PROJECT REPORT

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PROVINCIA AUTONOMA DI BOLZANO ALTO ADIGE

“Old” and “new” minorities

Regional synergies, differences and perspectives

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“Old” and “new” minorities– Regional synergies, differences and perspectives

Project Report: MinMig – Accommodating Linguistic, Religious and Cultural Diversity Through a Comparative Analysis of Minorities’ and Migrants’ Claims

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1 Introduction

Reconciling respect for diversity and ensuring social cohesion are among the most difficult challenges faced by modern societies. Europe's population structure has always been heterogeneous, due to frequent wars which left minority groups on both sides of newly established borders, but also because of cross-border contact and exchange. After periods in which dealing with diversity often remained limited to persecution and assimilation, most European states have nowadays implemented minority protection policies for historic minority communities, so-called "old" minorities. "Respect for and protection of minorities" is part of the Copenhagen Criteria for EU accession (EU Glossary 2021), and article 2 TEU establishes a strong human rights-based approach: "The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States, in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail". General non-discrimination provisions and protection measures for "old" minority groups are therefore firmly established, but the discussion on how to accommodate diversity stemming from migratory movements is still ongoing and remains one of the most pressing and politically contested issues of our time. Despite obvious similarities between "old" and "new" diverse groups, historical minorities and migrant groups[1] are regarded as a dichotomy, and largely studied in isolation from each other, when in fact migrant inclusion frameworks could benefit from the vast experience of minority protection policy and research[2].

MinMig aimed to contribute to bridging this gap, by investigating the claims made by migrants and analyzing them in connection with the claims of historic minority groups, as outlined by international legal documents and sets of indicators. Roberta Medda-Windischer has worked extensively on connecting both fields by exploring the possibility of extending international protection standards to migrants; she argues for a "common but differentiated set of rights for old and new minority groups" (Medda-Windischer 2017: 7). MinMig was designed based on the theoretical concepts outlined by Roberta Medda-Windischer (alongside previous publications, see 2017, 2018, 2019), calling for a shared approach to diversity governance regarding both "old" and "new" minorities, and outlining the potential that "old" minority research has to offer in this regard. Following Medda-Windischer's theoretical and legal considerations, MinMig set out to provide a central piece to the puzzle of "old" and "new" minorities, namely if "new" minorities even strive for rights and protection mechanisms similar to those in place for "old" minorities, or whether this issue is not part of their main concerns. As a prerequisite for successful claim-making, Medda-Windischer (2017) also points out the importance of group identification: without members identifying as a minority, there can be no claims made and no rights achieved. While "old" minorities have – in many cases – been successful in voicing their needs and achieving protection while remaining part of a societal "we", migrants have not (yet) reached this type of representation (Crepaz 2016a); connecting both research areas would thus also allow best practices to be drawn up for successful diversity accommodation that could then be adapted according to

[1] The present report uses the terms "new" minorities and migrants interchangeably. Neither denominations are intended to be derogatory in any way, or to enforce stereotyping, minoritization or othering mechanisms.

[2] For an in-depth discussion of the possibilities of reconciling "old" and "new" minorities in research, law, and policy, please see Roberta Medda-Windischer 2017, 2018.

different groups' needs. Roberta Medda-Windischer (2017) uses the symbol of a tree: the trunk is constituted of shared legal norms and values, serving as a common basis, while diversity can establish itself in the crown (likened to a "diverse but integrated society", Medda-Windischer 2017: 63), where modifications and adaptations are possible according to different contexts and groups. Theoretically, diversity accommodation through shared provisions for "old" and "new" minorities would therefore be possible – but is it desired by those primarily affected, namely "new" migrant minorities?

In order to answer these questions while providing research of high relevance for the local and regional context, the European Region Tyrol – South Tyrol – Trentino was selected as a case study, with South Tyrol serving as the main case and the two neighboring Länder/provinces as comparative cases. This comparison allowed us to look at how an "old" minority context, in which diversity brought by "new" migrant minority communities could become more visible (South Tyrol), as well as a longer history as a destination country for migrants (Tyrol) might influence the claims held by migrants. After an in-depth analysis of the most important international documents for the protection of "old" minorities (e.g., the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities) and the topics and issue areas covered in these documents, a survey questionnaire was established and a non-representative survey (no hard sampling frame available) and additional qualitative structured interviews with "new" minority organization leaders, politicians and representatives were conducted.

The project posed the following main research questions: Which are the claims held by "new" migrant minorities, their opinions and desires, and do they even strive for similar protection systems to those in place for "old" minorities? Which rights and protection systems developed for old minorities could be beneficially extended to new minorities? In order to provide answers to these questions, we first had to collect the claims made by "new" minorities – something that proved to be considerably difficult, as also the lack of data on migrants in official statistics shows. Even larger-scale surveys that directly ask different migrant groups about their views on issues like political participation and linguistic diversity (e.g., the survey conducted by Aschauer et al. 2019 for Austria) often fail to reach sufficient data and show high non-response rates[3]. Furthermore, they do not reconnect the data gathered to the claims made by "old" minorities for a comparative picture. MinMig's innovative approaches lies precisely in this circular framework of analysis: Departing from the documents and indicators in place for "old" minorities to establish a questionnaire for gathering "new" minorities' opinions on the identified issue areas, and finally a discussion of shared claims, and of possible expansions of the scope of "old" minority protection mechanisms to "new" minorities.

A second methodological innovation was brought upon less by own volition and more by circumstances beyond our control, as the kickoff for MinMig in March 2020 coincided almost completely with the start of the Covid-19 pandemic in Europe, which meant that traveling, location sampling and meeting as many people as possible to collect their opinions, claims and ideas was not going to be possible in the way envisioned in the project proposal. Through subsequently moving our data collection online, we unfortunately lost out on part of our respondents (migrants aged 60+, who are not as familiar with information technology), and target group access was extremely difficult, as there were no gatherings or

[3] The methodological challenges of doing survey research with migrants will be discussed in more detail in part 4 of this report.

events where larger numbers of interviews could have been conducted. However, this challenge also meant an opportunity, namely the ability to focus on the opinions held by young persons with migratory backgrounds, who could become future leaders of their respective communities and serve as role models for successful inclusion.

Before entering an analysis of the collected data, some fundamental considerations on migrants as "new" minorities, background information on the history of migration in the respective case studies and methodological considerations on conducting research during a global pandemic will be provided. To conclude, implications of the project results and possible policy recommendations will be discussed.

2 Migrants as "New" Minorities?

Who or what constitutes a minority? Even though a variety of definitions, some more and some less influential for scientific discussion and policy-making processes, have been established over the years, a common definition has still not been found. This creates advantages as well as disadvantages: Not being bound by a common definition establishes a certain freedom for states, to adapt the scope of protection mechanisms to their specific needs, and to also possibly extend them to "new" minority populations in some cases. However, no common definition also means no commonly agreed upon minimum standard, leading to a variety of approaches in minority policy, from a very strict egalitarian model outlawing differential treatment to measures designed to provide a high degree of accommodation (Crepaz 2016b). The dictionary definition of the term minority, "a group that is the smaller part of a larger group" (Merriam-Webster 2021), refers simply to size in relation to the majority population and does not in itself convey other implications for protection, identity preservation or group identification. While collective identification is necessary for any type of movement to come together (Crepaz 2020a), this is especially important for the case of minorities, both "old" and "new": if there is no identification with the minority as a group, no claims can be made and no rights can be achieved (Medda-Windischer 2017). However, especially for migrants and their descendants who have become citizens, being "minoritized" can also constitute a problem, as it separates them from the majority population in a way that might not be desirable to them. Emphasizing difference could help to showcase the cleavage of majority – minority, and to justify differential and more favorable treatment, but it also creates distinctions of "us" vs. "them" that might not be welcome especially for "new" minorities aiming for inclusion into the societies of the countries they live in. Diversity governance is therefore always related not only to societal structures, but also to personal identification, and identities are permeable and in flux, this goes for both "old" (Crepaz 2019) and "new" minorities and must be kept in mind when looking at research data on the topic.

Academic discussion on defining minorities has primarily come from the field of "old" minority research, where one of the most recent attempts at a definition comes from the Minority Safepack European Citizen's Initiative[4], which provides the following definition: "A national minority / ethnic group should be understood as a community: 1 that is resident in an area of a state territory or scattered around a state territory, 2 that is of smaller number than the rest of the state population, 3 the members of

[4] For a discussion of *Minority Safepack*, its history and more recent developments, please see Crepaz 2020b.

which are citizens of that state, 4 the members of which have been resident in the area in question for generations, 5 that is distinguishable from the state's other citizens by reason of their ethnic, linguistic or cultural characteristics, and who wish to preserve these characteristics" (quoted in Crepaz 2020b[5]: 24-25). While the territoriality, duration of residence and citizenship criteria limits a potential applicability of this definition to "new" minorities, the desire to preserve their distinguishing features is something of interest also for "new" minorities – including a similar provision in defining "new" minorities could potentially serve as a precaution against "minoritizing" them against their will.

Over recent years, some international organizations and minority scholars have proposed minority definitions that could also be open to "new" minorities. For instance, the EU Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) refers to "persons belonging to linguistic, ethnic, or national minorities, third-country nationals who immigrate to the EU, or immigrants who are long-term residents [and who] may all perceive that they belong to a minority group" (EU Fundamental Rights Agency 2011: 17). Again, the importance of personal perception and identification is highlighted here. The Council of Europe's definition (2008) defines a minority as being composed of "persons, including migrants, belonging to groups smaller in numbers than the rest of the population and characterized by their identity, in particular their ethnicity, culture, religion, or their language" (Council of Europe 2008); unlike the FRA, it does not explicitly mention "new" minorities, but also does not exclude them through the insertion of duration of residence, territoriality or citizenship requirements. Most recently, Fernand de Varennes, the UN Special Rapporteur on Minority Issues, has come up with a definition of the term minority that is also open for the inclusion of "new" minorities: "An ethnic, religious, or linguistic minority is any group of persons which constitutes less than half of the population in the entire territory of a State whose members share common characteristics of culture, religion or language, or a combination of any of these. A person can freely belong to an ethnic, religious, or linguistic minority without any requirement of citizenship, residence, official recognition or any other status". De Varennes' definition emphasizing free belonging and identification and can be utilized not only by citizens or recognized groups, but by all groups that identify with diverse characteristics, including "new" minorities. In this regard, it proposes a truly inclusive approach, and a concept bridging the "old" and "new" minority dichotomy.

With this definition as background, extending at least certain rights held by "old" minorities also to "new" minority groups could be feasible, providing also an important way forward in migration and diversity policy, as many European states have not yet developed sound instruments for the integration of "new" minorities (Roberta Medda-Windischer 2017; Roberta Medda-Windischer 2019). If viewed in an inclusive fashion, as in the definition given by UN Special Rapporteur de Varennes, the term minority could also lose its "minoritizing" impact and be used in a way to provide a concept for groups characterized by diversity that is currently missing. "Migrants" is too narrow, as although it is used to denote further groups, it accurately captures only those persons with their own migratory experience, and the term "migration background" is contested because it draws purely on family migration history even for second and third generation migrants who were born in their respective home countries[6]. An

[5] Quoted document is used as the original Initiative proposal is not retrievable on the European Commission website anymore.

