzia su prestiti finanziari ma auspichiamo che gli istituti di credito
423 sviluppino quanto prima offerte dedicate agli stranieri in modo particolare per il sostegno all'affitto
424 o l'accensione di un mutuo.

425 Per quanto riguarda, invece, le politiche urbanistiche è quanto mai necessario che i Comuni
426 definiscano Piani di governo del territorio secondo regole e indirizzi che facilitino l'inclusione e la
427 convivenza pacifica per recuperare quelle zone del territorio sulle quali hanno perso il controllo
428 sociale. Lo sviluppo dei centri urbani, soprattutto per quelli di maggiori dimensioni, deve essere
429 governato da una regia pubblica, che dettando le linee di sviluppo della città per una maggiore qualità
430 di vita di chi vi abita, ne sprigioni l'attuazione a partire dal coinvolgimento di tutti gli attori sociali.

431 Il tema, dunque, della convivenza con persone di diversi usi e tradizioni è certamente un aspetto
432 decisivo nel giudizio sulla vivibilità di una città. Purtroppo, spesso, la presenza concentrata di etnie
433 straniere in un quartiere porta con sé insicurezza diffusa sia per i cittadini italiani che per gli

immigrati stessi. E' urgente riequilibrare la presenza etnica straniera in quelle zone della città dove non abitano più italiani. Particolarmente per i centri storici delle piccole città o le periferie di quelle grandi, risulta prioritario creare le condizioni perché tornino appetibili anche per i cittadini italiani. Questo per evitare il formarsi di enclaves dove regna il degrado e la microcriminalità. Laddove si costituiscano ambiti monoetnici di culture differenti dalla nostra, è nota la crescita del tasso di tensione sociale che porta con sé una sterilizzazione della speranza di integrazione. Un ambiente migliore, un sistema di trasporti efficiente, una offerta di servizi che renda il quartiere degno di essere vissuto, rappresentano gli ingredienti essenziali per non lasciare al degrado e conseguentemente alla ghettizzazione aree, anche centrali, delle città.

L'educazione alle elementari regole di convivenza civile che interessa l'uso degli spazi comuni, il rispetto delle norme di igiene e di sicurezza non è un passo scontato, anzi, è spesso fonte di scontro nella quotidianità. Per questo è importante richiamare fin dall'inizio agli immigrati quella che è la cornice entro cui si svolge la convivenza nel nostro Paese.

ASSE IV – ACCESSO AI SERVIZI ESSENZIALI

Accesso ai servizi di prima accoglienza

La prima accoglienza rappresenta un passo decisivo per impostare un percorso di integrazione efficace. Sia nei casi di emergenza che nelle migrazioni ordinarie, il primo contatto che ha lo straniero è con lo sportello per l'immigrazione delle prefetture o con l'ufficio per l'immigrazione delle questure. Si tratta del primo passaggio burocratico con cui lo straniero rende nota la propria volontà di rimanere in Italia per un certo tempo e per un determinato motivo. E' importante aver una adeguata capacità di mediazione in questo primo incontro e per questo è anche opportuno servirsi di mediatori stranieri, persone cioè che si sono integrate a pieno nel nostro Paese e che possono aiutare nel percorso di integrazione i nuovi immigrati.

Accesso ai servizi socio-sanitario-assistenziali

L'allungamento del periodo migratorio pone con urgenza e necessità la questione del riconoscimento dei diritti di cittadinanza sociale. Un livello essenziale per promuovere una effettiva integrazione sociale della popolazione immigrata è dunque costituito dal corretto accesso ai servizi e ai presidi socio-sanitari-assistenziali presenti sul territorio. In questi anni il riconoscimento giuridico del diritto all'assistenza sanitaria per i cittadini immigrati non è stato

460 sufficiente a garantire l'accesso ai servizi sanitari, socio sanitari e assistenziali e la loro
461 appropriatezza.

462 Ciò richiede una conoscenza approfondita del fenomeno migratorio a livello locale, un ripensamento
463 sull'organizzazione interna dei servizi e una effettiva apertura all'esterno dei servizi stessi verso altri
464 enti e forme di volontariato e di privato sociale presenti nei singoli territori in termini di
465 collaborazione.

466 Conoscere il fenomeno grazie all'istituzione di un punto unico che faccia sintesi in modo flessibile
467 dei flussi informativi, permette di coniugare la domanda della persona con l'offerta dei servizi
468 tentando altresì di prevenire bisogni emergenti. In questa direzione, gli sportelli di accesso al sistema
469 integrato di interventi e i servizi socio sanitari e sociali devono poter creare stretti collegamenti,
470 anche mediante l'utilizzo delle tecnologie telematiche, con gli sportelli pubblici e del privato sociale
471 specializzati sulle problematiche dell'immigrazione.

472 E' pertanto opportuno potenziare i sistemi di prima assistenza e accompagnamento delle persone
473 immigrate grazie a personale adeguatamente qualificato e materiale divulgativo appositamente
474 predisposto nella lingua dello straniero. Emblematica è la frequente inappropriatezza dell'utilizzo
475 dei servizi, passando dall'accesso indifferenziato ad alcuni di essi, come il pronto soccorso, al
476 corretto ricorso alla rete territoriale.

477 Dal punto di vista della struttura interna risulta urgente armonizzare l'orario dei servizi con le nuove
478 esigenze dell'utenza che spesso non ha flessibilità di accesso. Oltre a una formazione specifica degli
479 operatori, anche la mediazione e l'interpretariato devono ormai rientrare nel servizio offerto anche
480 attraverso l'assunzione di personale straniero che si è già integrato nel nostro Paese.

481 A maggior ragione per le persone straniere, la sussidiarietà è il fondamento di una risposta coerente
482 alla complessità del loro bisogno. Tenendo conto dell'attuale articolazione del *welfare* territoriale
483 centrato sul Piano di Zona, quale strumento attuativo delle linee programmatiche - definite dalle
484 Regioni - e progettuali - definite dai Comuni o Consorzi di Comuni - in materia socio- assistenziale e
485 socio-sanitaria, è opportuno ripercorrere un simile processo di partecipazione e condivisione
486 affinché sul tema "immigrazione e accesso ai servizi" possa svilupparsi una azione congiunta Stato,
487 Regioni e Enti Locali. Solo così saremo in grado di utilizzare e rafforzare la rete di risorse e servizi già
488 operante sui territori, valorizzando le buone pratiche anche mediante un documento di linee guida
489 definito in sede di Conferenza Stato/Regioni.

490 Il lavoro all'interno dei servizi sanitari e assistenziali deve infatti caratterizzarsi per la
491 multidisciplinarietà e per l'essere in rete: molteplici figure professionali sono chiamate a raccordarsi
492 tra di loro e con l'attività di enti esterni, associazioni di volontariato di italiani e di immigrati e
493 cooperative sociali per condividere competenze, risorse e buone pratiche.
494 Una particolare attenzione dovrà essere dedicata all'attività di prevenzione ed educazione sanitaria
495 e sociale, specialmente per quanto riguarda malattie esotiche e nei confronti delle donne.
496 L'attivazione di percorsi specifici per informare le donne appartenenti a diverse etnie può garantire
497 un migliore accesso delle famiglie immigrate alla rete dei servizi territoriali. Se da un lato sarà
498 necessario affinare protocolli medici specifici per l'ingresso di persone immigrate in Italia, dall'altro
499 sarà ancor più importante sviluppare adeguati protocolli e strumenti per facilitare l'accesso alla rete
500 dei servizi.

ASSE V – MINORI E SECONDE GENERAZIONI

501 L'educazione è la priorità per l'integrazione dei minori stranieri: bisogna garantire ambiti e strumenti
502 perché possano divenire loro stessi. Il ruolo fondamentale del lavoro ai fini dell'integrazione degli
503 adulti viene ricoperto dalla famiglia e dalla scuola verso i minori.

504 In aderenza a tutte le norme nazionali e internazionali, la tutela dei minori deve essere piena e
505 incondizionata, a prescindere dalle modalità di ingresso nel territorio italiano degli stessi.

506 I genitori dei bambini stranieri affrontano necessariamente un riassetto del proprio stile di
507 vita e tale condizione di *stress* può compromettere la loro capacità di accudimento dei figli, che può
508 essere sostenuta innanzitutto dalle reti territoriali di associazioni e famiglie solidali e favorendo il
509 loro accesso ai servizi educativi e socio-sanitario-assistenziali.

510 Oltre le proposte indicate nell'asse dedicato all'educazione, è opportuno concentrare gli sforzi per
511 evitare l'abbandono scolastico da parte dei minori immigrati prima dell'età dell'obbligo, assicurare
512 l'effettività nell'accesso e nella prosecuzione dell'*iter* formativo, e offrire percorsi di formazione
513 qualificanti per l'inserimento nel mondo del lavoro, sfruttando innanzitutto lo strumento
514 dell'apprendistato.

515 All'interno della categoria minori meritano poi particolare attenzione i minori stranieri non
516 accompagnati, i quali si trovano privi di assistenza e rappresentanza da parte dei genitori o di altri
517 adulti legalmente responsabili. In questo ambito è cruciale rinsaldare le politiche di collaborazione
518 con i Paesi terzi - *in primis* Egitto e Marocco da cui proviene un terzo dei minori stranieri non

519 accompagnati - al fine di prevenire e scoraggiare il fenomeno delle partenze illegali. Ciò potrà essere
520 realizzato sia attraverso campagne informative di prevenzione da realizzarsi nei Paesi d'origine, sia
521 attraverso interventi finalizzati all'inclusione socio-lavorativa dei minori a rischio nel proprio Paese.

522 Il *Comitato per i minori stranieri*, istituito presso il Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche sociali, in
523 virtù della sua funzione di coordinamento delle attività dei molteplici attori interessati al fenomeno,
524 rappresenta lo strumento centrale nel promuovere politiche di integrazione sistemiche. In tale
525 direzione, è stato potenziato il Programma nazionale di protezione dei minori stranieri non
526 accompagnati, realizzato in collaborazione con l'ANCI e finalizzato alla creazione di una rete che
527 consenta una più equilibrata distribuzione sul territorio nazionale dei minori e il miglioramento delle
528 attuali modalità di presa in carico dei minori, innanzitutto tramite l'istituto dell'affido, soprattutto
529 tramite forme temporanee e flessibili.

530 Sulle cosiddette seconde generazioni è saltato l'impianto culturale sia del multiculturalismo che
531 dell'assimilazionismo, come in alcuni Paesi dove i figli di stranieri nati nel Paese di migrazione non si
532 sono integrati. La sfida dunque più difficile che abbiamo di fronte riguarda proprio loro, i giovani che
533 crescono contemporaneamente nell'ambiente familiare che esprime la loro cultura di origine
534 all'interno della nostra tradizione nazionale. Per evitare una vita "divisa" che porta inevitabilmente
535 a tensione sociale, dobbiamo essere pronti a valorizzare quanto esiste di edificante nella loro
536 tradizione, sottolineando – certamente senza sconti – le affinità e i punti di contatto e prevedendo
537 percorsi di integrazione effettiva e piena.

