



# LUND UNIVERSITY

## **‘Regards: European stories’**

The representation of European diversities in the ARTE Magazine Show

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## Abstract

The topic of the research is the representation of European diversities in the French-German cultural channel ARTE, specifically in its collection of documentaries from the Magazine Show ‘Regards: European Stories’, henceforth ‘Re: European Stories’ (2023-2024). By investigating the ways in which multiple dimensions of diversity - religion, politics, gender, ethnicity, race, disability, class and culture - are represented in the entirety of the collection, using qualitative content analysis, and in 8 sampled documentaries, adopting qualitative textual analysis, the thesis asks how the represented diversities relate to dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in European societies. It adopts the theoretical lenses of diversity studies and the media to analyse the context of ARTE, and the content of the documentaries, within a broader narrative of ‘European identity’. In this narrative, the ‘unity in diversity’ concept is used as a critical framework to investigate which stories are successfully represented in this European media.

The outcome of the research is that European diversities are represented in their intersectionality and superdiversity, frameworks that stress the understanding of those contexts as internally complex and heterogeneous, particularly because of migration as a recurrent and inherent factor in representing contemporary Europe. Precisely, intersectionality and superdiversity contribute to a representation of European diversities in ARTE as both in *unity*, when they portray inclusion and solidarity structures in Europe, and *in diversity as difference*, in regard to exclusion and discrimination between groups, problematizing the two directions that the ‘unity and diversity’ framework can embody in the study of European media. The resulting representation of a (super)diverse Europe, in relation to the multiple dimensions of diversity and their intersection, emerges at the interplay between ARTE, investigated as a pan-European media channel, and the realities represented in the documentaries, the latter emphasised as a non-fiction genre. While a clear European, or at least Eurofriendly, standpoint emerges in the analysis, the overall representation of European diversities challenges, if not combats, homogenising or nationalist views of Europe, and rather promotes a nuanced and holistic understanding of diversities.

**Keywords:** *diversity; Europe; inclusion; exclusion; solidarity; European identity; pan-European media; unity in diversity; superdiversity; migration*

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## INTRODUCTION

The concept of Europe has evolved over time from geographical, political, social and economic perspectives. The foundation of the European Union in the aftermath of the Second World War has expressed the will and need for transnational cooperation, and economic integration, to prevent future devastating conflicts. Discussions around Europe, especially in international media, are currently shaped by debates on the urgent political, economic, and social crises the continent and the Union are facing, such as migration, Brexit, climate change, and inflation. In recent times, the outbreak of the Russo-Ukrainian conflict at the peripheries of Europe, followed by the war in the Middle-East, make it necessary to rethink and question the role of Europe in the global power relations. In a parallel way, its cultural dimension also plays a major role in delineating a multi-faceted Europe, both at individual and collective, national and supranational levels. From 1977, in the EU public discourse, culture started to be considered as ‘a means of arousing a greater feeling of belonging and solidarity amongst Europeans’ (EU Commission, 1977, p.5). The complex and evolving entanglements between culture and European identity raise questions on the implications of those concepts for European citizens and democracy today.

From this contextual framework, my thesis investigates the topic of the media representation of European diversities, and how this articulates issues of inclusion and exclusion, sameness and otherness. I focus on the media context of the French-German broadcast channel ARTE, self-defined as ‘the European culture platform’ (ARTE, 2023), founded in 1990 by France and Germany as a symbol of their post-war cooperation. I explore how its collection of documentaries ‘Re: European Stories’ articulates dimensions of diversities in relation to everyday lives in Europe, and how the collection can be contextualised in the broader understanding of a European narrative of ‘unity in diversity’.

I critically consider the Eurocentric approach linked to the media context of ARTE, as well as with my own standpoint as a researcher. Born and raised in Europe, despite an Asian background, my familiarity with European contexts and media inevitably shapes my understanding of European narratives: here, I find myself in the critical position of a ‘privileged mobility’ in Europe. In particular, I am curious about the ways in which European diversity is discussed within the ‘us’/ ‘them’ dichotomy, and I aim to go beyond material

borders to reflect on the representational ones, suggesting how internal *differences* and *diversities* within Europe are seen as both elements of divide and unification.

## **Aims and research questions**

The main aim of the project is to analyse the concept of diversity in Europe from the perspective of media representation. I focus on ARTE, and its collection, which I analyse as an European cultural channel showcasing ‘Europe in all its diversity of viewpoints’ (ARTE, 2024a).

While an audience study would give personalised and multiple perspectives on the topic, I believe its limitations lay too heavily on the particularities of the singular experience, and where the question of power might remain unchallenged, or only partially discussed. Moreover, bottom-up studies on European diversity already constitute a robust body of scholarly work: for instance, Lähdesmäki et al. (2021) advocate for a study of ‘Europe’ in an approach from below, that reveals the different or contradictory narratives and identifications with Europe, mirroring ‘the variety of linguistic and cultural practices and historical pasts in Europe’ (Lähdesmäki et al. 2021, p.183). Furthermore, the Eurobarometer surveys periodically published by the European Commission (EC), investigate the understanding of Europe from the citizens’ perspective. Although those surveys ‘provide a good understanding of how Europeans view political, economic, and social issues at various points in time’ (Guay, 2014, p.5), I am rather interested in how those issues are represented in a European media production, and particularly within the ‘institutionally established processes’ (Hansen & Machin, 2013, p.54) of the cultural channel ARTE. As part of a French-German based public broadcasting service, ARTE’s collection ‘Re: European stories’ is openly available, albeit to a mostly European audience: this allows to study which European stories, and diversities, are represented within the ‘public sphere’ designated by the channel.

The theoretical standpoint of the thesis is twofold. First, it argues for a close look on European media as crucially situated *between* ‘Europe from above’ (EU institutions) and ‘Europe from below’ (the citizens), since the original meaning of *media* stands precisely for ‘middle’ (*medium*). Second, it considers the central categories of the research neither to prevent fluid thinking, nor in an ‘equalising’ approach that denies the differences between dimensions of diversity; it similarly refuses flat formalisms and a vague, homogenising

‘promotion of diversity’. Rather, categories of diversity are intended here as a starting point that allows for the complexity and ‘superdiverse’ image of Europe to emerge. By researching the representation of European diversities in the plural form, I stress the different dimensions of diversity that inform the multiple stories of ‘Europeans’. In this approach, I have been guided by the following research directions in the field of diversity studies:

Diversity studies should not be about celebrating, empowering, recognizing, promoting self-esteem or valorizing particular modes of difference – or creating some cheery picture of unity-in-difference. It should not represent an exercise in privileging, reifying or validating any particular categories of difference, but rather in social scientifically scrutinizing social categories, processes of differentiation and outcomes in social, political, economic and geographical spheres (Vertovec, 2015, p.10).

From this twofold theoretical standpoint, the thesis’ main contribution to research in the field of media and communication studies lies in the way it combines theories of diversity and superdiversity (Vertovec et al. 2015) in a *representational* framework and in a European media context, to investigate the role of the latter in representing the complexity and multiplicity of European societies. The prefix ‘super’, originally applied in relation to migration studies in Europe, has been clarified by Vertovec (2023b) in the occasion of the promotion of his book: it refers to ‘superseding earlier patterns’ of diversity, and highlights the evolution and development of previous dynamics that have become more complexified today, mainly in relation to migration. The latter indeed emerges in the thesis as a relevant code, an evidence that ‘[g]lobal migration is a key component of diversification processes’ (Vertovec, 2023, p.1), particularly in Europe. However, rather than focusing on migration-specific studies, the thesis *contextualises* migration, and its representation as part of the European stories, in the ways it articulates dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in European societies.

With these aims and theoretical position, the research questions are articulated as follows:

1. What kinds of diversities are represented in ARTE’s Magazine Show ‘Regards: European Stories’? In which ways?
2. How do these representations of diversity relate to issues of inclusion and exclusion in Europe?

## Structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured as follows. In the *Literature Review*, I first critically engage with previous and contemporary narratives of Europe and European identity (Checkel & Katzenstein, 2009; Delanty, 2013; Sassatelli, 2009), to argue for an understanding of Europe through the concept of ‘unity in diversity’. In fact, this allows an investigation of *whose* diversities are promoted in the European media discourse, in light of contemporary scenarios of conflict and migration. The latter are investigated through the concept of solidarity within the borders of ‘Fortress Europe’, and the related issues of social inclusion and exclusion.

From this overview, that creates the foundations for an understanding of Europe as context of study, I continue by outlining the *Theoretical Framework* underpinning my work on diversity and media representation, which constitute the two main subsections. In the *diversity* subsection, theories of diversities (Vertovec et al. 2023a), conviviality (Duru, 2015, 2024; Wise & Velayutham, 2009) and superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007; 2010; 2015; 2023a) are discussed as theoretical frameworks, to analyse how diversity is represented *as lived in practice* in European societies. In the *representational* subsection, I recall Hall’s (2012) understanding of representation as a ‘signifying practice’ in the depiction of the ‘other’ in media, and I reflect on theories of difference to frame this representation from an Orientalist perspective (Said, 1978). Media and diversity are then discussed together, to provide a contextual framework for the case study of ARTE: in particular, discussions on European public broadcasting, Pan-European media, and documentary genre are critically presented. The latter subchapter is crucial to understand two motivations behind the choice of sample: first, documentary is a useful tool to investigate quotidian realities, and the complexity of the contexts in which they take place, provided that the standpoint of the media producer is constantly acknowledged. Second, the genre is representative of the bulk of ARTE’s programming, and therefore allows an investigation of the channel’s main choices of representation and values.

In the *Methodology and Methods* section, I argue for the usefulness of a social constructionist approach to investigate the multilayered, at times contradictory, ideas and images of European stories, precisely in light of the different narratives that arise from different experiences of, and in, Europe. Through multidisciplinary accounts of ‘the meanings of Europe’, its communities and diversities, I claim for a strong context-dependent research

(Flyvberg, 2001) in European media studies, that needs to contextualise where its stories and narratives come from, who is telling them, and in which ways. I then explain the two complementary method approaches. In the first part, and to answer the first research question, I apply Bryman's (2012) qualitative content analysis (henceforth QCA) to systematically categorise the empirical material of the selected Magazine Show: 'Regards: European Stories', constituted by 135 documentaries in a selected time frame. These are connected with the general theme of diversity in Europe, already organised by ARTE in the collection, that I analyse in their relation, intersection, and complexity. To approach the second research question, I use qualitative textual analysis (henceforth QTA) according to Kuckartz (2013), to allow for contextualised investigations of the represented diversities: I apply the method to the 'text', resulting from the transcript of the ARTE voiceover and the interviews of the people in the reportages, to understand how those voices articulate issues of inclusion, exclusion, belonging and solidarity in European societies.