[6] In German-speaking literature, the term "migratory background" (*Migrationshintergrund)* is often used to also include persons who do not have their own migratory experience but are descendants of migrants. It is especially employed to also include migrants and their descendants who have already become citizens of the countries they live in, by being awarded citizenship or by birth (e.g., Germany employs a mixed *ius soli and ius sanguini* model of citizenship acquisition). However, the term also faces criticism, as it emphasizes difference from the host population even for second-generation migrants who were born in the country

open, inclusive definition of minority might represent a potential solution to this terminology issue and create a possibility for a more positively connotated type of representation.

Of course, this is a highly contested topic, which cannot be implemented without a considerable effort and the political will to do so. In general, migration policies across the EU have become more restrictive over the past years, and countries like Austria have even refused to host refugees from crisis and war-ridden states, with Afghanistan as the most recent example. Extending the scope of policies designed for "old" minorities to "new" minorities might not be a desired way forward in the current political climate, which seems to point on more border controls and restricting migration instead of more inclusive approaches. Moreover, migrants and "new" minorities are not a homogeneous group, and which accommodation approaches could be deemed acceptable might differ from country to country, but also from one group of migrants to another. Public perception of migrants varies according to the concerned type of diversity (linguistic, cultural, religious), to their perceived "distance" the respective type of diversity creates between them and the majority culture, as well as to whether or not they belong to a visible minority and can thus easily be singled out as "different"[7]. According to the European Social Survey, there are considerable differences in the attitudes regarding migrant groups: migrants from low-income, non-EU European countries were regarded more favorably than those from low-income countries outside Europe. A hierarchy of preferred migrants is present in all investigated countries, ranging from kin-groups – similar in ethnicity and "race" to the majority population - as most desirable to Muslims and particularly Roma as least desirable (European Social Survey 2016, 4–6). European populations are therefore more accepting of migrants that are more like themselves, where they perceive fewer cultural and economic differences, while they tend to have a negative attitude towards populations perceived as "different".

Inclusive or exclusive definitions of the term "minority" therefore play an important part in opening protection measures to also cover migrants, as does public perception of migrants and their supposed cultural proximity or distance. However, these factors are not an exhaustive framework for analysis, as they do not consider one of the most important issues: How do migrants themselves view the matter? Do they even strive for protection mechanisms close to those in place for "old" minorities, or is this topic too far removed from their daily concerns? In order to not just generate further data about migrants but to actively involve them and to generate a comparative view of the claims held by "old" and "new" minorities, a survey looking at their opinions, claims, wishes and desires was established, and supplied with additional qualitative structured expert interviews. Case selection and differences between the case studies, methodology as well as difficulties in conducting mixed methods research during a global pandemic and with a generally less accessible target group will be discussed in later sections of this report.

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they live in. Referring to migrants as "new" minorities might provide an opportunity to use a less negatively connotated concept, although this probably does not hold true for all cases and backgrounds – being "minoritized" might also be seen as further othering on behalf of the host society.

[7] Differences in the legal status of migrants and especially third-country nationals are beyond the scope of this report. For an in-depth consideration of non-EU minorities and their fundamental rights please see Medda-Windischer & Crepaz 2021, forthcoming.

3 Migration in South Tyrol, Trentino and Tyrol – A Short Overview of Facts and Figures

While it is beyond the scope of this report to provide an in-depth history of migration in the three case study regions[8], a short overview of their migration histories and of the most important similarities and differences will be provided in the next section.

3.1 Migration in South Tyrol

In contrast to Tyrol and Austria, where migration has had a longer-standing history since the *Anwerbeabkommen* (agreements to recruit foreign workers) of the 1960s[9], South Tyrol and Italy in general have traditionally been countries that inhabitants emigrated from and not to. While there were also considerable migratory movements from the (poorer and less industrially developed) South of Italy to the North, many Italians left the country for better livelihoods. South Tyrol was a region of emigration from the 1950s to the late 1980s: most South Tyroleans left for the German-speaking neighboring countries like Germany (26.3%), Switzerland (20.9%) and Austria (11.3%) (Girardi 2011: 79). Migration to South Tyrol only really increased from the 1990s onwards, when the territory also prospered economically. In the first phase of migration to South Tyrol, it was mostly men who came to South Tyrol, while more recent migratory movements primarily consist of women (e.g., those working as so-called Badanti, in house caregivers, in elderly care), facilitated by the EU's Eastern Enlargement and free movement of workers (Girardi 2011: 85). In 2019, 52.3% of foreign citizens resident in the province were female (ASTAT 2020: 9), but there are differences according to countries of origin: female migrants tend to come from Eastern Europe, while African and Asian migrants resident in the province are largely male. Compared to other areas neighboring areas like Bavaria, South Tyrol also largely lacks specific work and language training programs to foster the inclusion of female migrants (Crepaz & Elsen 2020).

At the end of 2019, 51,500 foreign citizens[10] were resident in South Tyrol, an increase of 2.3% compared to the previous year; residents without citizenship made up 9.7% of the total South Tyrolean population (ASTAT 2020: 3). Compared to the end of 1994 (7,250 foreign inhabitants), the number of foreign citizens living in the province has thus increased sevenfold (ASTAT 2020: 1) – this development illustrates South Tyrol's relatively short history as a migration destination, as well as its increasing

[8] Please note that the term "regions" is used here to denote the case studies and used to distinguish them from the national dimension as smaller subnational units. Tyrol is officially called a Bundesland, and South Tyrol and Trentino are Autonomous Provinces; to reduce redundancies, the terms "region" and "regional" will be used to refer to the case-study level in the present report.

[9] Austria signed so-called *Anwerbeabkommen*, international agreements to recruit foreign workers to meet the increased demand of its post-war economy, with Spain, Turkey and Yugoslavia in the 1960s.

[10] Unlike Germany or Austria, Italy usually does not refer to "persons with migratory background" (e.g., including also those who have become citizens, or second-generation migrants who are citizens), but to "foreigners", and the South Tyrolean data provided by the provincial statistics office ASTAT also follows this approach. This can be attributed to Italy's shorter history as a migration destination, with not as many naturalized citizens, and to its strict laws on naturalization and citizenship, which exclude many young second-generation migrants from Italian citizenship, even though they were born and raised in the country. Demands for a *ius soli*-based system of citizenship acquisition or a mixed model like the one in place in Germany have so-far failed to reach parliamentary consensus. This leads to the situation that the descendants of foreign non-EU parents can only apply for Italian citizenship after turning 18 – a considerable hindrance especially for the inclusion of young people.

importance in this regard. Accommodating different types of diversity while ensuring societal cohesion will therefore be one of the most important tasks policy makers will have to address over the coming decades.

Migrants tend to settle in the larger towns and cities (in 2019, 30% of all foreign residents lived in the provincial capital Bozen/Bolzano), and they are younger than the general population: 60% of foreigners in South Tyrol are younger than 40, and only 6.3% are older than 65 (compared to 21.2% of Italian citizens resident in the province). Due to South Tyrol's relatively short history as a migration destination, most residents with foreign citizenship are first generation migrants, but there are also 7,450 persons who are second generation migrants (born in Italy). 94.3% of these second-generation migrants are minors (ASTAT 2020: 8). Contrary to developments in Germany and Austria, second-generation migrants are just now becoming a growing part of the total population with migratory background; focusing on the inclusion of these young people must therefore be a priority for decision-makers.

Regarding areas of origin, 16,351 foreign citizenship holders (about 30% of the total migrant population in South Tyrol) are EU citizens, and of those 37.5% are German or Austrian. Another 30% is from non-EU European countries, while 20% come from Asia and 14% from Africa. Albania is the most represented country of origin (6,103 or 11.7% of foreigners) followed by Germany (4,500 or 8.6%), Pakistan (3,800 or 7.3%) and Morocco (3,650 or 7.0%) (ASTAT 2020: 8-9).

3.2 Migration in Trentino

Trentino is similar to South Tyrol in terms of the duration of migration history, and the two provinces also show similarities in the largest migrant groups present on the territory. As of 1st January 2020, there were 47,007 foreign citizens resident in Trentino, 500 more than on January 1st, 2019; foreigners make up 8.6% of the total population of Trentino (ISPAT 2021: 1).

Among the most numerous communities, we find Romanians (21.9% of foreigners), followed by Albanians (11.8%), Moroccans and Pakistanis; these first four citizenships constitute 48.2% of foreigners. Foreign citizens living in Trentino are 53.2% female, with the highest percentages of women in the Ukrainian, Polish, Brazilian, and Moldovan communities – many of whom are likely to work as in-house caregivers. Among Senegalese, Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Tunisian immigrants, males are in the majority (ISPAT 2021: 1-2).

Most resident foreigners come from other European countries, 31.3% from Central and Eastern Europe and 30.3% from other EU member-states. Like in South Tyrol, migrants tend to be younger than the general population: 61% are under the age of 40, compared to 41% of the Italian population, and only 5.6% of migrants are elderly, while 22.4% of Italian citizens in Trentino fall into this category (IPSAT 2021: 2-3). Migrants primarily live in the Territorio Val d'Adige (where also the provincial capital Trento is located), and in the Comunità della Vallagarina (around Rovereto) (IPSAT 2021: 4-6).

3.3 Migration in Tyrol

Out of the three Euregio case studies, Tyrol holds the highest percentage of foreign citizens (16.4% of the total population at the end of 2019). Interestingly, the majority of foreigners in Tyrol are EU citizens (64.4%), while 13.6% come from outside the EU. Persons from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey make up 15.4% and 9.6% of foreign citizens living in Tyrol, while the EU citizens living in Tyrol are German (29.4%), Italian (6.3%), Hungarian (5.8%) and Croatian (4.8%) citizens. Similar to South Tyrol, foreign citizens tend to be younger than the general population, and the majority of them (77.8%) is between 15 and 64 years old, which can probably also be attributed to work-related migration. Another similarity to South Tyrol is in the distribution of foreign citizens, who are more likely to settle in larger centers, especially in the capital Innsbruck, where 27.5% of the general population are foreign citizens, but also in Kufstein, Schwaz, Kitzbühel, Reutte and Landeck, where over 15% of the population do not hold an Austrian passport (Landesstatistik Tirol 2020: 20-30).

In Tyrol, 12.6% of resident foreign citizens were born in Austria, while 87.4% were not; 54% were born in an EU member-state. Due to its longer migration history, Austria and Tyrol also use the term “migratory background”, referring to all persons who were born outside of Austria or whose parents were both born outside of Austria. In 2019, 21.6% of Tyrolean residents had a migratory background; 77.6% were first generation and 22.4% second-generation migrants (Landesstatistik Tirol 2020: 31). Tyrol’s longer history as a destination for migrants is therefore visible by its comparably higher percentage of persons with migratory background, more than double the values previously presented for South Tyrol and Trentino.

Naturalization processes are also listed in the statistical data for Tyrol, and they provide an interesting outlook into the development of citizenship acquisition considering European integration. While in the 1980s, 60-70% of naturalizations in Austria regarded German or Italian citizens, in 2019 these values were down to 4.8% for German and 2.2% for Italian citizens. This means that the introduction of EU citizenship and largely similar rights for national and EU citizens has rendered naturalization less of a necessity. In 2019, 24.1% of naturalized persons were citizens of former Yugoslavian countries, 10.4% from Africa, and 21.2% from Asia. Of those naturalized in 2019, 37% were already born in Austria (Landesstatistik Tirol 2020: 71-73).

