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**Politically motivated crime in the light of current
migration flows: Observations on the media
discourse and party programs in Austria**

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Introduction to the report

The present report was drawn up in the course of the ISF-funded project "Politically motivated crime in the light of current migration flows (PoMigra)" coordinated by the German Federal Criminal Police Office. This research project starts from the assumption that the massive influx of migrants and asylum seekers that started in 2015, polarized the public opinion in the member states of the European Union and made tensions in society either visible or triggered them. Politically biased crime is the most extreme form of societal conflicts and occurs in democratic communities when the established mechanisms of conflict resolution fail. Since 2015, the law enforcement authorities in several European Union member states observed a sharp increase in crime with political and ideological bias. The nexus between both phenomena – increase of migrants/asylum seekers flow and increase of politically and/or ideological driven crime – is not necessary, but in some areas rather likely. In some cases, the correlation is distinct as it is the case with the fulminant increase of attacks on facilities for asylum seekers in Germany since 2015. However, apart from a few obvious phenomena, links between migration influxes and politically/ideological biased crime is rather difficult to establish. PoMigra thus takes a closer look at the possible link between the increased migration/asylum seekers influx and different phenomena of crimes with political/ideological bias - crimes committed by Salafists/Islamists, crimes committed against migrants/asylum seekers, inter-migrant crimes with political/ideological bias and confrontation crime between extremists of different political convictions. PoMigra hereby provides rather preliminary reflections on the topic in order to stimulate further research than offering comprehensive answers. Given the exploratory nature of this research, the present report also highlights some methodological challenges encountered.

In order to examine the discourse on the topic at hand, a research team of the ETC analysed the online versions of two important national newspapers and the discourse in two open Facebook groups. The analysis was made by searching for specific tag combinations (e.g., migrant and police, see Annex for the full list of tag combinations) in these online media by way of established online search tools. The results of this analysis are presented below in Part I and Part II. Moreover, the political party programs of those parties that stood for parliamentary elections in Austria in 2013 and 2017 were analysed in respect to migration issues. Particular attention was given

to the context in which the topics migration is negotiated in the party programs, the importance attached to the issue in the party program and the political goals envisaged. The findings are presented below in Part III of this report.

Part I: Online main newspapers

1. Introduction

1.1. Selection of online newspapers

The online versions of the daily newspapers “derStandard” and “DiePresse” were selected for part I of the PoMIGRA Media Analysis on Austria. This selection was made by applying three criteria, namely daily reach, quality and political orientation.

The Austrian Statistical Office reports that 14 daily newspapers with 14 regional editions, as well as 3 free daily newspapers were published in 2015. These newspapers have a total daily reach of 4,982 million readers, or 68.4% of the population aged 14 or older. “Kronen Zeitung” achieved the largest reach with 2.334 million readers and 32.0% share, followed by “Heute” and “Kleine Zeitung” (regions Graz and Klagenfurt) with 12.9% and 11.5% readers respectively. In the market segment of quality newspapers, “Der Standard” achieved 5.4% followed by “Die Presse” (4.0%) and “Salzburger Nachrichten” (3.2%).¹ The two newspapers selected are thus the two main quality newspapers in Austria.

“derStandard” and “Die Presse” also have a considerable daily reach online. Table 1 provides an overview of the five most frequently read online newspapers in Austria.

Rank	Newspaper	Unique daily users	Total daily reach
1	Krone.at	393,000	5.3%
2	derstandard.at	356,000	4.8%
3	Kurier Online-Medien	197,000	2.7%
4	diepresse.com	159,000	2.1%
5	kleinezeitung.at	140,000	1.9%

Table 1: Overview of most frequently read online newspapers in Austria²

¹ Statistik Austria, Bücher und Presse, www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bildung_und_kultur/kultur/buecher_und_presse/index.html.

² Österreichische Webanalyse (ÖWA), ‘Medienanalyse’, Search conducted for the second quarter of 2017, www.oewa.at/plus/medienanalyse.

As can be seen from this overview, the online version of “derStandard” had 356,000 unique daily users in the second quarter of 2017, which constitutes a daily reach of 4.8% percent of the total population above 14 years of age. The online version of “DiePresse” had 159,000 unique daily users in the second quarter of 2017, which constitutes a daily reach of 2.1% of the total population above 14 years of age. Both newspapers selected thus rank among the top 5 of the most frequently read online newspapers in Austria.

“derStandard” and “DiePresse” also have been chosen as they represent serious quality newspapers with diverging political positions. One is a more left liberal newspaper (derStandard), while the other represents a more moderately right newspaper (DiePresse). The newspaper with the highest number of circulated copies and the most unique daily online users (Kronen Zeitung) was considered for this analysis, but not chosen in the end, as is a politically right tabloid with no left-wing counterpart.

1.2. Challenges related to the use of the European Media Monitor Tool

Finding the appropriate manner to search for the agreed tag combinations in the European Media Monitor Tool (EMM) turned out to be a challenge at first. There are multiple ways to search for the tag combinations using the advanced search option, but not all of them lead to reliable results. As online help tools or tutorials for the EMM are not available, a series of test searches had to be made to get reliable results. It was also unclear, for instance, what special character has to be used in order to separate words from one another. After testing the search engine, the tag combinations (tags separated by a comma) entered into the search bar “All these” yielded the most accurate results. By way of these searches, only newspaper articles where all tag combinations (two or three tags) are included at least once were counted by the search engine.

Yet, the downside of this search approach is that only the exact tags are counted this way. This has an influence on the search results, when it comes to the use of singular and plural forms of tags. It was assumed in the course of our analysis that the choice to use tags in singular or plural form was made intentional by the project design. Therefore, the word combinations were used in the EMM search either in

singular or plural form only (as proposed by the agreed tag combinations). However, test searches revealed that it would indeed make a difference to use plural forms instead of the singular forms and vice versa. Depending on the context, some journalists use, for instance, “migrants” (plural version) more often than “migrant” (singular version). Given that the EMM search engine only counts the precise words, singular and plural version are thus two separate words for the search engine.

A further challenge in respect to the use of the EMM lies in the fact that the search method chosen also counts tags in the readers’ comments section to an online newspaper article. The search engine thus seems to search per website, not per article in a strict sense. Checks on a random basis, however, revealed that this does not have a big influence on the search result in the Austrian case. Most articles do not even have a comment section and readers use the comment section only rarely.

1.3. Challenges related to the applicability of tags

The translation of the words included in tag list from English to German did not cause any problems. However, the tags as such might require a further contextualization to the language and style used by Austrian journalists in order to yield even more accurate results. Some journalists use words that are very similar to the tags underlying the present analysis, which are of course not counted by the search engine.

2. Analysis

2.1. Overview of search results

In the years 2012 and 2013 the agreed tag combinations were not mentioned in any of the newspapers according to the search result in the EMM. In the following years, the absolute numbers of tag combinations are rising rapidly, with 2016 as the year with the highest absolute numbers of hits. “DerStandard” clearly uses the tag combinations more often than “diePresse”. Table 4 provides an overview of this increase since 2013. This increase coincides with the increased number of refugees arriving in Austria, which had a peak in 2015 and 2016 and resulted in a more comprehensive public debate.