GLI STRUMENTI DELL'INTEGRAZIONE

538 Il Piano nazionale per l'integrazione deve partire dai risultati conseguiti nelle esperienze di successo
539 finora maturate a livello territoriale, in modo da poterle replicare in un quadro sistematico,
540 razionalizzando le risorse impegnate e riorientando le politiche di settore. La valutazione delle
541 politiche di integrazione richiede l'elaborazione di un sistema di monitoraggio e controllo, attraverso
542 la costruzione di indicatori significativi e congruenti con le priorità declinate nel Piano, che
543 consentano un controllo costante sulla coerenza strategica delle azioni e sul loro grado di
544 realizzazione e di efficacia. L'ottimizzazione nell'impiego delle risorse disponibili, sia nazionali sia
545 comunitarie, esige una programmazione sistemica che sia capace di superare la
546 frammentazione degli interventi, coordinando ed integrando tutti gli strumenti finanziari esistenti.

Banche dati e fondi

547 Sia le banche dati sia i fondi vedono la compartecipazione di molteplici livelli di governo e per questo
548 richiedono sia sviluppata una più forte integrazione della loro azione. Senza dati non è possibile
549 programmare politiche efficaci per l'integrazione: siamo chiamati a razionalizzare l'enorme mole di
550 informazioni esistenti in materia per riuscire a capire gli andamenti del fenomeno migratorio e
551 predisporre politiche coerenti. Anche per quanto riguarda i fondi, è urgente un maggiore raccordo
552 tra i finanziamenti statali e quelli concessi dagli enti locali e dal privato sociale per evitare
553 sovrapposizioni e definire obiettivi condivisi.

Portale dell'integrazione

554 I destinatari del Portale, gestito dall'Istituto per gli Affari sociali, sono tutti gli attori che a vario titolo
555 si occupano di politiche di integrazione - Ministeri, Regioni, Enti Locali, privato e privato sociale -
556 nonché gli immigrati. Il Portale costituirà innanzitutto il luogo di raccolta e scambio delle buone
557 pratiche promosse a livello territoriale. Rivolgendosi direttamente agli immigrati, avrà inoltre
558 funzioni di sportello unico virtuale, favorendo l'accesso a tutte le informazioni istituzionali in modo
559 interattivo. Per strutturare il portale sarà necessaria una attività di coinvolgimento e di raccordo tra
560 le amministrazioni pubbliche e gli operatori del privato sociale, mettendo così in comunicazione le
561 reti già esistenti.

Nationaler Aktionsplan für



| BERICHT |

Inhalt

Präambel

**Prozess zur Erstellung des Nationalen Aktionsplans
für Integration**

Zielgruppen

Allgemeine integrationspolitische Leitlinien

1. Handlungsfeld Sprache und Bildung

2. Handlungsfeld Arbeit und Beruf

3. Handlungsfeld Rechtsstaat und Werte

4. Handlungsfeld Gesundheit und Soziales

5. Handlungsfeld Interkultureller Dialog

6. Handlungsfeld Sport und Freizeit

**7. Handlungsfeld Wohnen und die regionale
Dimension der Integration**

Präambel

1 Österreich ist die erfolgreiche Integration von Migrant/innen zum Wohle der gesamten Gesellschaft
2 ein zentrales Anliegen.

3 Aufbauend auf den geleisteten Vorarbeiten und in Zusammenarbeit mit allen beteiligten Ressorts,
4 den Ländern und Gemeinden sowie anderen interessierten Stellen der Zivilgesellschaft wurde der
5 Nationale Aktionsplan für Integration erarbeitet, der die österreichweite Zusammenarbeit für
6 erfolgreiche Integrationsmaßnahmen strukturiert.

7 Defizite im Bereich der Integration sollen gezielt beseitigt bzw. vermieden werden, um die Potenziale
8 von Personen mit Migrationshintergrund im Interesse aller Beteiligten noch besser nutzen zu
9 können.

10 Österreich bekennt sich zu einer geregelten Zuwanderung, die einen wirtschaftlichen und
11 demografischen Mehrwert darstellt. Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund haben zu Wachstum und
12 Wohlstand in Österreich beigetragen. Gleichzeitig finden Migrant/ innen in Österreich, einem der
13 wirtschaftlich und sozial erfolgreichsten Länder Europas, attraktive Entwicklungsperspektiven, die
14 es ihnen ermöglichen, ihr Leben selbstbestimmt zu gestalten. Dabei obliegt es Migrant/innen, sich
15 eigenverantwortlich aktiv in den Integrationsprozess einzubringen.

16 Integration ist ein wechselseitiger Prozess, der von gegenseitiger Wertschätzung und Respekt
17 geprägt ist, wobei klare Regeln den gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhalt und den sozialen Frieden
18 sichern. Erfolgreiche Integration liegt vor, wenn jedenfalls ausreichende Kenntnisse der deutschen
19 Sprache für das Arbeitsleben, für die Aus- und Weiterbildung sowie für den Kontakt zu öffentlichen
20 Einrichtungen vorhanden sind, die wirtschaftliche Selbsterhaltungsfähigkeit gegeben ist sowie die
21 Anerkennung und Einhaltung der dem Rechtsstaat zugrundeliegenden österreichischen und
22 europäischen Rechts- und Werteordnung vorliegen.

23 Eine integrierte Gesellschaft ist durch soziale Durchlässigkeit und Offenheit geprägt. Sie ermöglicht
24 dem/r Einzelnen, sein/ihr Leben eigenverantwortlich zu gestalten, ohne wegen seiner/ ihrer Herkunft,
25 Sprache oder Hautfarbe diskriminiert zu werden.

26 Integration zielt auf die Partizipation an wirtschaftlichen, sozialen, politischen und kulturellen
27 Prozessen sowie auf die Einhaltung der damit verbundenen Pflichten ab. Integration ist ein
28 individueller ebenso wie ein gesellschaftlicher Prozess, der durch eigenverantwortliches
29 Engagement sowie durch staatliche Rahmenbedingungen permanent zu gestalten ist. Die
30 Herausbildung eines österreichischen Wir-Gefühls, das von der Mehrheitsgesellschaft und den
31 Migrant/innen gemeinsam getragen wird, ist ein zentrales Anliegen integrationspolitischer
32 Bemühungen. In diesem Zusammenhang sind auch Maßnahmen gegen Rassismus und
33 Diskriminierung zu setzen.

Der Nationale Aktionsplan für Integration verfolgt das Ziel, die Maßnahmen für erfolgreiche Integration von Bund, Ländern, Städten, Gemeinden, Sozialpartnern und zivilgesellschaftlichen Organisationen zu optimieren, zu bündeln und systematisch weiterzuentwickeln. Der Nationale Aktionsplan ist kein Schlusspunkt, sondern versteht sich als ein Prozess, in dem laufend auf neue Herausforderungen reagiert wird, gemeinsam mit allen relevanten staatlichen Institutionen und auf allen Ebenen, mit dem Ziel der nachhaltigen Sicherung des gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhalts.

Im Regierungsprogramm der XXIV. Gesetzgebungsperiode ist die Erarbeitung eines Nationalen Aktionsplans für Integration vorgesehen. Das Bundesministerium für Inneres hat dabei eine koordinierende Funktion übernommen.

Als Grundlage für die Erarbeitung des Aktionsplans diente das vom Bundesministerium für Inneres erstellte Einführungspapier zur Erstellung eines Nationalen Aktionsplans für Integration.

Eine aus den Verantwortungsträgern zusammengesetzte Steuerungsgruppe stimmt seit dem Frühjahr 2009 die Arbeiten zum Aktionsplan aufeinander ab. In der Steuerungsgruppe sind betroffene Ministerien, sämtliche Bundesländer, Gemeinde- und Städtebund, Sozialpartner und die Industriellenvereinigung sowie Organisationen der Zivilgesellschaft vertreten.

Im Rahmen von 2 Runden von Expert/innengesprächen mit zahlreichen nationalen und internationalen Expert/innen aus Wissenschaft und Praxis wurde der Prozess zur Erstellung des Nationalen Aktionsplans der fachlichen Diskussion zugeführt und der internationalen Dimension Rechnung getragen.

Bei Treffen mit Migrant/innenorganisationen und im Zuge von Bürger/innengesprächen mit Menschen ohne und mit Migrationshintergrund wurden die Handlungsfelder des Nationalen Aktionsplans und ihre Implikationen mit den Zielgruppen diskutiert.

Univ.-Doz. Dr. Peter Ulram (GfK Austria GmbH) erstellte eine Studie über Meinungen und Einstellungen zum Stand der Integration in Österreich („Integration in Österreich – Einstellungen, Orientierungen und Erfahrungen von Migrant/innen und Angehörigen der Mehrheitsbevölkerung“).

Der Integrationsexperte Univ.-Prof. Dr. Heinz Faßmann (Universität Wien) entwickelte ein Set von 25 Integrationsindikatoren, um den Stand der Integration in Österreich künftig systematisch messen und evaluieren zu können.

Zur überblicksartigen Darstellung der österreichischen Integrationslandschaft wurden seitens aller Partner Integrationsmaßnahmen eingebracht und sodann systematisch erfasst, um durch eine erhöhte Transparenz eine zielgerichtete Weiterentwicklung integrationspolitischer Maßnahmen zu ermöglichen.

Die Ergebnisse des Prozesses wurden im Bericht zum Nationalen Aktionsplan für Integration zusammengefasst und dieser soll als Grundlage für die weiteren Aktivitäten und Bemühungen aller Partner dienen.

Zielgruppen

69 Zielgruppen des Nationalen Aktionsplans für Integration sind die Gesamtgesellschaft, ausländische
70 Staatsbürger, die dauerhaft in Österreich niedergelassen sind, österreichische Staatsbürger, die im
71 Ausland geboren wurden sowie Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund, die dauerhaft in Österreich
72 niedergelassen sind bzw. bereits die österreichische Staatsbürgerschaft besitzen, aber deren Eltern
73 im Ausland geboren wurden.

