

Comparative report on innovative practices

A cross-country analysis of innovative
strategies against exclusionary
discourses

Markus Rheindorf and Bastian Vollmer

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Authors

Markus Rheindorf is Research Fellow at the Catholic University of Applied Sciences Mainz. He is also Lecturer at the University of Vienna and the Central European University, specialising in critical discourse studies and academic writing. He studied Linguistics and English at the University of Vienna and the University of Amsterdam, and he holds a PhD in Applied Linguistics by the University of Vienna. His research interests include the mediatisation of political discourse, the interplay between politics and policy, political advertising and campaigning, and populist discourse. He has a continuing interest in methodological innovation within critical discourse studies, especially regarding triangulation and mixed methods. He has received fellowships from the International Research Centre for Cultural Studies (IFK) and the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) of Vienna. His latest book, *Revisiting the toolbox of discourse studies: New Trajectories in Methodology, Open Data and Visualization*, was published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2019.

Bastian Vollmer is Professor of Social Sciences and Co-director of the Institute of Applied Research and International Relations at the Catholic University of Applied Sciences Mainz. He has previously held positions at the University of Oxford (2008-2016), the University of Tübingen (2016-2017) well as the European University Viadrina Frankfurt. He holds a MPhil from the University of Cambridge and a PhD from the University of Amsterdam. He is author and co-editor of several books and special issues, and he has published in journals such as *Political Geography*, *Mobilities*, *Geopolitics*, *Migration Studies*, *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, *The American Historical Review*, and *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. His monographs have been published by Palgrave Macmillan and his latest book is entitled *Border Revisited: Discourses on the UK Border*. He is co-editor of the journal *Migration Studies* at Oxford University Press and an elected Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts.

Reviewers

Berta Güell and Ferruccio Pastore.

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Abstract

Based on three national reports presenting the findings on innovative strategies against exclusionary narratives developed by civil society organisations or NGOs in Germany, Italy and Spain, respectively, this comparative report brings together key findings from the national contexts, compares crucial insights, and draws conclusions that, ultimately, also feed into recommendations and guidelines for future campaigns in the form of a toolkit. In doing so, it focuses on seven comparative nodes centred on narrative success, namely context; goals, objectives and ambitions; main activities and strategies; countering the securitisation of borders; actors; agency and positionality. A key finding is that mobilising, combining or bundling forces, if undertaken with a keen understanding of the political and societal context, can be a decisive factor in success and even open up political stalemates or highly polarised debates. Similarly, bottom-up organising and mobilising can be an effective way to communicate directly and successfully with intended audiences, when combined with top-down coordination. Third, we find that windows of opportunity as well as perseverance or resilience are crucial to the narrative success of civil society organisations and NGOs working in the field of migration. Our findings moreover show that initiatives active in the field of migration, public debate and policy-making are not typically professional narrative makers and do not see building alternative narratives or counter-narratives and disseminating them as central to their operations. Indeed, narratives often emerge from the initiatives' activities almost as a by-product. Fifth, we note that pluralist societies and their public discourses benefit from the diversification of narratives, the alternatives and challenges to hegemonic discourse. The toolkit developed to embrace these lessons learned shows how research may help future campaigns to contribute to pluralistic discourses across Europe.

Keywords: campaigns, narrative success, exclusionary narratives, civil society organisations, alternative narratives, Germany, Italy, Spain, comparative

1. Introduction

Hegemonic narratives on migration are recognised as largely country-specific in form, content, or both. They are not universal or stable across Europe but depend on socio-cultural and historical contexts as well as on the more immediate context of situation, which in turn reflect geographical location, demographic and economic structures as well as intellectual and political traditions. In short, hegemonic narratives on migration as observed in mainstream media and social media (WP3) are not simply responses to immediate events but related in a complex fashion to the contexts in which they are produced. Indeed, the fact that they are / have become hegemonic in and of itself is a crucial result of this specificity, as different narratives are hegemonic in different countries. This begs the question whether and to what extent alternative strategies against exclusionary hegemonic narratives – which in turn can create non- or counter-hegemonic narratives – are also shaped by the same contextual factors. How do NGOs, civil society or artistic initiatives, which would be considered non-hegemonic due to their positionality but also have to operate within the specific context of their country, develop and practice alternative strategies against exclusionary narratives in the respective hegemonic discourse?

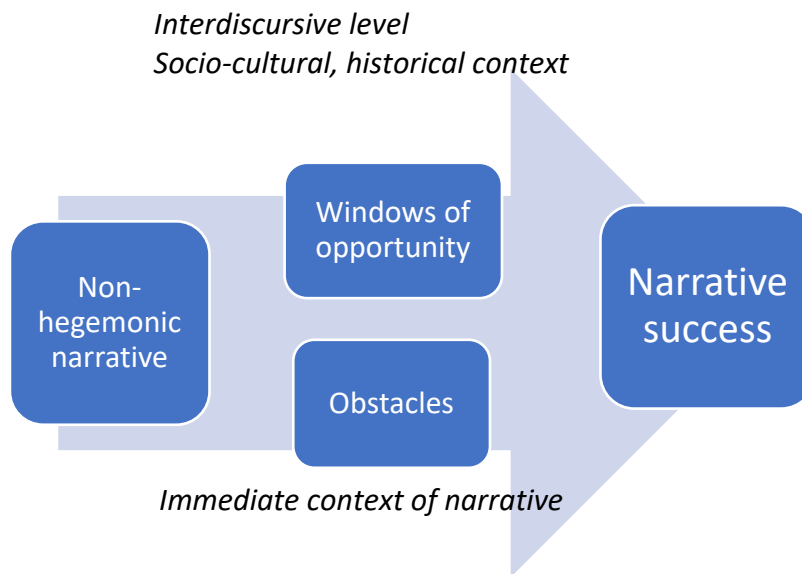
This report summarises and compares the country-specific results of WP4, led by CUAS, on innovative strategies against exclusionary narratives on migration. The individual country reports on Germany, Italy and Spain, provided respectively by CUAS, CIDOB and FIERI, thus form the basis of our comparative analysis and conclusions. Inasmuch as it helps us recognise and understand the specifics of narrative success in context, this comparative perspective is crucial to the overall objectives of WP4:

- (1) to study the strategies of civil society actors (initiatives),
- (2) to analyse their practices and assess their success factors,
- (3) to develop a toolkit for NGOs.

All of these objectives benefit from the insights a comparative perspective can generate.

This perspective encompasses both the initial mapping of 44 relevant initiatives in the three participating countries (using document analysis and open-form interviews with experts) and six in-depth case studies of two initiatives per country (based on 47 semi-structured, qualitative interviews with representatives of initiatives and further experts). The data thus gathered was analysed by means of qualitative content analysis with respect to each initiative's main actors and networks, aims and activities, public representation, their main narratives, impact on media, society and politics, their innovativeness and transformativity as well as, ultimately, their success.