3.4 Similarities and Differences

As outlined above, there are similarities and differences between the three case studies. While demographics (migrant population is younger than the general population, low share of persons over the age of 65 due to migration history and return migration, large percentage of migrants from EU member-states) are similar, there are also considerable differences, e.g., regarding the number of migrants. South Tyrol and Trentino are almost equal in their percentages of migrant population, while Tyrol holds a population with migratory background that is about double the size of the migrant population in the other two case studies (21.6%). There are also differences regarding the largest

migrant groups. In Tyrol, these coincide with the so-called *Gastarbeiter* (guest worker) countries, namely Ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey, but Italians and in particular Germans are also prominently featured, due to the proximity of the respective borders and easily achievable work-related migration for EU citizens. In South Tyrol, we also see a large German community, but the other migrant groups are more closely associated to migration patterns and dominant groups in Italy (e.g., Albanians and Moroccans). In Trentino, we also find these two communities among the three largest groups, with the addition of Romanians, who are the largest migrant group in Italy in general and in Trentino. When choosing a migration destination, spatial proximity (e.g., neighboring countries) seems to play a role, along with other features, like similar language (as is the case with Romanian and Italian, both Romance languages) and of course previously established migratory patterns and networks. It goes without saying that for work-related migration, choosing an area that is economically strong and offers job opportunities is also among the main criteria – another similarity between the three case studies. With the similarities and differences established above as our background, we will now outline the project's methodology as well as adaptational measures made to adjust to the Covid-19 pandemic.

4 Methodology and Challenges of Conducting Migration-Related Research in Pandemic Times

4.1 Analysis of International Documents and Identification of Issue Areas

As MinMig is interested in how and which measures established for "old" minorities might be beneficially extended to "new" minorities, an analysis of the international standards and documents in place for "old" minorities constituted the starting point of the project. The analyzed legal documents were the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*, the *UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to Minorities*, the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*, and the *Lund Recommendations for the Effective Participation of Minorities*. The sets of indicators used were the *Eurac Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities Indicators*, the *LISI Eurac Indicators for the Inclusion of New Minorities*, and the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages Policy to Outcome Indicators*. The identified issue areas were Definitions/Principles, Education, Judicial and Administrative Authorities, Media, Cultural Activities, Economic and Social Life, Transfrontier Exchanges/Intergroup Relations, Religion, and Political Participation. A short overview will be provided in the table below, while a comprehensive analysis of documents, topics and contents can be found in the full version of Table 1, which had to be moved to the appendix of the present report due to layout constraints.

	International Legal Documents & Indicators established for "old" Minorities					
Topics	*ECRML*	*FCNM*	*FCNM Eurac Ind.*	*LISI Eurac Ind.*	*Lund Recomm.*	*UN Decl. Minorities*
Definitions & Anti-Discrimination	Migrant languages excluded	Non-discrimination equality	Right to identity & diversity	Civic integration, legal equality	Good governance	Different types of minorities
Education & Language	At request	Equal access	Educational rights	Prevent segregration	Curricula	Culture in education
Media	Funding, access	Create & use media, pluralism	Media rights	Code of conduct for reporting		
Culture & Religion	Financing	Participation	Freedom of religion	Family reunification	Cultural expression	
Social Life & Intergroup Relations	Allow language use	Cross-frontier contacts	Intercultural Dialogue	Employment social security, housing		Minority mainstreaming in policies
Political Participation		Effective participation NGOs	Local and naional politics	Voting rights, denizenship, specific bodies	Representation, seats, civil service, consultative bodies, self-governance	Participation, associations

Table 1: Shortened overview of international documents and identified issue areas

As emerges from the table above, most issue areas could be identified across almost all the analyzed documents. This points to these topics as the most salient points in minority protection documents, and therefore also as those that should serve as the basis to establish a questionnaire with the aim of discovering whether "new" minorities strive for similar rights to those outlined and evaluated by the above-mentioned documents and indicators.

4.2 Questionnaire Development, Data Collection and Target Group Access

With the help of Eurac Statistics, a questionnaire was developed and inserted into the survey software Opinio. A pre-test was carried out using cognitive interviews, and unclear questions were rephrased or eliminated. As there is no hard sampling frame available (e.g., a population register of all migrants in all three case studies)[11], **the survey is not statistically representative and generalizations on the total population of residents with migratory background holding dual or foreign citizenship cannot be based on this data. Results only reflect the respondents' attitudes, impressions, experiences, and opinions.**

Data collection was computer-based, answers were inserted directly into the software interface (CAPI – computer-assisted personal interviewing). As migrants are a particularly difficult to reach target group and are therefore often under-represented even in large-scale studies carried out by national statistics offices, we decided to employ interviewers, one for each case study. Having a knowledgeable person in each of the investigated regions was an extremely valuable asset, as interviewers knew the communities they were working with, and they lived in the respective area – a considerable advantage in terms of data collection during a pandemic, with international and even inter-regional (in Italy) travel restrictions in place. After in-depth training by Eurac Statistics, our interviewers began their work in December 2020. Unfortunately, target group access remained difficult, and throughout spring 2021, no real improvement of the situation regarding travel and contact restrictions ensued, leading to most interviews being conducted online or via phone. This meant losing out on the population 65+ but provided us with the opportunity to focus on young people, who make up a large part of the migrant population in all three case studies. Interestingly, the problems faced by MinMig are comparable to the challenges for larger-scale representative projects (lack of hard sampling frame, over-representation of younger migrants, under-representation of older migrants, difficulties in accessing recent arrivals – see Reichel & Morales 2017: 15-19). One of the methods used e.g., by the Immigrant Citizens Survey[12] to counteract the lack of a hard sampling frame, as was the case for Italy, is location sampling – contacting potential participants in areas that are known to be frequently visited by migrants (shopping centers and markets, ethnic restaurants, university, and dormitories as well as public places and the immigration office; Reichel & Morales 2017: 14).

While MinMig had originally planned a similar sampling technique, none of the described options were available to our interviewers because of the pandemic and subsequent travel and contact restrictions, and methodological innovation was key to still be able to gather survey data. Data collection was concluded at the end of May 2021. In total, our interviewers conducted 228 survey interviews. Through a freely circulating websurvey, we gathered another 100 responses, many of which were unfortunately incomplete or showed drop-outs – another frequently mentioned problem for so-called "hard to reach populations" like migrants (Marpsat & Razafindratsima 2010: 2), alongside refusal to participate, which sometimes exceeds 50%.

[11] For Italy, such a register appears to be unavailable, see Reichel & Morales (2017).

[12] A large-scale representative survey of third-country nationals carried out in 15 cities in 7 EU countries.

Going beyond the migrant-specific context, social and political surveys in general face an increasing non-response rate associated with difficulties in contacting respondents and achieving their collaboration[13]. These difficulties were increased by the global Covid-19 pandemic, which rendered many means of communicating and gathering respondents (e.g., at cultural or religious events) inaccessible. In general, well-educated people tend to be over-represented in surveys, leading to a less accurate portrayal of the communities investigated. However, lack of data on migrants is a problem also faced by national and regional statistics offices, who do have access to population registers for contacting potential respondents, e.g., in the *Mehrzweckerhebung der Haushalte*[14] conducted regularly by ASTAT, questions regarding migrants frequently show the infamous three asterisks, indicating a lack of data due to representative sampling on the entire population of which they are only a small subgroup, but also due to the generally lower response rates among migrants (ASTAT 2020). As Font and Méndez (2013: 16) argue, migrants are more mobile than the general population, which makes reaching them more difficult; in addition, they are more likely to have a mistrust of institutions due to experiences of racism, and language barriers also contribute to their reluctance to participate in surveys. The list of potentially difficult themes is longer when talking about migrants, due to cultural reasons, whereby a topic that is non-controversial for Europeans might be taboo for migrant communities, but also due to difficulties in legal status (e.g., when questions concern social security or working life). All these factors contribute to an increased difficulty in reaching migrants with surveys, all of which were also present in our research project and were reinforced by the contact and travel restrictions in place because of the Covid-19 pandemic.

In addition to survey interviews, qualitative structured interviews with representatives of migrant groups were also conducted. Unfortunately, pandemic circumstances and a high fluctuation in migrant organizations also made it difficult to reach our target audience in this case: While the Department of Italian Culture of the Autonomous Province of Bozen/Bolzano, the *ZeMit* in Innsbruck/Tyrol, and the *CINFORMI* in Trentino provided us with lists of migrant organizations to contact, many of these organizations were no longer active, underlined also by error messages on phone numbers and e-mail addresses. This meant that we could gather less interview data than expected (seven expert interviews), but the qualitative interviews were still a valuable source for more in-depth conversation. In a non-pandemic setting, focus groups composed of members of different migrant organizations could have constituted an additional interesting source of comparative views on our research topics; hopefully, this can be achieved in a second step after the conclusion of the present project, as it would also serve to better connect different stakeholders at the regional level and across the case studies.

[13] General difficulties in establishing survey participation are beyond the scope of this report. For a more in-depth look into the topic see e.g., the work of Groves (2006) and Stoop (2005).

[14] The "Mehrzweckerhebung der Haushalte" or "*Indagine Multiscopo*"conducted by the South Tyrolean Statistics Office ASTAT asks the population about a variety of topics, e.g., physical activity, mobility, health, events, trust in political leadership. Three asterisks indicate missing data, which is frequently the case for foreign citizens. This also concerns non-sensitive questions like use of public transport, their height, or whether they have gone to the post office to send a registered letter in the last 12 months.

5 Project Results

In this section, results from the survey and from the qualitative expert interviews will be presented, split by issue areas following the structure of the questionnaire and the previous identification of topics in minority protection documents.

5.1 Demographics

In total 228 interviews were conducted and 213 could be used for data analysis, 50 in South Tyrol, 97 in Tyrol and 66 in Trentino. Additionally, 100 respondents participated in a freely circulating websurvey, but drop-out rates where very high, and only the data from the 213 CAPI-interviews was used for the present report. Unfortunately, due to the small number of respondents, a comparative analysis regarding the three case studies could not be carried out; the present report therefore primarily works with the complete dataset and highlights regional differences where applicable. Regarding demographical data, perhaps the most striking feature is that the majority of our respondents are younger migrants (categories 18-29 and 30-44), which make up 73% of our interviewees. Although the sample is not representative, this corresponds to the general age distribution among the migrant population in the three case studies, which is younger than the population without migratory background, as outlined above. In regard to gender, we also find an almost even distribution (47% male, 51% female, 2% did not want to specify their gender identity). We unfortunately did not reach an even distribution of the number of interviews across all three case studies: there are more respondents from Tyrol, and this must be kept in mind when interpreting results[15]. However, the higher number of Tyrolean respondents corresponds to its higher percentage of migrants (almost double the percentage present in South Tyrol and Trentino, as previously described). To counteract this over-representation, we focused on Trentino and especially on South Tyrol for the qualitative interviews.

[15] The uneven distribution of respondents, and the small dataset, caused by difficulties in accessing the target group due to the Covid-19 pandemic, mean that contingency tables looking at variables like age, gender, and home region) are not advisable, due to their limited explanatory capacity.