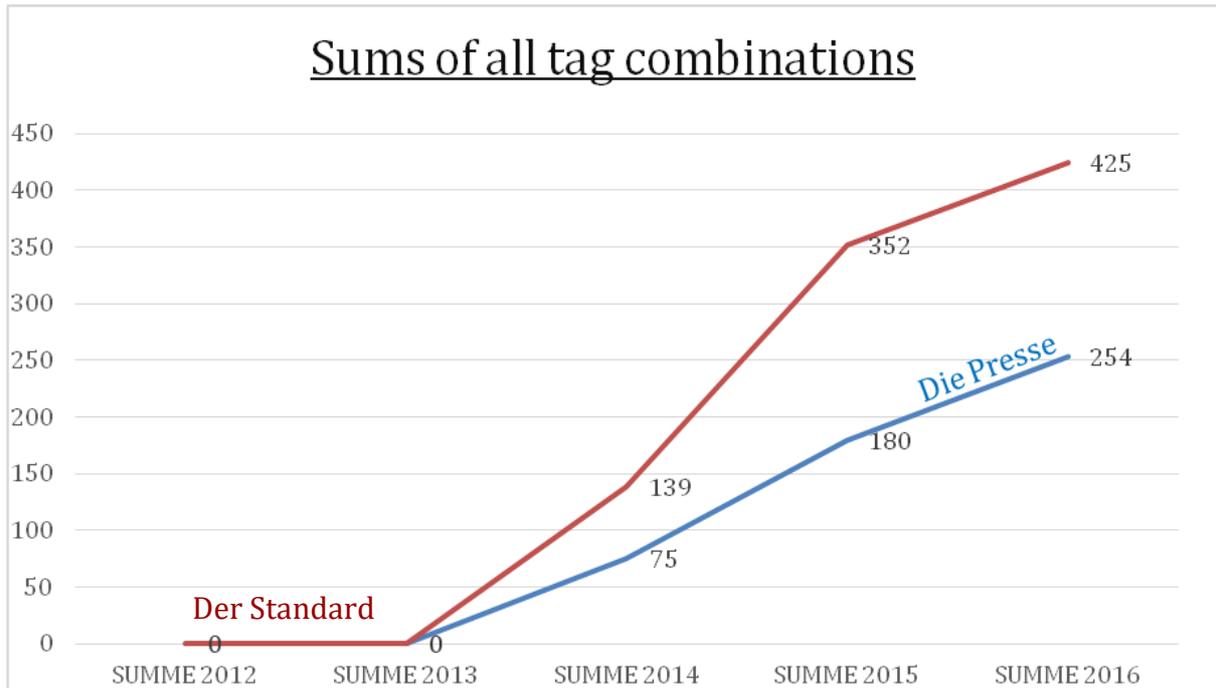


Chart 1: Hits in both newspapers per year

Rank	2014	2015	2016
1	Muslim, Violence (26)	Refugee, Police (71)	Refugee, Police (96)
2	Refugee, Police (14)	Muslims, Terrorism (20)	Muslims, Terrorism (24)
3	Refugee, Violence (7)	Muslim, Violence (16)	Refugee, Integration (20)
4	Muslims, ISIS (5)	Refugee, Integration (11)	Migrants, Terrorism (18)
5	Muslims, Terrorism (4)	Migrant, Terrorism (10)	Refugee, Labor Market (14)
6	Migrant, Integration (4)	Migrants, Refugee, Terrorism (8)	Muslim, Violence (11)
7	Migrant, Police (2)	Refugee, Labor Market (7)	Refugee, Crime (11)
8	Migrant, Unemployment (2)	Refugee, Violence (5)	Refugee, Violence (10)
9	Migrant, Fraud (2)	Refugee, Crime (5)	Migrants, Refugees, Terrorism (10)
10	Migrant, Labor Market (2)	Muslim, Refugee (3)	Refugee, Fraud (9)

Table 2: Absolute hits in "DiePresse"

Rank	2014	2015	2016
1	Muslims, ISIS (31)	Muslims, Terrorism (38)	Refugee, Police (101)
2	Muslims, Terrorism (27)	Refugee, Integration (36)	Refugee, Integration (66)
3	Muslim, Violence (27)	Refugee, Police (31)	Refugee, Labor Market (39)
4	Refugee, Police (22)	Muslim, Violence (31)	Muslim, Violence (35)
5	Refugee, Violence (8)	Refugee, Violence (27)	Muslim, Terrorism (32)
6	Muslims, Crime (4)	Refugee, Labor Market (24)	Migrants, Terrorism (27)
7	Migrant, Integration (4)	Migrants, Terrorism (17)	Refugee, Violence (24)
8	Refugee, Integration (3)	Migrants, Refugees, Terrorism (12)	Refugee, Labor Market (16)
9	Migrants, Refugees, Terrorism (3)	Migrant, Integration (11)	Migrants, Refugees, Terrorism (15)
10	Muslim, Refugee (2)	Refugee, Labor Market (11)	Migrant, Integration (14)

Table 3: Absolute hits in “DerStandard”

As can be seen from Tables 2 and 3, similar, if not the same tag combinations rank first in both newspapers throughout the years 2014-2016. Looking at the top three of the list it can be seen that the top hits change from “Muslim” to “refugee”. In 2014 the word “Muslim” was more often used than the word “refugee”, this has changed from 2015 onwards. In 2015 and 2016 the combination “refugee & police” were mentioned more often and increased rapidly from 14 hits to 71 hits.

2.2. Analysis of contexts

It is noticeable that certain combinations were mentioned most frequently in both newspapers. The most prevalent examples are the tag combinations “refugee & police” and “Muslim & violence”. From 2014 to 2016, they were mentioned 154 (refugee & police) and 93 (Muslim & violence) times in “derStandard” and 181 (refugee & police) and 53 (Muslim & violence) times in “DiePresse”. In the following, an overview of the context is given, in which these most prevalent tag combinations were used in the newspaper articles. In order to demonstrate to what extent the topics have changed over the time span, the descriptions of the contexts are structured per year.

2.2.1. Contexts of tag combination “refugee & police”

In 2014, most of the articles with the tag combination “refugee & police” were about refugee accommodations. Only rarely, the topics covered in the articles have a negative connotation. Offences or crime conducted by refugees against non-refugees is also a very rare topic, the focus of the articles is more on how refugees are accommodated and that they are often treated unfairly by guards, police and security staff.

In 2015, the topics including the tag combination “refugee & police” changed a lot, as the articles became much more sceptical about refugees. The articles with the tag combination “refugee & police” expressed concerns about refugees. Many articles were about the terrorist attack in Paris and why this could happen. A major topic is the positions of different parties in the European Union and in Austria, towards the then so-called “refugee crisis”. Certain politicians changed their position, right-wing parties gained more publicity and recognition. Security in the context of terrorism and refugees streams and how to control the latter also appeared quite often.

In 2016, the topics covered in the articles did not change significantly in comparison to 2015. Yet, the fight against Islamic terrorism became a more central topic. As more and more terrorist acts happened, the central topics now also include questions, like how to fight terrorism in future. Improvements and investments in national security, especially at the borders were also of high importance in the analysed newspaper articles.

2.2.1. Contexts of tag combination “Muslim & violence”

In 2014, the articles including the tag combination “Muslim & violence”, dealt with Arab countries mainly. Most of the articles are about Muslims exercising violence against other Muslims in other countries than Austria. It has to be noted in this context, that the tag combination “Syria & ISIS” also appear quite often.

In 2015, the tag combination “Muslim & violence” were found in articles dealing with violent acts world-wide, human rights violations, religious motivated violence and different religious cultures in Austrian kindergarten and schools. In respect to the issue of different religions in Austrian kindergarten, deviating opinions were

presented. Articles dealt with the question, whether children with different religions should be put together into the same school, or if schools with a focus on different religions should be created, which might lead to isolation of the children. In respect to articles on various acts of violence exercised by Muslims, the topics dealt with human rights violations and violence, also in a military context. The articles did not focus on a particular country or part of the world.

In 2016 the searched combination “Muslim & violence” decreased significantly, as only a few results could be found.

2.3. Comparison to other research findings

Research on media reporting on politically motivated crime in the light of migration flows was almost inexistent in Austria for the period under scrutiny. Relevant research that could be related to the findings of the present media analysis could not be identified for the reporting period 2012-2016.³

General reports on anti-Muslim hatred and anti-migrant hatred commonly identified an increase of such incidents in Austria since 2015, when the refugee influx had a significant peak.⁴ Incidents in the public sphere and the internet have increased, while the incidents in access to goods and services have declined.⁵

Surveys and polls among the Austrian population commonly revealed little knowledge about Islam and at the same time little tolerance towards it.⁶ A

³ A diploma-thesis investigating Islamophobia in Austrian newspapers dates from 2009. El Sehty, M. (2009), *Islamophobie in den österreichischen Tageszeitungen. Eine kritische Diskursanalyse*, Diploma Thesis, University of Vienna, available at: http://othes.univie.ac.at/6944/1/2009-06-27_9900367.pdf

⁴ Documentation centre for Moslems in Austria (*Dokustelle für Muslime in Österreich*) (2016), *Anti-Muslim Racism Report (Antimuslimischer Rassismusreport 2015)*, Vienna, available at: www.medienservicestelle.at/migration_bewegt/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Antimuslimischer_Rassismus_Report_2015.pdf.

Federal Ministry of the Interior, Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Counterterrorism (*Bundesministerium für Inneres, Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz und Terrorismusbekämpfung*) (2015), *Annual Report on the Protection of the Constitution (Verfassungsschutzbericht)*, Vienna, available at: www.bmi.gv.at/cms/BMI_Verfassungsschutz/Verfassungsschutzbericht_2015.pdf.

⁵ ZARA (Zivilcourage und Anti-Rassismus-Arbeit) (2016) *Racism Report 2016. Individual case report about racist attacks and structures in Austria*, Vienna, available at: www.zara.or.at/_wp/wp-content/uploads/2008/11/Zara_RR15_English_RZ_kl.pdf.

⁶ Meinungsraum Institut (2015), *Stocktaking the tolerance limit of Austrians (Die Toleranzgrenze der Österreicherinnen und Österreicher – eine Bestandsaufnahme)* Vienna, Mauthausen Komitee Österreich, available at:

representative poll carried out among web-active Austrians aged between 14 and 69 years in September 2015 revealed that eight out of ten respondents were worried about the influx of refugees. 87% of respondents perceived the distribution of refugees in Europe as unfair. 66% of the respondents aged between 60 and 69 and 38% of the respondents under the age of 20 feared that the refugee-influx situation led to an increased “Islamisation”. Respondents perceived the Freedom Party to be best suited to develop a proper concept for dealing with refugees (24% selected this party). 41% of respondents were strongly in favour of border controls in Austria. At the same time, 46% of all respondents were in favour of stricter controls and deleting of xenophobic postings in social media.⁷

Another representative survey carried out in 2015 revealed that half of the respondents agreed that the Islam constitutes a risk for the Austrian society and 45% think that the Islam had too much influence in Austria.⁸ Generally, women, higher educated and older persons were less likely to share anti-Moslem attitudes, while men in working age were comparably intolerant.