FIGURE 1: Narrative success in context



Our comparative discussion draws on contextual models developed in discourse analysis to understand discursive change and the interplay between hegemonic and marginal discourses. Such models allow the differentiation between an utterance's or text's immediate context of situation, its intertextual and interdiscursive links, as well as broad socio-cultural and historical context (Reisigl & Wodak 2015). Communicative or discursive strategies of the kind we are interested here, i.e., the development and spread of inclusive narratives on migration by civil society actors or NGOs, can thus be understood as encountering (a) potentially enabling as well as (b) potentially disabling conditions on these different levels of context, providing a way for differentiating success factors (Figure 1). The former might be labelled 'windows of opportunity' and the latter 'obstacles' or 'opposition'. Either can occur on the contextual level of the immediate situation (e.g., a specific event or legislative initiative), the intertextual/interdiscursive level (e.g., hegemonic narratives, genres, established 'topoi' as common-sense ways of arguing) and the socio-cultural and historical level (e.g., the social structures, party system or political culture of a specific country).

2. Overview of the mappings and case studies across Germany, Italy and Spain

The mappings of the three countries encompassed a total of 44 initiatives (14 for Germany, 15 for Italy, 15 for Spain) for the three distinct sub-genres 'arrivals and management of borders', 'citizenship, regularisation and integration', and 'terrorism and violent attacks'. The mapped initiatives each addressed one of these sub-genres in a salient fashion, but many addressed more than one of them in the course of their history. Interestingly, these were not distributed the same for the three participating countries:

TABLE 1: Distribution of initiatives per sub-genre and country

	Germany	Italy	Spain	Total
Arrivals and management of borders	6	5	6	17
Citizenship, regularisation and integration	7	6	8	21
Terrorism and violent attacks	1	4	1	6
Total	14	15	15	44

Although the mapping was not exhaustive, given our parallel sampling process, it is worth noting that the Italian mapping yielded four initiatives who had prominently addressed terrorism and/or violent attacks, whereas both the German and Spanish mapping only found one salient initiative in that category. It was also interesting to note that, on average, the initiatives mapped in Germany tended to have earlier founding dates (~2014.1) than the initiatives in Spain (~2015.7) and Italy (~2016.6). Correspondingly, we found that several salient initiatives that had been established long before the so-called refugee crisis of 2015 – e.g., in response to the civil wars in former Yugoslavia – had shifted their aims and strategies, most recently in 2015, to address changing issues associated with migration. In at least one case (the German initiative *dis:orient*), this also included the post-2015 merging with another NGO and thus also included fundamental changes in their organisational structure. Thus, while the sample was intended to be post-2015 following the criteria of WP3 and in order to capture recent actions and narratives from the ground, a few initiatives were formally founded earlier.

In choosing the 6 initiatives for in-depth case studies, we coordinated across participating countries to ensure that (a) different kinds of organisations would be covered and (b) initiatives with high impact and narrative success would be analysed. A total of 43 interviews were carried out (Germany 13; Italy 15; Spain 15) to provide detailed insights into the chosen initiatives.

The German case studies – *Seebrücke* (founded 2018) and *Netzwerk medien.vielfalt!* (founded in 2015) – were both founded in response to the intensified migration to Europe in general and to Germany specifically in 2015. *Seebrücke* (Sea Bridge) calls for safe escape routes to Europe, a humane reception of refugees and a decriminalization of sea rescue, with its principal aims directed at policy change in Germany and, beyond that, across Europe. Emerging from what was initially a satirical media project, *Seebrücke* stands out among the German initiatives mapped for its decentralised organisational structures, its numerous and largely independent local chapters, its successful alliance building within existing political/administrative structures on the commune level¹, and its media-savvy campaigns. *Seebrücke* has managed to mobilise autochthonous Germans and local politicians but has not managed to integrate migrants/refugees into its organisation and public representation; it thus speaks about, for and with migrants rather than amplifying migrant voices themselves. Its narrative success arguably rests on professional media strategies and combining visionary

¹ In Germany, communes are the most local level of political administration. They can consist of a single city or comprise several towns and/or villages.

global narratives (like “A world without borders and global mobility is possible”) with German-specific narratives (such as “Integration should be a commune-level matter”) and established humanitarian narratives. Moreover, local chapters are able to tailor narratives to very local contexts and commune-level politics, making *Seebrücke* an agile organisation.

In contrast, *Netzwerk medien.vielfalt!* (Network media.diversity!) is noteworthy for having successfully brought together pre-existing initiatives as one platform, in this case alternative media projects run by people with migration or flight experience. While each of these projects, among them many local news, radio or other media initiatives, continues to operate on its own, they all contribute to the network on its shared platform of vocational trainings, experience-sharing meetings and public awareness campaigns. *Netzwerk medien.vielfalt!* aims to highlight discrimination and lack of diversity in German media and, in turn, to change the media landscape for a more inclusive, diverse and open society. Its narrative success rests on focusing on the evident underrepresentation of and discrimination against people with migration or flight experience. To change German media, it pursues a clear agenda: amplifying migrant voices. More precisely, they amplify the voices of professional media makers who are part of German society but all-too-often spoken about or for rather than listened to.

The first Italian case, *Io Accolgo* (I welcome) was founded in 2018 and is explicitly positioned against hegemonic discourse, aiming to create counter-information on the reception of migrants, inter alia by reporting on the many cases of positive reception, ultimately aiming to change public opinion and the general climate around NGOs active in the Mediterranean. Its narrative success is partly due to its wide network, combining many associations and NGOs, thus achieving amplification. They gained wide visibility also thanks to unconventional/non-traditional public awareness campaigns, including the initial coordination of flash mobs in Rome. Fortuitous timing, which is a recurring theme in our in-depth case studies, was at least one crucial element for *Io Accolgo*'s success:

“Io Accolgo's communication had strength and important success in the traditional media because at that moment all the journalists were talking about the Salvini decrees. So that such a large group of associations, with very large organisations inside, spoke with one voice made us authoritative.” (IT_I_IA4)

The second Italian case, the initiative called *Dalla Parte Giusta Della Storia* (On the Right Side of History, founded in 2020), is concerned with the frame of the expansion of rights as a conflictual historical process. This approach is motivated by the need to fight discrimination and the recognition that changing the law on citizenship is a necessary step along the way. Their narrative success rests on large and impactful social media campaigns and street actions, among others. Over the years, they have launched and fostered a highly successful inclusive narrative, progressively gaining political and public recognition.

In the Spanish context, the movement *RegularizaciónYa* (Regularisation Now, founded 2020) is campaigning for the extraordinary regularisation of undocumented migrants. Its narrative success and perhaps most notable impact is linked to its campaign to gather half a million signatures for its cause to affect legal change. This ambitious campaign, made significantly more difficult by Covid restrictions, indicates the high number of Spanish citizens who know and support the campaign, and thus also know what regularisation means, having raised awareness about the reality of (undocumented) migrants.