The overall *Analysis* adopts the theme of diversity in Europe as a guiding and organising principle. This chapter reflects the methods used, as each subsection starts by contextualising the entire material, analysed through QCA, to show what diversities are privileged by ARTE and how they are represented. The sections followingly include in-depth and context-specific analysis, stemming from QTA, of the represented diversity in each documentary. This accounts for 8 main themes, or diversities, and 8 corresponding sections in the analysis: religious, political, gender, ethnic and racial diversity; disability, class difference and cultural diversity, followed by one final section on intersectionality and superdiversity, that considers those themes in combination. Their order, reflecting the prominence of representation in an increasing manner, is guided by a will to create a cohesive thesis narrative. The main categories are identified from theory, with a constructionist approach, and data, as they always refer to the topics of documentaries. The latter, first briefly described in their content, are analysed in reference to the abovementioned dimensions of diversity, in a complex and intersectional approach that articulates representations of inclusion and exclusion of particular groups in Europe.

In the *Conclusion*, I return to the concept of 'unity in diversity' in European media to discuss the main findings of the thesis, which I organise in three main sections: *United Europe*, focusing on discourses on inclusion, solidarity and conviviality in Europe, where diversity is perceived as an enriching and unifying factor in a heterogeneous Europe; *Divided Europe*,

problematizing complex issues of exclusion, discrimination, and the negative connotation of ‘difference’ in European societies. Finally, in the section *(Super)diverse Europe*, the argument of the thesis emerges, one that sees the two representations of Europe as complementary to understand European societies, their internal diversities and mutual relation, as well as their representation in European media, in a holistic approach. This should acknowledge the role of media in promoting a unifying picture of European stories and diversities of standpoints, without neglecting the issues of exclusion that often arise from migration-driven factors in a superdiverse Europe.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

As the thesis explores the media representation of European diversities in ARTE, it is deeply rooted in the context of European studies. A critical selection of the latter is therefore presented in the following section, which provides theoretical approaches to tackle the concept of Europe, from its narrative of identity to that of ‘unity in diversity’. Calling for interdisciplinarity and context-dependency, the presented research is an argument for the complexity of defining Europe univocally; it further suggests that the concept of diversity might help in this attempt, as it highlights multiplicity within Europe as one of its inherent and internal features.

### **Narratives of Europe**

Ideas of Europe, in the form of myths, legacies or narratives, are multiple. Similarities and differences among those theories have been summarised by Delanty (2013) in two main subsequent accounts: the ‘Grand Narrative’ or Eurocentrism, and its critical counternarrative or Postcolonialism, the latter famously adopted by Said (1978) with a major focus on cultural representations, and by other scholars (Mazower, 2000; Meier, 2005; Mignolo, 1995) with an emphasis on the negative or dark sides of European history. These contrasting interpretations suggest how ‘Europe’s past leads through luminous and dark periods’ and, therefore, that ‘European ambivalence today reflects its legacy’ (Checkel & Katzenstein, 2009, p.3), an argument that further highlights the importance of historical reflections in every social-scientific approach of the present.

By identifying those narratives, it becomes evident that Europe, both historically and geographically, cannot be encapsulated in a uniform, single entity, but should rather be seen as a result of ‘a process of construction out of which cultural and social forms were produced’ (Delanty, 2013, p.xxi). Moreover, the so-called ‘Europeanization of the social and human sciences’ (Delanty, 2013, p.xxii) at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century further emphasises European issues as the centre of multidisciplinary interests, and Europe as a fruitful terrain for multiple interpretations.

In the study of European media representations, a context-sensitive and context-dependent approach (Flyvbjerg, 2001) is crucial to investigate ‘who is a European’ (Fligstein, 2009, pp.132-66), and who can possibly ‘become’ European (Sassatelli, 2009): these questions,



despite not being new, require different answers in light of transforming times, scenarios and actors involved (Chabod, 1995). By studying whose diversities are represented in ARTE's 'European stories', I aim to broaden those questions within the current European media context.

In contemporary times, where identity politics is variously exploited as a foundation for nationalist narratives around the globe (Gündüz, 2010; Halasz, 2009; Kende & Krekó, 2020; Kuhelj, 2011; Witteveen, 2017), it is crucial to reassess the meanings and interpretations of 'identity' in the collective sphere, and in Europe in particular as one of the many powerful players in international relations. At this purpose, foregrounding the increasingly contested nature of European politics, Checkel & Katzenstein (2009) argue that '[p]olitical parties focus their energies on politicizing which kind of Europe they would like to bring about – social, green, democratic, liberal-capitalist, xenophobic, cosmopolitan, law-abiding, civilian, or military' (p.15). These values reflect different, sometimes contrasting, 'identities' and values variously associated with Europe, questioning to what extent the concept of European identity promotes democratic spaces, or if and how it emphasises narratives of power and dominance.

To problematize these issues, the next section critically discusses European identity as a complex sociological concept, since its constitutive terms can be differently interpreted and contested. It highlights that one useful, albeit largely criticised, perspective to more tangibly grasp 'European identity' might be the one of 'unity in diversity': through this framework, representations of inclusion, conviviality and solidarity, and of exclusion, discrimination and difference are analysed.

### **From European Identity to 'Unity in Diversity'**

The concept of European identity is twofold problematic. First, the adjective 'European' designates the belonging to a 'Europe' which, as seen in the previous section, has no univocal nor one-dimensional definition. Moreover, from a policy discourse, there is a tendency to equate European affairs to those about the European Union (Gafarov, 2023), a more precise, yet continuously expanding entity, which further complicates the levels of analysis.

Second, and at a more individual scale, ‘identity’ can be seen as a confluence of several dimensions of the self, which reflects how ‘the human subject ... is constructed in the midst of the flow and contradiction of social events’ (Frost, 1991, p.1). When considering wider dimensions of identity in regard to Europe, even more substantial difficulties arise (Delanty, 2013) as a result of this large-scale analysis. In fact, the two terms ‘European’ and ‘identity’ suggest together that one identifies, or ‘possess[es] some notion of what constitutes the central aspects of one’s experience’ (Frost, 1991, p.188), with what are supposedly ‘European values’. These are a result of the long history of Europe, one of ‘shifting nation state borders, shifting coalitions and collaborations between friends or former enemies, ... of wars between nation states and regional powers’ (Bondebjerg et al. 2015, p.3). The levels of complexities, then, multiply and intersect, calling for the researcher’s quest for clarity in investigating this overarching concept of European identity: not per se, but rather in the ways it is *constructed* by and embedded in contemporary discourses and representations. The problem of ‘European identity’ has been summarised as follows:

European identity is a poor categorical identity, it struggles with defining both internal similarities and external difference, whilst the inverted combinations (internal differences, external similarities) seem almost more appealing and, indeed, more European. So Europe, instead, is imagined as ‘unity in diversity’, and this is, or could be, another way of imagining a community (Sassatelli, 2015, p.39).

Following this argument, I suggest abandoning theoretical notions of identity to investigate Europe through the ‘unity in diversity’ narrative, one that emphasises whose stories are included in the ‘imagined community’ (Anderson, 1983) of Europeans.

### **Unity in Diversity: a Critical Framework**

The ‘unity in diversity’ narrative was originally adopted at an institutional level to promote the process of European integration. It has attracted negative critique primarily from academia, who has discarded the EU motto as ‘a formal solution with no substance’ (Sassatelli, 2015, p.27), and interpreted ‘diversity’ as a strategic term to ‘prevent criticism to homogenizing or hegemonic discourse’ (Calligaro, 2014, p.63).

Delanty (1995) defined the formula as a superficial one, politically hiding arguments of exclusivity and exclusion rather than promoting union. In his later study (Delanty, 2013), the author continues to unpack the notion as a complex and problematic theoretical framework,

that sees unity and diversity ‘as different expressions of the same phenomenon rather than two different realities’ (Delanty, 2013, p.xxxii). This reflection echoes Sassatelli’s (2015) narrative focus on how the two ‘competing stories’ encapsulated in the formula are not exclusive: however, instead of chasing a supposedly centralised definition of Europe and Europeanness, she suggests ‘the art of living together’ (p.30) as a way of understanding *in practice* both unity and diversity. The scholar encourages to investigate who are the protagonists, and their stories, successfully represented in the concept of ‘unity in diversity’. This narrative, in fact, both includes and excludes (or differently includes), making some voices heard and others unheard.

In the next section, contemporary discourses of inclusion and exclusion in Europe are critically examined, as they relate to the second research question of the study. They suggest a representation of European diversity as both inclusive and exclusive.

## **Whose Unity, Whose Diversity?**

### **Solidarity in ‘Fortress Europe’**

As suggested by the critical framework of the ‘unity and diversity’ motto, a considerable body of scholarly work focuses on issues of inclusion (and, by relation, of exclusion) that those terms variously designate in the European context (Ayame Hiraide, 2022; Bracic, 2022; Woodward & Kohli, 2001) and, more specifically, discussing the continent as ‘Fortress Europe’. The latter, initially a German propaganda term during the Second World War, has been used in relation to the migration crises to designate Europe’s policy responses (Geddes, 2000; Roos, 2013), especially during the 2015 refugee crisis (Jünemann et al. 2017).

Today, the expression is still imbued with a negative connotation of Europe’s attitude towards immigration. It raises urgent questions as to whether and how the continent (and the EU) is open to new groups fleeing from wars and other precarious life situations, issues that have recently come into concrete shape with Ukrainian refugees after Russia’s invasion in 2022. This concern is at the centre of the debate around social solidarity (Lahusen & Grasso, 2018; Weber et al 2023) and Western hospitality (Pratt & Laroche, 2022), which broadly investigates Europe’s different attitudes of support towards various migrant and refugee groups.

The solidarity bias (Pratt & Laroche, 2022; Trope & Liberman, 2010; Visconti & Kyriazi, 2022) has come to define a particular attitude of solidarity, generally seen as ‘the preparedness to share one’s own resources with others’ (Stjerno, 2012, p.2), that specifically favours ‘social groups that are perceived as either *racially, culturally, and/or geographically close*’ (Weber et al. 2023, p.9, my emphasis). This hypocritically selective attitude (Pratt & Laroche, 2022) has empirically emerged in the comparison between the European perception of the Syrian refugee crisis in 2015, and the unprecedented wave of solidarity and acceptance towards Ukrainian refugees (Weber et al. 2023). The recent case of Ukraine could be further explained by two factors: Ukrainian refugees’ ‘whiteness’ together with the ‘international society’s propensity to humanize the West and dehumanize its adversaries’ (Pratt & Laroche, 2022, n.p.). This idea reflects the centrality of ‘race’ as a dimension of perceived diversity and difference, and the idea of a ‘united Europe’ against a common, external enemy (Sassatelli, 2015), variously defined by specific circumstances.

The resulting establishment of ‘geopolitical boundaries of empathy, animosity, and solidarity’ (Pratt & Laroche, 2022, n.p.) in the relationships between Europe and Ukraine, clearly suggests how perceptions of similarity and difference, and of ‘worthy and unworthy refugees’ (el-Nawawy & Hamas Elmasry, 2024) imply dimensions of race, culture, and religion. These aspects should inform any nuanced debate about the ‘United States of Europe’, its politics of inclusion and exclusion, and its representations in European media.