3. Conclusions

If applied appropriately, the EMM search tool is a reliable search engine for retrieving articles including pre-defined search-terms in online newspapers. While there are no results available for the years 2012 and 2013, it is clearly recognizable that the absolute number of hits increased from 2014 to 2016. This increase coincides with the increased number of refugee arriving in Austria, which had a peak in 2015 and 2016. Reading through some of the articles including the agreed tag combinations no particular events or other incidents could be identified as a further trigger for the increase of results. The articles including the agreed tags differ in respect to the topics, but also in respect to the country covered. Often, the described events did not take place in Austria or even Europe. Some articles are about the situation of

www.mkoe.at/sites/default/files/files/presse/Toleranzstudie-Slides.pdf.

⁷ Prenner, S., Marketagent.com - Digitale Markt- und Meinungsforschung (2015), *Refugee Report. Österreich zwischen Hilfsbereitschaft und Fremdenfeindlichkeit*, Wien, www.marketagent.com/webfiles/MarketagentCustomer/pdf/99f50b87-1946-4db8-be26-3b2f0e0bd3da.pdf.

⁸ Seidl, C. (2015), Every second person perceives Islam as danger for the culture of Austria (*Jeder Zweite sieht Islam als Gefahr für Österreichs Kultur*), Linzer Market-Institut im Auftrag des STANDARD, 9 January 2015, available at: www.derstandard.at/2000010210943/Jeder-Zweite-sieht-Islam-als-Gefahr-fuer-Oesterreichs-Kultur.

refugees in countries outside of Europe. The tag combinations are also used in different contexts and are not exactly about topics concerning refugees and migration. The order of the top results changes every year, but generally, the combinations stay the same in the top five of every year.

Part II: Open Facebook Groups

1. Introduction

1.1 Selection of Facebook groups

The following criteria have been applied for the selection of Facebook groups with populist connotation: open to the public (not only for members), regional group (Austria-wide), number of followers, and existence since 2012. It turned out that the criteria for the selection of Facebook groups are somehow conflicting with each other when practically applied. Groups with many followers are seldom open to the public. With an increasing number of followers, groups tend to become closed ones in order to protect themselves from harmful bots and spam. Moreover, because of the anonymity granted by the internet, opinions posted on Facebook boil over very quickly and extreme comments are the consequence. This behaviour is in opposition to the criterion of a “moderate” group.

Because of the shared language between Germany and Austria, it was difficult to filter appropriately for groups covering Austria. Finally, it turned out to be a challenge to find relevant groups existing since 2012, which was required in order to make a comparison of the posted statements made before and after the refugee influx in 2015.

To select the suitable Facebook groups for analysis, the criteria (regional group Austria, open to the public and existence since 2012) have been applied in the first place. The groups, which met these criteria, have been ranked along the number of followers. The outcome of this ranking can be seen in Table 4.

Rank	Name of the group	Followers	Orientation
1	Rassismus darf kein Wählermagnet sein!	12.205	left
2	FPÖ	8.800	right
3	SOZIALES ÖSTERREICH sozialdemokratisch & humanistisch	4.600	right

Table 4: Top 3 ranking groups according to followers

1.1.1. Facebook group "Rassismus darf kein Wählermagnet sein!"

The first-rank regional group exists since May 2012 and has the most followers (12.205). Although it was not a criterion for selection, it is still relevant to the analysis that the group followers post and interact with each other every day⁹. It is a left-moderate group with a populist connotation, as can be seen in the following selected original quotes of users. The quotes are chosen by the criteria seriousness (no jokes, not just emoticons), a certain length (minimum of two sentences), and an informative content.

„Ein glühender FPÖ Verehrer ist ein Nazi-Gegner?? Das ist wie 'ich bin kein Alkoholiker, ich trinke nur 3 Flaschen Korn am Tag'. Oder hat ihm sein 40er IQ hier einen Streich gespielt.“¹⁰

„Es können nicht alle Gewinner sein. Entweder gewinnen die Unternehmer oder das Proletariat. Das wissen wir seit Karl Marx. Aber das dumme Stimmvieh glaubt natürlich dem Blender. Aufwachen werden alle eben erst später.“¹¹

The group description in the screenshot below also indicates the rather moderate type of populism present in this group.

The screenshot shows the Facebook group interface. At the top, the group name "Rassismus darf kein Wählermagnet sein!" is displayed next to a logo featuring a trash bin with a person being thrown into it. Below the name is a "Join Group" button and a "More" button. The main content area features a pinned post by Petra Irschik from May 29, 2016, titled "REGELN" (Rules). The rules list nine points regarding respectful communication and group conduct. To the right of the pinned post, there is a "MEMBERS" section showing 12,175 members and a "DESCRIPTION" section with a paragraph about the group's purpose. At the bottom right, there are sections for "CREATE NEW GROUPS" and "RECENT GROUP PHOTOS".

Figure 1: Screenshot of the group "Rassismus darf kein Wählermagnet sein" (4 October 2017)

⁹ Reference: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/RdkWms/>.

¹⁰ Rassismus darf kein Wählermagnet sein, 9 September 2017.

¹¹ Rassismus darf kein Wählermagnet sein, 15 September 2017.

1.1.2. Facebook group "FPÖ"

The second-rank regional group has 8.800 followers, was founded in August 2008 and is active in terms of daily posts, discussing political topics.¹² By the before mentioned criteria selected original quotes of users indicate that this group is moderate right-wing oriented.

„WENN SICH VIER PARTEIEN, VIELE NGO's, KÜNSTLER, ALTPOLITIKER UND QUASI DIE GANZE ELITE GEMEINSAM EINHAKT UND TROTZDEM NUR KNAPP MEHR ALS DIE HÄLFTE DER STIMMEN ERREICHT [...] DANN SIND DOCH 47 PROZENT FÜR NUR EINE PARTEI UND IHREN SPITZDENKANDIDATEN DOCH EIN WAHNSINNS ERGEBNIS, ODER?“¹³

„Da war ich ja wohl wieder mal Prophet. Linke Medien versuchen über die iranische Herkunft aus dem Attentäter Ali eine Art "rechtsextremen Deutsch-Arier" namens David zu machen. Angeblich mochte er keine Türken und Araber. Hm, PKK also auch rechtsextrem?“¹⁴

Figure 2: Screenshot of the group "FPÖ" (4 October 2017)

¹² Reference: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/offenepoegruppe/> (accessed 24 October 2017).

¹³ FPÖ, 7 December 2016.

¹⁴ FPÖ, 27 June 2016.

1.1.3. Facebook group “SOZIALES ÖSTERREICH sozialdemokratisch & humanistisch”

Finally, “Soziales Österreich Sozial und humanistisch” has 4.600 followers. This group does not meet the criteria as it was founded only in 2014. Furthermore, the group is not as active as “FPÖ” and most of the content is created by one and the same person¹⁵. The following quote also indicates that this group is not moderate:

„Die Islamisierung Europas/Österreichs ist nach der Machtübernahme der Nazis in den 30-iger Jahren und der Verbreitung deren menschenverachtender faschistisch-rassistischer Ideologie die erneute, durchaus vergleichbare Bedrohung mit einer diesmal religiös begründeter faschistisch-rassistischer Ideologie, dem Islamfaschismus ("Politischer Islam)".“¹⁶

Figure 3: Screenshot of the group "SOZIALES ÖSTERREICH sozialdemokratisch & humanistisch" (4 October 2017)

Finally, the groups “Rassismus darf kein Wählermagnet sein!” and “FPÖ” have been selected for part II of the PoMIGRA Media Analysis on Austria, because they have by far the most followers, contain the most interaction and also fulfil all the given criteria.

¹⁵ Reference: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/882302375147160/permalink/1704363746274348/> (accessed 24 October 2017).

¹⁶ SOZIALES ÖSTERREICH sozialdemokratisch & humanistisch, 16 September 2017.

1.2 Possibilities and limits of the NETVIZZ-tool

At the group data module NETVIZZ enables the user to determine the output along the following options: number of posts to be analysed; posts between date X and date Y, what to include into the analysis (either posts only or comments only or comments and posts). These search options of the NETVIZZ-tool proved to be useful for extracting content relevant for the present analysis. The data is generated very fast – approximately 100 posts/comments can be extracted per minute. However, the NETVIZZ tool does not allow a search for tags. Such a search thus needs to be carried out separately in a second step.

The output of the search comes per group including the applied search criteria, as follows: Each “.tab” file contains the group ID, the posts (including author and date), the comments (including author and date). These “.tab” files can be processed with Microsoft Excel and the texts of the posts can be accessed there. Thus, for the tag-analysis the user has to apply to the functions of Microsoft Excel. In order to find the tags in the posts/comments (and also to be able to count the hits), the user has to apply the “Filter”-tool of Microsoft Excel. Since posts and comments appear in separate columns, the user has to apply the search for each tag per group twice.

2. Analysis

From 2012 until 2014, there were only 15 hits at the left moderate group. The number of hits increased significantly at the end of 2015 and the beginning of 2016. The results show that the group was more active than ever before, when the refugee influx had a peak in 2015. The number of hits decreased in 2016, but there were still more hits than before 2015. The tags “Muslim+violence” were again used often in 2016. Overall, the tags “Muslim+violence” (53 hits), “migrant+integration” (28 hits) “muslim+migrant” (17 hits) and “migrant+violence” (19 hits) were used the most.

Similarly, in the right moderate group, there were not many hits in the period from 2012 to the first half of 2014 and they increased in the second half of 2014. The tags “migrant+violence” (21 hits), “migrant+integration” (26 hits), “Muslim+violence” (24 hits), “migrant+police” (15 hits) and “Muslim+migrant” (23 hits) were used most often in 2015 and 2016.