Allgemeine integrationspolitische Leitlinien

- 74 ▪ Integration ist eine der großen Herausforderungen Österreichs für den Erhalt des sozialen
75 Friedens und des wirtschaftlichen Erfolgs. Gesellschaftliche Vielfalt ist als Chance für die
76 wirtschaftliche Entwicklung zu nutzen.
- 77 ▪ Integration ist Aufgabe und Verantwortung jedes Einzelnen. Nur wenn alle Beteiligten eine
78 entsprechende Bereitschaft zeigen, kann Integration erfolgreich sein. Eine wichtige Grundlage
79 in diesem Zusammenhang ist eine positive Einstellung von allen in Österreich lebenden
80 Menschen gegenüber dem Integrationsprozess.
- 81 ▪ Wichtigste Grundlagen für erfolgreiche Integration in Österreich sind das Erlernen der deutschen
82 Sprache, die wirtschaftliche Selbsterhaltungsfähigkeit, ein klares Bekenntnis zu Österreich,
83 seinen Normen und Werten sowie die Bereitschaft und der Wille der Migrant/innen sich zu
84 integrieren.
- 85 ▪ Dem Staat kommt die Aufgabe zu, entsprechende Rahmenbedingungen für erfolgreiche
86 Integration zu schaffen. Entsprechend dem Querschnittscharakter von Integration wird diese
87 Aufgabe von Bund, Ländern und Gemeinden im Zusammenwirken mit der Sozialpartnerschaft
88 und Vertreter/innen der Zivilgesellschaft gemeinsam wahrgenommen.
- 89 ▪ Auch Migrant/innen haben mit ihrer Arbeit zu unserem Wirtschaftswachstum und so zu unserem
90 Wohlstand beigetragen. Wenngleich sich die Situation der Nachfrage nach Arbeitskräften ändern
91 kann, ist ihre nachhaltige Integration in den Arbeitsmarkt Voraussetzung für eine kohärente
92 Weiterentwicklung unserer Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft.
- 93 ▪ Unterstützungen und Förderungen sind verstärkt an die Bereitschaft zu binden, am
94 Integrationsprozess aktiv und eigenverantwortlich teilzunehmen.

- 95 ▪ Ein gutes Zusammenleben bedarf klarer Regeln. Wer diese einhält, soll eine faire Chance in
96 unserem Land erhalten.
- 97 ▪ Integrationserfordernisse werden durch Faktoren wie Herkunft, Geschlecht, sozialer Status,
98 kulturelle oder religiöse Prägung von Migrant/innen sowie deren Zugehörigkeit zu einer
99 Generation bestimmt. Im Sinne einer zukunftsorientierten Integrationspolitik ist auf die Eröffnung
100 von Perspektiven für Frauen sowie Kinder und Jugendliche mit Migrationshintergrund, vor allem
101 der 2. und 3. Generation, besonders zu achten und auf ihre spezifischen Bedürfnisse
102 einzugehen.
- 103 ▪ Defizite und Probleme sind zu thematisieren, um in einem offenen und ehrlichen Dialog
104 gesellschaftliche und integrationspolitische Herausforderungen anzusprechen. Auch positive
105 Aspekte von Migration und Integration sind dabei sichtbar zu machen.
- 106 ▪ Die Integration von Asylberechtigten und subsidiär Schutzberechtigten stellt aufgrund deren
107 Schutzbedürftigkeit eine besondere Herausforderung dar. Ebenso sind autochthone
108 Minderheiten im Rahmen integrationspolitischer Maßnahmen zu berücksichtigen.
- 109 ▪ Österreich tritt fundamentalistischen und extremistischen Tendenzen klar entgegen und wird
110 deshalb ebenso verhetzende, fremdenfeindliche und rassistische Entwicklungen bekämpfen.
- 111 ▪ Maßnahmen gegen Rassismus und Diskriminierung sind Bestandteil österreichischer
112 Integrationspolitik und entsprechend zu forcieren.
- 113 ▪ Integrationspolitische Überlegungen sind bereits zum Zeitpunkt der Zuwanderung zu
114 berücksichtigen. Nach arbeitsmarktpolitischen Kriterien geleitete Zuwanderung ist im
115 österreichischen Interesse.
- 116 ▪ Der Erhalt der österreichischen Staatsbürgerschaft soll den Endpunkt eines umfassenden
117 Integrationsprozesses darstellen.
- 118 ▪ Integrationspolitische Maßnahmen und deren operative Umsetzung haben im Sinne des
119 Subsidiaritätsprinzips primär dezentral in den dafür vorgesehenen Regelstrukturen auf Bundes-
120 , Landes- und Gemeindeebene zu erfolgen.
- 121 ▪ Die Integrationsprozesse sollen künftig anhand von Integrationsindikatoren systematisch
122 gemessen (Monitoring) und evaluiert werden.

- 123 ▪ Integration muss, will sie erfolgreich sein, professionell begleitet werden. Daher soll ein beim
124 Bundesministerium für Inneres eingerichtetes Integrationsgremium unter Einbindung aller
125 Verantwortungsträger regelmäßig Umsetzungsstrategien erarbeiten und laufend den
126 Integrationsprozess mittels der Integrationsindikatoren analysieren sowie entsprechende
127 Optimierungsvorschläge in einem jährlichen Integrationsbericht erstellen.

- 128 ▪ Europäische und nationale Förderungen sollen zielgerichtet und bedarfsorientiert eingesetzt
129 werden.

- 130 ▪ Die Erstellung von Integrationsleitbildern und die Ernennung von Integrationsbeauftragten in
131 Ländern, Städten und Gemeinden werden begrüßt. Sozialpartner, Interessenvertretungen,
132 Nichtregierungsorganisationen und Unternehmen sind eingeladen, als aktive Partner ihren
133 Beitrag zur Umsetzung integrationspolitischer Maßnahmen zu leisten.

1.Handlungsfeld Sprache und Bildung

Herausforderungen

134 Armut und mangelnde soziale Mobilität von Migrant/innen in Verbindung mit einer geringen
135 Sprachkompetenz in Deutsch resultieren in einer nur langsamen Höherqualifizierung der Kinder und
136 Jugendlichen sowie einem erschwerten Zugang von Erwachsenen zu Weiterbildungsmaßnahmen.
137 Bildung spielt nicht nur hinsichtlich der gesellschaftlichen Gleichstellung von Migrant/innen eine
138 wichtige Rolle, sondern fördert insgesamt einen konstruktiven Umgang mit kultureller und
139 sprachlicher Diversität und unterstützt die Nutzung aller gesellschaftlichen Potenziale. Konkrete
140 Herausforderungen sind in diesem Zusammenhang:

- 142 ▪ Der Anteil von Schüler/innen mit nichtdeutscher Erstsprache ist besonders in Ballungszentren
143 hoch und hat eine steigende Tendenz.

- 144 ▪ Der Anteil der Schüler/innen mit nichtdeutscher Erstsprache ist in bestimmten Schulformen (z.B.
145 Polytechnische Schule) überdurchschnittlich hoch.

- 146 ▪ Verhältnismäßig wenige Migrant/innen verfügen über einen höheren Bildungsabschluss, der
147 jedoch die Chancen am Arbeitsmarkt erhöht. Oftmals reicht die erworbene Bildung nicht über
148 einen Pflichtschulabschluss hinaus.

- Der Nutzen von sprachlicher Vielfalt in der österreichischen Bevölkerung ist verstärkt zu vermitteln.

Grundsätze

- Das Beherrschen der deutschen Sprache ist auch eine Voraussetzung für die Teilhabe am wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Leben. Die Förderung der deutschen Sprache ist neben der stetigen Weiterentwicklung des Bildungssystems eine wesentliche Voraussetzung für den Erfolg im Bildungswesen und die spätere Integration ins Erwerbsleben. Wer dauerhaft in Österreich leben und am wirtschaftlichen und gesellschaftlichen Leben teilhaben will, muss bereit sein, die deutsche Sprache zu erlernen.
- Die Teilnahme an Sprachkursen ist im Hinblick auf die Förderung von Zielgruppen, insbesondere von Frauen, bedeutsam, da der Spracherwerb auf freiwilliger Basis aufgrund traditionsbedingter Einstellungen erschwert werden könnte.
- Für die Förderung von schwierig zu erreichenden Zielgruppen, wie Menschen mit dem Bedarf an Basisbildung, müssen spezifische, bedürfnisorientierte Sprach- und Weiterbildungsmaßnahmen angeboten werden, um die Teilnahme sicher zu stellen.
- Sprachliche Bildung ist gemeinsame Aufgabe aller an der Erziehung beteiligten Personen und Institutionen (Familie, Kinderbetreuungs- und Bildungsinstitutionen). Maßgebliche Bedeutung kommt dabei der Zusammenarbeit zwischen Kindergarten, Schule und Eltern im Hinblick auf den Spracherwerb der Kinder insgesamt zu.
- Bildungsgrad und Deutschkenntnisse sind für die Integration ins Erwerbsleben von entscheidender Bedeutung.
- Analphabetismus ist durch ein verstärktes zielgruppenspezifisches Angebot entgegenzuwirken.
- Das wirtschaftliche Wachstumspotenzial und der Wohlstand Österreichs sind auch eng mit der Nutzung des Potenzials von Migrant/innen verbunden. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist die sprachliche und fachliche Qualifizierung der niedergelassenen Migrant/innen gezielt zu fördern.
- Maßnahmen im Bildungssystem, die die Chancengerechtigkeit für alle benachteiligten Gruppen erhöhen, tragen auch zur verstärkten Partizipation von Migrant/innen an Bildung bei und erhöhen Bildungserfolge und die Chancen am Arbeitsmarkt.

Ziele

Die frühe sprachliche Förderung ist auszubauen und weiterzuentwickeln.

- Qualitätsvolle Formen der Sprachstandsfeststellung sollen Grundlage für eine gezielte und bedarfsgerechte Sprachförderung bereits im Kindergarten und nach Bedarf auch in der Schuleintrittsphase sein.
- Die frühzeitige Vermittlung der deutschen Sprache für Kinder im Vorschulalter ist im Hinblick auf die bestmöglichen Chancen für die Schule und das berufliche Fortkommen von besonderer Bedeutung. Daher gibt es spätestens ab September 2010 die verpflichtende, grundsätzlich kostenlose Absolvierung des letzten Kindergartenjahres.
- Frühzeitige Mehrsprachigkeit ist zu fördern.

Die Sprachförderung an den Schulen ist weiterzuentwickeln.

- Gezielte Informationen für Eltern mit Migrationshintergrund über das Bildungssystem und die Bildungschancen der Kinder sowie entsprechende Beratungsangebote sollen forciert werden. Bildungsangebote für Erwachsene, insbesondere Sprachkurse für Eltern (Basisbildung, Nachholen von Bildungsabschlüssen und Qualifizierungsmaßnahmen), differenzierte Sprach- und sonstige Bildungsangebote für Erwachsene sind gemeinsam mit Trägern der Erwachsenenbildung auszuweiten.
- Mehrsprachigkeit und interkulturelles Lernen sind jedenfalls im gesamten Bildungssystem zu berücksichtigen.

Das Angebot an Sprachkursen für Frauen und Eltern ist gezielt weiterzuentwickeln.