### **Inclusion and Exclusion**

The inclusion processes, resulting in the material well-being of a nation as well as the ‘European citizenship’ promoted by the EU at the beginning of our century, went hand in hand with the construction of new ‘borders of resources, rights and identities ... : a backlashing border building’ (Woodward & Kohli, 2001, p.1). This backlash is tightly linked with the concept of social exclusion in Europe, where the adjective ‘social’ points at societal problems in their complex articulations (Bourdieu, 1993). It suggests how one’s belonging to, or exclusion from, a society or community, is determined by criteria such as class, gender or ethnicity (Woodward & Kohli, 2001). If, simply formulated, exclusion relates to marginalisation and inclusion to social integration, they nonetheless need to be linked to specific contexts to avoid the conceptual vagueness that, similarly to the later discussed ‘diversity’, might risk unclarity and context-independent thinking.

For instance, Ayame Hiraide (2022) recently focuses on Europe by highlighting how ‘the pivotal role of difference or otherness materialises through exclusionary categories, such as class and race’ (p.2). When pluralism and heterogeneity have been promoted as part of the construction of a ‘united’ Europe, they have been coupled with a ‘positive’ and enriching view of migration as a necessary basis to create such cultural exchange (Ayame Hiraide, 2022). However, the scholar places her argument in a wider framework that distinguishes different kinds of migrations as variously accepted, admitted, promoted and represented in Europe (Arday & Mirza, 2018; Bates & Ng, 2021; Favell, 2009; Sang & Calvard, 2019). These theories highlight the major distinction between ‘free movers’, representatives of the so-called intra-European ‘elite migration’ (Favell, 2009), and those excluded from this privileged circle, who often experience exclusionary or hostile policies from the guest countries. At this purpose, Ayame Hiraide (2022) critically reflects on Europe’s exclusionary tendencies by asking:

[I]f the value of migration or cross-border mobility within Europe lies in its capacity to enable the exchange of culture and ideas, whose migration becomes important, necessary or permissible? (Ayame Hiraide, 2022, p.5).

As migration and superdiversity are necessarily and tightly linked (see the discussion on Vertovec, 2007) the question could be reformulated as which, and whose, diversities are accepted and admitted in Europe, not only in *actual* form (such as the acceptance of migrant groups into national borders), but also in the forms of ideas, cultural representations and discourses, that equally inform the understand of diversity and difference, such as the process of ‘villainisation of difference’ (Ayame Hiraide, 2022; Buonfino, 2004; Hall, 2012) that tends to be associated with particular categories, mainly class and race.

The literature review has contextualised and conceptualised Europe as a congregation of ideas and identities, and as a complex union of diversities. Far from being presented in a simplistic way, those concepts all call for criticism and complexity, as underlying discourses of inclusion, exclusion and borders need to be identified within. In particular, the multiple views on migration as crucial parts of the construction of Europe have emphasised that, ‘far from abstract theoretical exploration, these are the very questions to which the answers indicate who stands where in the collective (hi)stories we tell about Europe’ (Ayame Hiraide, 2022, p.10). The following section, then, provides the theoretical lenses through which diversity in Europe and its modes of representation are analysed.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

It is not possible to know what questions to ask if one does not have a theoretical framework in which to pose those questions (Delanty, 2013, xxi).

The central concepts of my research are analysed through the theoretical perspective of diversity studies within media representation. In particular, theories of ‘diversity’ and ‘superdiversity’ according to Vertovec (2007; 2010; 2015; 2023a) are mainly adopted in this chapter, albeit in the representational framework rather than in their original migration-focused context. They are presented as a framework of analysis informing multiplicity in social sciences, and the study of media representation of diversity in particular. Moreover, notions of ‘conviviality’ (Duru, 2015; Novicka & Vertovec, 2014; Wise & Noble, 2016) are discussed as a practical understanding of how diversity is lived in everyday settings, further developing earlier concepts of ‘everyday multiculturalism’ (Wise & Velayutham, 2009).

Secondly, the relations between diversity and the media (Metykova, 2016) are examined in context, to investigate the representation of diversity in European media, and in ARTE documentaries more specifically.

### **Diversity and Superdiversity in Contemporary Societies**

#### **Diversity or Diversities?**

Diversity has been variously analysed as a relational, constructivist, and performative concept by different scholars (Butler, 1990; Derrida, 2000; Foucault, 1996). Without delving into those context-specific theories, it is first useful to distinguish between the meaning of ‘diversity’ in the language of policy institutions, and in that of social sciences.

Although it is desirable that the two branches operate and advance in parallel, to avoid an ‘academic bubble’ separated from everyday realities, a rather unique reflection concerns the understanding of diversity (Vertovec, 2015). By distinguishing between categories of practice and of analysis, Brubaker (2012) invites for scholarly clarity in conceiving and investigating this ‘buzzword’: a clear approach might be productive not only for corporate policies,

recently eager to promote a language of diversity and inclusion that sometimes masks the reinforcement of normativity, the equalisation of difference or simply a matter of formality (Vertovec, 2012), but also, and more in depth, for social scientists.

For instance, and here I place my study of European diversities in media, diversity helps ‘dissolve or challenge some of the hidden presuppositions about the homogeneity of the native populations in Europe’ (Blom Hansen, 2009, n.p). In fact, this ‘sensitizing’ view of diversity (Koenig, 2009), which tries to unpack the ways in which people actually live together in various contexts, is a concrete way to approach diversity as social practice, rather than as theoretical formality underpinned by conceptual vagueness.

Over time, diversity – under the names of multiculturalism or tolerance, to mention a few – has been adapted to the description of a variety of situations, contexts, and cultures. Open to multiple interpretations, it remains a keyword in this multiplicity of scenarios: diversity still is ‘a basic feature of human societies, and of how human societies organize difference itself’ (Appadurai, 2009, n.p.). As a social sciences’ concept, it both encapsulates the problem of being too broad on one hand, and too narrow and localised on the other, so that any analysis might fall somewhere between these positions. Refusing simplistic resolutions, contemporary studies of diversity (Vertovec et al. 2015) claim for *intersectionality*, *multiplicity* and *complexity*, frameworks that are here intended to inform the analysis of European media’s representation of diversities.

In fact, with reference to the multiple diversities represented in the ARTE collection, ranging from race to gender to ethnicity (among others), I follow a multi-perspective approach:

Diversity ... captures different dimensions of social differentiation: ethnic, religious, gender and so on ... [I]t brings together all these differentiations, mode of distinctions and categorizations together and forces us to think about the relationship between them. [I]t forces us to adopt a holistic perspective on social processes looking from different angles (Wimmer, 2009, n.p.).

In diversity studies, it is suggested to embrace a standpoint that refuses fixed categorization into boxes such as ‘either/or’, and to prefer the terms ‘not only/but also’ (Beck, 2009): the complexity of the social world lived by people needs to be addressed by an equally complex, plural and dynamic theoretical thinking.

It is in this conceptual framework that ‘Europe in all its diversity of viewpoints’ (ARTE, 2024a) is critically analysed, and precisely by taking into account how the different dimensions of diversity, traditionally informing social sciences, emerge in ARTE’s representations of European stories. In particular, as scholars of diversity studies have argued (Vertovec et al. 2015), context-specificity has to be key: the acknowledgment of the media production context gives tangible boundaries to the otherwise all-promising and all-encompassing term of ‘diversity’. At this purpose, I align my standpoint with Vásquez’s (2009) suggestion: ‘the category of diversity can still be useful provided that we know *when we’re using it, how we’re using it, who is using it*’ (Vásquez, 2009, n.p., my emphasis), in order to recognise the partiality of researchers in thinking about categories.

### **From ‘Diversity’ to ‘Superdiversity’**

When conceptualising Europe as ‘united in diversity’, it emerged how these terms encapsulate the central conundrum of Europe, eager to present itself (mainly at institutional scale) as ‘united’, while including, and promoting, diversity at various levels. Connecting this concept with previous research on diversity, I suggest using the term in the plural form to accentuate the increasingly complex patterns and intersections between its dimensions.

In the context of migration studies, this dynamics has been famously described by Vertovec (2007a) as ‘superdiversity’, to highlight ‘the complex nature of contemporary, migration driven diversity’ (Vertovec, 2007b, p.170), which considers a variety of factors, such migrants’ country of origin, locality or transnationalism. Once specifically intended to describe the case study of Britain, the term might be useful to investigate the multi-layered dimensions of diversity at interplay in today’s culturally, politically, and religiously diverse Europe. It remains to be seen *which* specific dimensions emerge from the narratives about Europeans, and *how* their everyday practices are portrayed in scholarly and media discourses.

### **Practices of Diversity: from ‘Everyday Multiculturalism’ to ‘Conviviality’**

The attractiveness of the term ‘diversity’ as applicable to different agendas, should not shy away from its understanding as a practice of living. Ethnographic studies of diversity have recently shifted scholarly attention to everyday settings where diversity emerges in *practice*, and in various European contexts: Istanbul (Duru, 2015) and its ‘diverse Island’ of Burgaz (Duru, 2024), Australia (Ang et al. 2002; 2006; Dunn et al. 2009; Ho & Jakubowicz, 2013),



or London (Back & Sinha, 2018). This shift in understanding diversity through locality has adopted the concept of convivial practices, defined as ‘local relations of living together’ (Wise & Noble, 2016, p.423) or, more precisely, as:

[T]he ability of people from different backgrounds to interact in daily life in a shared space, to socially produce a collective culture, collective identity, and a sense of belonging to place (Duru, 2015, p.258).

Conviviality could then be framed as a set of tools to experience diversity across its dimensions together with others, rather than focusing on the ‘fixed’ kinds of diversity that theoretically (or institutionally) congregate groups under labels, such as ‘Muslims’ or ‘Jewish’. The term echoes Wise and Velayutham’s (2009) understanding of everyday multiculturalism as an approach highlighting ‘how cultural diversity is experienced and negotiated on the ground in everyday situations’ (Wise & Velayutham 2009, p.2).

This understanding of diversity as a practice of everyday life is the focus of analysis of the European stories from the ARTE documentary series. In fact, the show uses documentary storytelling to interview people about their lifestyles and viewpoints in a bottom-up approach. The complexity and variety of these stories display the connections between multiple levels of diversity, and mobilises the concept of conviviality in ‘everyday Europe’ (Recchi et al. 2019).

## **Representing Diversities and Difference**

In discussing the ‘spectacle of the Other’, Hall (2012b) urges to investigate ‘the work of representation’, because as ‘a complex business, and especially when dealing with ‘difference’, it engages feelings, attitudes and emotions and it mobilizes fears and anxieties in the viewer’ (p.216). Although the scholar’s main cultural standpoint leads him towards a focus on race, he stresses that other ‘dimensions of difference’ equally require a critical understanding of representational practices. In his reflection, the author discussed theories which point at how difference is both ‘necessary and dangerous’ (Hall, 2012b, p.224), and therefore of ambivalent nature. In representational practices, its connection with power structures has been expressed through the theory of ‘Orientalism’, described as:

[N]ever far from ... the idea of Europe, a collective notion identifying ‘us’ Europeans as against all ‘those’ non-Europeans ... and ... European identity as a superior one in comparison with all non-European peoples and cultures (Said, 1978, p.7).