Rank	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
1	integration+ migrant (5)	migrants+ terrorism" (2)	Muslim+ violence (9)	Muslim+ violence (27)	Muslim+ violence (16)
2	Muslim+ migrant (3)	refugee+ labour market (1)	Muslim+ integration (4)	migrant+ violence (11)	migrant+ integration (7)
3	migrant+ violence (2)		Muslims+ ISIS (3)	Muslim+ migrant (11)	migrant+ violence (6)
4	Muslim+ violence (1)		migrant+ police (2)	migrant+ integration (10)	Muslims+ terrorism (6)
5	migrant+ xenophobia (1)		Muslim+ migrant (2)	migrant+ police (6)	Muslims+ ISIS (2)
6			migrant+ abuse (1)	Muslims+ ISIS (5)	migrant+ labourmarket (1)
7				migrant+ abuse (3)	Muslim+ migrant (1)
8				Muslims+ terrorism (3)	migrant+ unemployment (1)
9				migrant+ unemployment (1)	migrant+ police (1)

Table 5: Left moderate group (hits per year)

Rank	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
1	Muslim+ violence (2)	migrant+ integration" (3)	Muslim+ violence (8)	migrant+ integration (12)	migrant+ integration (7)
2	migrant+ labour market (1)	migrant+ police (2)	migrant+ violence (6)	Muslim+ migrant (11)	migrant+ violence (5)
3	Migrant+ unemployment (1)	migrant+ violence (1)	Muslim+ migrant (6)	migrant+ violence (9)	Muslim+ violence (5)
4		migrant+ labour market (1)	Muslims+ ISIS (5)	Muslim+ violence (8)	Muslim+ migrant (5)
5		Muslim+ violence" (1)	migrant+ integration (4)	migrant+ unemployment (7)	migrant+ abuse (4)
6		Muslim+ migrant (1)	migrant+ labour market (3)	migrant+ police (7)	migrant+ police (3)
7			migrant+ police (3)	migrant+ labour market (4)	Muslims+ terrorism (2)
8			migrant+ abuse (2)	migrant+ fraud (3)	migrants+ terrorism (1)
9			Muslims+ terrorism (2)	Muslims+ terrorism (1)	
10			migrant+ birth rate (2)	Muslims+ ISIS (1)	

Table 6: Right moderate group (hits per year)

In 2012 (before the refugee influx) and in 2015 (at the peak of the refugee influx), as well as in 2016, the content of the left-moderate group had more hits than the one of the right-moderate group. In 2012 and 2014, the situation was reverse, as the tags were mentioned more often in the right moderate group (41) than in the left moderate group (21).

Tags connected to labour like “migrant+unemployment” and “migrant+labour market” where generally more common in “FPÖ”. In 2016, there was a significant decline of overall hits in both groups.

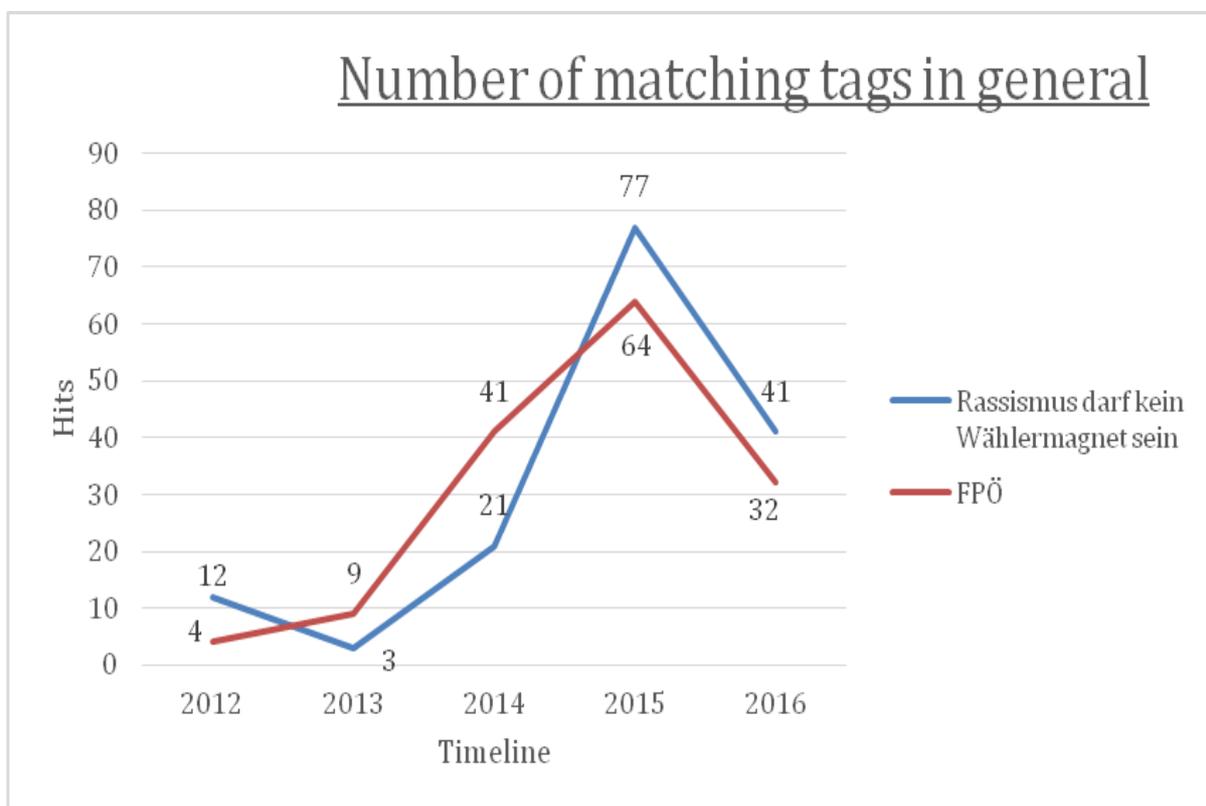


Chart 2: Number of matching tags in general

From 2012 to 2016, the tag combinations “Muslim+violence” (77 hits), “migrant+integration” (54 hits), “Muslim+migrant” (40 hits), “migrant+violence” (40 hits) and “migrant+police” (25 hits) were used the most in both groups. This can be seen in Charts 3 and 4 below.

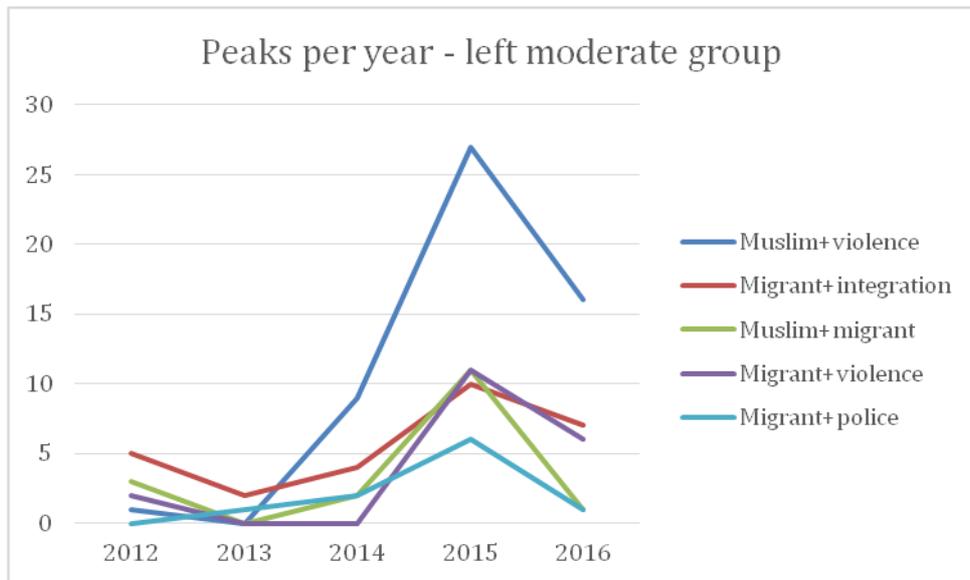


Chart 3: Peaks per year - left moderate group

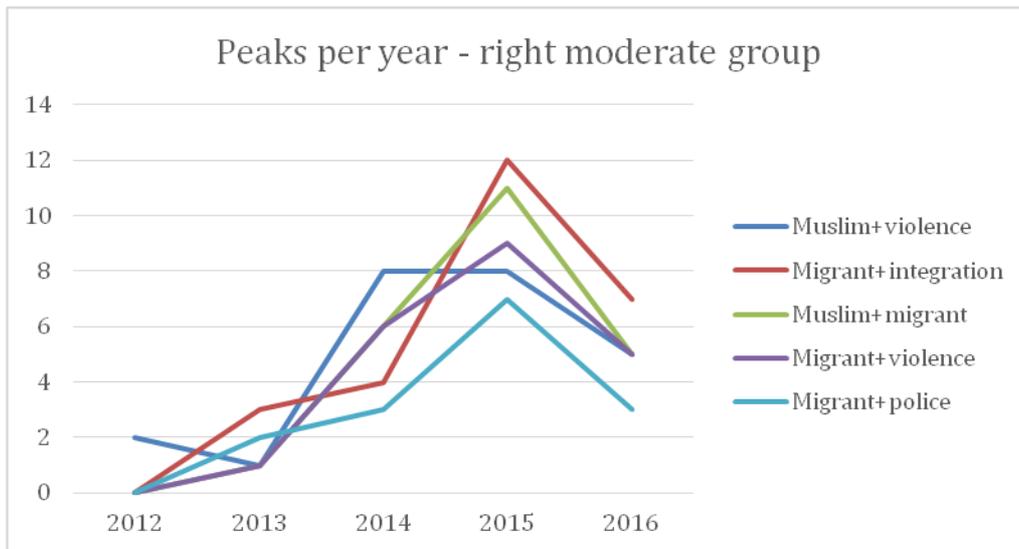


Chart 4: Peaks per year - right moderate group

From 2014 onwards, the left moderate group used the tags “Muslim+violence” not only more often than the right-moderate group, it is also the most used combination of tags in the left-moderate group. Whereas the right-moderate group most often used the combination “migrant+integration” or “Muslim+migrant” after the refugee influx took place. However, one has to bear in mind that these results do not say anything about the context in which these tags were used. The usage of

“Muslim+violence” can also be connected to violence against Muslims or it can also be a critic of a stereotypical connection between Muslim and violence.