- Für Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund soll es spezielle Sprachkurse geben, um ihre Bildungs- und Partizipationschancen zu erhöhen. Gleichzeitig sollen Frauen mit höherem Bildungsgrad ihrem Potenzial entsprechend gefördert werden.
- Eltern sind Sprachkenntnisse zu vermitteln, um ihnen zu ermöglichen, ihre Kinder beim Erwerb der deutschen Sprache zu unterstützen. Das Angebot an Eltern-Kind-Kursen ist zu erweitern.

Die Integrationsmaßnahmen bei Neuzuwanderung sind weiterzuentwickeln.

- Die Chancen auf gesellschaftliche Teilhabe von Neuzuwanderer/innen sind durch Bildungsangebote und die Förderung des Spracherwerbs gezielt zu verbessern.
- Im Rahmen der Integrationsvereinbarung soll eine Sprachkompetenz entsprechend dem Niveau B1 des Gemeinsamen Europäischen Referenzrahmens erreicht werden. Neuzuwander/innen sollen dabei unterstützt werden, Grundkenntnisse der Rechtsordnung, der Geschichte und der

- 209 Kultur Österreichs zu erwerben. Die Vergleichbarkeit der Beurteilung bei Sprachprüfungen und
210 die Qualitätsstandards sind durch geeignete Maßnahmen sicherzustellen.
- 211 ▪ Für Personen, die neu nach Österreich zuwandern und sich hier dauerhaft niederlassen wollen,
212 sind sprachliche Integrationsmaßnahmen vor Zuzug, unter Beachtung der europa- und
213 verfassungsrechtlichen Bestimmungen, auf dem A1-Niveau des Gemeinsamen Europäischen
214 Referenzrahmens für Sprachen, bedarfsorientiert zu setzen. Hauptzielgruppe sind demnach
215 nachzugsberechtigte Familienangehörige aus Drittstaaten von Drittstaatsangehörigen, jedoch
216 beispielsweise nicht höher Qualifizierte, die einen erkennbar geringeren Integrationsbedarf
217 haben, um in Österreich zu arbeiten.
- 218 ▪ Für die Erweiterung des Angebotes an Materialien zur Sprachförderung im Rahmen der
219 Integrationsvereinbarung sind Synergien mit existierenden pädagogischen Materialien zu
220 nutzen.
- 221 **Die Bildungs- und Berufsorientierung von Jugendlichen ist zu verbessern.**
- 222 ▪ Um allen Jugendlichen umfassende Kenntnisse über die Bildungs- und Berufslandschaft in
223 Österreich zu vermitteln, sollen sich Schulen und Einrichtungen der Berufsberatung verstärkt an
224 Jugendliche mit Migrationshintergrund richten.
- 225 ▪ Besonderes Augenmerk soll auf bildungsferne Jugendliche gelegt werden, mit dem Ziel der
226 Förderung der Bildungsneigung und der Sprachkompetenz.
- 227 **Die Erwachsenenbildung für Migrant/innen soll weiterentwickelt werden.**
- 228 ▪ Möglichkeiten für Migrant/innen Pflichtschulabschlüsse nachzuholen sind auszubauen.
- 229 ▪ Sprachförderung ist auch für bereits seit längerer Zeit ansässige Migrant/ innen zu ermöglichen.
- 230 ▪ Es sollen verstärkt modulare Nachqualifizierungsangebote für Migrant/innen angeboten werden.
- 231 ▪ Das Angebot von sprachlichen und berufsspezifischen Qualifizierungsmaßnahmen ist
232 bedarfsorientiert auszubauen.
- 233 ▪ Der Zugang zu Weiterbildung ist zu erleichtern, um Dequalifizierungsprozesse zu verhindern.
- 234 ▪ Für Soldat/innen mit Migrationshintergrund soll eine gezielte Sprachförderung bestehen, um
235 auch ihre Karrierechancen in den Streitkräften zu erhöhen.

Abschlüsse und Kompetenzen sollen in größerem Ausmaß anerkannt werden.

- Die Anerkennung bzw. Nostrifizierung von im Ausland erworbenen Ausbildungen und akademischen Graden ist zu verbessern und zu vereinfachen, um den ausbildungsadäquaten Einsatz auf dem Arbeitsmarkt und damit die entsprechende Entlohnung zu sichern.

- Es sollen Instrumente entwickelt werden, um beruflich relevante Kenntnisse, die informell erworben wurden, nachweisen und validieren zu können.

Die Pädagog/innen-Ausbildung ist weiterzuentwickeln.

- Für Pädagog/innen soll es eine spezifische Aus- und Weiterbildung im Bereich der interkulturellen Kompetenz geben. Insbesondere soll das Personal im Bereich der Elementarpädagogik für die umfassende sprachliche Förderung von mehrsprachigen Kindern befähigt werden.

- Die Anstellung mehrsprachiger Pädagog/innen ist anzustreben, um Kindern und Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund eine verbesserte Vermittlung und Förderung der deutschen Sprache zu ermöglichen.

- Für Personen mit Migrationshintergrund soll die pädagogische Ausbildung, insbesondere für den Pflichtschulbereich, attraktiver gestaltet werden. Mehrsprachige Schüler/innen sollen daher vermehrt, etwa im Wege der Berufsberatung in den Schulen, ermutigt werden, die Laufbahn von Lehrer/innen einzuschlagen.

- Alle Lehrer/innen sollen im Rahmen ihrer Aus- und Weiterbildung Grundkompetenzen für die Arbeit in mehrsprachigen und kulturell heterogenen Klassen erwerben.

- Das Angebot von Lehrmaterialien zur Bewusstseinsbildung für Integration soll ausgebaut und verstärkt eingesetzt werden.

Antirassistische Sensibilisierung, Bewusstseinsbildung und Befähigung zur demokratischen Teilhabe sind zu fördern.

- Der Schulunterricht hat aktiv zu einer den Menschenrechten verpflichteten Demokratie beizutragen.

- Im Schulunterricht sind insbesondere im Rahmen von Projekten, Maßnahmen zu setzen, um Vorurteilen, Rassismus, Diskriminierung und Fremdenfeindlichkeit sowie damit zusammenhängender Intoleranz entgegenzutreten.

- 265 ▪ Schüler/innen und Lehrer/innen sollen – insbesondere im Rahmen von Kursen und Projekten
266 Strategien zur Gewaltvermeidung und Konfliktlösung angeboten werden.

2. Handlungsfeld Arbeit und Beruf

267 Herausforderungen

268 Auch Migrant/innen haben zum Wirtschaftswachstum in Österreich beigetragen. Hohe
269 Arbeitslosigkeit unter Migrant/innen und grundlegende Herausforderungen bei der Integration in
270 Wirtschaft und Arbeitsmarkt stehen in Zusammenhang mit geringen Deutschkenntnissen und einem
271 geringen Bildungsgrad. Weiters gilt:

- 272 ▪ Zuwanderung hat sich an den Interessen Österreichs, und dabei vor allem am Arbeitsmarkt, zu
273 orientieren. Eine mangelhaft gesteuerte Zuwanderung kann einen Verdrängungsprozess
274 zulasten der schon länger aufhältigen ausländischen Arbeitskräfte und/oder Österreicher/innen
275 mit Migrationshintergrund auslösen und dadurch die Arbeitslosigkeit anheben.
- 276 ▪ Die Beschäftigung zu schlechten Lohn- und Arbeitsbedingungen wirkt sich integrationshemmend
277 aus. Geeignete Maßnahmen zur Bekämpfung von Lohn- und Sozialdumping sind daher zu
278 ergreifen.
- 279 ▪ Ältere Personen aus traditionellen Zuwanderungsländern sind vor allem im unteren oder
280 mittleren Qualifikationssegment beschäftigt. Sie sind von der Reduktion niedrig qualifizierter
281 Jobs im Gefolge von Produktionsverlagerungen und technologischem Wandel besonders
282 betroffen.
- 283 ▪ Bildungsferne Migrant/innen stellen bei der Integration in den Arbeitsmarkt eine besondere
284 Herausforderung dar.
- 285 ▪ Um eine nachhaltige Höherqualifizierung zu sichern, ist im Hinblick auf die Ausbezahlung der
286 Familienbeihilfe zwischen dem 18. und 21. Lebensjahr zu prüfen, ob die Leistungsbereitschaft
287 nach geltender Rechtslage und Praxis in geeigneter Weise berücksichtigt wird.

288 Grundsätze

- 289 ▪ Berufstätigkeit ist der Schlüssel für einen erfolgreichen Integrationsprozess.
- 290 ▪ Selbsterhaltungsfähigkeit ist ein wesentlicher Solidarbeitrag und für die gesellschaftliche
291 Partizipation unverzichtbar.

- 292 ▪ Potenziale von Migrant/innen für den Arbeitsmarkt sind verstärkt zu nutzen. Österreichs

293 Unternehmen können von unterschiedlichen Sprachkenntnissen sowie Kenntnissen anderer

294 Kulturen profitieren. Diversitätsmanagement ist als wichtiger wirtschaftlicher Erfolgsfaktor

295 anzuerkennen.
- 296 ▪ Angesichts von wirtschaftlichem Strukturwandel ist der Grundsatz „Integration vor Neuzuzug“

297 weiter zu verfolgen.
- 298 ▪ Die geregelte und nach arbeitsmarktpolitischen Kriterien geleitete Zuwanderung von

299 Drittstaatsangehörigen in die EU stärkt den europäischen und österreichischen

300 Wirtschaftsstandort.
- 301 ▪ Der Mangel an Fachkräften kann in Österreich zu branchenspezifischen Arbeitskräfte-

302 Engpässen führen, die das wirtschaftliche Wachstumspotenzial beeinträchtigen und den

303 Wohlstand gefährden. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist die sprachliche und fachliche Qualifizierung

304 auch der Migrant/innen gezielt zu fordern und zu fördern.
- 305 ▪ Aufenthaltsrecht und Arbeitserlaubnis sind adäquat aufeinander abzustimmen. Tätigkeiten in der

306 Schattenwirtschaft verhindern die Integration in den regulären Arbeitsmarkt. Der Schwarzarbeit

307 ist aus diesem Grund entgegenzuwirken.
- 308 ▪ Maßnahmen gegen Diskriminierung und die Schaffung von Chancengleichheit sind auch am

309 Arbeitsmarkt grundlegend für erfolgreiche Integration.
- 310 ▪ Wesentlich für die Integration ist die Verbesserung der Einkommenssituation von Migrant/innen.

311 Sie sollen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt gleichberechtigt und gleich geachtet auftreten. Die

312 Gleichstellung der Migrant/innen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt fördert den fairen Wettbewerb aller

313 Arbeitskräfte untereinander, aber auch zwischen den Unternehmen.

314 Ziele

315 Die Integration von Personen mit Migrationshintergrund in den Arbeitsmarkt soll gefördert 316 werden.

- 317 ▪ Personen mit Migrationshintergrund sind in den arbeitsmarktpolitischen Zielen des AMS stärker

318 zu berücksichtigen.