Since representational practices largely take place in media, urgent questions today concern to what extent those practices of ‘reducing difference’ through stereotyping (Dyer, 1977) have shifted from the representations of the East in Western scholarly work identified by Said’s (1978), to more implicit portrayals of ‘otherness’ in Eurocentric, or Eurofriendly, standpoints.

### **Diversity and the Media: a Contextual Framework for ARTE**

In this section, as ‘diversity and complexity are now a de facto presence in European social and cultural life’ (Robins, 2007, p.160), the central role of media in understanding, investigating, and representing the diversity of people’s experiences is called into question.

Metykova (2016) suggests three lines of analysis of diversity in the media: ‘representation of various voices in society; access to a range of communication channels; and a wide range of choice’ (Metykova, 2016, p.3). A similar approach is adopted by Karppinen (2007), when reflecting on media diversity as ‘heterogeneity on the level of content, outlets, ownership’ (Karppinen, 2007, pp.9-10). In the study of ARTE’s production of specific content, my interest lies in the representation of diversities rather than that of audiences, and considers producers as a context of analysis. To contextualise this representation, the relation between European media and the promotion of diversity in Europe is highlighted next.

### **European Public Service Broadcasting**

As a public service channel, ARTE mainly operates with public funding, which accounts for 95% of the channel’s budget from France and Germany (ARTE, 2023a). Historically, the European broadcasting service has been understood as an integral element of democratic life and political participation (Murdock, 2004), as opposed to the U.S. model, where a more prominent influence of economic factors led to a different public service scenario (Aufderheide, 1996). Moreover, European public broadcasting as a public good – defined in economics as goods that are not, or insufficiently, provided by private markets – potentially allows for a pluralism of discourses, which is both informative and participatory for citizens (Metykova, 2016). The ‘public’ aspect of the service can be articulated as serving the social interest (Hall, 1993), allowing accessibility to the audience and diversity of contents. Thus, it promotes a philosophy of democratic life closely tied with the Habermas’ (1989) notion of ‘mediated public sphere’.

The normative role of public broadcasting as a space for diversity has been articulated by Hall (1993) as the “theatre’ in which cultural diversity is produced, displayed and represented, and the ‘forum’ in which the terms of its associative life together are negotiated’ (pp.36-7), calling for a pluralism of voices as a cornerstone of community building. The narratives to be found in European public broadcasting are both an access point to ‘imagine a broader European community’ (Bondebjerg et al. 2015, p.1), and a final point resulting from specific cultural policies, running the European audiovisual public landscape.

Understanding the regulatory aspect of those policies at a European level is crucial in assessing the functioning of European media organisations and channels, such as ARTE, whose cultures, in turn, ‘lead to certain textual qualities in its output’ (Bruhn Jensen, 2012, p.74). In the case of public broadcasting, the original context of audiovisual texts (such as documentaries) needs to be situated within the editorial guidelines specific to media institutions, as well as within Europe-wide regulatory principles.

### **Pan-European Media: Constructing Europe?**

In discussing the creation of European television, Metykova (2016) questions ‘the efforts made by European countries to establish pan-European television broadcasting as a way of fostering a European identity’ (p.83). This stand reflects similar debates about the role of media in establishing a common idea of Europe: for instance, Bourdon (2007) criticises a normative ‘Pan-European media’, and argues for the need to ‘reporting Europe more, and in a more open and democratic way’ (p.84), rather than constructing Europe through so-called ‘European programmes’ or channels, established from the creation of Eurosport in 1989.

In the contemporary media landscape, I claim that the two assertions need not to be exclusionary: the existence of self-identifying ‘European channels’ might be legitimised by an exhaustive, or at least satisfactory, report on the multiple European stories a channel aims to focus on. I argue that ARTE can be considered a pan-European channel, reporting Europe through its documentaries (see Analysis). In this approach, a short overview of the documentary genre is discussed below.

## Documentary Genre

Discussions about the democratic role of media tend to highlight the prominence of news, politics and current affair programming in fulfilling this task (Metykova, 2016), in light of the critical and explicit portrayal of urgent, and contemporary, societal issues. Without neglecting the considerable power of fiction and entertainment television in promoting social and political debates (Curran, 2010), I intend to focus on the ‘explicitly’ political and societal programmes broadcasted by ARTE, which are classified under ‘news’ in different forms, from documentary reports and reportages, to insights and investigations (ARTE, 2024e). This focus reflects a choice of programming from the producers’ side, which delegates 41% to the section ‘Politics and society’, followed by ‘Concert’ (23%) and ‘Culture’ (19%) (ARTE, 2024f), a surprising statistic if one considers the channel’s own name and brand as the ‘European *culture* channel’ (my emphasis). It is suggested, then, that the separation between ‘culture’ and ‘politics’ as two distinct areas of interest is not defended by ARTE, which rather showcases how the two overlap, while keeping it ‘separated’ only at an organisational level. Moreover, if ‘Politics and Society’ is the label, documentary is the genre associated with the majority of the programmes in this section, which accounts for 40% of the overall programming by ARTE (ARTE 2024g).

In introducing genre recognition, Branston (2006) highlights how genre is a primary and rather intuitive mechanism that allows for a systematic categorization of media, from the perspective of different actors involved in the media industry. However, this classification is not always straightforward; rather, it is the starting point from where hybridity and intertextuality arise, complexifying the levels of narratives in media texts (Branston, 2006). Following this line of thought, although documentaries may be further categorised, taking very different forms according to author, context, and subgenre (for instance, ‘history’ or ‘nature’), there is a basic distinction that is univocally used to define documentaries: they are *non-fiction* media texts, which ‘inform us about the world we live in, the world around us that we are unfamiliar with, and the lives of people like and unlike us’ (Bonner, 2013, p.97). In doing so, the genre opens up possibilities for discovering realities without ‘inventing’ scenarios, as it arguably occurs in fictional films, because, put it simply, ‘documentaries address *the* world in which we live rather than *a* world imagined by the filmmaker’ (Nichols, 2017, xi, emphasis original), although the demarcation lines with fiction are not always clear.

The focus on the *informative* role of documentary media expresses how the genre is a key part of democratic thought and, subsequently, of public service broadcasting's revenues (Bonner, 2013). This 'democratic civic function' is also the first of the three categories identified by Corner (2022) in analysing the roles of documentary, followed by 'journalistic inquiry and exposition' and 'radical interrogation and alternative perspective' (pp.262-7). As discussed in the section on European service broadcasting, the democratic role points at what the media is supposed to fulfil, designating a normative statement. I argue that the second function of 'journalistic inquiry and exposition' according to Corner (2022) rather indicates the particular documentary *form*, or the process of creating a space for democratic debate:

Through in-camera presentation, or commentary voice-over, and perhaps with interviews interspersing either or both, the documentary work grounds itself not in an idea of 'publicity'... but an idea of 'reportage', which importantly includes an experience of looking at kinds of visual evidence, an experience of witness. (Corner, 2022, pp.262-7)

It is precisely in a selection of reportages<sup>1</sup>, 'Re: European stories', constructed through voiceover and interviews, that the ARTE channel is analysed in this study.

## **Contextual Background**

In regard to the analysis of European media in representing diversity, I position my study in the literature that seeks to strike a balance between an emphasis on EU institutions, which leads to an over-legitimization of elites, their policies and politics, and a localised study of specific social groups through surveys and polls, which, on the other hand, 'risk[s] imposing a conceptual unity or on extremely diverse sets of political processes that mean *different things in different contexts*' (Checkel & Katzenstein, 2009, p.10, my emphasis). Therefore, calling for context-dependency in social sciences (Flyvbjerg, 2011), historical developments, missions and programming of ARTE are presented next, to investigate how this 'Pan-European media' concretely mediates narratives.

### **ARTE: the 'European Culture Channel'**

Officially established in 1991, ARTE is a cultural product of the post-war collaboration between France and Germany. Not simply embracing the path of European integration in the aftermath of the Second World War, but being two main leaders of the project, France and Germany signed the European Economic Committee (EEC) in 1957, followed by the Elisée Treaty in 1963, established in Paris by German Federal Chancellor Adenauer and French

President de Gaulle. The Treaty, symbolising the beginning of the two-sided cooperation, was variously translated into cultural initiatives, ARTE being one of its most successful ones.

ARTE is an acronym for *Association Relative à la Télévision Européenne* and not an insinuation that ‘the channel is solely concerned with arts and culture’ (Brüggemann & Schulz-Forberg, 2009, pp.701-2), although those fields are certainly prominent in the choice of programmes. Moreover, ARTE has been described as ‘the French-German high-brow cultural channel’ (Chalaby, 2002, p.89), one that has moved from an inter-national to a pan-european profile (Brüggemann & Schulz-Forberg, 2009), because of its specifically European focus and vocation. Its scope and corporate identity are variously presented by the producers as ‘a transparent channel’, ‘a mirror of European values’, whose identity is ‘unequivocally European’ (ARTE, 2024h).

Moreover, the channel has three poles: the French one in Paris, the German one in Baden-Baden, and the European one in Strasbourg, a location symbolically representative of Europe as it is near the EU institutions. Since 2015, ARTE has also been financed by the EU under the umbrella of the Creative Europe MEDIA programme, which contributes to the three poles’ budget. Moreover, ARTE’s eleven European public service partners<sup>2</sup> ‘demonstrate ‘ARTE’s commitment to broadcast programmes that bring Europe’s creativity and diversity to the fore’ (ARTE, 2024j). As of 2024, ARTE’s content is available in 6 languages (French, German, English, Italian, Spanish, and Polish), so that ‘70% of Europeans can enjoy programmes in their mother tongue’ (ARTE, 2024i). Regarding its accessibility as a digital form, it replaces the traditional algorithmic recommendation system with an ‘organic digital concept’ (ARTE, 2024j), one that also results in limited access to information on audience views.

This descriptive section is followed by an analysis of the channel’s promoted values and representations of diversity.

### **Diversity within ARTE**

Diversity could be seen as one of the key terms that underpins ARTE’s self-image and agenda: it encompasses a diversity of formats, genres, programmes, language and audiences. In ARTE’s foreword, its President Patino and Vice President Weber describe the choice of programming across different formats as ‘transcending national points of view and reflecting

European cultural diversity’ (ARTE 2023b, p.44). When discussing the ethical aspect of the media outlet, the channel is described as defending ‘humanist European values’ and ‘working to becom[ng] a leader in parity, diversity, social responsibility, and sustainability’ (ARTE 2023b, p.42). The rich pool of content available in ARTE reflects the mission statement of the channel, to ‘showcase Europe’s rich cultural diversity and promote understanding and closer ties between Europeans’ (ARTE 2023b, p.44).