Stop Mare Mortum, the second in-depth case study for Spain, is a citizens' platform (founded in 2015) advocating for the arrival of migrants and refugees to Europe through legal and safe pathways. Its narrative success is, in no small part, due to timing: in the early days of the so-called refugee crisis of 2015, i.e., at a time when no one spoke about these pathways, they developed strong expertise and undertook interrelated actions of advocacy and awareness raising to spread the issue to the media, as well as to political and societal arenas.

3. Narrative success: comparative nodes

The following comparative discussion focuses on the six in-depth case studies and considers them – within their respective national contexts – along salient aspects that emerged from the comparison of the national reports. Some of the comparative nodes were thus inductively derived and cut across the central categories of what, where, when and how: narrative success in national contexts, especially regarding structural barriers and windows of opportunity (3.1 Context); the drivers and motivations behind the founding of initiatives in relation to their stated aims (3.2 Goals, objectives and ambitions); the importance of communicative strategies (3.3 Main activities and strategies); the use of alternative narratives and/or counter-narratives (3.4 Main narratives), especially countering the securitisation and militarisation of European borders (3.5), their narratives and activism as shaped by structural discrimination (3.5), the composition of their members in terms of in- and out-groups (3.6 Actors), as well as their agency, positioning and self-understanding as actors (3.7 Agency and positionality).

3.1 Narratives success in context

The interviews have revealed that civil society initiatives and NGOs have a wide range of innovative/alternative ideas, strategies, and narratives to work with, but that activism often ends with the lack of political will or financial resources, thus leading to shrinking capacities (burned out), frustration and resignation (little or no change). The phrase “running into political/administrative walls” (DE_I_5) adequately captures this impression but also highlights the significance of strategies to mobilise, co-opt or make allies of existing political/administrative structures, as in the case of *Seebrücke*'s Safe Havens network. As one member put it:

“Of course, it is an important success to be growing, and those numbers we are very happy about. But in the end, we only need those numbers to increase presence and pressure, to affect change in politics and the way people naturally see refugees. Growing isn't an aim in itself, but it means we can multiply our message, since we work bottom up” (DE_I_2).

Nevertheless, no policy change as envisioned by *Seebrücke* has happened in Germany or the EU/Europe. Political impact at *Länder* or even federal level remains very difficult.

Although the platform *Stop Mare Mortum* can refer to their success in initiating some policy change, substantial policy changes as a result of their work or other are assessed to be rather non-existent. Proposing roadmaps of very detailed legal and safe pathways across borders and into the EU is a great achievement and can, in fact, be implemented by the Spanish

government or other European member states, but the political will and consequential political pay-off is just too little. A member of *Stop Mare Mortum* stated:

“I could say ‘Go to a UNHCR refugee camp and in a year you will have arrived in the country’, but it doesn’t work. Budgets are not executed, and countries have so little political will that the money is not even spent. Humanitarian corridors do not exist” (SP_I_SMM5).

RegularizaciónYa would argue in a more drastic manner and refer to socio-political structures in form of discrimination that can be found in perceptions of who the activists are. They referred to differing impact of activists or initiatives being represented mainly by ‘white/autochthonous’ persons or by ‘migrant-looking/racialised’ persons. The reasoning points to the hegemonic position of white activists with more direct and more established access to power structures:

“We are used to hierarchising communications and [we think that] these have to be made from large organisations while a small and migrants’ entity is not credible, right? My companions were not credible. However, the white group was credible” (SP_I_RY3).

This comment refers to large organisations being mostly comprised of white/autochthonous people, while their organisation (*RegularizaciónYa*) is mostly composed by migrant people and they feel that when they do actions together, their voice is not so much taken into account.

A common finding communicated by all initiatives concerns the structural circumstances or contexts of resistance by institutions of politics and administration. The harshest example was reported by *RegularizaciónYa* referring to the increase of needed signatures for the Popular Legislative Initiative by the Spanish administrations in exchange for an extension to get the signatures, while other initiatives often stated the matter of extraordinary bureaucratic hurdles or political unwillingness to follow up suggested actions or initiated mobilisations. Initiatives in all three countries pointed to a resistant climate which also comes to light when public funding is applied for or other forms of support.

In case of the Italian movement *Io Accolgo*, a window of opportunity – a common political enemy, i.e., the far-right government – allowed for its founding, bringing together a diverse group of pre-existing organisations. However, this unification was as temporary as the government it opposed: with the external enemy gone, all the old differences re-emerged or, rather, became relevant again to the detriment of *Io Accolgo*. The window of opportunity, then, was both brief and superficial. Indeed, the unifying conditions that had facilitated the movement’s founding had always been in tension with another contextual factor, a deep-seated and structural problem for any wide alliance of movements: Italian civil society’s lack of independence from political parties. One interviewee referred to this as “the transmission belt between politics and civil society organisations” (IT_I_IA5), a relationship that exists in varying forms and strengths in most European countries. It must be noted that this hinderance was relevant in the case of *Io Accolgo* precisely because it united pre-existing movements rather than begin an entirely new one.

3.2 Goals, objectives and ambitions

As diverse as they are, the intrinsic drivers behind all initiatives studied might be summarised under the heading of social injustice, albeit at several distinct levels: privileges held (and jealously guarded) by an autochthonous population or the white/European population; mismatch between demographic realities and their representation in democratic, social or media structures; discriminatory laws and policies; and, behind this, ignorance or lack of awareness that fuels or underpins stereotypes, xenophobia and racism; political apathy and inaction in the face of injustice or suffering; the tendency to look away rather than face uncomfortable truths. As *Stop Mare Mortum* stated in their vision on political advocacy:

“[...] the core idea of political advocacy: someone has responsibilities, and someone is not doing what needs to be done. And this needed being told. We must raise awareness and politically advocate. We will not only mobilise, but also openly say who is responsible” (SP_I_SMM2).

In many cases, these are long-standing, structural injustices and inequalities (*Netzwerk medien.vielfalt!*), while in others they are recent or even expected, future consequences of new laws, policies or measures (*Io Accolgo*). Clearly, those two dimensions can be closely interrelated, and some initiatives, such as *Seebrücke*, address this interrelatedness and parallel it by aiming for change at both levels: addressing an immediate, pressing wrong while also seeking to change deep-seated inequalities.

Our case studies have shown that some initiatives formulate very global, indeed vague or ‘visionary’ goals and that only those organisations that manage to combine these with, or translate them into, more concrete goals and corresponding narratives are successful with their narratives and, more generally, their activism.