Thus, a closer look at the findings is needed, particularly an analysis of the contexts in which the tag combinations were used. In August 2014, the right moderate group used “Muslim+violence” more often than other tags. This can be traced back to two events. The first was the usage of “Muslim+violence” in the framework of a discussion about “false tolerance” against the Islam. Muslims wrote that they are offended by the discussion and that Islam is peaceful. Yet, group followers did follow their opinion and stated that Islam was an aggressive religion. Furthermore, members of the group mentioned that Muslim agitation destroys the discussion culture and that it led to violence. The second statement was motivated by a defence speech by a Muslim group contributor, who wrote in the group that ISIS has nothing to do with the true Islam and that ISIS abused the religion, while most of the other group followers argued that the Islam was dangerous anyway.

In December 2014, the left moderate group argued about how right-wing politicians all over Europe warn about the so-called “Islamisation of Europe”. The trigger of the debate was the terrorist attack in Sydney, also known as the 2014 Sydney hostage crisis. Muslims of the group pointed out that in the media they show violence only committed by Muslims, but not by others. They also stated that foreigners and especially Muslims are often victims of violence. Furthermore, they mentioned that in violence is a part of every sacred scripture, not only in the Quran. “Muslim+violence” occurred seven times in this context.

In January/February 2015, “Muslim+violence” were mentioned on “Rassismus darf kein Wählermagnet sein!” eleven times. The reasons were mainly because of the terrorist attack in Paris at the Charlie Hebdo offices, but also because of the first PEGIDA demonstration in Vienna.

Moreover, a lively discussion about immigration was present in both groups in March 2015.

The following chart provides information about the hits per year for both groups and clearly indicates a peak of all hits in 2015, i.e. the time when the refugee influx had its peak as well.

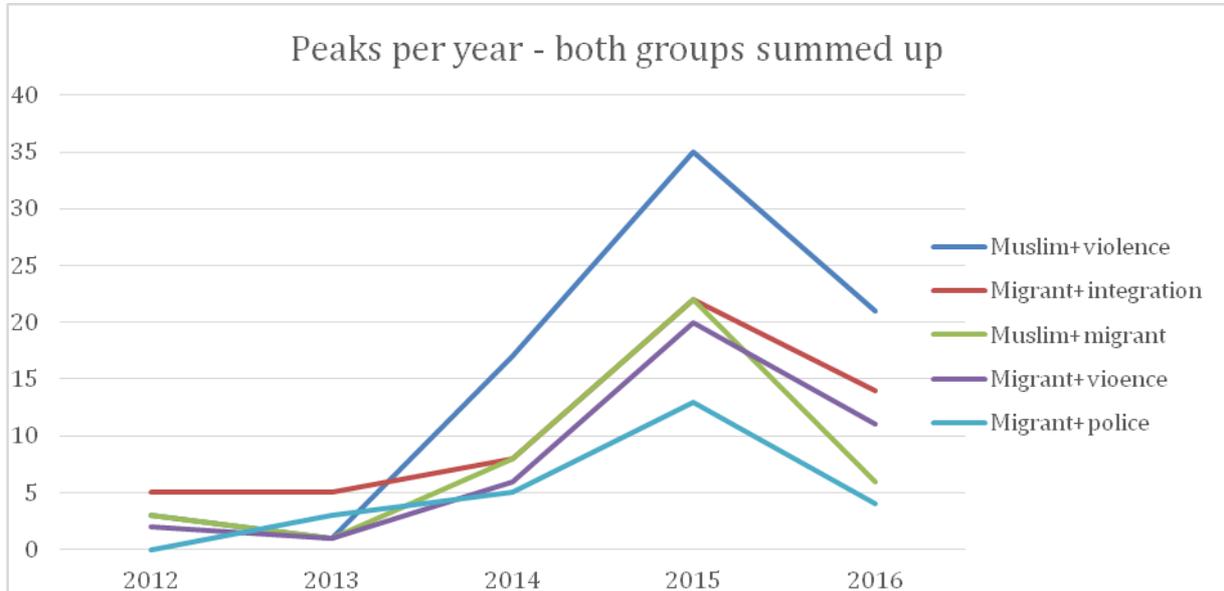


Chart 5: Peaks per year both group summed up

3. Conclusions

The application of the NETVIZZ tool on the selected Facebook groups resulted in fewer hits than initially expected, given the amount of 49 tag combinations, the long time frame of analysis and the relevance of the topics in public discourse. Different reasons can be considered for this.

The agreed tags are sometimes not that common in the Austrian everyday language. For example, Austrian Facebook group members do not use the word “migration” that often, but tend to rather use “immigration”. Similarly, “asylum seeker” (*AsylwerberIn*) is not so common among right-moderate populist groups, but the more colloquial term “Asylant” is used more frequently. The meaning of the term, “Asylant” is broader, covering different types of legal statuses, such as asylum seekers, refugees, subsidiary protection holders and holders of a national residence permit on humanitarian grounds. A workable solution for future comparative projects dealing with these issues and applying the same method would be a division of tags into a collective part for all countries to be analysed and a specific part, based on

regional languages and slangs. Admittedly, the comparability of results across countries cannot be ensured this way.

While the challenges deriving from the standardized translation of the comparative tags might explain the rather low number of hits in the selected groups, the manifold context in which the hits appear might reversely explain a high number of hits particularly in left moderate groups. For instance, the tag combination of “violence + Muslim” (which had the most hits in the left moderate group) can be related to contexts of victimization of Muslims or can also be mentioned by critics of this connection.

A simple quantitative analysis is not sufficient to understand the usage of words in Social Media or to analyse a connection between the refugee influx and processes of radicalization in general. Still, it is an interesting finding that all the tags have been used more often in 2015, which is the year that marked a peak in both, the numbers of arrivals in Austria and the numbers of hits in the selected Facebook groups.

Irrespective of the Facebook groups’ orientation, the number of hits was lowest in the years 2012, 2013 and (at least in the first half of) 2014, there was a large increase of hits in 2015 and a decline in 2016. Thus, in a very broad manner and only considering the quantitative aspects, the annual changes in the number of hits are similar to the arrivals in Austria (low in 2012-2013, increase in 2014, peak in 2015 and decrease in 2016). It was also found that both selected Facebook groups were by far more active in 2015 than in the years before.

Part III: Analysis of Political Party Programs

1. Introduction

Part III of this report consists of the analysis of the party programs of those parties that stood for parliamentary elections in Austria in 2013 and 2017. These are the Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (SPÖ), Österreichische Volkspartei/Liste Sebastian Kurz (2013/2017, ÖVP), Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ), Die Grünen, Das Neue Österreich (NEOS). The party programs were analysed regarding the topics of “integration”, “migration” and “asylum”, and were compared over time. “Party program” is here understood as the substantive statements of political parties in order to inform the public before elections. It is used by the parties as a political plan for the future legislative period. The party programs were analysed and compared in regard to the descriptions of integration, migration and asylum and the parties’ programmatic and ideological approaches in this respect. In the analysis, the programs are compared per party (2013 in comparison to 2017) and also between party programs concerning the topics. The parties were selected according to following criteria: Parties participated in the last two national elections (2013 and 2017) and were represented in parliament during the last legislative period.

2. Quantitative data

The quantitative analysis revealed that the party programs of the SPÖ, the ÖVP and the FPÖ used the two main keywords relevant to the present study significantly more often in 2017 than in 2013 (overall from 18 to 108 times). Yet, it has to be noted in this context that the overall length of these parties’ programs increased significantly from 2013 to 2017, as well (from 35,519 to 107,326 words). The NEOS and the Green Party, however, reduced the length of their party programs (59,682 words in 2013 to 31,832 words in 2017) and the number of the keywords “migration” and “asylum” decreased as well (from 63 to 22).

Table 7 summarises the frequency of terms per party in party programs in 2013 and 2017.