The largest ‘Politics and Society’ section in ARTE’s programming suggests the channel’s interest in offering real-life events, accounts, and personal stories. The section is further diversified into specific programmes such as ‘ARTE Journal’, ‘the latest news to international audience’ with a focus on culture (ARTE, 2019, p.14), ‘28 Minutes’, ‘a deeper look at current affairs with journalists and intellectuals’ (ARTE, 2019, p.14), ‘ARTE Reportage’, with an insight into people living in critical places, and ARTE ‘Re: European Stories’ (ARTE, 2023b), which is discussed below.

### **A Note on the Title(s) ‘Re: European Stories’**

‘Re: European Stories’ (ARTE, 2024a), which is the focus of the analysis, connects the ‘Europeanness’ surrounding the overall corporate image of ARTE to *everyday contexts and life experiences in Europe*. The title ‘Re’, aside from pinpointing at the object of the documentary, is an abbreviation of both the French ‘Regards’ (gazes, looks), and ‘report’ as its format. It also refers to the German words ‘Realität’ and ‘Reaktion’<sup>3</sup>. The result is a series of short documentaries of approximately 30 minutes each, ‘between daily news and documentary analysis’ (ARTE 2023b, p.15) that embody a theme through the focus on personal stories, yet avoiding portraits. More specifically, the series ARTE ‘Re:’ ‘highlights the day-to-day lives of Europeans across the continent’ (ARTE 2023b, p.15).

Diversity appears in the tagline of the collection in its multilingual versions: ‘Discover the diversity of European standpoints’ in English (ARTE, 2024a), ‘Europe in its diversity in everyday reportages’ in French (ARTE, 2024b), and ‘makes the diversity [variety<sup>4</sup>] of Europe tangible’ in German (ARTE, 2024c). Additional linguistic differences reveal different standpoints. While the French version states ‘stories of Europeans’, highlighting the *people* from Europe as the centre of the stories, the German version focuses on Europe as the *place* where the reportages are filmed<sup>5</sup>; yet, there is an attention to how ‘the human being is at the centre of the story’, and how the collection allows an ‘immersion into livelihoods

[Lebenswelten]’. The latter seems to suggest that ‘Europeans’ are simply those who live in Europe, regardless of nationality or any other marker of identity or belonging. Citizenship is another word present in the Italian subtitle: ‘European diversity through the stories of the citizens’ (ARTE, 2024k). Either with a focus on people who are *in* Europe, on those identified by ARTE as ‘*Europeans*’, or on ‘European *citizens*’, this variety of interpretations foregrounds the theoretical angles from where Europe and Europeans can be imagined, framed, and constructed, but it generally points at the importance of *place* and *people* as key analytical terms.

The concept of diversity becomes tangible through a content analysis of the documentaries, expressing how this ‘poly-functional term [is] used to describe and analyze the complex dynamics in today’s society’ (Braedel-Kühner et al. 2016, p.7), and needs to be understood in complexity. It remains to be seen ‘which’ Europeans and whose stories are actually represented. Before diving into this analysis, the following section explains the methodology and methods used, and the sampling strategy within the case study is justified and further discussed.



## METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

### Social Constructionism

The thesis is anchored in the methodological assumptions of social constructionism, which considers social realities not as fixed ‘material’ entities, but as phenomena continuously and differently constructed, interpreted and revisioned by social beings (Bryman, 2012). This approach is useful to investigate the main concepts of the research, ‘diversity’ and ‘Europe’, as both socially constructed, without, in doing so, denying the realities of inclusion, exclusion and privilege those concepts entail in daily lives.

First, ‘diversity’ has been emphasised in its relational approach (Derrida, 2000) and in its critical understanding as a broad category of analysis and practice, that makes use of subcategories or ‘dimensions’ to facilitate theoretical thinking and pragmatic policy making (see previous discussion of diversity theories). However, those categories are by no means established or preconstituted; rather, they are shaped by social scientists and policy makers in a variety of contexts. Moreover, it should be emphasised here that ‘researchers’ *own* accounts of the social world are constructions’ (Bryman, 2012, p.33, my emphasis): therefore, the final categories developed through the analysis reflect methodological choices that, while theoretically motivated, do not escape subjective meaning-making.

Second, through multidisciplinary representations of European life experiences and communities, I claim for a strong context-dependent research (Flyvbjerg, 2001) because ‘notions of what it means to be European have themselves been informed by localized and national experiences and struggles’ (Case, 2009, p.130). As previous discussions on European identity have foregrounded, ‘Europe’ incorporates constructivist viewpoints in that it means different things for different actors, and in different times and places, while it holds some recurrent narratives and values across history.

Similarly, since the research engages with the representation of social groups as they ‘practice’ or live diversity, the constructivist approach further suggests how those groups are ‘not naturally given but rather ... the result of complex symbolic and social processes’ (Koenig & Knöbl, 2015, p.7), processes that include, among others, ‘cultural identity...social

class...gender, religion, ethnicity, race' (Brubaker, 2002, p.163), which are precisely to be found in the analysis.

Following this methodological framework, the next section explains the process behind the choice of the case and sampling, and the specific methods adopted.

## **Selecting the Case**

The case study is the Magazine Show (a collection of documentary films) from the ARTE platform with the title 'Re: European Stories'. As previously contextualised, the case belongs to the wide programming chart of the French-German channel dedicated to documentary reports.

Since the research interest lied from the beginning in the representation of Europe in all its diversity, ARTE was critically investigated as a broad media channel addressing the topic in a variety of programmes; however, when needing to narrow down the media context to a media topic, the choice of programme was between two main collections addressing European societies: 'the European collection' (ARTE, 2024d) and 'Re: European Stories' (ARTE, 2024a). After considering both groups in depth, the second one was selected for its explicit reference to diversity *and* its focus on everyday life, a setting that allowed for a greater insight into conviviality and diversity practices at a later stage.

It needs to be noted that the case, as an integral and continuously evolving part of ARTE's programming, was a 'live' context that reflected current affairs and interests, with its videos all dating from 2023 and 2024. This allowed for a robust research anchored in the present and reflecting contemporary themes, that allowed little or no space for 'so what research' (Flyvbjerg, 2001); at the same time, some older videos were deleted by ARTE during the later stages of the research. In order to put methodological clarity in the process, the case study was considered from 19<sup>th</sup> December, 2023 to 14<sup>th</sup> February, 2024, a window that included 135 documentaries of approximately 30 minutes each, in their original multilingual versions with English subtitles. Moreover, the availability of the chosen documentaries was also checked for practical reasons: those that were to be deleted by the platform in a short time frame were not included in the final sample. This wide range of documentaries was analysed using qualitative content analysis, to understand how this diversified content was organised and

represented. Only after this stage it was possible to select the final sample, where the bulk of the analysis was performed.

## **Methods: QCA and QTA**

In order to systematically categorise the Magazine Show ‘Re: European stories’, a combination of Bryman’s (2012) and Kuckartz and Rädiker’s (2023) approaches to qualitative content analysis (QCA) was adopted as a first method of analysis.

Qualitative content analysis is concerned with implementing the analysis of manifest content (Berelson, 1952) with latent or implicit content (Kuckartz & Rädiker, 2023; Stamann et al. 2016) through the central role of *categories*. These have indeed been crucial in identifying patterns of analysis, and have always been led by the need to answer the research questions (Kuckartz & Rädiker, 2023). As these asked about the representation of diversities in the case (both the ‘what’ and the ‘how’), it seemed crucial to create the label ‘kind of diversity’ as the main category, defined as the category ‘that is particularly important for the research project in question’ (Kuckartz & Rädiker, 2023, p.40). When discussing subjects and themes in QCA, Bryman (2012) also suggests to seek ‘a categorization of the phenomenon or phenomena of interest’ (p.297); in this case, the phenomenon and main category of ‘diversity’ was therefore divided into subcategories, identified as ‘dimensions and specific characteristics’ of the former (Kuckartz & Rädiker, 2023, p.40). Moreover, following Kuckartz’s (2023) idea that QCA is ‘primarily qualitative but can also integrate quantitative-statistical evaluations’ (p.22), each category also included quantitative references to applications: the videos concerned with each category were counted, to provide useful insight on which topics were more represented than others through statistical numbers, such as the percentages of documentaries about gender or religious diversity. This method, then, aimed at answering the initial part of the first research question on representation, to investigate the ‘spectrum of diversities’ present in the ARTE Magazine Show ‘Re: European Stories’.

To approach the second part of the question, or the ‘how’ (the ways in which such representation took place), ‘interpreting dispositions’ from the production side, such as positive, negative or merely descriptive (Bryman, 2012, p.297), was initially intended to investigate ARTE reporters’ view on the represented topic. This disposition emerged at the

interplay between ARTE's standpoint, as a channel driven by values of diversity, and the strict editorial guidelines (ARTE, 2019) that left little space for individual journalistic stakes. The resulting findings are discussed in the Section 'Treating the Data'.

The second method, applied to the final sample (see Sampling strategy), was Qualitative Textual Analysis (QTA) following Kuckartz' (2014) approach. In his systematic account of QTA as method and practice, the scholar repeatedly highlights the central role of codes and categories, traditionally linked with the tradition of Grounded theory (2014). In this approach, coding is defined as 'the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain these data' (Charmaz, 2006, p.44), a process that allows the researcher to start getting a sense of the data. The coding method was therefore applied to the transcripts of the selected documentaries, which allowed for an inclusion of both the interviewed people's words and the voiceover redacted by ARTE.

This two-step analysis, starting with QCA on the entire collection and ending with QTA on a smaller sample, reflects Hansen and Machin's (2019) suggestion, in the field of media and communication studies, that 'a content analysis of a sample of ... stories on a particular topic might also then carry out more detailed analysis of a smaller sample of these' (Hansen & Machin, 2019, p.269): this process qualitatively considers specific documentaries, while acknowledging their overall context of production.

### **Treating the Data: Methods Application and Coding**

This section provides the information necessary to grasp how the data from the entire Magazine show was treated. It serves to thoroughly justify the strategic sampling of the final data, as a result of a circular and recursive qualitative process (Bazeley, 2013).

The first step was to apply QCA to the 135 selected videos of the Magazine Show 'Re: European Stories', specifically to the following information: title of each documentary, usually complemented by a subtitle; synopsis, available by clicking on each individual video; the first two minutes of the video prior to the opening titles, introducing the topic; and the last four minutes before the end credits, closing the topic with a voiceover. This information could be treated in a consistent and systematic way precisely because, as previously stated, ARTE's editorial guidelines for the Re: collection are clearly defined (ARTE, 2019), resulting in documentaries that are similar in format and internal structure, but different in theme.