“In the end it’s all about policy change, I think. Actually changing laws and policies, beyond a show of commitment. And, on the other hand, changing public perceptions and political attitudes in the population. [...]” (DE_I_4)

Another strong driver is the existence of a ‘politics of death’ in the EU and its member states. This emerged mainly from the interviews, which demonstrated familiarity with the notion in and beyond academic discussion. With reference to Mbembe’s (2019: 92) “necropolitics”, some initiatives explicitly address a necropolitical reality and experience by migrants best described as “conveying a social existence in which vast populations are subjected to living conditions that confer upon them the status of the ‘living dead’”. At social, political and biological dimensions, in line with this argument, policies are criticized to create intentional or suffering as an accepted side-effect.

3.3 Main activities and strategies

Although all six initiatives have achieved a notable degree of narrative success, as evidenced by diverse factors such as media coverage, political alliances, etc., none of these organisations have developed a clear and actionable strategy for achieving their professed aims – with the notable exception of *On the Right Side of History* in Italy and the Safe Haven network initiated by *Seebrücke* in Germany. In all other cases, activism is typically a result of ad-hoc and

emergency/reactive processes; consequently, almost all of their alternative, inclusive or counter-hegemonic narratives, in turn, emerge from such ad-hoc processes and activism.

Although ad-hoc activism can be effective, especially when activists can draw on an established repertoire of strategies and materials ranging from written guidelines on protests to layout templates for posters, it faces more immediate challenges and lacks the momentum or build-up of a long-term strategy and narrative. The two above-mentioned initiatives are not merely examples of civil society organisations with a clear long-term strategy, they have also invested considerable effort into building a framework that allows for ad-hoc/reactive activism if events occur that fall within the scope of the organisation's strategy. However, as one *Seebrücke* activist mentioned, deciding which events or developments to respond to can be a difficult and ultimately problematic process: On the one hand, picking up too much ad-hoc activism risks diluting and distracting from the strategy set; on the other hand, the boundaries between what the initiative sees as its responsibility and what it chooses to ignore are often blurry:

“this is regularly discussed and it can be a painful process to say ‘Ok, we know this is happening there, and it is clearly bad, but we will leave it to other organisations to call it out or respond’, but in the end we have to trust the strong network of civil society. Not everything is a topic for *Seebrücke*, even if our individual members care and become active then, in this case, under a different banner” (DE_I_6).

Ideally, a clear long-term strategy and ad-hoc/reactive activism need not be contradictory, as illustrated by the case of *Seebrücke*'s protests after the devastating fire in the refugee camp Moria in 2020. This was arguably one of the initiatives' most spontaneous yet most successful activities: the protests, organised via social media, reached numerous German cities, made the national news, and helped build pressure to take in refugees left without shelter by the fire:

“Of course, Moria had been in the news before, and *Seebrücke* like other initiatives were aware of the humanitarian catastrophe happening there even before the fire. But for the whole camp to burn down, that was unexpected, no communications strategy anticipated that. But it's exactly the kind of thing *Seebrücke* exists to draw attention to, to fight, and to try and show that German politics has to change, and can change, to help.” (DE_I_2)

Regarding the outstanding discursive strategies promoting their narrative by the initiative *On the Right Side of History* in Italy, their success in disseminating and reaching wide audiences in the public can be seen as role model. They have succeeded in combining 'classic' campaigns by collecting signatures and distributing open letters, with the organization of spectacular events in urban spaces and strenuously using digital communication, especially different kinds of social media.

Their 'classic' initiatives, as they put it, included an open letter to parliamentarians drawing attention to much needed change in policy and legal regulations on citizenship backed by signatures and media (such as *Confronti*, an ecumenical magazine). Creative events in urban spaces, such as the yellow t-shirts campaign which communicated a positive narrative of joy and colourfulness, were designed to symbolize the message of 'to fly high' and reach out.

“We managed to place the hot air balloon in front of Montecitorio (in front of the Parliament) where we talked to a lot of people in eight hours to introduce the birth of the campaign and to make the parliamentarians uncomfortable because they had to cross us and could not ignore the hot air balloon.” (IT_I_PGS6)

At the same time, alongside such physical interventions in analogue public space, it was an emphasis on digital communication and the use of different social media (from Facebook to Instagram to TikTok) successfully reached a wide range of audiences. Through the use of TikTok, for instance, a young target audience was mobilised using, for instance, a flash mob staging several marriage proposals (people with differing citizenship proposing to a personified Italy) or using videos that, imitating a well-known scene from the romantic comedy “Love Actually”, drew attention to the past years of a tormented ‘love relationship’ between racialised people and a personified Italy (IT_I_PGS3).

Right from its beginnings, *Seebrücke* was similarly characterised by a high degree of professionalism in the way it approached media, especially social media, and it has maintained a central, thus unified, design for posters, flyers and other materials to be used in its campaigns. Since *Seebrücke* uses templates at this level, each local group can add or fill these with specific content to suit its local needs and strategies, while maintaining recognisability as belonging to *Seebrücke*.

In terms of media strategy, this contrasts with the Spanish cases *Stop Mare Mortum* and RY, whose narratives were started in the societal sphere. Their successful narratives subsequently managed to circulate in the media, especially in the case of *Stop Mare Mortum*, and social media sphere, by taking advantage of their allies’ channels.

An interesting perspective on communication strategies and the aesthetics they use is made explicit by an interviewee of the Spanish *Stop Mare Mortum* initiative, focusing on visual or graphic representation in developing alternative narratives:

“One of the insights we found when we created the Volem Acollir [we want to host] campaign is a graphic issue and I think Stop represents this space very well. People said, “I don’t go to these places because they are all punks and hippies”. When you look at it, it’s a purely aesthetic issue. Always black and red signs, always all crossed out, an anarchist aesthetic of protesting, all handwritten... and this appeals only to a set of people with whom they feel identified which is not the society as a whole.” (SP_I_SMM9)

This indicates the importance of aesthetics to protest movements and the mobilisation of specific segments of the population, where aesthetic preferences or affinities with established aesthetics (e.g., that of a political party or more generally the political Left) might have either positive or negative effects. Indeed, previous research into (especially leftist) protest movements suggests that aesthetics are key to how to their success, as their aesthetics need to match existing styles and strike a chord with their target audience (McGarry et al. 2020, Marciniak and Tyler 2013). Indeed, such aesthetics go well beyond posters, flyers or social media, including pins, clothing and other items of personal use as well.

Stop Mare Mortum’s activities, such as disseminating materials in schools and other public spaces, workshops, conferences and guides from the perspective of peace building and social

transformation as well as art exhibitions such as the #MedFaces, point to awareness-raising of the fact that people constantly die in the Mediterranean.