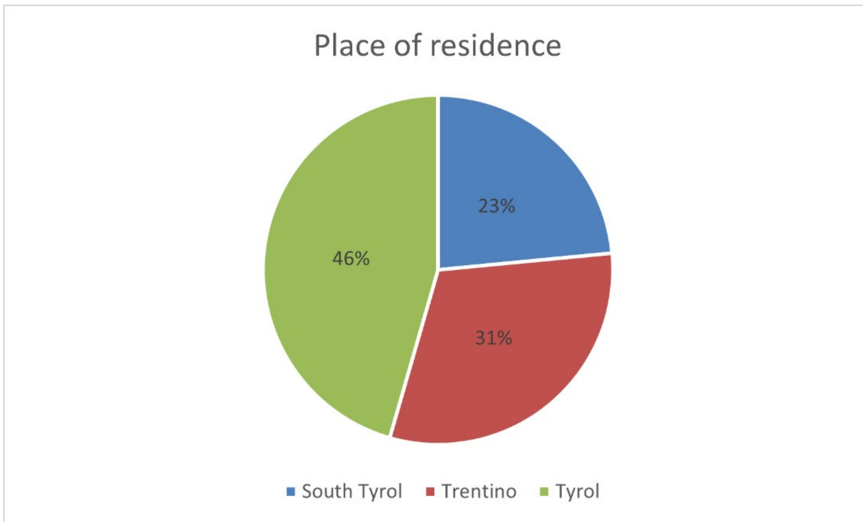

Figure 1: Interviewees' place of residence[16] (N=213)

Most of our interviewees are long-term residents in their home regions (64% have lived in South Tyrol, Trentino or Tyrol for more than 6 years; of these 64%, 41% have been residents for 15 years or more). The percentage of second-generation migrants in the strict interpretation of the term is lower: 20% have lived in their home region since they were born. Not surprisingly, given the case studies' different migration histories, Tyrol has higher numbers of both second-generation migrants born in the region as well as of long-term residents (15 years or more).

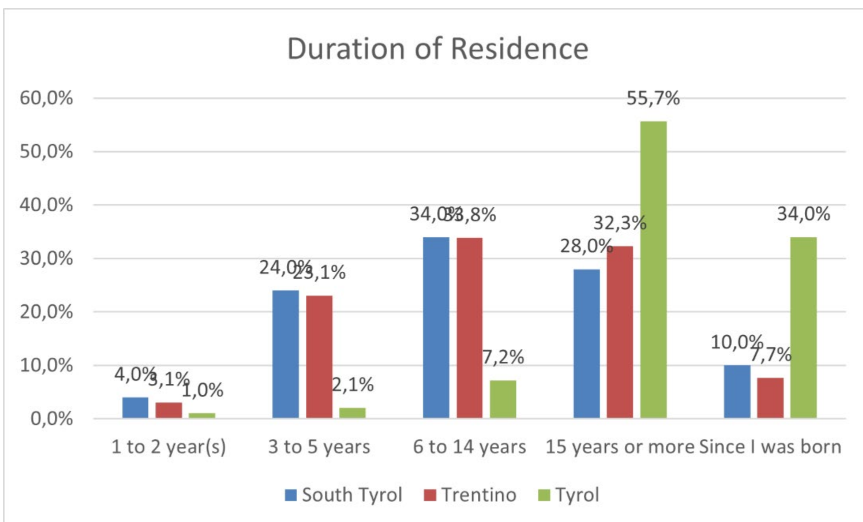

Figure 2: Duration of residence South Tyrol (N=50), Trentino (N=65), Tyrol (N=97)

[16] All graphical representations by the author, based on the collected survey data.

Regarding citizenship of respondents, the distribution is extremely heterogeneous. The largest migrant groups for each country were listed as pre-defined options in the questionnaire, while other citizenship options could be inserted through the “other” box. More than one answer was possible, as we were also interested in dual citizens (e.g., migrants who had already become citizens of their respective home countries, but who also still held a foreign citizenship). In the other category, the inserted countries of citizenship were Egypt, Armenia, Brazil, Colombia, Ivory Coast, Cuba, Ecuador, Spain, Gambia, Ghana, India, Iraq, Mali, Mozambique, Nigeria, Philippines, Russia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Syria, Slovenia, Somalia, Togo, Tunisia, and Uruguay.

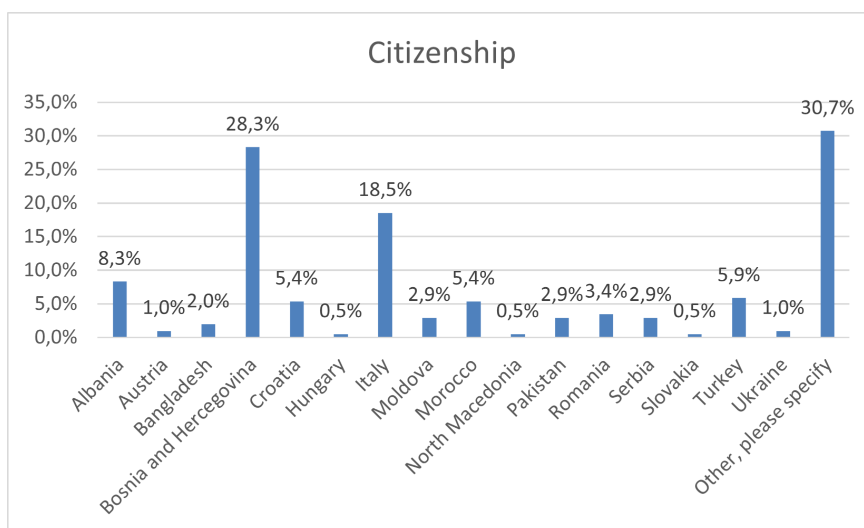

Figure 3: Citizenship of Interviewees (N=205, N missing = 8)

5.2 Education and Media

Most interviewees speak at least 3 languages, most mention 4-5 languages (the achieved level of proficiency was not asked, but sometimes specified by respondents in the open comment section). In general, the option “other, please specify” and the comment section provided at the end of almost all questions in the survey proved to be a very valuable addition: migrant life realities are complex and very heterogeneous and drafting a questionnaire that fits all needs for expression was therefore not possible. Through the comment box, we also obtained in-depth insights that would otherwise not have been possible in a survey. When asking about whether respondents had gone to school in their current place of residence, for example, 61.3% said yes, 33.3% said no, and 5.4% chose the “other” option, specifying that they had done language courses, and university education/master’s degrees in their respective regions. Combined with the 46.5% of respondents who have children taking part in early childhood care or school education, this means that most of our respondents are at least somewhat familiar with the education system in their place of residence. When asked about whether or not they thought that all people are welcome in the respective educational system, 38.5% said that all people are welcome, while 40.5% thought that many people are welcome, while others are not:

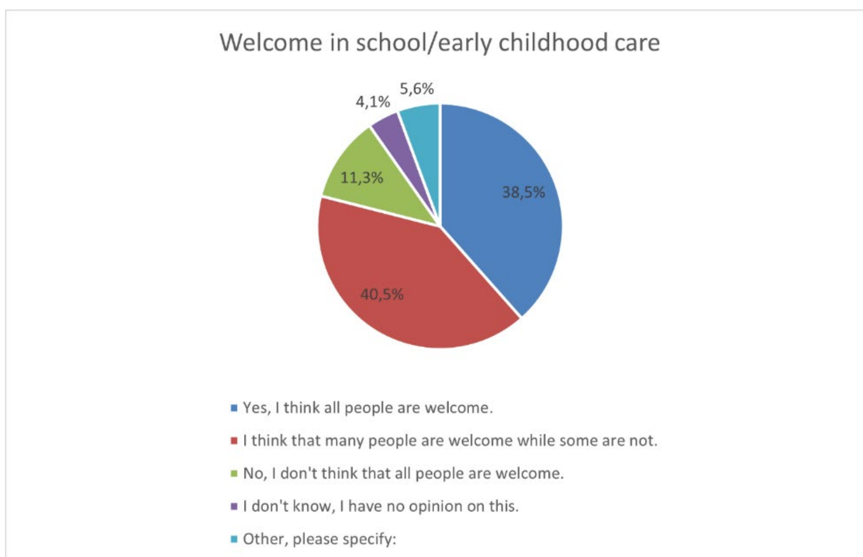

Figure 4: Welcome in school/early childhood care (N=195)[17]

Again, a relatively high percentage (5.6%) chose the "other" option and provided their opinion in the comment box. Interviewees mentioned that it depends on where the person comes from, that they were made to feel welcome by the teachers but less so by the students, that it depends on the environment that people go to school in, and that coming into an existing student and class structure and being accepted takes time, as there is a certain fear of foreigners.

When asked about one of the most salient issues for national minorities, namely being able to learn the minority language in school, even if only as an additional optional activity in the afternoon, 77.9% of respondents were in favor of such a possibility, while 14.9% were against, 2.4% had no opinion on the topic, and 4.8% chose "other". In the comment section, the importance of also creating possibilities of interacting with diversity for non-migrant students was mentioned, while other respondents said that these additional courses should focus on important, larger languages like English and French. Many comments stressed that it should be an optional offer, and that learning the local language(s) should be focused on. This idea also emerged in the qualitative interviews: While representatives of migrant organizations highlighted that giving more room to linguistic diversity could be an opportunity to create further interaction with the majority culture, and to foster general language competence, they mentioned a good level of proficiency in the local language(s) as the "key to all communication" (author's translation) and therefore also to access all areas of society: the labor market, education, but also social life and friendships. Language was also mentioned as an important identification factor, as something that helps to preserve a "hybrid" identification with roots in both cultures: "I'm a mixture, a hybrid, and to be a hybrid I need to have parts from here and from there. I have Italian culture, Italian history, Italian living experience, but I have an Arab background. And that's fundamental, because if you take that language from me, you also take part of my identity" (author's translation). However, the interviewees that saw themselves as hybrids also stressed that their future, both professional and

[17] Question: Do you think that people from all countries are welcome in schools/early childhood care facilities in – case study - ?

personal, lied in the regional context, and that therefore proficiency in the official language(s) was the main skillset that schools should be teaching, while competences in the language of one's country of origin was a personal and private matter.

Rooting in local contexts was also visible in the question on media use: 81.6% said that they had access to local news media and used them, while 15.5% had access, but did not use them; 1.9% did not have access but did not want to have access, and 0.5% did not have access but would like to have access, 0.5% said they did not know. Interestingly, 80% of Tyrolean respondents mentioned that they use media in the official language(s) of their or their families' countries of origin; for South Tyrolean interviewees, this rate is considerably lower, at 57.1%, and at 65.1% for respondents from Trentino. This could be due to media offers in migrant languages or lack of access, however, in South Tyrol, 12% said that they did not have access to this type of media but also did not want to have access. Another possibility is to attribute this difference to the different countries of origin, which might offer a differing variety of news media outlets.