Using transparency in the process and in an effort to minimise biases (Bryman, 2012), this information was initially put in a first chart, coded following Bryman's (2012) and Kuckartz and Rädiker's (2023) QCA. The coding was applied to the synopsis and to the terms used in the first or last minutes of the video: these constituted 'in vivo codes' that were useful to understand the topic discussed in the documentary. Second, this information was put in a final, transparent table, mainly adopting Kuckartz and Rädiker's (2023) 'General scheme for category definition' (p.43). For this table, a hierarchical category system was used (Kuckartz & Rädiker, 2023, p.40): the main category (the kind of diversity) appearing in the first column was further divided into subcategories. To give an example, the kind of diversity named 'Religion' (concise titles were preferred) was differentiated into the subcategories 'Christianity' and 'Islam'. The subsequent columns covered, respectively: the content description, with theoretical background as a note for the researcher, helpful for the analysis (Kuckartz & Rädiker, 2023, p.40), but then removed from the chart; the category application, to understand which videos related to that category and their respective codes; and examples of applications, where the previously selected codes were integrated systematically, with reference to the correspondent number of documentary. The resulting *coding manual* therefore contained the 'list of all the dimensions; the different categories subsumed under each dimension; the numbers (that is, codes) that correspond to each category' (Bryman, 2012, p.299). The integral QCA chart with all this information can be found in the Appendix 5, and a summary of it at the beginning of the Analysis section.

This method application, with repeated reflections, a consistent approach to the table, and movements 'back and forth' between videos, titles, and codes, was a result of *deductive-inductive category development*, defined by Kuckartz and Rädiker (2023) as a process where 'deductive categories are developed first and the development of categories or sub-categories using the material follows in the second step' (p.77), and where unexpected data inspire the formation of new categories (Schmidt, 2010).

The resulting and final categories, representing specific kinds of diversity (their subdimensions are discussed in the analysis), were identified as: Gender; Class; Disability; Religion; Politics; Culture; Ethnicity; Race; moreover, some documentaries were applicable to more than one category. Having sketched the different phases of the treatment of the data, the sample is further justified as a consequent step of the above mentioned process.

## **Sampling Strategy**

To finalise the sample, after having identified the 8 main categories, *general purposive sampling* following Bryman (2012) was used. In this approach, ‘the researcher establishes criteria concerning the kinds of cases needed to address the research questions, identifies appropriate cases, and then samples from those cases that have been identified’ (Bryman, 2012, p.422). Considering that the research questions started by asking which kinds of diversities were represented, 8 main categories were identified as criteria of diversity; the respective 8 videos for each criterion were ‘the appropriate cases’, and one documentary for each case constituted the final unit of analysis. The suggestion to select a sample allowing for variety and diversity (Bryman, 2012) was also followed. General purposive sampling is usually part of a qualitative study, and it aims at choosing single cases strategically, ‘so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed’ (Bryman, 2012, p.418). Particularly, in the final sample, documentaries were clearly addressing the kind of diversity identified, either within the title (for instance, *Disabled Fashionistas in Baku* focused on disability), or in the course of the documentary, and articulated discourses on inclusion and exclusion within the context of Europe.

Concerning the size of sampling, it should be noted that more categories could have been identified, since diversity is in itself a broad category; however, it was preferable to focus on a relatively small number, as it is common in qualitative research (Hansen & Machin, 2019), and considering the very diverse European contexts represented in the documentaries. In this approach, this strategy followed the observation that:

[S]ample sizes in qualitative research should not be so small as to make it difficult to achieve data saturation, theoretical saturation, or informational redundancy. At the same time, the sample should not be so large that it is difficult to undertake a deep, case-oriented analysis (Onwuegbuzie & Collins 2007, p.289).

Next, general reflections on the process and the applied methodology and methods are discussed.

## **Methodological Reflections and Research Process**

As the research design is concerned with secondary and unobtrusive methods, which ‘do not entail participants in a study having to take the researcher into account’ (Bryman, 2012,

p.304), ethical considerations were not applicable as they are usually intended to inform interview methods. However, this aspect does not deny other reflections concerning the process as a whole.

First, the aim was to strike a balance between an analysis of the produced content (the documentary themes) and that of the producers' context (ARTE as a European media). This resulted in a constant reminder that the research design did not allow for a 'direct' access to the diversity represented, as in the case of ethnographic field work, and as observed in the literature on conviviality and everyday diversity. However, since the scope of the project was clearly defined from the start as delimited by the framework of the ARTE platform, the focus on *representation* of diversity was justified as a viable approach, provided that the media context was constantly acknowledged across the entire project. Thus, the lack of first-hand access to the represented narratives was precisely considered as the angle of analysis.

Since, initially, the methods envisaged production research (Banks et al. 2016) to get more information on the channel, several contacts were initiated to reach the ARTE team. For instance, the ARTE distribution team and one co-production company that financed the majority of the documentaries, Together Media, was contacted through email and social media platforms, however unsuccessfully. This further contributed to the choice of conducting the research on the basis of what was openly provided by the platform, which constituted a great body of material and reflected a certain transparency of the channel. In fact, as an example of the perks of researching public channels, the 'About our programmes and organisation' homepage (ARTE, 2024h) contains useful information on programmes, organisations, logos, and accessibility.

Concerning the linguistic aspect of the project, as the core of the ARTE production team is situated in France and Germany, most of the videos included a post-production voiceover, or off-stage commentary, in one of the two languages. The one spoken within the documentary, on the other hand, reflected the specific European geographical context of filming: a documentary on rural Poland would interview locals speaking in Polish. This resulted in a mixture of languages that, thanks to a personal knowledge of English, French and German, could be seized in its nuances for the most part. For instance, when viewing the documentary 'Showtime in Paris' in French with English subtitles (which were used for the transcription), a few mistakes or cultural-specific wordings were noticed: '*personnes queer*' was translated

into *people of colour* instead of *queer people*; when referring to a non-binary protagonist, the French pronoun *il* (he/him) was used in the original voiceover, instead of the non-binary *they/them* that does not exist in French, and yet was appearing in the English subtitles. These examples show that reflexivity was constantly present in a linguistically and culturally sensitive approach as well.

As previously noted, the process of categorising and coding was not linear, but iterative and reflective. To illustrate this, going back and forth through categories resulted, initially, in a main category called ‘Biodiversity’ which addressed the topic of climate change as a transnational one, so as to highlight its relevance regardless of national specificities. At a second stage, this category was included as a subcategory of ‘culture’, as the research wanted to address biodiversity not *per se*, but rather as perceived and narrated by the protagonists, who in most cases considered them as part of, or in contrast with, their cultural heritage.

A final note concerns the general choice of methods for this particular case study. While QCA was suitable for being transparent (Bryman, 2012) and to manage the large amount of material, QTA might have been intuitively substituted by film narrative analysis (Bordwell et al. 2017), which nonetheless would have been more appropriate for documentaries with a clear signature and individual authorship, which is not the case of the ARTE collection. The final choice of QTA is justified in that it allows for a deeper focus on dialogues, words and expressions used in the videos, which made large use of commentaries in voiceover and narrations by the protagonists. This is not to deny the visual importance of the videos; this, on the contrary, was acknowledged during the research process, and the coding in particular, as side notes within the ‘memos’, defined by Kuckartz (2013) as broadly containing ‘any thoughts, ideas, assumptions, or hypotheses that occur to researchers during the analysis process’ (p.18). These are integrated in the analysis and can be found in the Appendix 4.



## ANALYSIS

The analysis is divided into 8 main sections, presenting the kinds of diversities previously identified in the following order: Religion, Politics, Gender, Ethnicity, Disability, Race, Class, and Culture. Opening with a social constructionist understanding of the analysed diversity, each section discusses how this relates to the content of the documentary, the context of ARTE, and the concepts of inclusion and exclusion in Europe. A final section summarises the findings with reference to intersectionality and superdiversity. The following table shortly explains the main data stemming from QCA and discussed in the analysis.

<b>Summary of QCA</b>			
<b>Dimension / Frequency</b>	Subdimension / Frequency	<b>Dimension / Frequency</b>	Subdimension / Frequency
<b>Religion: 6</b>	Christian: 4 Orthodox: 1 Islam: 1	<b>Culture: 55</b>	Folklore: 7 Gastronomy: 11 Biodiversity: 24 Lifestyle: 16 (3 intersect)
<b>Politics: 8</b>	Right: 3 Left: 5	<b>Ethnicity: 11</b>	Ethno-national: 6 Ethno-religious: 2 Ethno-religious: 1 Ethno-cultural (minorities): 2
<b>Gender: 11</b>	LGBTQIA+: 1 Women: 9 Men: 3 (3 intersect)	<b>Race: 15</b>	Migrants: 6 Refugees: 9
<b>Class: 29</b>	Education: 3 Employment: 9 Housing: 11 Economy: 5	<b>Miscellaneous: 10</b>	
<b>Disability: 13</b>	Mental health: 6 Physical health: 7		

## **Religious diversity**

Religious diversity, understood as a way of ‘identifying oneself and others, construing sameness and difference’ through the complex and contested category of religion (Brubaker, 2013, p.3), emerged in the collection, following QCA, with reference to Catholic, Orthodox, and Islamic beliefs. It mainly included representations of Christianity, highlighting the significance of ‘Christian roots within the context of secularism’ in Europe (Tibi, 2006, p.204)<sup>6</sup>. While ‘there is no simple boundary between a European Self and an Islamic Other’ (Delanty, 2013, p.94), the latter, as a dimension of religious diversity, emerged only once in the documentary *Losing my religion*, focusing on three Muslims in apostasy.

The documentary challenges the prominent narrative around Christianity in the collection, by focusing on Islam from the perspective of its apostates, defined as ‘religious people who leave their religious groups under the specific circumstances of conflict’ (Enstedt & Larrson, 2013, p.67). In doing so, ARTE represents a ‘superdiversity’, intended as a practice of religious diversity (the act of ‘stop believing’) *within* the wider religious dimension of Islam. The following analysis suggests that, with apostates as Islam’s ‘Others’ (in light of their refusal of Islam), and Muslims as the ‘Other’ Europeans (Hellyer, 2009), apostates are associated with the idea of a democratic Europe. This argument debates how the freedom from this religion is ‘intertwined with often reductionist discussions over Islam’s compatibility with democratic values’ (Vliek, 2019, p.2), and is situated in the context of European media’s representation of Islam.

## **Freedom, hospitality and gender discrimination**

Ahmed, one of the protagonists of the story, describes apostasy as a confluence of different or contrasting views, framed within Islamic communities as ‘an insult to religions’ or as ‘anti-religious act’. As an ‘extreme’ of the spectrum of religious diversity (refusal), variously constructed and contested by its people, apostasy exemplifies how, ‘where religion is present, there is diversity, or at least the potential for it’ (Knott, 2015, p.91), here expressed by Ahmed’s extreme act of burning his Koran.

The possibility of freedom and religious diversity in Germany (‘I live in a country with freedom of speech, and I like that I can wear a provocative T-shirt’) suggests an image of a democratic Europe driven by hospitality towards *ex*-Muslims (‘I wasn’t a refugee to be

silenced here’); there is no mention, however, of how European attitudes change vis-à-vis Muslims who *practise* their religion (although the latter framed by Ahmed as a right). This representational choice reinforces ARTE’s Eurocentric, or at least Eurofriendly, standpoint in this documentary.