In terms of strategies in political advocacy addressing deadly politics, *Stop Mare Mortum* engaged with existing political processes and structures by participated in the Foreign Affairs Commission of the regional parliament of Catalonia² to explore alternative possibilities to pursue the reception of refugees and facilitate legal and safe pathways. In a second instance, *Stop Mare Mortum* initiated strategic litigation: a lawsuit against the Spanish government for not complying with the relocation and resettlement quota which *Stop Mare Mortum* has won. In July 2018, the Supreme Court condemned Spain for not fulfilling the binding commitment of hosting over 19,000 refugees. Until then the government of Mariano Rajoy (right-wing People's Party) had only offered 2,500 of reception places (12.8%). However, *Stop Mare Mortum* admitted, when winning other cases using Art. 38 of the Spanish Asylum Law, it was very hard to explain it to the wider audience and use the narrative "the Spanish asylum policy allows to avoid deaths in the Mediterranean and open legal and safe pathways" (SP_I_SMM5).

Seeing policies as instruments of killing and appealing to the co-responsibility of European citizens is not simple while *Seebrücke* in Germany (and other European initiatives) framed this interpretation differently and introduce a somewhat positive approach by creating and supporting "safe havens". The German expression "Sicherer Hafen" is suggestive of the dangerous sea crossings undertaken by migrants but more generally suggests sanctuaries for migrants within Germany. *Seebrücke* launched the 'safe haven' campaign to build a network of local political/governmental allies to support the struggle to change migration, border and asylum policies: communal governments can declare a particular town a 'safe haven' by joining this alliance and supporting the aims/demands of *Seebrücke*. There are currently more than 250 such safe havens, i.e., German communes that have declared themselves willing to accept resettled refugees. These havens moreover pledge to support the:

"decriminalisation of sea rescue and new state rescue missions on behalf of their citizens. They welcome refugees into their midst - and are willing to take in more people than they have to. Together, the safe havens are a strong counter-voice to the German government's isolationist policy, loud, uncomfortable and with media impact" (DE_I_2).

The two Italian initiatives, *Io Accolgo* and *Dalla parte giusta della storia*, were both driven by the aim of reforming a particular piece of legislation as an immediate, concrete goal, as well as the ambition to intervene at the level of culture by changing hegemonic perceptions of migrants. However, the visionary goal of cultural change (a 'welcoming Italy') seems to be more pronounced with *Dalla parte giusta della storia*, perhaps because of a more tangible link to their concrete goal of changing citizenship law:

"With the campaign we want to make clear how systemic the effect of a failed reform is in terms of discrimination [...]. Talking about racism and discrimination within the issue of citizenship is crucial. Angelica Pesarini showed how the roots of citizenship law are

² This Commission is in charge of dealing with any issues that have to do with foreign affairs' policies, including the role in Catalonia in the reception of refugees in the framework of negotiations around resettlement quota in Spain".

racist and fascist, historically discriminatory. Therefore, to tackle racism, it must be tackled at a political level.” (IT_I_PGS6)

The Italian initiatives, and especially *On the Right Side of History*, tend to turn conservatism, legacies of the past and historical narratives of rootedness into a historical responsibility which is given, at the same time, by the past, and that is responsible for the present-day situation and for that reason owe solidarity to people across the world and to people who have been arriving in Italy.

Similarly, the German initiative *Aachener Netzwerk für humanitäre Hilfe und interkultureller Friedensarbeit e.V.* (see mapping in the national report on Germany) points to the situation at EU borders and in its narratives draws attention to the lack of responsibility shown by national governments and the EU. They are all failing to take responsibility for the humanitarian catastrophe that they themselves are creating. Referring to *Seebrücke*, they underline that:

“[t]here has to be a clear narrative about what is happening, and what is going wrong there in terms of who is responsible and who is suffering as a consequence of their actions or inaction; and secondly, an alternative story, which can be about a demand, what we think should be done, or simply a positive alternative version of the situation.” (DE_I_6)

3.4 Main narratives: alternative and counter-narratives

Alternative narratives on migration are narratives outside the narratives circulating in hegemonic discourse; consequently, they are – at least initially – also marginal or non-hegemonic. Alternative narratives may be new or innovative, but they are always different in some crucial respect from hegemonic narratives, e.g., in being inclusive, diverse or told from the non-hegemonic position of migrants/refugees. While there is a large number of such alternative narratives, BRIDGES is interested specifically in those that might change existing exclusionary discourse, i.e., alternative narratives that are both *innovative and inclusive* (Ghorashi & Ponzoni 2014; Bamberg & Wipff 2020).

Among such narratives, some target or explicitly address existing narratives or discourse as exclusionary, racist, false or sexist. We refer to such narratives as counter-narratives: in short, counter-narratives on migration are narratives that are not simply different from the prevalent narratives of hegemonic discourse but are directed *against* such narratives, attack them, seek to debunk or discredit them, and in so doing also make hegemonic discourse a topic. Civil society initiatives or NGOs working in the field of migration are often acutely aware of needing to change the dominant narratives, although they do not necessarily focus on the same aspect and using the same type of narrative; it is therefore interesting from a research perspective to observe that all of them develop alternative narratives, while not all of them foster counter-narratives (Adame & Knudson 2007; Meretoja 2020; Bamberg & Wipff 2020).

The German wider sample of initiatives includes several that focus on strong counter-narratives, such as *Adopt a Revolution*, *Migrantifa* or *Bildungsinitiative Ferhat Unvar*. A shared narrative among these is that racism, xenophobia is structural and endemic to both political milieu and society rather than a superficial or marginal problem of an extreme mindset or extremist violence. Other German initiatives, including both case studies (*Seebrücke* and *Netzwerk medien.vielfalt!*), foster a range of alternative narratives in their advocacy work that

only hint at or imply counter-narratives. Significantly, some of these counter-narratives were more recognisable or more pronounced in the interviewees than their activism, suggesting a strategic toning-down in everyday practices. When *Seebrücke* publicly asserts that a different world, a world without borders and mobility for all is possible, this focuses on the alternative, the difference of their narrative rather than attacking the hegemonic worldview that naturalises borders and sees mobility as a threat to stability and national identity. When *Netzwerk medien.vielfalt!* asserts that there should be no more media coverage/public discourse about people with migration or flight experience without including them, this noticeably implies that, in current hegemonic discourse, this is often the case. Similarly, every time this initiative uses the phrasing ‘people with migration or flight experience’ rather than ‘migrant or refugee’, they are performing an alternative rather than directly confronting hegemonic discourse’s typification of them.

In the Italian case of *Dalla parte giusta della storia*, one interviewee gives a sense of the difficult balancing act between pursuing a different strategy than other campaigns in choosing a counter-narrative – avoiding charity-based frames – while also aiming to create a broad narrative.