- 319 ▪ Zur Erleichterung der Integration in den Arbeitsmarkt sollen insbesondere berufsorientierte
320 Sprachkurse und die Kombination von Deutschkursen mit fachspezifischer Ausbildung gefördert
321 werden.

- 322 ▪ In den Bereichen der Qualifikation und der Berufsabschlüsse ist eine zweite Bildungschance
323 über modulare und berufsbegleitende Nachqualifizierung zu eröffnen. Die Neukonzeption von
324 Qualifikationsmaßnahmen ist im Kontext der regionalen Arbeitskräftenachfrage von Bedeutung.

- 325 ▪ Mentoring- und Coaching-Programme für Migrant/innen zur Erleichterung des
326 Arbeitsmarktzugangs sollen bei entsprechendem Erfolg forciert werden.

- 327 ▪ Die Beschäftigung von Personen mit Migrationshintergrund soll im öffentlichen Bereich erhöht
328 werden, so wie etwa bei der Polizei, Justiz, in der Schule, beim AMS und im Gesundheitsbereich.
329 Damit wird ein Beitrag zum gegenseitigen Verständnis und Respekt geleistet.

- 330 ▪ Die Integration der bereits zugewanderten Bevölkerung ist im Hinblick auf die volle Öffnung des
331 Arbeitsmarktes gegenüber den neuen EU-Mitgliedstaaten in den Jahren 2011 bzw. 2014 rasch
332 voranzutreiben. Die Bekämpfung von Lohn- und Sozialdumping, vor allem durch das Unterlaufen
333 von österreichischen Mindestlöhnen und das Nicht-Zahlen von Sozialabgaben, ist durch
334 geeignete Maßnahmen sicherzustellen.

335
336 **Die Integration, insbesondere von Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund, in die berufliche**
337 **Qualifizierung und in den Arbeitsmarkt ist zu fördern.**

- 338 ▪ Insbesondere junge Migrant/innen, vor allem bildungsferne Jugendliche, sollen verstärkt in
339 Qualifizierungsmaßnahmen für Berufe einbezogen werden, für die am Arbeitsmarkt eine starke
340 Nachfrage besteht.

- 341 ▪ Für den erfolgreichen Einstieg von jugendlichen Migrant/innen in den Arbeitsmarkt sollen weitere
342 konkrete Maßnahmen, vor allem am Lehrstellenmarkt, gesetzt werden.

343 **Die Integration, insbesondere von Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund, in die berufliche**
344 **Qualifizierung und in den Arbeitsmarkt ist zu fördern.**

- 345 ▪ Spezielle Angebote der Bildungs- und Berufsberatung sollen insbesondere für Mädchen und
346 Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund Bildungs- und Berufsperspektiven eröffnen.

- 347 ▪ Die berufliche Qualifizierung von Mädchen und Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund soll gefördert
348 werden.

349 **Die Selbstständigkeit von Migrant/innen ist zu fördern.**

- Zur Unterstützung der Selbstständigkeit von langfristig Niedergelassenen und Personen mit Migrationshintergrund sollen bestehende zielgruppenspezifische Informationsangebote für Unternehmensgründungen fortgeführt und allenfalls ausgebaut werden.

Eine weitere Harmonisierung von Aufenthalt und Zugangsrecht zum Arbeitsmarkt soll erreicht werden.

- Bei nachgezogenen Familienangehörigen im erwerbsfähigen Alter ist zu prüfen, inwieweit die Einschränkungen bei der Beschäftigungsbewilligung im ersten Jahr der Niederlassung beseitigt werden können.
- Für ausländische Studierende soll es während und nach erfolgreichem Abschluss des Studiums, unter Berücksichtigung der Arbeitsmarktlage, einen verbesserten Zugang zum Arbeitsmarkt geben.

3. Handlungsfeld Rechtsstaat und Werte

Herausforderungen

Der Rechtsstaat und seine Schutzbestimmungen stehen allen Menschen im Land zur Verfügung, seine Regeln sind von allen einzuhalten. Bei Übergriffen gegen Grundwerte und insbesondere gegen die Würde des Menschen darf die Bezugnahme auf kulturell geprägte Einstellungen keine Berücksichtigung finden. Dies gilt vor allem bei:

- gezieltem Fernhalten weiblicher Familienmitglieder von der gesellschaftlichen Teilhabe,
- Gewalt in der Familie,
- Unterdrückung der Frau im Familienverband,
- „Zwangsehen“ oder geschlechtsspezifischer Verstümmelung von Frauen.

Ebenso sind die unterschiedlichen Formen von Rassismus, Extremismus, Verhetzung und Diskriminierung von Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund gegen den Rechtsstaat und seine Werte gerichtet und daher entsprechend konsequent zu bekämpfen.

Die Vermittlung der rechtsstaatlichen Grundwerte und ihrer Fundamente ist, vor allem bei Jugendlichen ungeachtet ihrer Herkunft, oft unzureichend. Personen, die mangelndes Einverständnis mit der österreichischen Rechtsordnung aufweisen, sind potenziell eher gefährdet, Zielgruppe der organisierten Kriminalität bzw. zur Rekrutierung und zum Aufbau von Netzwerken herangezogen zu werden.

Grundsätze

- Die Normen und Werte des österreichischen Rechtsstaates sind nicht verhandelbar. Sie müssen von allen Menschen akzeptiert und befolgt werden.
- Die Achtung der Demokratie, der Grund- und Menschenrechte, der Menschenwürde sowie der Gleichstellung von Frau und Mann sind unverzichtbare Basis für Integration und gesellschaftliche Partizipation.
- Religiös und kulturell begründete Rechts- bzw. Ordnungssysteme außerhalb der österreichischen Rechtsordnung sind keine Rechtfertigung für Straftaten.
- Die Bekämpfung von Rassismus, Extremismus, Verhetzung und Diskriminierung ist zur Wahrung des Rechtsstaates unverzichtbar und dementsprechend zu forcieren.
- Integrationspolitik ist auch ein Sicherheitsthema und dient dem Schutz des Rechtsstaates. Integration ist eine wesentliche Voraussetzung zur Schaffung sozialen Friedens und trägt dadurch zur Vermeidung von Konflikten und zur Prävention von Kriminalität bei.
- Der Erhalt der österreichischen Staatsbürgerschaft soll den Endpunkt eines umfassenden Integrationsprozesses darstellen. Die Verleihung soll in einem würdigen Rahmen unter Betonung österreichischer Werte und Grundsätze erfolgen, um der Bedeutung des Ereignisses Rechnung zu tragen.

Ziele

Die gesetzlichen Regelungen sind zu kommunizieren und gegebenenfalls weiterzuentwickeln.

- Die Grundsätze der österreichischen Rechtsordnung sowie die in der Verfassung kodifizierten Normen und Werte sind Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund sowie der Mehrheitsgesellschaft verstärkt zu kommunizieren.
- Phänomene wie Zwangsehen oder Hasspredigten sollen mit den Mitteln des Rechtsstaates einschließlich der Mittel des Strafrechts verfolgt werden.
- Rechtliche Grundlagen gegen Rassismus, Extremismus Verhetzung und Diskriminierung bzw. für Gleichstellung sind verstärkt zu nutzen und zu kommunizieren. Dies gilt u.a. für Information über Angelegenheiten der Gleichberechtigung, insbesondere des Gleichbehandlungsgesetzes.

- 407 ▪ Opfer von Rassismus und Diskriminierung sind über ihre Rechte und entsprechende
408 Beschwerde- und Rechtsschutzmöglichkeiten zu informieren.
- 409 ▪ Die Gleichberechtigung und Gleichbehandlung von Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund ist in
410 allen gesellschaftlichen Schichten zu vermitteln.
- 411 ▪ Die Effektivität des gerichtlichen und außergerichtlichen Rechtsschutzes gegen Diskriminierung
412 soll evaluiert werden.
- 413 **Das interkulturelle Bewusstsein in der öffentlichen Verwaltung ist weiterzuentwickeln.**
- 414 ▪ Die Aufnahme von Mitarbeiter/innen mit spezifisch sprachlichem und kulturellem
415 Hintergrundwissen in die öffentliche Verwaltung, insbesondere in Polizei und Justiz, fördert das
416 Bewusstsein für kulturelle Herausforderungen und soll aus Gründen der Vorbildwirkung gefördert
417 werden.
- 418 ▪ Mitarbeiter/innen im öffentlichen Dienst, insbesondere in Polizei und Justiz, sind im Bereich Anti-
419 Diskriminierung weiter zu schulen.
- 420 **Eine moderne Religionslehrer/innen-Ausbildung ist zu sichern.**
- 421 ▪ Für Seelsorger/innen und Religionslehrer/innen aller Konfessionen soll eine moderne Aus- und
422 Weiterbildung in Österreich gesichert werden.
- 423 ▪ Die Bedeutung der Religionsfreiheit als individuelle Freiheit ist, unter gleichzeitiger Betonung der
424 Trennung von Kirche und Staat, zu vermitteln.
- 425 **Maßnahmen und Instrumente des Opferschutzes sind weiterzuentwickeln.**
- 426 ▪ Der Ausbau bestehender Einrichtungen für Opfer von Menschenhandel, insbesondere Frauen
427 und Kinder, von Gewalt und Zwangsehen soll gefördert werden.
- 428
- 429 ▪ Besonderes Augenmerk ist auf die Bekämpfung von Zwangsehen und weiblichen
430 Genitalverstümmelungen (FGM – Female Genital Mutilation) zu legen. Den Implementierungen
431 des Nationalen Aktionsplans zur Vorbeugung und Eliminierung von FGM in Österreich 2009 –
432 2011 ist Rechnung zu tragen.
- 433 ▪ Öffentliche Institutionen sind stärker für das Problem traditionsbedingter Gewalt zu
434 sensibilisieren.
- 435 ▪ Die Datenlage bzw. die Erfassung statistischer Daten ist zu verbessern.
- 436 **Schulen sollen neue Zugänge zum Thema Rechtsstaat und Werte eröffnen.**

- 437 ▪ In den Schulen soll es verstärkt Initiativen und Workshops zur Gewaltprävention, zu
438 Konfliktmanagement und gegen Mobbing bei Kindern und Jugendlichen geben.
- 439 ▪ Gleichberechtigung, Gleichstellung von Frauen und Männern sowie Gewaltprävention sind in
440 den Lehrplänen der Schulen stärker zu verankern.