5.3 Cultural and Religious Traditions

For the questions on religious and cultural traditions, respondents were asked to think about the culture and religion they most closely identified with. When asked about maintaining cultural traditions, 86% mentioned that this was important to them, while 10.6% said it was not important, and 0.5% ticked "I don't know". In the "other" option (2.9%), interviewees commented that it depends on the tradition, that anyone should decide for themselves which traditions to maintain, and that there should be a mixture of cultural traditions from their or their family's country of origin and from their home region. On the question whether they would like to maintain religious traditions, the picture is less homogeneous:

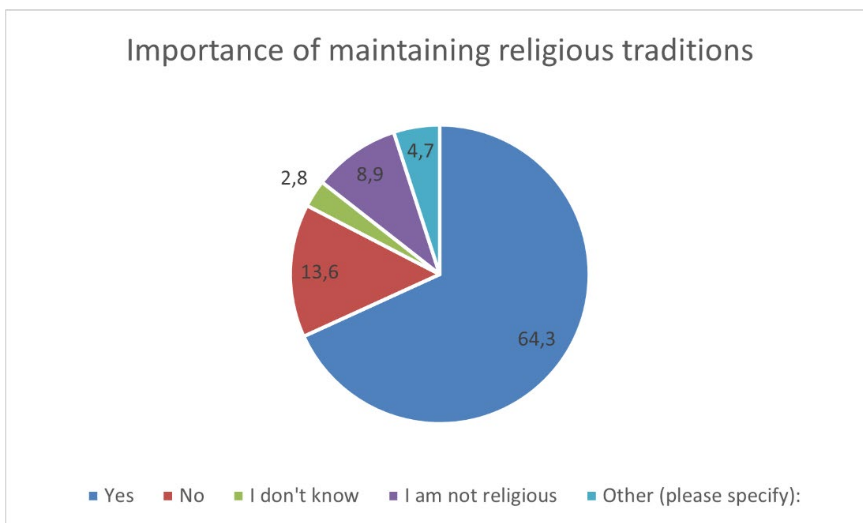

Figure 5: Importance of maintaining religious traditions (N=207, N missing = 8)[18]

Next to a majority of "yes" answers (64.3%), we find a spectrum of dissenting opinions, and an interesting variety of comments. Interviewees mention that they keep certain religious traditions because they are family festivities, and because they remind them of their childhood. Many respondents stress that religion is personal and that everyone has to make their own decisions, and that getting to know other religions is important in order to create a better mutual understanding. In the qualitative interviews, representatives of migrant organizations unanimously mentioned that they had difficulties in recruiting young people, especially second-generation migrants, as members, because they do not feel as closely connected to their countries of origin: "[My daughters] are really not interested in what happens in Romania, or in the Romanian community. They are not members of our association, even though they are both adults now. They have never been interested in getting a Romanian passport, dual citizenship. They see Romania and they go to Romania only because their grandparents live there, they visit their grandparents and that's it" (author's translation).

Despite the lack of interest in migrant organizations outlined by our qualitative interview partners, our survey respondents appear to be interested in cultural activities and in creating more opportunities for exchange, as underlined also by a large majority of "yes" answers (85%) to the question whether migrant communities (their own or others) should be organizing more cultural events. The types of desired events are diverse (more than one answer was possible) and show the creativity of respondents and their wish to engage in cultural life, which is likely to also have been impacted by the pandemic situation at the time the survey was carried out (early 2021, with lockdowns in place in all three case studies).

[18] Question: Is maintaining religious traditions important to you?

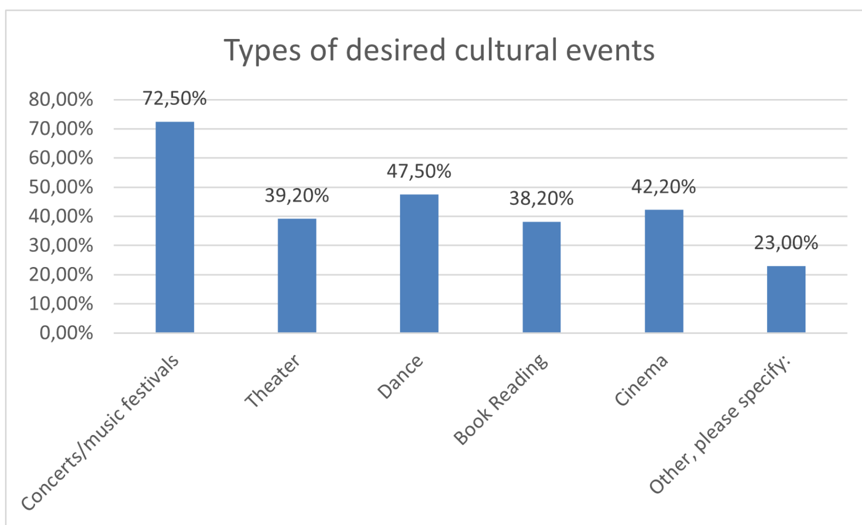

Figure 6: Types of cultural events that should be organized by migrant communities according to participants (N=213)[19]

5.4 Political Participation

Similar to "old" minorities, being and feeling represented and being able to get their voices heard is also an important concern for migrants, who in many cases remain excluded from voting rights because they do not hold the citizenship of the country they live in. Regardless of these restrictions, 64.9% of respondents keep themselves informed on politics in their respective region. In this case, there is a significant regional difference: In Tyrol, 82.1% of respondents follow politics, while in South Tyrol 62% and in Trentino 41.3% do so. This could be due to the longer migration history of the region, and due to the larger percentage of long-term residents (see figure 2), who are likely to be more familiar with and more interested in local politics. Participants were then also asked on their opinion regarding voting rights for long-term residents (10+ years), regardless of which citizenship they hold:

[19] Question: Which cultural events should be organized? More than one answer is possible.

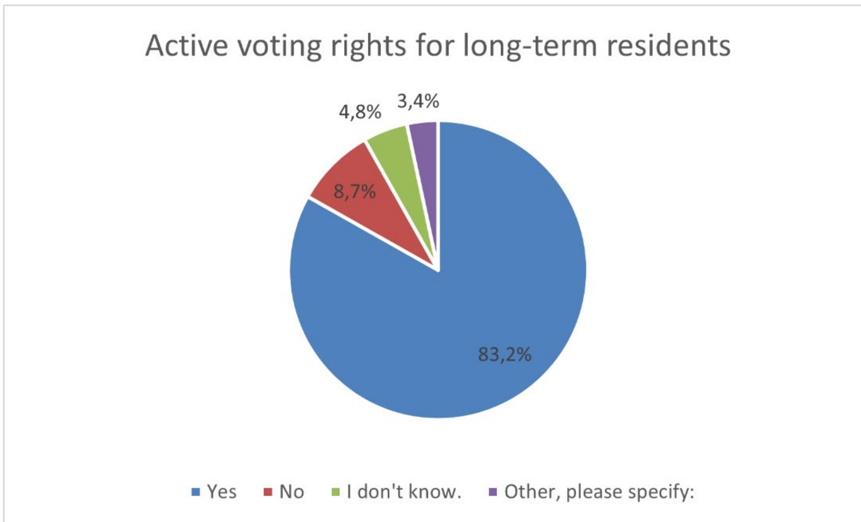

Figure 7: Opinions on active voting rights for long-term (10+ years) residents (N=208)[20]

Active voting rights for all long-term (10+ years) residents regardless of their citizenship were regarded more favorably in Trentino (94%) and Tyrol (88%) than in South Tyrol (62%). Some respondents commented that active voting rights should be awarded earlier than after 10 years of residence, while others remarked that 10 years are not long enough, or that voting rights should be granted on the regional level first. For passive voting rights, 69.7% of participants think that long-term resident migrants should be able to run for office, with 17.8% against it and 9.6% undecided. In the comment box, respondents mentioned the personal level of integration as a potential indicator. As outlined by Bauböck and Valchars (2021: 226-227), accessibility of democratic participation instruments for migrants can be seen as a test for the quality of modern democracies, as their legitimacy is also based on the inclusivity of participation possibilities.

[20] Question: Do you think all long-term residents (more than 10 years) of – case study – should be able to vote on the provincial/regional and national level, regardless of their citizenship?

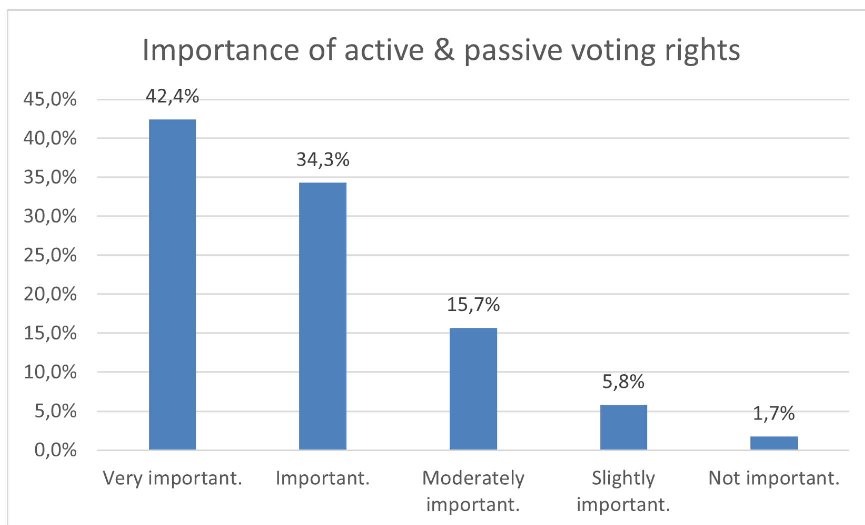

Figure 8: Importance of voting rights for participants (N=172)[21]

Those respondents who had agreed that active and passive voting rights should be granted to long-term residents were asked a follow-up question on how important voting rights (here both active and passive were intended) were to them. Combining the numbers of respondents who regard voting rights as "very important" or "important", 76.7% of interviewees describe voting rights as something that is relevant to them. While a certain degree of social desirability bias (e.g., responding in a way they think is socially acceptable) is likely for this question, it still shows that respondents are interested in politics, and that they would like to be able to express themselves also in democratic decision-making processes: 24.4% of participants would also consider running for office themselves. Looking at civil society organizations, 18.5% are members of a trade union, 3.9% are members of a political party, and 17.6% are members of an environmental activist, civil rights or peace group. Of the 3% who ticked "other", commentators say they are not actual members of specific groups, but participate in events, e.g., for women's rights, or that they do voluntary work with migrants and other groups. In the ASTAT *Mehrzweckerhebung* of 2019, which targeted all the resident population, 10.6% of men and 3.8% of women said they were members of a political party, while 19.4% of men and 17.2% of women were members of a trade union; for both values, not enough data was collected for persons with foreign citizenship. Regarding membership in an environmental activist, civil rights, or peace group, the ASTAT data shows missing values for the general population as well (ASTAT 2020: 208-211).

Compared to the general population, political party membership appears to be lower in our respondents but participating in a trade union is similarly widespread; this could be attributed to the fact that trade unions also provide assistance and counseling regarding work and tax issues, something that both migrants and the general population are in need of. For political participation, the migrant data gap again emerges, as outlined by Prandner & Gausgruber (2019: 232) in their study on Austria:

[21] Question: How important are voting rights to you?

migrants present missing values in many of the large-scale representative surveys on political participation. They also denote a heterogeneity in migrant groups, with those that are looking more towards their country of origin (often first-generation migrants) less interested in Austrian politics than second-generation migrants whose main rooting is in Austria. Other socio-demographic factors like educational status also play an important role (Prandner & Gausgruber 2019: 201-204). For privacy reasons[22], we did not identify participants' educational status, but it is likely that this effect also prevails in our respondents, as well-educated persons are generally more likely to participate in surveys[23].