The implied contrast between European and Islamic values also emerges in the story of an ex-Muslim woman, Zaineb, who discusses gender relations in the two societies. ARTE voiceover introduces a critique of women’s role in Islam: ‘Women are supposedly the weaker sex and are always in the sights of lustful men. That’s what Zeinab was told. And that’s why Muslim women must cover up’. Yet, Zeinab is shown in a ‘Euro-friendly’ attitude (doing gym in a T-Shirt, kissing her German boyfriend) that conveys an image of a ‘modern’ woman in her everyday secular life in Europe, as opposed to her previous religious obligations. This contrast emerges when Zeinab defiantly shows a picture of herself with the headscarf (Appendix 4.1). In narrating this passage, Zaineb says that ‘there was much more fear of being further excluded from Islamic society than the fear of discrimination in German society’: this representation echoes Ahmed’s vision of the European country as free and hospitable, and equally relegates religious discrimination within *European* societies in the background.

Furthermore, an anonymous woman in France, with a distorted voice to protect anonymity, is reported as being forced to lead a ‘double life’. ARTE stresses that ‘with her parents she’s a good Muslim, though she has stopped believing a few years ago and has freed herself from her strict Muslim environment’, reinforcing an image of an oppressing Islamic society in opposition to a European freedom of expression. The woman, who describes how religion has ‘ruined her life’, especially in regard to gender relations, reports the discrimination faced by Muslims once she became an apostate:

In the city where I live, I was cursed and spat upon. They called me a whore and told me that I put down Muslim men. They really considered it an insult. As if you were their property and insulted them by changing your lifestyle, even cursed them. They felt belittled in their North African, Muslim pride (anonymous woman).

Coming from *within* a Muslim environment, the woman reinforces a negative, ‘typical image of the Muslim in Europe [as] the ‘exotic’ North African Arab’ (Hellyer, 2014, p.1) in contrast with a European lifestyle with more free gender relations. Therefore, these dynamics are both highlighted by the *protagonists* of the documentary as well as by the *media* production, in a double representation of discriminatory and patriarchal instances of Islamic society.

## **Identity and religion**

In France, where several ex-Muslim are publicly talking about their apostasy, ARTE follows Momo and his podcast ‘Apostate Islam’, where he narrates the *social death*<sup>7</sup> faced by all apostates. He recalls an initial identity crisis (‘I lost my sense of self’), and the role of religion in shaping his identity, that he did not know one could ‘abandon’. This representation contrasts with the documentary *The El Rocío Pilgrimage*, set in Andalusia, and its focus on the way religion fosters a shared sense of local identity. Here, ARTE describes how Catholicism is lived by Andalusians during the pilgrimage as ‘a popular faith, often removed from the Church, that creates their identity and gives people a sense of community’. This positive representation frames the religious experience in a moment of conviviality, reinforcing identity at collective and personal levels. The latter is described by a local as a symbolic ‘familiar’ linkage that transcends the commonality of blood and unites the pilgrims. This contrast highlights religion as a dimension of one’s identity that is either an element of divide, conflict and loss for apostates in Islamic communities, or as a social glue in popular celebrations in Europe. I place this European media representation in alignment with Davie’s (2001) critique of Europeans who, while being ‘increasingly secular ... draw the boundaries of their continent – known sometimes as ‘fortress Europe’ – along Christian lines’ (Davie, 2011, p.455), therefore questioning how religious diversity in Europe is often framed in contradictory approaches.

## **Political diversity**

Political diversity in the ARTE collection emerges, following QCA, in the representation of right and left-wing governments and actors. The latter are represented in the fight for democracy, highlighted by expressions such as ‘objectors’, ‘fighting for tolerance’, and ‘alliance’, suggesting a political Europe based on democracy (Delanty, 2013). In the documentaries, mostly set in countries currently<sup>8</sup> run by right-wing governors, the actors interviewed are mostly ‘democratic’ voices who engage in different forms of resistance: civilian poetry slams criticising the government, political alliances, initiatives of the city mayor, or opposition media in exile<sup>9</sup>. Documentaries concerning Russia, where opposition is represented in light of the current conflict, focus on Russian opponents of the regime, variously framed as ‘war refugees’<sup>10</sup> or ‘very discreet exiles’<sup>11</sup>.

The analysis of political diversity first problematizes the ‘us/them’ dichotomy through the representation of Russian opposition journalists in Europe, in a double condition of exclusion, and the way this relates to a European ‘solidarity bias’ (Pratt & Laroche, 2022; Trope & Liberman, 2010; Visconti & Kyriazi, 2022). Second, a comparison between two documentaries suggests the relation between right-wing nationalism and absence of diversity, as a recurrent equation in the representation of political diversity in Europe.

### **Russian Identity and European solidarity**

The documentary *Dojd. Russian Media in Exile*<sup>12</sup> follows the story of a Russian opposition TV station, Dozhd, from its exile from Russia through its search for a new headquarters in Europe; the narration is led by 4 independent journalists formerly employed in the channel. Dozhd was forced to leave its country after the outbreak of the Russian war of aggression in Ukraine; after reopening their headquarters in Latvia, the country revoked Dozhdz’s licence after one year ‘because of a misleading comment about the Russian army’ at the forefront in Ukraine (ARTE voiceover): when a reporter said ‘*our* army’, he suggested the identification of Dojd’s political stance with that of the invader. For this purpose, founder of Dozhd Vera Krischevskaja highlights Russian journalists’ political (and linguistic) problem when she asks: ‘How are *we* to address *Russians*?’, and refers to Russian opponents as ‘outcasts in both Russia and Europe’, who struggle to get support in Europe when holding a Russian passport (Appendix 4.2).

As exiles, ‘home’ plays a crucial role in their everyday life, as it emerges in the words of another ex-journalist: ‘I have developed a new fear in exile. That I’ll lose my house key and not be able to go home.’ This image, together with the scenes where Dozhd’ editor Tikhon is filmed in Latvia with his family, moving flats several times, portrays the everyday life of political exiles. Moreover, Tikhon indirectly refers to the ‘us’ /‘them’ dichotomy as an incompatible political difference between Russia and Europe:

Russian journalists working in exile are caught between two stools. For everyone outside Russia, they are Russian first and foremost and thus bear responsibility for the terrible war that their country has unleashed on Ukraine. To the Russian state, on the other hand, they are enemies, they are considered foreign agents. They can’t simply go back and work in Russia ... Independent Russian journalists are often not seen as allies in Europe (Tikhon).

This comment reflects representations of Europe as one world region that places itself in relation, if not opposition, to other geo-political contexts (Delanty, 2013), and of Russia's 'simultaneous belonging to and exclusion from Europe (understood as a *political* community)' (Morozov, 2015, p.41, my emphasis). This documentary highlights the condition of Russians in Europe, whose national identity makes them excluded in European societies, regardless of their political 'diversity' from Russia's government. In fact, ARTE highlights the contradictory attitude of Europe, which 'prides itself of its freedom of the press' and yet 'jeopardises the activity of the opposition TV channel' (ARTE voiceover). This representation foregrounds the Western solidarity bias (Pratt & Laroche, 2022; Trope & Liberman, 2010; Visconti & Kyriazi, 2022) towards Russians, and the exclusionary politics by Europe, which negates solidarity and support to political opponents, as questioned by ARTE: 'How should Europe deal with Russians who do not support the war? Are they complicit just because they are Russians?'. In this context, Europe is represented in a 'hypocritically selective attitude' (Pratt & Laroche, 2022, n.p.), and *simultaneously* as the promoter of freedom of speech and democracy, the latter historically 'associated with the European political heritage and the defining feature of its modernity' (Delanty, 2013, p.275).

### **Right-wing nationalism and absence of diversity**

When Tikhon describes right-wing Latvian politicians as 'strictly against the admission of Russian emigrants', he stresses how these comments promote a unifying vision of Russians as 'all the same'. Hence, I argue that right-wing politics is represented as promoting *the absence of difference and diversity*; on the other hand, by giving voice to opposition journalists, ARTE stresses precisely that existence of differences, nuances, and complexities that arise from an understanding of Russians as internally, and politically, diverse.

Similarly, in *Losing my religion*, the relation between right-wing politics and *religious* diversity is discussed by Momo, who fears 'applause from the radical right' because of his podcast, and by Mohamed, another apostate:

Some people criticise Islam, but they do it just because they hate foreigners, that's it. And then they just look for a reason to criticise foreigners. At the same time, we must be extremely cautious that we don't help any extreme right-wing agenda. We must be careful to balance that, instead of avoiding the conversation. That could be dangerous too (Mohamed).

The relation between European right-wing politics and apostasy in Islam has been foregrounded by Enstedt and Larrson (2013) as a 'an important element in an Islamophobic

world view that presents Islam and Muslims as diametrically opposite to all other world views' (Enstedt & Larrson, 2013, p.88), and to the European one in particular in this context, and stresses the 'political conflict between the Islamic religion and European values, however the latter are defined' (Byrnes, 2006, p.299). In fact, the documentary represents conservative Islamic societies in sharp contrast with Europe as a place of freedom, 'identified with a specific secular set of Western values, as opposed to religious ones' (Vliek, 2019, p.6). This opposition between the 'East' and the 'West' frames how religious freedom and democracy, while historically established in the West, are still problematic 'values' in Islamic societies (Larrson, 2018). At the same time, ARTE gives voices to apostates who precisely want to 'balance' this binary opposition of values, foregrounding (super)diversity and complexity as key factors to decipher European realities.

Finally, far-right politics is represented as promoting the absence of *gender* diversity as well, discussed next, where the LGBTQIA+ community is framed by the French far-right party 'Reconquête' as 'propaganda' and 'indoctrination'.

## **Gender diversity**

Gender, as 'one of the central dimensions ... to describe diversification processes and diversity' (Bühmann, 2015, p.24) is mostly represented in the collection, as resulting from QCA, through stories of women, described as 'fighting for recognition' of their health, or bringing 'fresh air' in male-dominated spaces, stressing the contribution of ARTE 'to making women more visible in the public arena' (ARTE, 2023b, p.42). Despite the variety of groups and generations represented *within* women (Appendix 5), only one documentary portrays the LGBTQIA+ community.

The following analysis of *Showtime in Paris* shows the representation of gender diversity as both 'superdiversity' and 'practice' in the context of Paris, reinforcing ARTE's standpoint of a 'rainbow Europe' (Ayoub & Paternotte, 2014) in opposition to non-European standpoints.

## **Gender in European societies: fluid identities and practice of diversity**

Since the word 'genre', in French, means both 'gender' and 'kind' or 'type', it is adequate to explore gender as a signifying 'kind of diversity' in the documentary set in France, where the

representation of ‘superdiversity’ is embodied by multiple gender diversities of its protagonists (transgender, non-binary), and expressed in everyday life and on stage.