“The campaign [...] tries to avoid telling the problematic story of an individual, unlike other campaigns. We think the problem is structural, it has to be placed at the level of society [...]. We try to make people understand how much this law that we can define as institutional racism hurts. We are looking for a broad narrative, something that helps to imagine a new society.” (IT_I_PGS5)

At the same time, we noted that this quality of ‘counter’ or ‘countering’ was more pronounced in many interviews with the initiatives from Germany, Italy and Spain than it was in their official, disseminated narratives. In several cases, moreover, we received confirmation that this gap in the level of antagonism was deliberate and strategic:

“It is best to work with something familiar, or find a niche topic where there is no established view. People, I mean NGOs, have tried more extreme rhetoric for decades, very left or Marxist slogans, and they just won’t catch on if you want to change public perceptions, I think we’re at a point where everyone is realising that. So, a successful story in the long-term is probably one that can reach the political middle, and very radical wording does not help with that goal.” (DE_I_3)

The Spanish initiative *Stop Mare Mortum* achieved wide impact with a narrative that was more ‘antagonistic’ in the sense of counter-narratives, rather than alternative, directly critiquing the Spanish government for not complying with its obligations. Additionally, this narrative was also backed or framed by a human rights-based slogan ‘we want to host’ rather than a more established charity-based frame. In the Spanish context, too, there has been a realisation that even if societal misconceptions and racism need to be countered, if this is done in a too opposing language, it will deter people and undermine the movement. As an expert in communication indicates (SP_I_SMM9), using a ‘too aggressive language’ or a ‘too combative aesthetic’ in terms of graphic design may go against the objective of adding people who are not so sensitised or informed about the topic. While *Stop Mare Mortum* mixes their criticism with alternative narratives and adopts a very propositional stance, *RegularizaciónYa* is more direct in how it expresses critique, using more counter-narratives against the status quo. However, it must be noted that in terms of strategies, *RegularizaciónYa* is actually born to seek

an alternative to ameliorate the social exclusion of undocumented migrants by pursuing their regularisation. In this sense, the ‘opposition’ at a narrative level does not go against a propositional stance in the actions.

In the Italian initiatives studied in-depth, we see a similar differentiation: *Io Accolgo* developed a counter-narrative of solidarity and reception, without creating anything original in terms of framing, whereas *Dalla Parte Giusta Della Storia* produced an innovative alternative narrative disseminated through a skilful media strategy. At the same time, however, there was a clear recognition that “[i]t is illusory to think that one can counter a phenomenon like this with communication initiatives or by promoting online counter-narrative campaigns. It is a structural phenomenon that cannot be tackled in this way” (IT_I_IA2).

3.5 Countering the securitisation and militarisation of borders

Arguably, one domain where many of the initiatives mapped across the participating countries embrace counter-narratives is the militarisation and securitisation of borders. As amply demonstrated in research on borders/bordering practices on the EU’s external borders, that the past decades – beginning in the early 2000s and intensifying since 2015 – have seen an increasing securitisation and even militarisation of European borders and borderlands contributed to by individual EU member states as well as EU-level practices. The failure of the EU and EU member states’ obligation under international law (see, e.g., Spijkerboer 2007) and the one of developing policy/political frameworks to manage issues at borders (e.g., Mountz & Loyd 2014; Vollmer 2016), but instead playing policy games (see, e.g., Cuttitta 2014), have taken over a constant and established part in EU and national politics.

Logics of securitization have become an international policy standard, this standard reached a state of normalization (Vollmer 2017). What has equally normalized is what happens on the ground and on an everyday basis. We witness for many years and at everyday basis: shipwrecks, people drowning and die in the Mediterranean, people suffocate in lorries, fall off jeeps in the Sahara etc. People suffering on route to the EU is well documented by the media and engaged organisations. Many interviewees shared this insight and development, which corresponds to and interlinks with critiques of necropolitics (voiced, for example, by *Linea d’ombra* in Italy, *Stop Mare Mortum* in Spain, and *Seebrücke* in Germany) inasmuch the securitisation and/or militarisation of borders has led to numerous deaths.

As a case in point, the Spanish *Stop Mare Mortum*, with the aim of changing the narrative of national or European security and of border protection to a humanitarian narrative of solidarity, frames this either as “genocide by omission” or a simply choice (and responsibility) over life and death:

“When you don’t facilitate the journey, you are putting them in a situation of life or death. It is a states’ responsibility that avoids that someone can go to a consulate or an embassy to ask for a visa. Since these pathways do not exist, you can refer to a genocide by omission” (SP_I_SMM2)

“When you don’t save a dinghy, you are killing people; you would never let people on a Greek cruise die in the sea” (SP_I_SMM3)

In sharp contrast to these alternative narratives, two interviews with German initiative Seebrücke revealed counter-narratives that explicitly mention and criticise securitisation:

“The whole point and narrative of protecting borders, of having to protect Germany by reinforcing European borders, is a large part of the problem. Don’t get me wrong, this is not the real root of the problem, but in the public perception of things like Frontex and of not saving migrants attempting the crossing in tiny boats, the idea of borders is crucial. We live in a nationalist world where the existence of borders and the need to have borders is accepted as completely natural. And that’s the link between border and national or European security. At some point, people really want to see soldiers and weapons at the border, because that’s the only thing that can make them feel safe because they have been told there is this great threat just beyond the border. So we partly have to deconstruct this idea that only borders can give us security, or that they are even successful in creating security even in the best of cases.” (DE_I_6)

Initiatives like the above-mentioned ones seek to counter-militarise and de-securitise European borders, especially the EU’s external borders at the Mediterranean, to save the lives of migrants. This aim tends to engender counter-narratives rather than alternative narratives, because it is discursively counter to securitisation – although both types of narrative were found in combination, also reinforcing each other. There are numerous ways in which this opposition is expressed, for instance by arguing the need to claim responsibilities for massive deaths in the Mediterranean through political advocacy – which counters the hegemonic narrative that migrants are responsible for the blatant risks they take in crossing.

“From that [foundational] meeting it came out the core idea of political advocacy: someone has responsibilities, and someone is not doing what needs to be done. And this needed being told. We must raise awareness and politically advocate. We will not only mobilise, but also openly say who is responsible”. (SP_I_SMM2)

As this example suggests, counter-narratives about the responsibility for the risk to migrants’ lives may range wide and include quite fundamental critique of society, for instance of its capitalist and consumerist habits in contrast with its complacent attitudes towards the suffering of migrants, which is conveniently hidden by securitisation of borders:

“Has the Catalan society any responsibility in this? Maybe yes. We change our mobile phones continuously and this implies more spoliation of natural resources from the Global South which boosts the expulsion of communities. Capitalism, trade policies, the use of cooperation as a tool to put pressure on the states, the externalisation of borders [...]. There is a systemic situation for which our society is responsible for, so we also need to be coherent in the responsibility of reception.” (SP_I_SMM4)

3.6 Actors: In- and out-groups

Throughout our research, we were able to observe demarcation lines regarding a given initiative’s members that ran at social/milieu levels (e.g., *Stop Mare Mortum* in the case of Spain, and *Seebrücke* in the case of Germany) or at levels of migrancy/racialised people vs. native/white European (as with *RegularizaciónYa* in Spain and *On the Right Side of History* in Italy). This likely indicates a persistent and pervasive issue for movements advocating for migrants: their own de-facto non-inclusivity. This is an issue that some initiatives have

discussed and addressed explicitly, for instance by being open to non-migrants on the level of activism and organisation but insisting that public representation of the organisation remain in the hands of migrants. In conclusion, we found that the positionality of individuals working in/for the organisation and the positionality of the organisation need to be addressed for such initiatives to be successful and have a lasting impact. Such positioning is likely to be strategic for the kind of highly reflective initiatives as we studied, and underpinned by salient self-narratives (e.g., 'Who we are' or 'mission statement' narratives).