5.5 Sense of Belonging and Social Life

Creating opportunities for intercultural interaction and exchange is important for both "old" and "new" minorities, as are roots on the regional level, which allow them to engage with political actors and to become involved in social and political life in their home region. Establishing strong intergroup relations is also a vital part of creating a sense of belonging. For the initial question investigating this sense of belonging, participants were asked to agree or disagree with a statement, using a Likert scale. Multiple answers were possible, in order to allow respondents to specify multiple places that they felt at home in, also giving room to the above mentioned "hybrid identities". As outlined by figure 9 below, 45.1% of respondents felt at home in their respective home region, and/or 36.4% in their hometowns or cities; Europe provides an important frame of reference as well, with 37.4%. This is an important finding, as it denotes that persons with migratory background are rooted in their local and regional environment, which is also a prerequisite for getting engaged (politically and socially) in their respective immediate surroundings. About 40% of respondents that feel at home somewhere else, but this does not have to be a contradiction with their local roots; in fact, it might mean that they simply feel at home in a variety of places, or that their sense of belonging changes depending on where they are currently located (see analysis of the comment section below).

[22] Educational status and profession had to be removed from the questionnaire at the request of the Eurac Legal Office, as place of residence was also asked to ensure a wider geographical distribution of respondents. Due to the very small number of migrants in some villages, the combination of educational status, profession and residence might have led to participants being identifiable.

[23] See also e.g., the results of the VOLPOWER project on young volunteers, where 60% of respondents have a high school diplomaand 18% a university degree (Carlà, Flarer, Psenner, Bona 2021: 18).

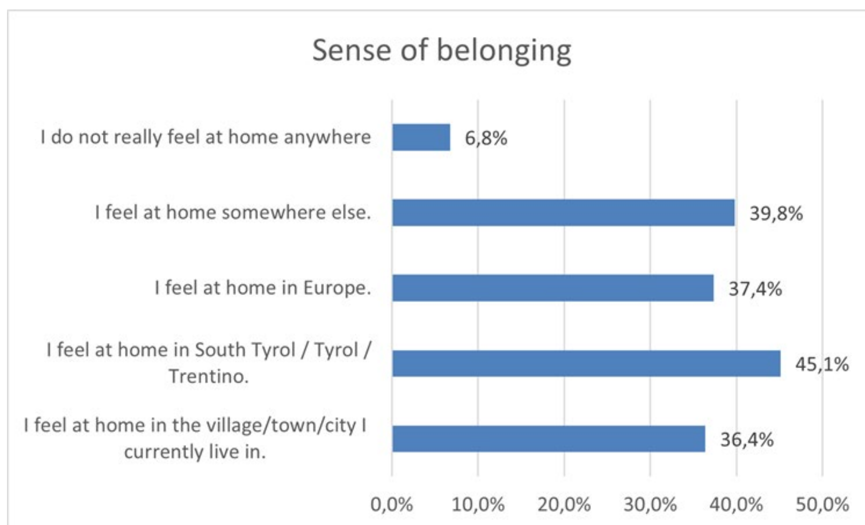

Figure 9: Participants' sense of belonging / feeling at home (N=206, N missing = 7)[24]

Again, some very interesting additional comments were provided: Many interviewees mentioned that it is not a place they feel at home in, but wherever their family and friends are with them, that is where they feel at home. Some participants also expressed conflicting feelings of identification: "I feel at home in South Tyrol, and in Morocco, but at the same time I don't feel at home either in South Tyrol or in Morocco" (author's translation). One respondent mentions that this feeling is overcome when they go abroad, where they can be e.g., 100% Italian, and their identity and belonging is not questioned as happens in Italy.

[24] Question: Which of the following statements best describes your sense of belonging? More than one answer is possible.

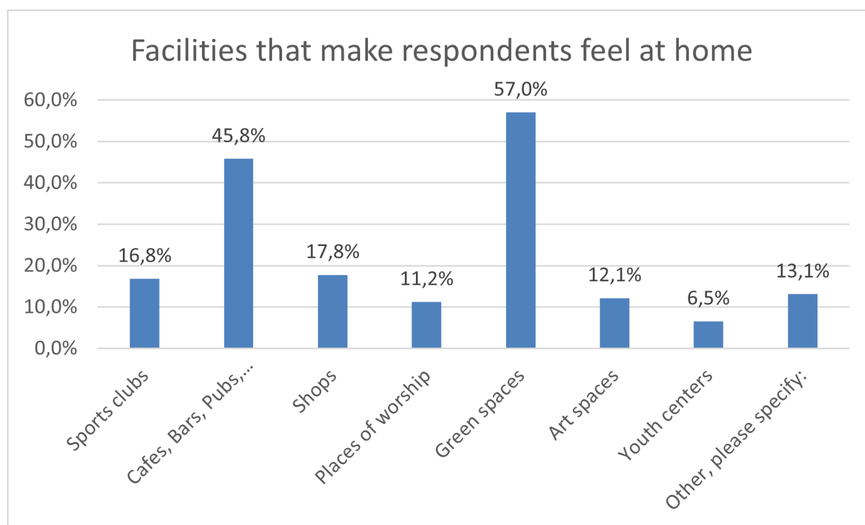

Figure 10: Facilities that make respondents feel at home (N=107)[25]

As a follow-up question, only those respondents who had said that they feel at home in their respective hometown were asked which facilities made them feel at home; they could choose two possibilities out of a pre-provided list or add their own using the “other” box. Not surprisingly for three case studies that are relatively rural and with many possibilities for outdoor activities, green spaces (parks, nature, mountains) are the most frequently mentioned facility that makes respondents feel at home. The high number of mentions for cafes, bars, pubs, and restaurants denotes the importance of meeting places and human interaction for personal sense of belonging, something that participants are likely to have become more aware of due to the pandemic and subsequent lockdowns and closures of public meeting opportunities. In the “other” category, family and friends, school, culture, the environment, personal freedom, and safety were mentioned.

In general, social interaction is one of the most important factors in creating a sense of belonging in one’s local environments. In non-pandemic times, participants meet socially (by choice rather than for reasons of either work or pure duty) with friends, relatives, or work colleagues every day (35.4%) or several times a week (31.6%). The majority of respondents (82%) say that many of their friends have a different cultural, ethnic or national background to themselves – an encouraging sign regarding the interaction of different groups in heterogeneous and diverse societies. Over 90% of respondents frequently interact with people from different backgrounds; in our specific dataset, ghettoization tendencies are therefore not visible.

[25] Question: Which facilities make you feel at home in the village/town/city you currently live in? Please choose the two that are most important.

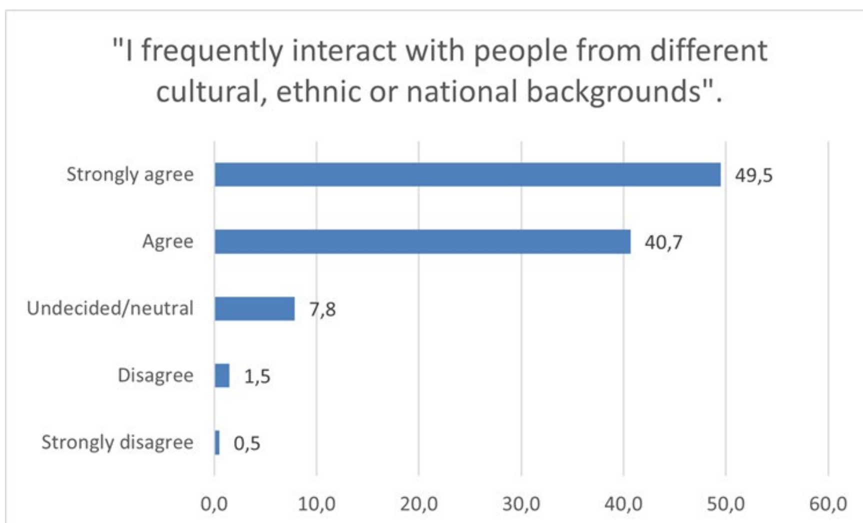

Figure 11: Frequent interaction with people from different cultural, ethnic, or national backgrounds (N=204, N missing = 9)

Leaving the personal level, the general assessment of relationships between people with and without migratory background in the respective case studies is somewhat less positive; however, 31.8% of respondents say relationships are good or very good, while the majority (51.2%) provides a neutral assessment. Majority – minority interaction is an important topic for both "old" and "new" minorities, as it provides the basis for exchange, and also for political discussion and evaluation of claims.

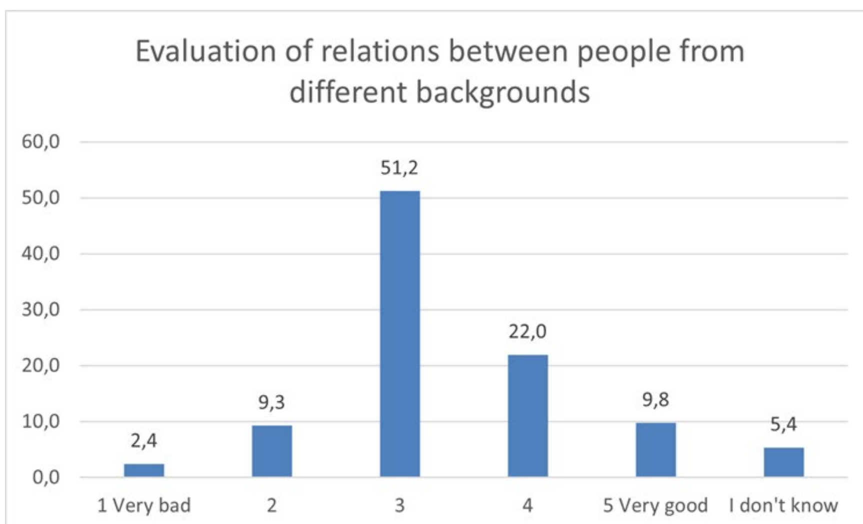

Figure 12: Evaluation of relations between people from different backgrounds in the region (N=205, N missing = 8)[26]

[26] Question: How would you assess the quality of relations between people with migration backgrounds and people without a migration background in – case study - ?

The tendency towards the middle category could also be partly attributed to the so-called "middle category bias", a well-known phenomenon in survey methodology, describing that respondents tend to choose the middle option more frequently. According to Magdolen et al. (2020: 2893) Likert scales like the one used above are particularly prone to cultural bias, where choosing "extremes" like "very bad" or "very good" might not be socially desirable. The assessment of relationships and the strong middle option preference therefore might have to be evaluated with a certain degree of caution.

5.6 Respect for Diversity and (Anti-)Discrimination

When asked about whether they would describe themselves as members of a group that is discriminated against, 64.4% of respondents said no, while 35.6% answered yes. Respondents who chose yes received a follow-up question on what grounds their group was discriminated against. More than one answer was possible.