Party Program of	Total Number Words		Total Number 'Migration'		Total Number of 'Asylum'	
	2013	2017	2013	2017	2013	2017
Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreich (SPÖ)	15418	42969	0	10 (7)	6 (1)	33 (6)
Österreichische Volkspartei/ Liste Sebastian Kurz (ÖVP)	18775	56580	4	27 (12)****	2 (1)	26
Freiheitliche Partei Österreich (FPÖ)	1326	7777	0	2 (0)*	6 (4)***	10 (6)**
Die Grünen	41231	18364	10 (1)	5 (3)	40 (6)	10 (1)
NEOS	18451	13468	6 (1)	0	7	7
SPÖ, Grüne, NEOS: incl. Asylverfahren, Asylgründe Asylsuchende, AsylwerberInnen, Asylberechtigter, Asylantrag, Asylzuerkennung, Asylsystem, Asylrecht, Asylansuchen, Asylpolitik, Asylstandards, Asylberechtigungen, Asylbestimmungen, Asylpraxis, Asylregeln, LangzeitasylwerberInnen, Botschaftsasyl, AsylwerberInnenheime incl. Migrationsfrage, Migrationspolitik, Migrationsbestrebungen, Arbeitsmigration, Migrationshintergrund, *incl. Massenmigration, Migrationswellen ** incl. Asylindustrie, Scheinasylanten *** incl. Asylmissbrauch, Asylbetrüger **** incl. Migrationseffekte, Migrationskrise, Migrationsdruck, Migrationswelle, Massenmigration						

Table 7: Number of hits in party programs in 2013 and 2017

3. Analysis

3.1. Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs - SPÖ

3.1.1. Party program 2013

In 2013 the terms “refugee” and “migrant” did not appear at all in the party program of SPÖ. Words and combinations referring to asylum were mentioned more often (7 times). The context in which the terms “refugee” and “migrant” were mentioned in 2013 was only related to the question on how to accelerate the asylum procedure. The SPÖ also emphasized that asylum is a human right and that it would be fair to everyone to accelerate the asylum procedure.¹⁷

3.1.2. Party program 2017

In 2017, the party program has a length of 213 full pages and thus became longer than in 2013. The contexts in which the topics “refugees”, “migrants” and “asylum” appear changed in comparison to 2013. In the 2017 program, “asylum” was mentioned in many different areas (including, e.g. the reduction of asylum seekers).

¹⁷ SPÖ (2013), SPÖ Parteiprogramm: 111 Projekte für Österreich, p.37.

To achieve this, the SPÖ proposed to fight the causes for people to leave their country of origin by improving the living conditions abroad.

An “upper limit of asylum seekers and migrants” in the European Union and especially in Austria was also mentioned quite often in the 2017 program. The party argues that limiting the number of asylum seekers was necessary to achieve integration successfully in terms of capacities of the Austrian society and authorities.

Furthermore, the party argued that the integration requires everyone to follow the rules and values of the Austrian state. The SPÖ stressed that immigrated children need to visit school and should not live in isolation.¹⁸ “Integration” was mentioned as a challenge, which will be present in Austria for a longer period of time. The program clearly highlighted that migrants should be accepted as a part of Austria, if they went through a successful integration, which includes learning German and obeying the Austrian rules and values.¹⁹

The SPÖ party program 2017 also addressed the topic of the labour market. The long-term target of the SPÖ was to integrate migrants fully into the labour market. However, this was only possible, if a successful integration was accomplished and migrants brought with them the skills and knowledge for the requested job. One of the ideas was to introduce an obligatory “integration year” for every immigrant. Another idea proposed by the SPÖ was that the state would pay about eighty percent of the migrant’s wage at the beginning, which could help integrate the migrants more quickly into the labour market, as for the different companies a skilled migrant worker would cost less.²⁰

The party also raised the topic of fighting extremism. In this respect, also mistakes concerning the integration policies were admitted. The SPÖ proposed to prevent religious radicalization and extremism with stricter observation of religious establishments and facilities.²¹

¹⁸ Ibid., p.144.

¹⁹ SPÖ (2017), SPÖ Parteiprogramm: Plan A für Austria, p.18.

²⁰ Ibid., p.146.

²¹ Ibid., p.147.

The term “migration” was used quite often in connection to the fairness-debate regarding the distribution of migrants within the European Union. An important issue to the SPÖ was equal opportunities in getting the asylum decision confirmed within the European Union.²² For example, the chances of getting asylum in Hungary were described as much lower than in Germany. The SPÖ called for a centralized European asylum system in this respect.

The term “migration” was also used in combination with the return of people with a negative asylum decision. The party program includes a statistic, which shows how many asylum seekers with a negative decision were actually returned back to their country of origin. The SPÖ mentioned that many of them would stay in Europe, even though their asylum decision was negative. The SPÖ further argued that the European Union needed to cooperate better with African countries, in order to manage the refugee situation.²³

3.1.3. Brief analysis

Importance of the topic for the party program

In 2013, the SPÖ mentioned the combination regarding migration and asylum only rarely. The absolute number of relevant terms, as well as the length of the party program increased enormously in 2017. Overall, the party provided a more concrete view on migration and the topics related to it in 2017. In 2013, integration was point 25 in the table of contents, the party program consists of 27 points. In 2017, it ranked on position 8 out of 9 chapters.

Nexus in which migration is negotiated

On the one hand, the reduction of the number of asylum seekers was called for, thus it was perceived as a challenge. On the other hand, the SPÖ argued that integrated people can and should be seen as part of the Austrian society. Migration or asylum were not linked with terrorism, however, investment in Austrian security was regarded as necessary. Furthermore, negative aspects like trafficking in human beings and extremism should be fought by all means. The SPÖ strictly distinguished migration from asylum.

²² Ibid., p.190.

²³ Ibid., p.191.

Envisaged political goal with regard to migration

Regarding the future perspectives of asylum and migration the SPÖ called for Europe-wide cooperation. The SPÖ clearly stood for strictly applied return procedures of persons denied international protection. The political goal was firstly, to reduce the number of asylum seekers (new arrivals) to a minimum (without clarifying this further) and secondly, efficient integration for those who were allowed to stay in Austria.

3.2. Österreichische Volkspartei (2013) / Liste Sebastian Kurz (2017)

3.2.1. Party program 2013

The 2013 election programme of ÖVP included two pages on the topic “integration and values”. The ÖVP mentioned that this topic should not left to “left dreamers” or “far right agitators”. Austria had a welcoming culture and immigrants had the will to integrate in society. Reference was made to the principles and values of the Austrian society like the dignity of the human being and the right of self-determination.

People with migration background should do voluntary work. Integration through performance was a key concept for the ÖVP. Furthermore, the party stated that for a peaceful together no tolerance for intolerance is required. The ÖVP determined some points for a successful integration. Primarily this comprised “language assistance new”: knowledge of German language before school inception, crash course for career jumper; a second kindergarten year free for everyone, mandatory for children with German deficit; mandatory ethics subject in school for children who do not want to attend the religion class. The party program also referred to the “Rot-Weiß-Rot Fibel”, a handbook produced by the ÖVP containing rules and values for the living-together in the Austrian society.²⁴

In the chapter “For a safer Austria”, which comprises the safety policy, the ÖVP stated that the asylum laws lack clear rules and the enforcement of asylum laws should be done in a more consequent way.²⁵

²⁴ Österreichische Volkspartei, ZUKUNFTSWEISEND ÖSTERREICH 2018: Das Programm der ÖVP zur Nationalratswahl 2013, pp. 58-59.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 73.

3.2.2. Party program 2017

The election program of 2017 was significantly longer than in 2013 (56.580 words instead of 18.775). The subject integration and refugees comprised eleven pages in the 2017 program. Main catchwords used were, for example, “upper limits for refugees” and “illegal immigration”. The term “welcome culture” was not used anymore.

The ÖVP stated that the Austrian government made huge mistakes at the “catastrophic” 2015 refugee influx. With that the social order, the corporative society and the question of identity were strongly shattered. The ÖVP plead strongly for resettlement programs, rescue centres outside of the European Union territory and protection centres in third countries.

Integration through performance remained the key for a successful integration in the 2017 program.²⁶ Learning the German language was regarded as a key prerequisite.²⁷ The ÖVP distinguished between skilled migrants who were needed for the Austrian labour market and unqualified migrants. The first group should have access to the Austrian labour market without barriers. The asylum procedure should be as unbureaucratic as possible and a score system should be implemented. The goal was to select and determine immigration to Austria. Australia was presented as a role model for Austria. The ÖVP also stated that the state welfare is related to work efforts of the migrants, such as voluntary work for the public. The ÖVP also proposed to establish a guaranteed minimum benefit “light” (persists of living in Austria for 5 years) for asylum seekers.²⁸ Reference was also made to the Austrian values and rules and that Austria needs clear criteria and a strict order for immigration.²⁹

In the chapter on “security policy”, the ÖVP stated that violence against women was dealt with differently by migrants than by Austrians, as migrants have no awareness of equality of women and men. Furthermore, the program pointed out that the

²⁶ Österreichische Volkspartei, Der neue Weg. Das Programm der Liste Sebastian Kurz – die neue Volkspartei zur Nationalratswahl 2017 Ordnung & Sicherheit 3/3, pp. 20-21.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 28.

²⁸ Österreichische Volkspartei, Der neue Weg. Das Programm der Liste Sebastian Kurz – die neue Volkspartei zur Nationalratswahl 2017 Neue Gerechtigkeit & Verantwortung 1/3, p. 64.