4. Handlungsfeld Gesundheit und Soziales

441 Herausforderungen

442 Die in zahlreichen Fällen körperlich anstrengende Tätigkeit von Migrant/innen bedingt einen
443 vergleichsweise schlechten Gesundheitszustand von Migrant/innen höheren Alters. Fehlende
444 Deutschkenntnisse, mangelnde Kenntnisse über das Funktionieren des Gesundheitssystems und
445 erlebte Diskriminierung sind weitere negative Einflussfaktoren. Im Besonderen sind folgende
446 Herausforderungen zu bewältigen:

- 447 ▪ Migrant/innen beurteilen ihren Gesundheitszustand schlechter als andere Bevölkerungsgruppen
448 und nutzen seltener das Angebot an Vorsorgeuntersuchungen. Migrant/innen haben weniger
449 häufig einen aufrechten Impfschutz als die Mehrheitsbevölkerung. Chronische Krankheiten
450 treten bei Migrant/innen ebenfalls häufiger auf.
 - 451 ▪ Migrant/innen sind über das Funktionieren des Gesundheitssystems („health literacy“) weniger
452 gut informiert als die Mehrheitsbevölkerung. Aufgrund von Sprachproblemen und kulturellen
453 Differenzen entstehen höhere Behandlungskosten.
 - 454 ▪ Migrant/innen haben eine niedrigere Lebenserwartung sowohl im Vergleich mit ihren Eltern als
455 auch mit der Mehrheitsbevölkerung.
 - 456 ▪ Die Gruppe der „Gastarbeiter“, die insbesondere in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren nach
457 Österreich eingewandert ist, befindet sich zunehmend im Übergang vom Arbeitsleben in die
458 Pension. Der generell wachsende Begleitungs-, Betreuungs- und Pflegebedarf älterer Menschen
459 wird aufgrund der demografischen Entwicklung auch bei Migrant/innen in den nächsten Jahren
460 deutlich zunehmen.
- 461 Zwischen Gesundheit und sozialer Situation besteht vielfach ein enger Zusammenhang. Im Bereich
462 der sozialen Situation von Migrant/innen bestehen folgende Herausforderungen:
- 463 ▪ Das Einkommen von Migrant/innen ist niedriger. Diese leben trotz Erwerbstätigkeit
464 überdurchschnittlich oft unter der Armutsschwelle. Die Armutsgefährdung von Migrant/ innen ist
465 höher als jene von Angehörigen der Mehrheitsgesellschaft.

466 Grundsätze

- Das staatliche Gesundheitssystem soll allen Menschen, die in Österreich ihre Heimat haben, eine adäquate Versorgung sichern und die Eigenverantwortung für ihre Gesundheit stärken.
- Kulturelle Spezifika oder mangelhafte Deutschkenntnisse sollen die Gesundheitssituation von Menschen nicht negativ beeinflussen.
- Die Armutsgefährdung und die mangelnde soziale Mobilität von Migrant/innen sind durch geeignete Maßnahmen zu bekämpfen.

Ziele

Die interkulturelle Kompetenz im Gesundheits- und Sozialbereich ist zu stärken.

- Interkulturelle Kompetenz soll in Gesundheits- und Pflegeeinrichtungen sowie im Spitalsmanagement laufend und bedarfsorientiert gefördert werden. Beispielsweise sind kultursensible Pflege und Altenhilfe sowie Ausbildungsmodule für interkulturelle Kompetenz in den Curricula für Gesundheitsberufe, ferner im Leitbild von Krankenanstalten, zu verankern.
- Pflegeeinrichtungen sollen auf den wachsenden Anteil von pflegebedürftigen Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund vorbereitet werden.
- Krankenanstaltenverbund und Krankenanstalten haben im Sinne der Qualitätssicherung den gleichen Zugang zu Gesundheitsleistungen für alle Patient/innen sicherzustellen.

Die „health literacy“ von Migrant/ innen ist zu verbessern.

- Das Wissen der Migrant/innen über das Gesundheitssystem ist im Sinne einer umfassenden „health literacy“ zu verbessern. Dies ist auch für das verstärkte Aufsuchen von niedergelassenen Ärzten erforderlich.
- Maßnahmen zur Gesundheitsprävention für Migrant/innen sollen entwickelt bzw. verstärkt werden. Auch die betriebliche Gesundheitsvorsorge ist zu fördern.
- Grundlage der Gesundheitsversorgung ist die sichere Feststellung der Identität von Personen, die Gesundheitsdienstleistungen in Anspruch nehmen.

Für den Schutz der Gesundheit von Migrantinnen soll es spezifische Angebote und Maßnahmen geben.

- Eine besonders wichtige Zielgruppe sind Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund. Es sollen gezielte Verbesserungen von Informations- und Beratungsangeboten, insbesondere in den Bereichen psychosoziale Beratung, Sexualaufklärung, Kinder- und Frauengesundheit sowie Familienplanung, vorgenommen werden.

Migrant/innen sollen verstärkt berufliche Perspektiven im Gesundheitsbereich eröffnet werden.

- Migrant/innen bilden bereits jetzt eine wesentliche Stütze des Gesundheitssystems. Sie sollen künftig noch stärker für Krankenpflegeberufe sowie für Berufe im Sozialwesen gewonnen werden.

Eine Verbesserung der sozialen Situation von Migrant/innen ist anzustreben.

- Die soziale Situation von Migrant/innen soll insbesondere durch berufliche Orientierungsangebote, die Schaffung von Möglichkeiten für das Nachholen des Pflichtschulabschlusses oder die Einrichtung spezieller Fachkurse für Arbeitsmarktbereiche mit höheren Qualifikationsanforderungen verbessert werden. Auch das Angebot an Leistungen der Arbeits- und Bewerbungsassistenz für Migrant/innen ist zu verbessern.

5. Handlungsfeld Interkultureller Dialog

Der interkulturelle Dialog spielt in allen Handlungsfeldern der Integrationspolitik eine wichtige Rolle. Integration erfordert einen offenen gesellschaftlichen Dialog über kulturelle Gemeinsamkeiten, Unterschiede und Besonderheiten. Daher hat der interkulturelle Dialog im Sinne einer Verbesserung des wechselseitigen Verständnisses und des gegenseitigen Respekts alle Zielgruppen und Themen zu erfassen. Dafür braucht es entsprechende Schnittstellen und Plattformen.

In der Praxis sind interkulturelle Kontakte und Begegnungen vor allem bei Menschen, die keinen bürgergesellschaftlichen Organisationen, insbesondere Vereinen, angehören, am schwächsten ausgeprägt. Insgesamt fehlt ein breiter, medial unterstützter gesellschaftlicher Verständigungsprozess über gemeinsame Werte und Ziele, der auch die Grenzen kultureller Entfaltung zum Gegenstand hat. Der Bedarf an Dialog über kulturelle Themen – wie das Verhältnis von Staat und Religion, die Bedeutung der Religion im Alltag, die Situation von Frauen, Sprachkompetenz, Bildung oder die Identifikation mit Österreich – ist groß. Religion kann bei der persönlichen Identitätsbildung eine maßgebliche Rolle einnehmen. Der in ethnischen „communities“ wahrgenommene Druck, sich in religiösen Fragen zu extrovertieren, wird im Sinne einer Selbstethnisierung als problematisch angesehen.

Grundsätze

- Das gute Dialogverhältnis zwischen Vertreter/innen der österreichischen Politik und Vertreter/innen kultureller Organisationen sowie Religionsgemeinschaften ist zu fördern und zu pflegen.
- Der breite, institutionalisierte Dialog über alle sozialen Schichten hinweg fördert gemäßigte Gruppen und damit die gesellschaftliche Mitte.

- 530 ▪ Schulen sollen als Motor des interkulturellen Dialoges sowie gegen Rassismus und
531 Diskriminierung wirken.
- 532 ▪ Medien haben eine besondere Verantwortung für den interkulturellen Dialog, den Abbau von
533 Vorurteilen und die Repräsentanz von Migrant/ innen.

534 **Ziele**

535 **Der interkulturelle Dialog soll breite Zielgruppen und Themen umfassen.**

- 536 ▪ Der interkulturelle Dialog hat im Sinne einer Verbesserung des wechselseitigen Verständnisses
537 und des gegenseitigen Respekts alle Zielgruppen und Themen zu umfassen.
- 538 ▪ Der interkulturelle Dialog ist durch aufeinander abgestimmte Maß- nahmen zu forcieren sowie
539 auf alle Kulturen und Themenbereiche auszuweiten.
- 540 ▪ Medien, Expert/innen, Meinungsbildner/innen und insbesondere erfolgreiche Menschen mit
541 Migrationshintergrund sollen gezielt in den Dialog eingebunden werden. Der Stellenwert von
542 Frauen und jungen Menschen wird im interkulturellen Dialog besonders thematisiert.
- 543 ▪ Die gezielte Informationsarbeit über integrationspolitische Sachverhalte für Multiplikator/innen ist
544 zu erweitern.
- 545 ▪ Bürgergesellschaftliche Organisationen wie Vereine sind gezielt zu unterstützen, wenn sie
546 interkulturelle Begegnungen und Integration fördern.
- 547 ▪ Es ist anzustreben, dass Kunst und Kultureinrichtungen im Sinne des interkulturellen Dialoges
548 verstärkt tätig werden.

549 **Information und Vermittlung von Regeln fördern den Dialog.**

- 550 ▪ Orientierungskurse für Migrant/innen sowie eine breite, realitätsbezogene Information über in
551 Österreich lebende Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund und ihre Leistungen sollen zu besseren
552 Voraussetzungen für den interkulturellen Dialog beitragen.
- 553 ▪ Voraussetzungen für gutes Zusammenleben und gesellschaftlichen Zusammenhalt sollen unter
554 Einbeziehung verschiedener kultureller und religiöser Bereiche erarbeitet werden.

555 **Der Dialog zwischen Organisationen der Zivilgesellschaft und zwischen den 556 Religionsgemeinschaften ist Teil des interkulturellen Dialoges.**

- 557 ▪ Der interreligiöse Dialog ist zwischen den einzelnen Religionsgemeinschaften, unter
558 Berücksichtigung gesellschaftspolitischer Entwicklungen, verstärkt zu führen.

559 ▪ Multiplikator/innen, Organisationen der Zivilgesellschaft und die Religionsgemeinschaften sollen
560 ersucht werden, als Brückenbauer/innen gemeinsam Konzepte zum interkulturellen Dialog zu
561 erarbeiten.

562 ▪ Expert/innen und Vertreter/innen der Zivilgesellschaft sind gezielt in den Dialog über das
563 Verhältnis von Religion, Staat und Gesellschaft einzubinden.

564 **Werthaltungen und Regeln sollen klar vermittelt werden.**

565 ▪ Für Migrant/innen soll es eine einfache und nachvollziehbare Orientierung über Kultur, Regeln
566 und Perspektiven in Österreich geben.