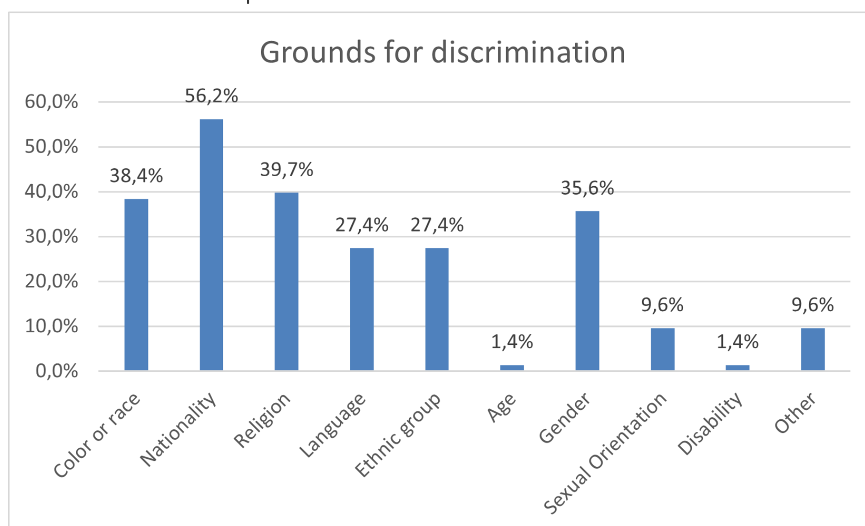

Figure 13: Grounds for discrimination (N=73)[27]

Not surprisingly in a survey targeting foreigners, nationality was the most frequently mentioned reason for group-related discrimination. Religion, color or "race" and gender follow closely, underlining the importance of an intersectional view looking at overlapping and interacting dimensions of diversity. Ethnic group and language, two factors more closely connected to the reasons for discrimination of "old" minorities, were mentioned by 27.4% of respondents. In the "other" section, "being a foreigner" was mentioned by all commentators; it would be interesting to investigate whether they did not connect the word "nationality" to also imply "citizenship", or whether "being a foreigner" has a larger dimension to them, one that goes beyond the question of which passport they hold.

Discrimination and racism were also mentioned in the qualitative interviews, with one respondent describing it as something subtle, that does not always express itself through acts of violence or insults,

[27] Question: On what grounds is your group discriminated against? More than one answer is possible.

but also through small, at first glance insignificant situations in everyday life: “If you’re not - in quotation marks - ‘different’ you can’t perceive it, it’s silent. It’s not something that is evident, but it’s something that you perceive, you feel it when you walk down the street at night like everyone else, with your headphones on and your hood over your head because maybe it’s raining, but there’s not a white but a black face under there, you understand the others’ perception. You understand when you’re walking and there’s an old lady holding on to her purse, you understand when you get on the bus and when there’s a free seat she puts her purse there, it’s silent little things. And even if you were going to report it what would you report, it’s not verbal, it’s something, it’s a perception that is real, because I’m not saying that it’s not real, but it’s not provable” (author’s translation). Another interviewee recalls that “Albanians were regarded how should I say like monkeys. I remember one time a lady said to me ‘oh, but you know how to clean like us’. I wanted to say excuse me, cleaning is done in all parts of the world” (author’s translation). In the Anglo-American context, these instances of racial discrimination have become known as microaggressions, as defined by Wing Sue et al. (2007: 1): “Racial microaggressions are brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color”, while in Europe, this phenomenon and its negative impact on health and well-being have not been the subject of wider scholarly attention yet[28]. Next to individual experiences with discrimination, interviewees also mentioned the impact of the political climate on how migrants are viewed in society, denoting particularly the influence of right-wing populist parties and securitized migration discourse[29] as detrimental factors.

In the final open comment section, many participants mentioned that this was the first survey they had been contacted for, and that they appreciated that migrants were directly asked about their concerns; at least for our respondents, a general willingness and desire to express their opinions on a number of topics is therefore visible. This could also be attributed to the specifics of our survey respondents, who are largely young people, and perhaps also to the particular situation during the Covid-19 pandemic, when becoming visible might have become increasingly important. A second frequently mentioned issue was the need to create more and better opportunities for interaction between inhabitants with and without migratory background.

6 “Old” and “New” Minorities: Similarities and Differences

Looking at the claims voiced by “new” minorities in our survey and by “old” minorities through international documents, we see that there are similarities, but also differences. Interestingly, most claims made by our respondents fall into the area of “legitimate claims” (claims that acquire strength from contextual specific factors) for “new” minorities as outlined by Roberta Medda-Windischer (2018:

[28] For a more in-depth analysis of the difficulties in collecting health-related data on minorities in Europe please see Crepaz 2021 (forthcoming).

[29] For a more detailed exploration of migration discourse in South Tyrol, please see the work of Andrea Carlà (e.g., 2015).

16-17) and are therefore within the areas of claims for which – given the necessary political will – some protection mechanisms designed for “old” minorities might be beneficially extended to “new” ones. This allows us to infer two conclusions: First, migrants are aware of their status and position in society, and do not strive for protection mechanisms that are as far reaching as those in place for “old” minorities; in fact, these mechanisms appear to be far removed from their daily lives. Second, there are certain thematic areas where a shared approach would be possible, and its implementation feasible – if politically desired.

Using the main issue areas identified in the analysis of international documents, the next section analyzes where claims and opinions of “old” and “new” minorities overlap, and in which areas they differ. It is important to note that our results represent only the views of our respondents, held at a specific point in time; as Boulter, Medda-Windischer and Malloy (2020: 10) highlight, “[…] just as the external categorization of groups changes over time, so too do the aspirations of those groups within the nation-state”. Establishing a larger scale representative survey on the claims of “new” minorities held as a longitudinal panel study could help to provide a solution to this migrant data gap, which has been identified as a recurring problem in the different sections of the present report. However, for now, the claims voiced by survey respondents will serve as the basis for our comparative analysis.

In education, there are more differences than similarities between “old” and “new” minorities in the three case study regions. For “old” minorities, first language education is one of their core claims, whether this is achieved by a complete minority language course of education or by additional classes in the afternoon, as is often the case for smaller minority languages. However, while maintaining competence in their or their family’s first language is also important for migrants, they see it as more of a private than a public task. A similarity would be the strong relevance of language for personal identification, but “new” minorities tend to see this as something they are personally responsible for; they see the possibility to learn migrant languages in schools as a potentially positive optional, but not as a fundamental right, like “old” minorities do. Of course, this could also be due their difference in self-perception, which is often not one of being part of a minority, or even a desire not to be minoritized. Migrants recognize that a good command of the official language(s), in this case German, Italian, or both, is vital for social inclusion and job opportunities, this was stressed in both survey and qualitative interviews (and is supported by the analysis of Roberta Medda-Windischer 2017: 35). Most respondents are multilingual, and consciously adapt to a multilingual environment. Regarding minority language media, we see a similar development – many migrants access local news sources in one of the official language(s), while consumption of migrant language media sources is less frequent. This could be due to problems in accessibility, but also due to the fact that like all inhabitants of the region, migrants primarily want to be informed about what is happening in their closest living environment. Migrant populations’ roots in their local areas are also shown by the question on where they feel at home, in which a majority mentioned their home region or hometown. Creating further opportunities (e.g., voluntary additional language classes in schools) to also learn migrant languages could help to foster inclusion processes, and to create more of the frequently mentioned meeting opportunities. Additionally, those facilities that make migrants feel at home (e.g., nature and mountains) might also be used for this purpose, for example through the creation of common hikes that explore both bio- and societal diversity. An educational system in the minority language, as designed for “old” minorities is not

something that migrants strife for, as their primary goal is inclusion and creation of opportunities within the majority culture, to which a good command of the official language(s) is the key. Use of local news media is needed to keep up with the developments that immediately affect migrants' daily lives, and creating additional local migrant language offers could be beneficial for cultural purposes or for new arrivals, but is not absolutely necessary for long-term residents and their information needs. For the younger generation, social media are their primary news sources (as one interviewee said "nobody watches TV anymore"); therefore, branching out into apps like TikTok could be an interesting way for intercultural projects to reach larger (younger) audiences.

In contrast to "old" minorities, where identification always also focuses on distinguishing themselves from the majority population, migrants strive to be part of the general population, especially younger second-generation migrants, who highlight their "hybrid identity" and their predisposition to be bridge-builders between cultures and groups – a tendency also found in their study on Austria by Haller and Berghammer (2019: 72). The desire to act as connectors is shown also by their wish to provide opportunities for interaction through more cultural events. Many have friends from other ethnic and national backgrounds, and frequently interact with people outside of their own group – while as discussed, the present survey cannot offer generalizable findings, this points towards a positive development regarding potential ghettoization problems. Respondents see interaction with the majority population as an important issue, and want to pursue it also through the organization of joint events and the creation of opportunities for exchange and coming together.

Desire to be included is also voiced through the stated opinions towards political participation. This topic is important, both for "old" and "new" minorities, as it grants them the opportunity to participate in decision-making processes. However, "old" minorities are usually citizens of the country they live in (with some exceptions, e.g., stateless Roma), and therefore are by default included in the democratic process. "New" minorities on the other hand are often not (yet) citizens, and are therefore excluded from voting completely or partially, as in the case of EU citizens, who may vote in local elections and in European Parliament elections. Most respondents are therefore in favor of long-term residents being able to vote. Interestingly, some expressed that this should be tied to testing their knowledge of the country's democratic system, or that these rights should be limited to the regional level. One young respondent in the qualitative interviews mentioned that there should not be easier paths to voting rights, but a facilitated way to gain Italian citizenship, especially for young migrants who have grown up in Italy. Bauböck and Valchars (2021) also discuss whether citizenship acquisition or an easier access to voting rights are a more appropriate solution for ensuring the political participation of migrants, branding it a "the chicken or the egg" problem – what is more easily achievable and must come first is likely to be dependent on the political context. For over 70% of survey respondents, voting rights are "important" or "very important"; securing the political participation of migrants is therefore an important task for policy makers. Although the regional level does not have the competences to change citizenship laws or grant (national) voting rights, alternative ways of decision-making (e.g., a strong regional role for migrant councils) could represent steps in a positive direction.

In their desire to preserve cultural and religious traditions, "old" and "new" minorities are similar. However, we again see a private-public distinction, like in the case of linguistic rights: for "old"

minorities, visibility of traditions is important, while for "new" minorities, they seem to be more private and family-related, as was stressed by many respondents. Respondents mentioned that they would like to keep both traditions from their or their family's country of origin and local regional traditions, and that they distinguish between some traditions they want to keep and others they might not want to maintain. On religious traditions, the picture is even more heterogeneous, with participants saying that these traditions remind them of their childhood and are therefore kept – a mindset that is probably not much different to the reasons why many inhabitants without migratory backgrounds celebrate Easter or Christmas. Representatives of migrant associations mentioned that they struggled in recruiting young people, because they are not as strongly connected to their or their family's country of origin, and therefore are also not as interested in maintaining cultural traditions. It would be interesting to investigate whether "old" minority communities face similar developments regarding young people[30], where other perspectives or cultural influences become more important than minority identification, or whether this is a migrant-specific phenomenon, where the majority culture exerts a stronger pull-factor. For migrants in Austria, Haller & Berghammer observe a "[…] tendency towards increased structural, social and cultural integration and identification with the host society […]" (2019: 75), a picture that is likely to be similar in our case studies.

A final topic that is important for both "old" and "new" minorities is respect for diversity and protection from discrimination. It is positive to note that a majority of respondents, 64%, mentioned that they would not describe themselves as members of a group that is being discriminated against. However, 36% said that they had experienced discriminatory practices. When looking at the grounds on which respondents were discriminated against, we find a broad spectrum of factors, underlining that an intersectional approach is crucial when doing research on discrimination and migration in general. Not surprisingly for foreign citizens, "nationality" was the most frequently mentioned cause for discrimination – this is likely to be particularly true for non-EU citizens. With religion, race, and gender following, all primary categories of societal diversity are mentioned – a further study into where discrimination happens, who discriminates, and which structural elements could be changed to combat these discriminatory incidents could be a beneficial field for future research. The topic of discrimination also underlines the importance of establishing equality, and that human rights and non-discrimination must be at the core also of policies concerning minorities.