For instance, *Stop Mare Mortum* is composed of a core group of young autochthonous people with tertiary education and with a previous experience in activism, who live in Barcelona and nearby. This profile of people indicates a social position of privilege which has undoubtedly contributed to achieve *Stop Mare Mortum*'s goals. In Varela's words (2005) they would belong to the category of 'moral activists', since they support the migrants' cause without obtaining direct benefits. Members of *Stop Mare Mortum* are aware of this matter and they express their concern around the legitimacy of their actions and the need for building bridges to work together with migrants 'associations from a truly intercultural approach.

"the debate is how to include racialised people or what do you do to participate in their spaces? Did you go to any meeting in their spaces and movements? Did you ever ask 'I am here, do you need anything?' With Stop Mare Mortum we participated with Papeles para Todos in the demonstration of the migrants' day and it was not my way of doing at all, but I shut up and that's it. They probably feel uncomfortable with us, same as we do, their priorities sometimes are different, but this is a mutual learning process that must be done from an own deconstruction." (SP_I_SMM3)

More drastically, some members of *RegularizaciónYa* in Spain discussed the matter of feeling uncomfortable working with 'white people'. The initiative openly refers to a distinction of 'us' and 'them', that is 'white people' and 'white organisations' versus '*migras*' (migrant people) and 'migrant organisations' – not by celebrating this line of demarcation but by proudly accepting the identification of otherness.

"This does not mean that we don't make alliances with white people, but migrants are at the centre. Just as in feminism, practically no one would argue that they have to be women, in antiracism the people who build the narrative and are in the decision-making are migrants and racialised people." (SP_I_RY4).

Some members of *RegularizaciónYa* believe that without lived experience of migrancy and racism one cannot talk about the reality of oppression. They would rather see autochthonous people supporting their aims by standing next to them instead of in the front or behind them. And yet, and this is related to the section on structural discrimination, where *RegularizaciónYa* criticises the necessity of help by white/autochthonous people in order to achieve their goals when encountering structural or institutional obstacles.

In the Italian case of *Io Accolgo*, the low participation of migrants' and local associations was notable, despite efforts to include them:

"We had tried to involve migrant and refugee organisations in the promoting committee because we felt it was an important element of protagonism and to avoid what we

always do, which is to speak about the rights of people who are not represented in the bodies that speak about them.” (IT_I_IA3).

While interviewees explained this with difficulties resulting from bureaucracy, pandemic-related restrictions, and organisational differences between organisations, the fact remains that the composition of an initiative’s members, especially as perceived externally, is likely to impact the success of the specific strategies and narratives pursued in relation to a specific audience. In some cases, the limitations of having predominantly white/autochthonous members may not negatively impact narrative success, or may even boost it, while in other cases it would severely undermine public credibility.

Both German initiatives may be seen as illustrative if opposite cases of this point: *Seebrücke* recruits its members from predominantly white/autochthonous and educated segments of the German population. Given that this initiative’s main aims are focused on mobilising the German civil society and leverage existing political/administrative structures in Germany, and taking also into account that its main strategies are protests in public space and on social media as well as political alliance-building, its composition has not been a limiting factor from a strategical point of view – in fact, an argument can be made that it has been beneficial. In contrast, the membership of *Netzwerk medien.vielfalt!* is limited exclusively to ‘people with experience in migration or flight’, i.e., migrants and refugees. In this case, membership is evidently crucial – or even intrinsic – to the goal of changing the German media landscape as well as to the strategies of experience sharing, vocational training, and raising public awareness of the need to include migrant voices on all migration-related topics and beyond.

3.7 Agency and positionality

When it comes to advocacy for migrants in general, or for refugees specifically, empowerment and agency are crucial issues. In the Spanish case of *RegularizaciónYa*, life experience and knowledge (not given to them) allowed members to identify their own window of opportunity. Instead of being inspired by other movements or political activities within Spain or Europe, or following their example more directly, their actions emerged from their own life trajectories. As one member of *RegularizaciónYa* pointed out, “we haven’t replicated anything, on the contrary, we have been replicated elsewhere” (SP_I_RY2).

Acknowledgement of migrants and racialised people as key agents in society, transiting from passive objects who are spoken of, to active subjects who have a say (being part of the agenda setting process of migration policies as well as of social policies). “We stop being passive subjects without the ability to change things and become active subjects, protagonists who are capable of changing things, no longer from the perspective of the white saviour of the poor” (SP_I_RY4).

A similar observation relates to the German initiative *Netzwerk medien.vielfalt!*, whose founders similarly seized a historical and structural window of opportunity in 2015, obtaining funding to help launch the platform and bring together existing media projects run by migrants/refugees when public and political attention was focused on migration. Indeed, one of their key messages is a confident assertion of/about positionality: Nothing about us without us, i.e., no media reporting about us without our participation. As a member of the initiative *Netzwerk medien.vielfalt!* stated:

“In recent years, the media have increasingly reported on people with a migration background or history of flight, but they do not ask us to tell our own stories. Now we are reporting ourselves. With our own voices, we want to bring a new perspective to the German media landscape. We report whatever moves us or touches us, and we want to help shape the debate on flight and migration. However, we do not limit ourselves to so-called migrant issues or our communities, we make media for everyone.” (DE_I_9)

This positioning is successful inasmuch as it denies hegemonic discourse the nearly absolute power of how migrants are represented and claims both authority and agency over that representation.

A key revision resulting in part from these discussions is the conceptualisation or, rather, re-conceptualisation of ‘migration’ or ‘migrant’. Some of the initiatives studied in this work package diverge from the generalised use and common understanding of the term ‘migrant’ as it has a negative connotation in most discursive contexts (increasingly negative since 2015; see, e.g., Rheindorf 2019; Rheindorf & Wodak 2022). Instead, they focus on broader, all-encompassing phenomena in societies such as poverty or inequality, where exclusionary processes take place but are not directly based on or related to matters of citizenship, individual migration history or racialised appearances. This is especially crucial for initiatives that recruit their members predominantly or even exclusively from people who, in hegemonic discourse, would be considered migrants; in other words, their positionality, the position from which they can speak in hegemonic discourse is determined and fixed by their status as migrant. The focus on broader topics aims to speak to a wide public, all members of society, and to shift the focus from migrancy as label and reason of exclusionary process to, instead, looking for root causes of inequality, discrimination or poverty due to persistent economic systems and their policies or legal and administrative regimes.