567 ▪ Die in der österreichischen Rechtsordnung normierten Grundsätze der Gleichheit und
568 Nichtdiskriminierung sind in der Öffentlichkeit und insbesondere in Schulen und über Medien
569 verstärkt zu kommunizieren.

570 6. Handlungsfeld Sport und Freizeit

571 Herausforderungen

572 Sportler/innen mit Migrationshintergrund sind aus dem österreichischen Spitzensport nicht
573 wegzudenken. Sie repräsentieren gelungene Integration und fungieren als Vorbilder für die
574 Allgemeinheit. Die Herausforderung besteht darin, nicht nur den Spitzensport, sondern auch den
575 Breitensport für integrationspolitische Anliegen zu nutzen.

576 Österreichs vitale Vereinskultur im Sportbereich bietet ein großes Integrationspotenzial. Die
577 Unterstützung der Integration von Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund in den organisierten
578 Sportsektor ist ein wichtiges Handlungsfeld für gesamtgesellschaftliche Integration.

579 Grundsätze

580 ▪ Sportvereine und Breitensport sind ein wichtiger Schlüssel erfolgreicher Integration.

581 ▪ Insbesondere Sportvereine sind eine wichtige Brücke zwischen der zugewanderten Bevölkerung
582 und der österreichischen Gesellschaft. Über den Sportbereich hinaus ist die allgemeine
583 Bedeutung insbesondere von verschiedenen Vereinen als Träger der österreichischen
584 Gesellschaft auch im Bezug zur Integration zu sehen.

585 ▪ Gemeinsame Aktivitäten von Menschen unterschiedlicher Nationalität und Religion in
586 Sportvereinen dienen der Prävention bzw. dem Abbau von Vorurteilen durch unmittelbare
587 Kommunikation und Begegnung.

Ziele

Die Potenziale des organisierten Sports bei der Integration sind gezielt zu fördern.

- Der gesellschaftspolitischen Dimension ist bei der Sportförderung verstärkt Rechnung zu tragen. Bei der Förderung von Sportvereinen bzw. Projekten soll auf den integrativen Mehrwert geachtet werden.

- Vereine haben generell ein großes Integrationspotenzial. Es soll darauf hingewirkt werden, dass sich Vereine dem Thema der Einbindung von Migrant/innen gezielt stellen. Vereine, die sich in diesem Bereich engagieren, sind zu unterstützen.

- Auf bestimmte Migrant/innengruppen konzentrierte Vereine sollen für alle Bevölkerungsgruppen offenstehen.

- Migrant/innen soll nicht nur der Zugang zum Sport, sondern auch zu Berufen im Sport erleichtert werden.

Für Mädchen und Frauen soll es spezielle Maßnahmen zur Förderung sportlicher Betätigung geben.

- Es sind zielgruppenspezifische interkulturelle Freizeit- und Sportangebote für Mädchen und Frauen zu entwickeln.

Die Bedeutung des Sports für Integration soll öffentlichkeitswirksam thematisiert werden.

- Ein jährlicher (Integrations-)Preis für besondere Integrationsleistungen soll die Bemühungen von Personen und Institutionen in diesem Bereich auszeichnen und öffentlich machen. Ein Rahmenprogramm zur Förderung von Integrationsprojekten im Vereins- und Verbandssport soll eingerichtet werden.

7. Handlungsfeld Wohnen und die regionale Dimension der Integration

Herausforderungen

- Mit der Zunahme der Bevölkerungsteile mit Migrationshintergrund wird die Bevölkerung Österreichs ethnisch heterogener und stellt die Gemeinden und Städte in unterschiedlichem Ausmaß vor die Herausforderung, den Integrationsprozess erfolgreich zu gestalten.

- Zuwanderung ist hierbei insbesondere ein städtisches Phänomen: Die Hälfte der zugewanderten Wohnbevölkerung lebt in Städten mit mehr als 100.000 Einwohnern.

- 617 ▪ Stehen die Ballungsräume insbesondere vor der Aufgabe der Bewältigung des
618 Bevölkerungszuwachses und der Vermeidung der Bildung sozialer und ethnischer „Ghettos“,
619 geht es bei mittleren und kleineren Gemeinden oft um den Erhalt des regionalen
620 Arbeitskräftepotenzials und den damit einhergehenden Integrationsaufgaben.

- 621 ▪ Allgemein gilt, dass Mängel bei der Wohnungsqualität und im Wohnumfeld gesellschaftliche
622 Teilhabemöglichkeiten und individuelle Entwicklungschancen für Migrant/innen erheblich
623 reduzieren.

- 624 ▪ Migrant/innen steht im Durchschnitt wesentlich weniger Wohnfläche zur Verfügung als der
625 Mehrheitsgesellschaft. Migrant/innen bewohnen deutlich kleinere Wohnungen bei
626 vergleichsweise deutlich größeren Haushalten, um den Wohnungsaufwand zu minimieren; nur
627 wenige erlangen Wohnungseigentum.

- 628 ▪ Die Wohnkostenbelastung ist bei Migrant/innen überdurchschnittlich hoch und ist, gemessen am
629 Verhältnis der Wohnkosten zum Haushaltseinkommen, mitunter doppelt so hoch wie bei der
630 Mehrheitsgesellschaft.

- 631 ▪ Migrant/innen bewohnen tendenziell schlechter ausgestattete Wohnungen.

- 632 ▪ Expert/innen beobachten im Wohnbereich ein „Investitionssplitting“: Migrant/innen neigen
633 tendenziell dazu, die Wohnkosten in Österreich zu minimieren, um Wohnraum in der
634 Herkunftsregion zu schaffen oder diesen zu sanieren. Dies ist einem zielgerichteten
635 Integrationsprozess nicht zuträglich.

- 636 ▪ Migrant/innen ziehen auch in kleinere Gemeinden, was diese vor besondere
637 integrationspolitische Herausforderungen stellt.

638 Grundsätze

- 639 ▪ Im Interesse einer integrationsorientierten Regional- und Standortpolitik ist die
640 Verwaltungszusammenarbeit und Politikkoordination zwischen den verschiedenen staatlichen
641 Ebenen zu verstärken. Hierbei kann auf integrationspolitischen Ansätzen auf regionaler und
642 insbesondere kommunaler Ebene aufgebaut werden.

- 643 ▪ Die unterschiedliche regionale Verteilung verschiedener Gruppen von Zuwander/innen und
644 Bevölkerungsteilen mit Migrationshintergrund bedarf regional und nach Zielgruppen
645 differenzierter integrationspolitischer Ansätze. Dies ist bei der Weiterentwicklung des regional-,
646 standort- und wohnpolitischen Instrumentariums zu berücksichtigen.

- 647 ▪ Kommunale Integrationsleitbilder und -konzepte sind anhand der spezifischen lokalen Situation
648 zu entwickeln.
- 649 ▪ Im städtischen Bereich ist durch geeignete Maßnahmen eine Segregation von Stadtvierteln zu
650 verhindern, um eine soziale sowie ethnische Heterogenität zu erreichen.
- 651 ▪ Lokale Wohnungspolitik muss integrationsorientiert weiterentwickelt werden und auch
652 Instrumente zur Vermeidung von Konflikten im Wohnumfeld bereitstellen.
- 653 ▪ Der kommunale Raum ist für die Förderung der Teilhabe von Migrant/innen am
654 gesellschaftlichen Miteinander, insbesondere im Rahmen des Vereinswesens, zu nützen.

655 **Ziele**

656 **Regional- und Standortpolitik müssen integrationsorientiert entwickelt werden.**

- 657 ▪ Die Anpassungsfähigkeit an Zu und Abwanderungsprozesse und das Ausschöpfen der
658 jeweiligen Standortpotenziale erfordert aktives und vorausschauendes Integrationsmanagement
659 vor Ort.
- 660 ▪ Eine laufende Abstimmung der strukturellen Integrationspolitik zwischen allen Ebenen der
661 öffentlichen Verwaltung ist erforderlich. Insbesondere die kommunalen Handlungsspielräume
662 hängen von übergeordneten rechtlichen, administrativen und politischen Rahmenbedingungen
663 ab.
- 664 ▪ Als Hauptziele der Zuwanderung stehen städtische Ballungsräume vor vielfältigen
665 Herausforderungen, weshalb Integrationspolitik als gesamtstädtische Aufgabe wahrzunehmen
666 ist. Die Stadtentwicklungspolitik muss insbesondere den Bevölkerungszuwachs sowie räumliche
667 und soziale Segregationsprozesse bewältigen.
- 668 ▪ Das Ausschöpfen des Arbeitskräftepotenzials in Regionen mit hohen Anteilen von Migrant/innen
669 erfordert auch eine Zusammenarbeit zwischen den Trägern der Standortpolitik, der
670 Integrationspolitik und den regionalen Leitbetrieben.

671 **Der Benachteiligung von Migrant/innen im Wohnbereich ist entgegenzutreten.**

- 672 ▪ Werden Migrant/innen zu Opfern diskriminierender Aktivitäten, sollen ihnen Beratungs- und
673 Beschwerdemöglichkeiten zur Verfügung stehen.
- 674 ▪ Die Verantwortung des gemeinnützigen Wohnbaus ist dahingehend abzubilden, dass leistbarer
675 Wohnraum zur Verfügung gestellt und Segregation verhindert wird.

676 **Stadtplanung und Wohnpolitik müssen Integrationsherausforderungen aktiv und präventiv**
677 **begegnen.**

678 ▪ Der soziale Wohnbau trägt mit der Bereitstellung leistbaren Wohnraums für alle
679 Bevölkerungsgruppen besondere Verantwortung. Vor diesem Hintergrund kommt auch der
680 Wohnbauförderung eine dementsprechende Bedeutung zu.

681 ▪ In der Stadtentwicklung ist vor jeder planerischen Maßnahme das gegenwärtige Verhältnis
682 zwischen Personen mit und ohne Migrationshintergrund zu berücksichtigen.

683 ▪ Die Stadterneuerung soll Stadtteile mit hohem Segregationspotenzial gezielt aufwerten und
684 entsprechende Stadtteilentwicklungskonzepte umsetzen.

685 ▪ Interkulturelle Konflikte in Stadtvierteln und insbesondere großen Wohnanlagen sind durch
686 Moderation und Mediation vor Ort zu entschärfen.

687 ▪ Um den unterschiedlichen Bedürfnissen verschiedener Bevölkerungsgruppen Rechnung zu
688 tragen, sollen infrastrukturelle Einrichtungen bedarfsgerecht etabliert werden.