In general, "old" and "new" minorities share their wish to engage in their local and regional societies, and particularly the desire to be able to participate in decision-making processes. In terms of lessons that can be learned from "old" minority contexts and applied to "new" minorities, three main best practices emerge: alienation from the majority population must be avoided, minorities need to feel considered and accommodated in their respective home regions, and there needs to be an ongoing open debate between majority and minority groups. Next to these shared characteristics and claims, "old" and "new" minorities also differ from each other in several ways: Our respondents from "new" minorities tend to strive more for acceptance into the majority culture, and for creating opportunities for meetings and exchange. Their identification is more of a private matter than for "old" minorities, where identification with language and culture is also always seen as more of a political issue. "New" minorities want to be included in the majority population, they recognize that language skills are the key

[30] See Crepaz (2019) for an analysis of increased regional identification in national minority groups.

to this inclusion as well as to personal and working life success. For our survey respondents, many of whom are young long-term residents or second-generation migrants, reconciling their different cultural backgrounds with their life realities is seen as entirely possible; the description “hybrid” is often mentioned, emphasizing that they consist of parts from both “here” and “there”. The concept of a flexible identification is very important, as it allows “new” minorities to embrace their diversity, and to see intercultural identification not as a lack of allegiance to one or the other, but as an added value and a possibility to reconcile different identities. These young, multi-lingual and often well-educated migrants therefore need to be further included into the political process, by creating opportunities for participation; in doing so, they could serve as important role models for their respective communities, following the leitmotif of “if you can see it, you can be it”.

7 Policy Recommendations

Linguistic diversity, representation of a hybrid identity as well as political participation and establishing opportunities for intercultural dialogue emerge as the most pressing issues. The following policy recommendations are aimed at addressing these topics, focusing particularly on thematic areas in which the regional level has decision-making competences and policy-shaping possibilities.

- Facilitate access to local news media, e.g., through educating pupils in schools about the national and regional media landscape, and educational subscriptions that can be used by students; this could also be an important point in fostering political education and combatting fake news. Include the use of new media and apps primarily used by young people with and without migratory backgrounds, to establish offers closer to their daily life realities.

- Create cultural dialogue in schools, e.g., through opportunities of learning about each other’s holidays and traditions. Facilitate a shared discussion through the use of new approaches to intercultural discussion, including new media technology that is commonly used by young people with and without minority backgrounds, and forms of expression like music or art.

- Include linguistic diversity as a topic in schools, e.g., through the creation of opportunities for migrant students to showcase their or their family’s language of origin, looking at similarities and differences with the local language(s). Provide additional voluntary language classes in migrant languages.

- Raise awareness about the advantages of linguistic diversity, both for personal growth as well as for job perspectives, and for both members of “old” and “new” minorities. Young well-educated multi-lingual migrants could serve as testimonials and role models, demonstrating the importance of linguistic competence for societal inclusion but also for diversity representation.

- Facilitate and financially support cultural events by migrant groups; make intercultural dialogue a priority when distributing cultural funding. Support a variety of events, as suggested by the

respondents (concerts and music festivals, theatre, book readings, dance, cinema, culinary events, political discussions).

- Make use of the identified facilities that make respondents feel at home to provide further opportunities for majority-minority encounters (e.g., joint nature experiences, connecting bio- and social diversity).

- Provide opportunities for political participation especially for young migrants, e.g., youth migrant councils, or establish representation in youth party organizations. Getting young migrants who are bridge-builders between majority culture and their respective communities interested in local issues is fundamental for building a shared future.

- Where possible, implement voting rights for long-term residents on the regional level. If this is not feasible, implement a diversity mainstreaming approach for all regional policies, and render the involvement of stakeholders through participatory processes (e.g., consultation procedures) a requirement for certain policy areas. A national-level discussion on (non-)citizenship and its implications for young migrants should also be fostered, drawing on scholarly expertise.

- Offer citizenship education classes also outside of the school system, especially for newly-arrived adult migrants, and provide information about fundamental rights, the political system, etc. in a variety of languages.

- Establish collaboration between researchers and regional authorities for the monitoring of discriminatory practices. Follow an intersectional approach to identify overlapping categories of diversity, and to draft specific measures (e.g., for female migrants).

- Create a large-scale, representative survey of migrant populations, ideally in the context of the European Region for cross-country comparison and in the form of a longitudinal panel study, to assess possible changes in attitudes over time. Aim to increase the participation of migrants also in surveys targeting the general population (e.g., *Mehrzweckerhebung* in South Tyrol), to collect reliable data on a variety of topics.

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Appendix:

Full version of Table 1 – Analysis of International Documents

International Legal Documents & Indicators established for “old” minorities

Topics	*European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML)*	*ECRML Policy to Outcome Indicators*	*Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM)*	*FCNM Eurac Indicators*	*LISI Eurac Indicators for the Inclusion of New Minorities*	*Lund Recommendations for the Effective Participation of Minorities*	*UN Declaration on the Rights of persons belonging to minorities*
Definitions/Principles Anti-Discrimination	Languages of migrants are explicitly excluded	ECRML gives states flexibility in deciding which measures to apply to which MLs. Assessment of Policy (Legislation, case law) and performance (parliamentary politics, media). Indicators: multi-dimensional and compounded, multi-domain and interdisciplinary, quantifiable and qualitative, cross-country applicable, developed on article by article basis	Limited to national minorities – no definition of what a national minority is given, because “it is impossible to arrive at a definition capable of mustering general support of all Council of Europe member States” (Explanatory Report). Non-discrimination and equality as main principles. Preservation of identity, religion, language, traditions, cultural heritage. Focus on individual not collective rights.	Increased attention to combating racism and xenophobia. Status of FCNM in domestic legal system. Scope of application of the FCNM and definition of minorities. Anti-discrimination legislation. Right to identity and diversity.	Civic integration as main concept. Rights of EU Charter of Fundamental Rights valid for everyone. Focus on legal equality and minority rights.	facilitate the inclusion of minorities within the State and enable minorities to maintain their own identity and characteristics, thereby promoting the good governance and integrity of the State.	Chairman Ejde: Avoid absolute distinction, but “old” minorities have stronger entitlement than “new”. No definition of minority given in document. National, ethnic, religious, linguistic minorities. Exercise rights individually or in communities, without restrictions. No disadvantages from claiming rights.
Education	Pre-school to secondary education available completely or partially in ML, available at least to those pupils whose parents request it. Vocational and technical education. University education. Adult education courses.	Education	Foster knowledge of history, culture, language, religion of minorities and majority. Provide teacher training, textbooks, facilitate exchange between communities. Equal access to education for minorities. Minorities can set up own private educational facilities. Right to learn ML, opportunity to be taught ML in school/receive instruction in ML in ML areas.	Linguistic rights. Educational rights.	Right to Identity. Schooling, language training, prevention of segregation from other children. Language courses for adults.	Determine curricula for teaching.	Persons belonging to minorities may have adequate opportunities to learn their mother tongue or to have instruction in their mother tongue. Tradition, history and culture must be reflected in education.
Judicial authorities	Allow proceedings, documents, evidence in minority language, right to use ML in court, use of interpreters or translators if needed. Validity of documents in ML ensured.	State services	Freedom of expression in minority language. In ML areas, possibility to use ML in relation with authorities. Information of arrest, accusation, defense in ML or with free assistance of interpreter. Right to family and first names in ML. Display private signs in ML. In ML areas: topographical indications in ML. Minorities shall respect national legislation, and other minority and majority groups.	Increased and improved dissemination efforts. Increased funding for implementation programs. Improved mainstreaming efforts. Awareness raising about FCNM for legal professionals. Minority representation in legal professions. Accessibility of the judiciary. Coordinated efforts in dealing with	Right to legal aid. Declare ethnic affiliation in census. Diversity management approaches. Positive discrimination. Anti-discrimination legislation, on local, regional, national level, which grounds. Ius soli or sanguinis and citizenship requirements.	Self-governance established by law. Changes only through qualified majority. Judicial resolution of conflicts and added dispute resolution mechanisms, mediation, arbitration, ombudsman, fact finding, special commissions.	Exercise fully and effectively all their human rights and fundamental freedoms without any discrimination and in full equality before the law.
Administrative authorities	Use ML in relations, oral or written applications. Make administrative texts available in ML or				Availability of translation.	Rights to names in ML.	

	bilingual. Use of ML within the authority. Family names in ML.			discriminations or ethnically, religiously or racially motivated incidents. Direct applicability of the FCNM within the national systems. Number of cases and fields covered. “Constructive” use of the FCNM. “Disruptive” use of the FCNM. Implementation of court rulings.			
Media	One TV/radio channel in the ML. Programs in the ML. Facilitate production and distribution of audiovisual works in ML. Newspaper in ML, funding for minority media. Freedom of reception of TV/radio programs from neighboring countries. Respect freedom of expression.	Media & culture	Receive media in Ml, freedom of expression in ML. Possibility of creating and using own media. Facilitate access to media, promote cultural pluralism.	Increased attention to FC provisions in public spaces. Data collection on minorities. Media rights.	Code of Conduct for reporting on minority issues. Allow TV/radio programs.		
Cultural activities	Foster translation, subtitling of works in ML. Include ML in planning of cultural bodies. Finance translation and terminology.	Media & Culture	Create possibilities for effective participation of minorities in cultural, social and economic life. Refrain from altering the proportions of the population in ML areas. Linguistic rights.	Effective participation in cultural, social and economic life.	Family reunification.	Determine own symbols and other means of cultural expression.	Express their characteristics and to develop their culture, language, religion, traditions and customs, except where specific practices are in violation of national law and contrary to international standards.
Economic and social life	Eliminate prohibitions of ML use from legislation and from private sector provisions. Encourage ML use. Use of ML in banking. Treatment in ML in retirement homes and hospitals. Info on the rights of consumers in ML.				Right to employment, social security, housing. Type of employment contracts. Public service jobs. Self-employment possibilities. Social Assistance.		Participate fully in the economic development of their country. National and international policies should be planned and implemented with regard to minority interests.

Transfrontier exchanges/inter-group relations	Bilateral agreements with other states. Promote cooperation across borders.		Right to establish and maintain free & peaceful contacts across frontiers, particularly with states the minorities share language or cultural heritage with. Right to participate in NGOs at the national and international level. Bilateral or multilateral agreements, especially with neighboring states, to ensure the protection of minorities.	Increased Support for Intercultural Dialogue. Improved non-institutionalized cultural dialogue efforts.			Free and peaceful contacts with other members of their group and with persons belonging to other minorities, as well as contacts across frontiers with citizens of other States to whom they are related by national or ethnic, religious or linguistic ties. States should cooperate in order to promote respect for the Rights.
Religion			Right to manifest religion and to establish religious institutions.	Freedom of religion.			
Political Participation			Create possibilities for effective participation of minorities in public affairs, particularly in those affecting them.	Increased attention to Framework Convention provisions in parliamentary politics, local politics. Effective participation in public affairs.	Voting rights, denizenship. Specific bodies for promoting the rights of new minorities, composed of new minority members.	Special representation, allocation of seats, civil service positions. Elections. Advisory and Consultative bodies. Institutions of self-governance.	Right to participate effectively in decisions on the national and regional level concerning the minority to which they belong or the regions in which they live. Establish and maintain own associations, including educational or religious institutions.

Project: MinMig – Accommodating Linguistic, Religious and Cultural Diversity Through a Comparative Analysis of Minorities' and Migrants' Claims

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