Some initiatives, like the German *Netzwerk medien.vielfalt!*, may seek to change not only perceptions of ‘migrants’ but express their own conceptualisations of themselves as individuals in contemporary society. This attitude may be seen as reflecting what has been conceptualised as *post-migrant* or *post-migration society* (Foroutan 2019; El-Tayeb 2016). We identify this, for instance, in the organisation’s insistence that they be referred to as ‘people with experience in migration’ instead of ‘migrant’ or as ‘people with experience in flight’ instead of ‘refugee’. This shifts and frees their identity from being determined by a status imposed on them by the receiving country/society to an understanding of their experiences as different, complementary and enriching.

This echoes poignantly with the careful deliberations of *Dalla parte giusta della storia* when developing their campaign concept, which in its reference to a future history in which the present has become history, with a ‘right side’, seems to posit a similarly post-migrant society.

“We made an important reflection on terminology. [...] to reflect on what is the most strategic way to say what we want to say, what is our target audience, what social media to use, etc. etc. [...]. We arrived at the concept of ‘historical turning points’ and from there the campaign concept was born.” (ITA_I_PGS1)

These instances illustrate the high level of reflectivity found in the initiatives we studied as well the importance they attach to concepts, terminology or labelling. Clearly, having the agency to

reject, affirm or choose how one, and one's group, is referenced in the host society is seen as crucial part of attaining/maintaining agency in situations of structural discrimination.

4. Conclusions

In conclusion, our in-depth studies across three European countries have shown that mobilising, combining or bundling forces – as in the prominent cases of *Seebrücke*, *Stop Mare Mortum* or *Regularización Ya* – is a decisive strategy in success. This is relevant inasmuch as larger and highly diverse platforms or umbrella organisations are known to be sluggish, prone to dissolve or become unmanageable due to internal conflict, lengthy deliberation processes and other features in their organisational structures. The strategies for handling or avoiding these risks are, ultimately, crucial to overall resilience and success of the initiatives. In their own ways, all initiatives studied in-depth have struggled with these obstacles at the intersection between WHO and HOW, either because they forged tenuous alliances between pre-existing organisations that eventually faltered (*Io Accolgo*) or because they completely bypassed pre-existing organisations to tap into local potentials of activism (*Seebrücke*). There can be no doubt that this is a challenging approach and requires both close familiarity with the local political and societal structures (e.g., to identify untapped potential or possible coalitions) and communication skills, it can work extremely well in situations that seem like a dead-end, political stalemates that have not moved in years, or highly polarised debates.

Another lesson we might learn from the case studies regarding the HOW is that bottom-up organising and mobilising – i.e., from local to regional to national levels – can be an effective way to communicate more directly and successfully in local contexts than a fixed national campaign. This does not imply the complete absence of national/centralised structures in the initiative, such as working groups or committees, who are needed to coordinate local chapters and provide cohesion and find ways of exchanging experience, but rather the combination of these distinct bottom-up and top-down forms of organising. This approach is arguably best exemplified by *Seebrücke*'s agile management and communication strategies as well as its flexible approach to migration narratives, combined with key centralised elements and steering practices.

A third important finding indicates that critical success factors regarding WHEN can be understood as, on the one hand, windows of opportunity and, on the other hand, achieving perseverance or organisational resilience. Ultimately, both are crucial to narrative success with the kind of initiative studied here. While windows of opportunity may present themselves, seizing them quickly and effectively may depend on having at one's disposal the necessary resources, be they structural, financial or experience/competencies. Keeping the momentum of success, then, seems equally related to capacities and funding; many initiatives face the threat of 'fizzling out' after initial successes or once their initial window of opportunity closes. Thus, it is important to distinguish very time-sensitive opportunities from structural ones, and strategise accordingly.

We also found critical success factors in the WHO, i.e., regarding the membership composition and/or its perception from the outside, in relation to the specific aims and strategies of the initiatives. Apart from highly relevant ethical considerations of, e.g., who speaks for or on behalf

of migrants, representing an organisation, we noted the strategic effect of membership composition: a predominantly white/autochthonous membership may be beneficial to reaching a particular goal, if it matches the communicative strategies used (as exemplified by *Seebrücke*), but would be a major stumbling block in other cases. Conversely, a predominantly migrant membership may be crucial to authentic and persuasive representation and positionality, if it matches the initiative's aims and strategies (as exemplified by *RegularizaciónYa*).

Our findings furthermore show that, although we selected initiatives that are active in the field of migration, public debate and policy-making, almost all initiatives could not be denoted as professional narrative makers, i.e., not intentionally – and seeing this as a central objective of their activities – building alternative narratives or counter-narratives and disseminating them respectively. Instead, alternative and non-hegemonic narratives (see WP3 for dominant or hegemonic narratives about migration) were often if not always emerging from the initiatives' activities, i.e., giving them the character of an additional by-product rather than a central output or tool. However, the question arises how to make these emerging narratives stronger or impactful, even if they are often a by-product of activism, and trying to make them clear, impactful and resistant – increasing their penetration of hegemonic discourse in, e.g., traditional media, and increasing their life-span by maintaining and/or updating them.

Pluralist societies and their public discourses, which no doubt applies to the participating countries of WP4, benefit from such diversification of narratives, negotiating or deliberating a way for prospective policy making and related decisions. Liberal democracy and a lively culture of discourse and consequential deliberation seem significant for a broad participation of the members of the respective society, allowing the discovery or development of solutions to pressing issues that, ultimately, have high levels of legitimacy across society's many cleavages, i.e., economic, cultural, religious or ethnic stratification (see also Vollmer 2015; Vollmer 2021). Directly relevant to this is the goal of developing and fostering alternative migration narratives as well as actively countering xenophobic narratives³. Speaking directly to the WHAT of migration narratives, we found that initiatives need to carefully select and combine alternative narratives and counter-narratives to work within a specific national context and political moment. This may involve strategically foregrounding one type of narrative for a period of time, while background more the other type; for instance, a visionary counter-narrative about achieving long-term change globally may need to be backgrounded – but still retained – in order to achieve immediate narrative success with a short-term-oriented alternative narrative, or vice versa.

³ This is also the aim of the toolkit developed by PORCAUSA on the basis of our research, the in-depth findings of the case studies as well as workshop collaboration with the six initiatives in question. This toolkit offers help and guidance on how to identify or develop discursive strategies, how to achieve better spread and maintenance of narratives, and how to reach a wider audience in the respective country's specific civil society.

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BRIDGES

Assessing the production and impact of migration narratives

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