689

<i>Selected strategies</i>	<i>Linguistic means</i>	<i>Examples of realisations (types)</i>
COLLECTIVISATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• deictics• collectives (they can also belong to the respective categories mentioned in the following rows)	we, us, they, them family, group, team, tribe, troupe/army, class, population, the people, 'ethnos', nation (literally and originally an origonym), race (originally possibly an origonym), 'Volk', community, union, majority
SPATIALISATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• toponyms used as metonymies or/and personifications (place/state/town for people)• anthroponyms referring to a person in terms of living on a place	<i>Deutschland</i> (Germany), <i>Österreich</i> (Austria), Turkey, Asia, Africa, America, <i>das Ausland</i> (the foreign countries) resident, inhabitant, occupier, dweller
DE-SPATIALISATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• de-toponymic anthroponyms (including reference based on local orientation)• de-adverbial anthroponyms	<i>WienerIn</i> (Viennese), <i>EngländerIn</i> (Englishman/Englishwoman), Africans, ' <i>AusländerIn</i> ' ('foreigner', 'outlander'), <i>InländerInnen</i> , ' <i>SüdländerIn</i> ' ('southerner'), Europeans, 'Indians', Asians, Africans, Americans outsider, insider
EXPLICIT DISSIMILATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• xenonyms	'alien' (' <i>FremdeR</i> '), stranger (<i>Fremdling</i>), the others,
ORIGINALISATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• origonyms	allochthones, autochthones, natives, Aborigines, compatriots, ancestors
ACTIONALISATION/ PROFESSIONALISATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• actionyms/praxonyms and professionyms	asylum seekers, migrant, refugee, criminals, 'guest worker', workers, employees, clerks/officials, policeman/policewoman
SOMATISATION <ul style="list-style-type: none">• racialisation (and especially 'colouring')	SOMATONYMS <ul style="list-style-type: none">• 'racionyms' (often based on colour metaphors and selected body meronyms)	blacks, 'negros' (' <i>Neger</i> '), 'bush negros' (' <i>Buschneger</i> '), 'dark-skins' (<i>Dunkelhäutige</i>), 'red-skins' (' <i>Rothäute</i> '), 'redhead', 'slit eyes'/Chinks' (' <i>Schlitzaugen</i> '), coloured, whites, 'fairskins' (' <i>Hellhäutige</i> '), 'paleface' (' <i>Bleichgesicht</i> ') <hr/>

Figure 2.5 Selected referential potential with respect to personal reference

• ‘engendering’	• ‘genderonyms’	man, woman, girl, boy
• ‘enageing’	• gerontonyms	the aged, youngsters, the youth [metonymy], child [relationym], parents [relationym], boy, girl, generation, ‘ <i>Wehrmachts-generation</i> ’ [militarionym]
• specific body fragmentation	• specific (conspicuous) body meronyms like hair, weight and size standing for the whole person	blonde, fatty/fatso, beanpole, asshole [metaphor]
• reference in terms of the state of health	• anthroponyms describing the state of health	<i>GesundeR</i> (healthy person), <i>KrankeR</i> (sick person), patient, <i>InfizierteR</i> (infected)
• reference in terms of permanent or temporary bodily dysfunctionalities or handicaps	• anthroponyms denoting the dysfunction of senses or a bodily handicap	‘cripple’, <i>BlinderR</i> (blind person), <i>TaubeR/GehörloseR</i> (deaf), <i>TaubstummeR</i> (deaf-mute), <i>LahmeR</i> (lame person), stammerer, stotterer, invalid, disabled, ‘handicapped’
• reference in terms of instruments and activities that help to compensate permanent or temporary bodily dysfunctionalities or handicaps	• anthroponyms denoting an instrument and activity that help to compensate permanent or temporary bodily dysfunctionalities or handicaps [actionyms]	<i>BrillenträgerIn</i> (person who wears glasses), <i>Brillenschlange</i> [metaphor: ‘four-eyes’], <i>RollstuhlfahrerIn</i> (wheelchair user)
• reference in terms of bodily activities, including insufficient physical control	• anthroponyms denoting bodily activities, including insufficient physical control [actionyms] (partly also implicitly denoting the place of activity)	<i>Tölpatsch</i> , <i>Tölpel</i> (clumsy creature) [actionym], wanker [actionym], passer-by, hiker, rambler, traveller, climber
• reference in terms of mental deficiency	• anthroponyms denoting mental deficiency (including pathologonyms)	idiot, <i>Trottel</i> (dope), <i>Depp</i> (twit), <i>Blödmann</i> (stupid fool)
• reference in terms of temporary artificial alteration of bodily, sensual and mental capacities	• anthroponyms denoting an artificially produced alteration of bodily, sensual or mental capacities	drunk (<i>Besoffener</i>)
• reference in terms of ‘bad’, negatively sanctioned, abusive actions or habits	• negative habitonyms [actionyms]	<i>SäuferIn</i> (boozer), drug user, <i>DrogensüchtigeR</i> (drug addict), shrinker (<i>Faulpelz</i>)
• reference in terms of sexual orientation or habits	• anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of their sexual habits or orientation [most of them are relationyms]	heterosexual, homosexual, lesbian, gay, queer, bisexual, nymphomaniac, sado-masochist

Figure 2.5 (continued)

CULTURALISATION

• ethnification	• ethnonyms	<i>TürkInnen</i> (Turks), <i>KanakInnen</i> (wops), <i>ŽigeunerInnen</i> (gypsies), <i>TschuschInnen</i> (wops), Romanians, Poles, <i>Deutsche</i> (Germans), <i>ÖsterreicherInnen</i> (Austrians), nationals
• linguification	• linguonyms	<i>Deutsche</i> , <i>Deutschsprachige</i> (German-speaking persons), slaves, ‘Indogermans’, stammerer, stotterer
• religionisation	• religionyms	Christ, Muslims, Jews, ‘ZigeunerInnen’ (gypsies) (opaque)
• primitivisation	• synecdochising or metonymic anthroponyms denoting ‘primitivity’ or lack of civilisation	barefooted (‘ <i>Bloßfüßige</i> ’) [negationym/privatonym] barbarian (originally a Greek linguonym meaning ‘stammerer’ with reference to non-Greek speaking ‘foreigners’), unskilled [negationym], ‘bush negroes’, (‘ <i>Buschneger</i> ’)

ECONOMISATION

ECONONYMS

• professionalisation	• professionyms	worker, labourer, employees, clerks/officials, policeman/policewoman, workforce [metonymy]
• ‘(de-)possessivisation’	• anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of possession	rich, poor, <i>EigentümerIn</i> (owner), <i>BesitzerIn</i> (holder, proprietor)
• problematisation	• (negative) metaphorical anthroponyms	guest worker, <i>Schwarzarbeiter</i> (person doing illicit work) [criminonym]
• ideologisation	• ideologonyms	capitalist

‘POLITICISATION’

POLITONYMS

• nationalisation	‘nationyms’	nationals, <i>Deutsche</i> (Germans), <i>ÖsterreicherInnen</i> (Austrians), <i>TürkInnen</i> (Turks), <i>KanakInnen</i> (wops), <i>ŽigeunerInnen</i> (gypsies), (wops), Romanians, Poles, Hungarians
• ‘classification’	• classonyms [in part, they are also politonyms]	<i>ProletInnen</i> (proles), proletarians, the rich [econonym], the poor [econonym], high society [metonymy], upper class [collective]

Figure 2.5 (continued)

• party political alignment	• party names [often metaphors and synecdoches]	<i>die Roten</i> (the Reds = Socialists), <i>die Schwarzen</i> (the Blacks), <i>die Blauen</i> (the Blues = Austrian Freedom Party), <i>die Grünen</i> (the Greens), National Socialists
• rough political alignment (polarisation)	• anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of rough political orientation [often orientational metaphors]	leftists, right-wing extremists [negative ideologonym]
• ‘organisationalisation’	• names of political organisations (political organisationyms)	committee congress, parliament, government party
• ‘professionalisation’	• anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of political professions (political professionyms)	politician, minister, major, president
• political actionalisation	• anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of political activities [actionyms]	voters, civilians, <i>ausländische/jüdische MitbürgerInnen</i> (foreign/Jewish fellow persons) [sociatives]
• granting or deprivation of political rights	• anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of assigning somebody political rights or of depriving somebody of rights	citizens, non-citizens, voters, refugees, bogus refugees
• ascription or denying of political membership to a national/state organisation	• anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of membership to a national/state organisation	citizens, nationals, non-citizens, <i>MitbürgerInnen</i> (fellow citizens)
• ascription of membership to supranational political organisations	• anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of membership to supranational political organisations	third state nationals (<i>Drittstaatenangehörige</i>), EU citizens (<i>EU-BürgerInnen</i>)
• ascription of being or not being in need of political support	• anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of being or not being in need of political support	asylum-seekers, refugees, bogus refugees
• temporalisation	• anthroponyms with temporalising semantic features	<i>AltösterreicherIn</i> (old-Austrian), <i>NeösterreicherIn</i> (‘neo-Austrian’)
MILITARISATION	• militarionyms	warrior, soldier [professionym], army, troupe, enemy [relationym], <i>SA</i> (<i>Sturmabteilung</i>), <i>SS</i> (<i>Schutzstaffel</i>), <i>Wehrmacht</i>

Figure 2.5 (continued)

SOCIAL
PROBLEMATISATION

• negation	• specific negative qualionyms, negationyms	illegals [criminonym], unemployed, unskilled, <i>Unmensch</i> (inhuman person)
• criminalisation	• criminonyms	criminals, illegals, dealers, mafiosi, delinquents, gang, murderer [relationym], ' <i>Schubhäftling</i> ' ('remand pending deportation prisoner/detainee'), ' <i>Schübling</i> ' (pejorative for 'remand pending deportation prisoner/detainee'), bogus refugee (' <i>Scheinasylant</i> '), perpetrator, culprit, victimiser, <i>SchwarzarbeiterIn</i> (person doing illicit work)
• negative ideologisation	• negative ideologonyms	racist, nationalist, ethnicist, sexist, misogynist, chauvinist, fascist, Nazi, imperialist, right-wing extremist
• pathologisation	• pathologonyms	psychopath, schizo, schizophrenic, nymphomaniac
• victimisation	• victimonyms	victim, <i>NotleidendeR</i> (person suffering deprivation)
RELATIONALISATION/ SOCIATIVISATION	• relationyms/sociatives (relational identification)	enemies/opponents, <i>ausländische/jüdische Mitmenschen</i> (foreign/Jewish fellow persons), guest, victim, victimiser, oppressor, oppressed, murderer, friends, neighbours, compatriots, <i>Mitmenschen</i> (fellow persons), children, (blood) relatives, ancestors

Figure 2.5 (continued)

social actors are referred to in terms of the major categories by means of which a given society or institution differentiates between classes of people. In our society these include age, gender, provenance, class, wealth, race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, and so on.

(Van Leeuwen 1996: 54)

Analytically, we assume a strategy that represents social actors in terms of social activities. We name this strategy ‘actionalisation’, considering ‘professionalisation’ as a specific form of actionalisation, which, however, can also