²⁹ Österreichische Volkspartei, Der neue Weg. Das Programm der Liste Sebastian Kurz – die neue Volkspartei zur Nationalratswahl 2017 Ordnung & Sicherheit 3/3, p. 21.

marriage of minors was also a problem in certain migrant groups.³⁰ The ÖVP also stated that foreign governments would try to take influence on particular migrant groups in Austria.³¹

In the chapter on development assistance the ÖVP proposed that the European Union should adopt the “Less-for-Less-concept”, which means that the countries who do not want to cooperate (allowing migrants to return), should get reduced development assistance.³²

3.2.1. Brief analysis

Importance of the topic for the party program:

The topic of integration is much more central in the election program of 2017 than it was in 2013. The chapters with a migration context is six times more comprehensive in the 2017 program than in the 2013 program (18.775 words / 2 pages in 2013; 56.580 words / 11 pages in 2017). In 2013, there is one integration chapter and one mentioning in the security chapter, while in 2017 the topic of migration is relevant for chapters on integration, security, development assistance, welfare, the irregular migration and the political Islam.

Nexus in which migration is negotiated:

In 2013 the ÖVP perceived migration as a challenge which needed to be managed properly, while in the 2017 program migration was seen as a challenge as well as a security risk too. Migration was mainly linked to asylum with some exceptions.

Envisaged political goal with regard to migration:

Border management was very important for the ÖVP. It was highlighted and mentioned often in the 2017 programme. Migration was rather seen as a problem and needed to be reduced dramatically. The ÖVP provided proposals for border management of the European Union borders to reduce irregular migration. The ÖVP also proposed a system for the evaluation of the qualifications of asylum seekers to be introduced to the asylum procedure.

³⁰ Österreichische Volkspartei, Der neue Weg. Das Programm der Liste Sebastian Kurz – die neue Volkspartei zur Nationalratswahl 2017 Ordnung & Sicherheit 3/3, p. 54.

³¹ Ibid., p. 53.

³² Österreichische Volkspartei, Der neue Weg. Das Programm der Liste Sebastian Kurz – die neue Volkspartei zur Nationalratswahl 2017 Neue Gerechtigkeit & Verantwortung 1/3, p. 117.

3.3. Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs – FPÖ

3.3.1. Party program 2013

In 2013, the party program of the Freedom Party had about 12 pages and dealt with a variety of topics. The FPÖ argues, for instance, that the family allowances should be raised and clarify that such social benefits shall only be received by “true” Austrians.³³ The FPÖ did not mention “migration” explicitly in this party program but repeatedly mention “immigration” (Zuwanderung) and other related expressions, like “home country” or “foreigner”.

In the chapter on the labour market, the FPÖ explained that migrants were endangering Austrian working places and the Austrian social system. A high number of foreigners would profit from the Austrian welfare system. The closing of the labour market for non-EU citizens and for people who do not have command of the German language in general was also discussed.³⁴ The FPÖ argued that asylum was often misused and should only be granted for a certain period of time.

It was further stated in the 2013 party program that the criminality increased with the increasing number of asylum applications. In the 2013 party program, the FPÖ mentioned that in most of the violent crimes the sentenced person is a foreigner.³⁵

3.3.2. Party program 2017

In the chapter named “Protect our borders – Austria is not a migration country”, the FPÖ proposed to protect the Austrian culture. The FPÖ rejected any immigration because of the refugee influx in the recent years. It was considered unfair to take a big part of the migration burden while the Dublin III Regulation was not applied. An “asylum industry” would make a business funded through tax money. Therefore, migration had to be stopped immediately. Refugee care should be maintained by the government and not by NGOs. Any financial incentives should be prevented. However, FPÖ calls for the application of international law *strictu sensu*: Anyone who is persecuted because of race, political or religious belief should be granted asylum, if not arriving from a safe state, and only for the period the asylum reason is given.

³³ FPÖ (2013), FPÖ Parteiprogramm: Liebe deine Nächsten, p. 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Islam was mainly perceived as threat. The 2017 FPÖ party program criticised that under the cloak of religious freedom Islamist structures were built up. Jihadist returnees with Austrian citizenship should lose their citizenship. The Islam was not a part of Austria and any multicultural parallel societies should be rejected. Islamism was described as very dangerous, proved by hundreds of deaths caused by Islamic terrorism.³⁶ In the security policy chapter, the FPÖ stated that since the opening of the borders because of the Schengen Agreement, “criminal tourism” occurred. Furthermore, they argued that since the refugee influx in 2015 the crimes committed by foreigners were a major issue.³⁷ Women experienced a new wave of discrimination forced by immigrated men coming from patriarchal cultures.³⁸ Because of the refugee influx, the Austrian welfare state had come to its limits.³⁹

3.3.1. Brief analysis

Importance of the topic for the party program:

In 2017 the topics integration, asylum and migration were central for the party program of the FPÖ. The FPÖ describes the issue in a prominent manner in its party program. Also in 2013, the topics were present in a prominent manner and thus constitute the first priority topic for the FPÖ.

Nexus in which migration is negotiated:

The FPÖ perceived immigrants as a threat rather than an opportunity, the party regarded all issues related to migration, asylum or integration (also lacking a clear distinction) as a security risk and endangerment for both, the state and society as a whole. More than that, most substantive topics were dealt with under a migration perspective only. The FPÖ established a clear causality between (increasing) criminality and terrorism with a higher number of migrants and asylum seekers.

³⁶ FPÖ (2017), Österreicher verdienen Fairness Freiheitliches Wahlprogramm zur Nationalratswahl 2017, 1. Unsere Grenzen sichern – Österreich ist kein Einwanderungsland.

³⁷ FPÖ (2017), Österreicher verdienen Fairness Freiheitliches Wahlprogramm zur Nationalratswahl 2017, 5. Unsere öffentliche Sicherheit und Ordnung gewährleisten.

³⁸ FPÖ (2017), Österreicher verdienen Fairness Freiheitliches Wahlprogramm zur Nationalratswahl 2017, 11. Unsere Frauen gleichberechtigten und vor Diskriminierung schützen.

³⁹ FPÖ (2017), Österreicher verdienen Fairness Freiheitliches Wahlprogramm zur Nationalratswahl 2017, 13. Unsere Sozialsystem und unseren Arbeitsmarkt fair gestalten.

The envisaged political goal with regard to migration:

The FPÖ called for stopping migration and border management in the sense of closing down the European Union borders. The FPÖ called for a stricter enforcement of return procedures, yet did not make any concrete suggestions in respect to integration.

3.4. Die Grünen

3.4.1. Party program 2013⁴⁰

In 2013, the Green Party declared in its party program that Austria has a long tradition of being a migration country. Migration was presented as an opportunity in relation to the demographic trend, the immigration boosts, or the economic stability of the country. Pluralism was highlighted in a positive way. Other positive examples were language diversity and abundance of ideas.

The “Fortress Europe” should have an end; the Dublin regulations should be reformed to an instrument with a solidary allocation of asylum seekers between the European Union states. The right to asylum was discussed as a fundamental right. The program criticized the lack of equal opportunities in getting a job, housing or a qualification for immigrants. Restricting asylum law was perceived as not resolving problems, but as creating problems. The Green Party called for a fair and organized asylum procedure within six months. Therefore, more staff was needed and a department for quality management was proposed. Asylum seekers should have guaranteed protection and professional care, especially minors. The party also urged for access to independent legal advice during the asylum procedure. The Green Party also explained that special institutions were necessary for traumatized refugees and unaccompanied minors. Aid organisations needed more support and money. Family re-unification for people who legally live in Austria should be possible without bureaucratic obstacles. An integration program starting with the first day for all asylum seekers was envisaged. Far more German language courses should be provided. Asylum seekers who lived for more than five years in Austria should automatically get the right to residence. Dual citizenship should be accepted and the

⁴⁰ Die Grünen – Die Grüne Alternative, Bundespartei (2013), SAUBERE UMWELT SAUBERE POLITIK: Wahlprogramm der Grünen Nationalratswahl 2013, pp. 109-114.

Austrian citizenship should be easier to attain. After six months of asylum procedure, asylum seekers should get free access to the labour market.

3.4.2. Party program 2017

In the 2017 election program there was no stand-alone migration/asylum chapter.⁴¹ In the foreign affairs and the European policy chapter, the Green Party mentioned the European Union had to act united and needed to employ a lot of resources for ending the refugee influxes. The European Union had to invest more money into the United Nations aid organisations and end unfair trade relationships, as well as arms deliveries.⁴²

The program warned from weakening the fundamental rights protection of refugee rights. Existing standards shall be upheld. Social integration of foreigners was stated as the key for a peaceful co-existence and a social stability. Affordable German courses, determination of qualifications and funding of multilingualism were regarded as essential for a successful integration. The government was described as taking not enough efforts in the migration policy, while the civil society was committed and played a major role in the integration process of refugees, especially in the solidarity movement since 2015. The Green Party determined a need for reform of the education policy concerning migration and asylum, particularly for refugee minorities.⁴³ The Greens proposed “Austrians-for-newcomers”-workshops for a better integration process. According to the party program, a fair family re-unification prevented uncertainty, facilitated integration and obstructed human trafficking.⁴⁴

The Greens called for safe and legal access to safe countries by introducing the embassy asylum for Austrian embassies and embassies in the European Union in general. When coming to the European Union, asylum seekers should be accommodated first in initial reception centres and then be equally distributed all over the European Union member states.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Die Grünen – Die Grüne Alternative, Bundespartei (2017), DAS IST GRÜN: Wahlprogramm der Grünen Nationalratswahl 2017.

⁴² Ibid., p. 6.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 37-38.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 40.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

3.4.1. Brief analysis

Importance of the topic for the party program:

For the Green Party, the topic of immigration is of minor importance. In the 2013 program, the topic appears from page 109 to page 114 and is not highlighted in any way. There is no migration chapter in the election programme of 2017. The subject occurs in the foreign and European policy, as well as the human rights chapter, yet is not mentioned there very often.

Nexus in which migration is negotiated:

The Green Party negotiates the topic of migration in a positive way, as it is presented mainly as an opportunity: the party referred to pluralism and the abundance of ideas in 2013. While such positive effects are highlighted in 2013, the issue is still seen positive in 2017, but there are more challenges identified that have to be addressed.

The envisaged political goal with regard to migration:

Integration of migrants is the main topic of the Green Party in this respect. The Green party argues for a progressive asylum and migration policy. They perceive migration as a challenge, but argue that stricter immigration policies and restrictions of immigration are not the right answer to deal with immigration to Austria. They rather call for clear, transparent and fair rules for immigration to Austria. Furthermore, they take on a gender perspective within the issue and argue for measures against trafficking in women and for separate and independent residence permits for (married) women. The Greens put an emphasis on a common European Union asylum policy with harmonized provisions and a greater solidarity among member states when it comes to the distribution of refugees. They also call for preventing migration in the first place by investing in the countries of origin.

3.5. NEOS – Das Neue Österreich

3.5.1. Party program 2013

The NEOS claimed in 2013 that integration and migration are natural processes. They mentioned in their party program that Austria is and has ever been a country of migration. Migrants should be seen as a part of the Austrian culture and it was necessary and a duty to facilitate integration. Learning and applying German was quite a central point for the NEOS. Migrants who are able to speak German fluently

can be integrated in the labour market more quickly and can positively contribute to the Austrian society.⁴⁶ As education is a central topic for the NEOS, they wanted to promote migrant children and teens to learn their mother language in the first place and then start to learn German. The reason for this is that in the NEOS opinion the learning and studying of a foreign language is easier when a person has a solid knowledge in their first language.⁴⁷

The NEOS called for sanctioning discrimination, racism and xenophobia. There was a duty to integrate every migrant positively into the Austrian society, but there was no place for xenophobia or discrimination. The NEOS proposed promoting cultural activities, sports and exchange.

3.5.2. Party program 2017

In 2017, the party program of the NEOS was elaborated in a different manner and the party program is a lot shorter in comparison to 2013. The topics in the program of the NEOS did not change much. They now proposed to limit the asylum procedure to a maximum of 180 days. If the decision was positive, it should lead to the fastest integration possible. If the asylum decision should turn out negative, the NEOS called for immediate returns. The NEOS proposed to support migrants with a residence permit with German courses, subsidiaries for housing and establishing an extra resort for integration.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the NEOS called for a European asylum procedure, as well as borders and security control.⁴⁹

3.5.1. Brief analysis

Importance of the topic for the party program:

The topics migration and asylum are not prominent in the party program of the NEOS. Their priorities are not focused on migration and asylum. In the party program of 2013 the topic is at the twelfth place (out of thirteen) in the table of content, in 2017 at the fifth place out of seven.

⁴⁶ NEOS (2013), NEOS Parteiprogramm: Pläne für ein neues Österreich, pp. 67-70.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 19.

⁴⁸ NEOS (2017), NEOS Parteiprogramm: Das Zukunftsmanifest für ein neues Österreich, p. 16.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 17.

Nexus in which migration is negotiated:

The party program of the NEOS argues that asylum is an opportunity for everybody and that it is the duty of the Austrian state and population to integrate migrants as fast as possible. Their central topic concerning asylum and migration is education and the integration of skilled migrants and asylum seekers into the labour market. The NEOS never mention extremism and terrorism in combination with migrants or asylum.

The envisaged political goal with regard to migration:

The NEOS want to integrate people as fast as possible and never mention “reducing migration” or similar arguments in their party program. The NEOS argue that asylum seekers will never go back to their country of origin and this is why they have to be integrated into Austrian society as quickly as possible. The NEOS call for measures for the integration of migrants, particularly language courses and other qualifications to make them “fit for the labour market” or measures to include them into the public services (police, hospitals). The party program points out that Austria is a country that is built on migration and consequently it was the duty of the Austrian people to facilitate the integration of migrants. Asylum was seen as special case of immigration to Austria and migration is not reduced to questions related to asylum. In respect to border management, they argue for a European solution.

4. Conclusions

The party programs of the SPÖ, the ÖVP and the FPÖ used the two main keywords relevant to the present study, namely “migration” and “asylum”, significantly more often in 2017 than in 2013 (overall from 18 to 108 times). Yet, it has to be noted in this context that the overall length of these parties’ programs increased significantly from 2013 to 2017, as well (from 35,519 to 107,326 words). The NEOS and the Green Party, however, reduced the length of their party programs (59,682 words in 2013 to 31,832 words in 2017) and the number of the keywords “migration” and “asylum” decreased as well (from 63 to 22).

A qualitative look at the party programs reveals that the topics migration and asylum became more important and prominent in the 2017 party programs of the SPÖ and the ÖVP when compared to the programs drafted for the 2013 elections. For the

FPÖ, issues related to migration were a priority in 2013 as well as in 2017. For the Greens and the NEOS, this topic was only of minor importance in both party programs analysed. The terms migration and asylum even occurred more often in these parties' 2013 program (before the refugee influx) than in 2017 (after the refugee influx).

The nexuses in which migration is negotiated vary across the parties. Generally the contexts in which migration are discussed broadened in the 2017 party programs. The SPÖ and the ÖVP address migration as a challenge and to some extent as an opportunity. The SPÖ mainly discusses migration in the context of illegal migration, measures to reduce the number of asylum seekers, faster asylum procedures, the investment in security, the fight against trafficking and fight against extremism, as well as calls for integration (also into the labour market). The ÖVP uses these words and combination in a similar, yet less moderate manner and refers to topics such as illegal asylum and how to reduce it, refugee distribution in the European Union, national security and a less-for-less approach in respect to development cooperation. For the FPÖ immigrants are mainly threat rather than an opportunity. This party puts a focus on security and establishes causality between criminality/terrorism and the increasing number of asylum seekers/migrants. The Greens and NEOS address migration mainly as an opportunity, sometimes also as a challenge – which can and need to be addressed – but never as a security threat. The Greens and the Socio-democratic party are the only ones, who strictly separate asylum from migration. Asylum is presented as a human right and consequently is not to be regulated by quota or to be restricted by any means, while labour migration can be regulated.

The political goals envisaged in the context of migration focus on the management of migration (SPÖ: reduction of new arrivals, cooperation on the European Union level; strict return procedures for persons denied international protection; ÖVP: reduction of irregular migration; border management on the European Union level; FPÖ: closing down European Union borders, strict enforcement of return procedures; Greens: fair management of migration across Europe, prevention of migration, inter alia by investing in countries of origin; NEOS: European solution for border management). Integration measures constitute a further political goal of the SPÖ (efficient integration of persons granted international protection, German language, Austrian

rules and values, labour market), the ÖVP (integration through performance, German language, labour market), the Greens (comprehensive integration program, German courses, residence permits) and the NEOS (fast integration for persons granted international protection, residence permits, subsidiaries).

Annex: Table of tag combinations

Migranten, Terrorismus
Flüchtling, Arbeitsmarkt
Migrant, Flüchtling, Bevölkerungsrückgang
Migrant, Missbrauch
Migrant, Gewalt
Asylsuchender, Terrorismus
Migrant, Arbeitsmarkt
Migrant, Integration
Flüchtling, Missbrauch
Flüchtling, Gewalt
Migranten, Flüchtlinge, Terrorismus
Flüchtling, Migrant, Arbeitsmarkt
Migrant, Flüchtling, Integration
Migrant, Flüchtling, Missbrauch
Muslim, Gewalt
Migranten, Asylsuchende, Terrorismus
Flüchtling, Arbeitslosigkeit
Flüchtling, Integration
Migrant, Fremdenfeindlichkeit
Muslim, Migrant
Flüchtlinge, Asylsuchende, Terrorismus
Migrant, Arbeitslosigkeit
Migrant, misslungene Integration
Flüchtling, Fremdenfeindlichkeit
Muslim, Flüchtling
Muslime, Terrorismus
Flüchtling, Migrant, Arbeitslosigkeit
Flüchtling, misslungene Integration
Migrant, Flüchtling, Fremdenfeindlichkeit
Migrant, Polizei
Muslime, Kriminalität
Flüchtling, Bevölkerungsrückgang
Migrant, Flüchtling, misslungene Integration

Migrant, Betrug

Flüchtling, Polizei

Flüchtlinge, Muslime, Kriminalität

Migrant, Bevölkerungsrückgang

Migrant, ISIS

Flüchtling, Betrug

Migrant, Flüchtling, Polizei

Muslime, ISIS

Migrant, Geburtenrate

Flüchtling, ISIS

Muslim, Betrug

Flüchtling, Muslim

Flüchtling, ISIS

Flüchtling, Geburtenrate

Migrant, Flüchtling, ISIS

Flüchtling, Verbrechen