ARTE introduces the setting of the documentary, a drag cabaret venue in Paris called Madame Arthur, as a site of freedom ‘about embracing differences’, where ‘gay, straight, trans, the performers prefer to be called “creatures”’. This is framed by Maëva, a transgender woman working there as La Briochée, as gender-fluid and open to both ‘queer’ and ‘straight’, because the boundaries between feminine and masculine are blurred. Her need to ‘keep kicking against gender norms’ is further described as a necessary attitude to contest unifying visions of gender, still ‘very binary in everyday life’ according to Maëva. In doing so, the documentary represents norms and categories as limiting one’s of identity, and promotes ‘gender diversity’ in opposition to binary thinking and ‘either/or’ labels (Beck, 2009).

Identity is also framed as a fluid and performative process (Butler, 1990) by Laurent, who claims that ‘nobody really knows who they really are’, and by Tom, a non-binary person, for whom gender is ‘not an essence’, but also ‘how you feel, how you dress, how you’re perceived by others’<sup>13</sup>. For the latter, diversity also emerges in the understanding of gender as *theory*, ‘a key analytical framework’ of gender studies in everyday life, and as experiential, sensory *practice* of ‘drag’ on stage. By ‘blending masculine and feminine traits’, Tom wants to ‘promote a new form of masculinity that we see less in society’ (Appendix 4.3). This aligns with an understanding of masculinity that is not a ‘fixed and unitary category’ (Nixon, 2013, p.298), but a plural, problematic ‘invented’ one (Weeks, 1991) and in need of an adequate media representation, the latter evident in Tom’s critique of a heteronormative advertisement.

The openness to fluid identities and the freedom inside Madame Arthur’s, discussed by these protagonists, contrast with the representation of the public space as dangerous, where they are ‘still seen as freaks to a lot of people’ (Maëva); similarly, Tom reports their *double* gender discrimination as a non-binary person. Laurent, an older protagonist, also recalls how the media conveyed a negative image of transgender people as ‘trannies’<sup>14</sup>. Combating these stereotypes, the protagonists hope for inclusion both inside and outside Madame Arthur’s world:



In the end, Madame Arthur's is a reflection of the society we want to live in ... where everyone can live peacefully. If everyone can cross paths and nobody cares whether you're straight, gay, trans ... you can laugh, cry, and celebrate together (Maëva).

The ideas of celebration and 'living together' echo a similar representation of conviviality in the cultural-religious event of El Rocio, where people gather in an atmosphere of joy and inclusion to take part in the pilgrimage. The ideal society evoked by Maëva, however, foregrounds gender diversity as a potential reason for conflict, next to the will to coexist in peace regardless of those differences. Similarly, Tom dreams of an inclusive space free from stigmatisation, where 'as long as you don't treat us like freak shows, then we can all get along'. In this dynamic of both inclusion and exclusion, conviviality denotes a fragile situation where 'differences challenge the idea of living peacefully with difference' (Heil, 2015, p.317).

### **Gender in Islamic societies**

In the Western context of *Showtime in Paris*, while 'superdiversity' emerges within gender, it does not intersect with ethnic or religious diversity, where the multiethnicity of Paris is absent in this representation. This section therefore analyses the less 'positive' representation of a non-Western context, in terms of culture and religion, that plays a crucial role in one's gender identity. In fact, in *Losing my religion, when Muslims stop believing*, Ahmed (who appears kissing another man on a newspaper's page, indicating his sexuality to the audience) is an apostate openly critical towards Islam, who, according to ARTE, 'is fighting for the right to not believe, for LGBTQ people, to diversity in Muslim societies, and he's not afraid to be provocative'. He is shown with an 'Allah is gay' T-Shirt and protesting in front of a mosque with a rainbow flag, symbol of the LGBTQ community (Appendix 4.1). These aspects represent Ahmed as an apostate who embraces democratic values and inclusion towards the LGBTQ community, thus placing those ideals in contrast with Islam. This representation is situated within the scholarship suggesting that 'tolerance of LGBT identities reproduce[s] Orientalizing discourse that establishes (Western) Europe as the wiser, more progressed culture' (Moss, 2016, p.213), whose values are compatible with LGBT rights (Ayoub & Paternotte, 2014).

Different representations between the 'East' and the 'West' also emerge vis-à-vis the role of women in the two societies. In the same documentary, women rebel against their oppression

from strict Islamic rules and choose to renounce Islam. No longer ‘the weaker sex’ as they are seen in the Kuran (ARTE voiceover), they formulate their values in opposition to the patriarchal ones of Islam, as the analysis of ‘Religious diversity’ also stressed. On the contrary, Catholic religion frames women as strong in the documentary *The El Rocío Pilgrimage*:

I believe that in Andalusia, at least, women have a very important role and the mother is the centre of the family. And so, I believe that women and mothers are strong, and what better example than the mother of Christ, who has been the strongest and the best (Andalusian woman and pilgrim).

### **Ethnic and Racial diversity**

The etymology of ‘ethnicity’ points at a difference between the Greek and the Latin meanings: while the first highlights *commonality* (of blood or descent), the second emphasises *othering* through the designation of others as ‘those outside the dominant group’ (Kiwani, 2017, p.6). The two perspectives have been connected to the concept of ‘boundaries’ by Cornell and Hartmann (2007), whose theories of *the social construction and the intersectionality of ethnicity and race* inform the following analysis of the two kinds of diversities. Moreover, the complexity of ethnicity and race in diversity studies has been emphasised by various scholars (Hodkinson, 2017; Mandel, 2015), and the relationship between the two formulated as intersecting and blurring (Brubaker, 2009). Intersectionality and overlapping, however, do not deny the specificity of ethnic and racial ‘perceived’ and constructed diversities in different contexts. A scholarly tradition recognizes a rather European focus on ‘ethnicity’ and its cultural aspects (Wrench, 2007), and an American emphasis on ‘race’ in light of the Black civil rights movements in the continent (Kiwani, 2017). Within these context-specific research directions, literature on the social construction of race and its ‘very powerful consequences in everyday life’ (Mandel, 2015, p.60) are largely present in European scholarship, focusing mainly on migration as an integral element of European diversity (see, for example, Bulmer & Solomos, 2018).

QCA showed the representation of *ethnic diversity* in the ARTE collection in its several subdimensions: national, regional, religious, and cultural minorities (see QCA chart), mostly coupled with the idea of risk, conveyed by the expressions ‘under pressure’, ‘on alert’, and

‘in danger’. For instance, ethno-national diversities were represented in contexts of political tensions, highlighting ‘the border’ as a terrain for hostilities between neighbouring nations<sup>15</sup>. Second, *racial diversity*, as a persistent, destructive, ‘sliding signifier’ with no referent (Hall, 2017), was not directly mentioned in the collection; however, in order to acknowledge its ‘real and disastrous lived effects’ (Jones, 2019, p.432), the selected documentaries were categorised under ‘race’ ‘by way of its *relation* to social justice, public health, and inequality’ (Vertovec, 2023a, p.166, my emphasis), and racial discrimination. In fact, ‘race needs not to be explicitly referenced in order for racial effects to manifest’ (Schramm, 2015, p.53): it is by considering the latent content in QCA (Kuckartz & Rädiker, 2023) that the documentaries were included in this category, such as those about Europe’s colonial past, as in the case of Algerian exiles or ‘pied-noirs’ evacuated from France in 1962<sup>16</sup>. Resulting from content analysis, the protagonists were identified as ‘refugees’ and ‘migrants’, terms explicitly used in the documentaries, where the first are commonly ‘associated with “enforced” movement/displacement due mainly to *political* reasons’, and the second ‘with “voluntary” movement due to *economic* reasons’ (Horstmann & Jung, 2015, p.3, my emphasis).

The following analysis of the documentary *Empowerment through football* shows that, while the represented ethno-religious minority in Europe reports exclusion from the ‘dominant’ group, a common diasporic past and the shared practice of sport help them create inclusion, integration, and solidarity, consolidating migrants’ sense of identity and belonging to place.

### **Diasporic narratives: inclusion, gender and integration**

In framing ethnicity from a constructionist viewpoint, Cornell and Hartmann (2007) find a meeting point between a ‘primordial’ account, where community bonds are lifelong and fixed, and a ‘circumstantial’ one, in which external conditions influence the ethnic community. Therefore, constructionism interprets ‘ethnic groups as being actively involved in constructing and reconstructing identities while, at the same time, circumstances can change’ (Kiwani, 2017, p.7). This approach is useful to analyse the representation of ethnic diversity in the documentary, which narrates the stories of migrant girls in Germany, because it connects the sense of identity linked to their country of origin with the evolving identity process in the host country in Europe.

The main protagonist is the football trainer Tugba Tekkal, born in Germany from a Kurdish-Yazidi background, and initiator of the Scoring Girls Project, which ‘aims to help

girls from migrant backgrounds to build their self-esteem through football' (ARTE voiceover). The film focuses on Maisa and Maisun, two Scoring Girls from Kurdistan, whose family is very fond of Tugba: they are also 'connected through their religion: Yazidism' (ARTE voiceover), whose adherents were forced to flee from Kurdistan by the IS in 2014. The shared narrative emerges from the voice of Maisa: 'We wondered where, why we were going. There were old people who couldn't walk anymore. And we tried to pick them up'. In this context, the concept of diaspora 'enables exploration of fluidities and differences within particular groups at the same time as recognising the sense of collective identification which can bind members together' (Hodkinson, 2017, p.232).

The documentary represents girls who overcome barriers in their new life in Germany through football, which reinforces the positive stories of women in ARTE. Ethnic diversity is therefore coupled with a practice of daily life, in the way it fosters a double dynamic of inclusion and social integration, among the members of the migrant group (Guibernau & Rex, 2010) *and* 'for girls who are usually excluded from this sport' (Tugba). In fact, Tugba tries to change gender stereotypes that frame football as 'a boys' sport', or as reasons for 'social exclusion, of losing or forgetting language, or their roots', as expressed by the girls' parents. In contrast with the Kurdish culture, where 'girls are not as free as boys', they can practise the sport in Europe in freedom: football is an essential part of their new life in Germany, and an antidote to the fears created by the experience of war. The Scoring Girls living in a refugee camp in Dohuk also describe training as comforting, creating companionship, and therapeutic: the word 'camp' liberates itself from the association with refugee life, and connects with the freedom of playing football. These differences across cultures and generations illustrate the difficult identity process for 'migrants ... and their descendants who grow up within the destination or 'host' country' (Hodkinson, 2017, p.232).

Similarly, sport is represented as a motivating activity for men in *Irish Travellers. A community in danger*. Johnny, a 32-year-old traveller, frames boxing as an 'escape' from a life of material limitations and social exclusion, that helps combat stereotypes surrounding these communities:

The best thing about boxing is that there's never any racism because you all respect each other. For people before it was harder, because they didn't see a way out, they thought, 'Well, I'm never going to get this far from where I'm from, I'm a traveller. How am I ever gonna beat this Champion?' (Johnny).

If exclusion is vastly represented in relation to Irish travellers' class differences, it is only mentioned once by Maisa, Kurdish girl in Germany: 'Some will tell me that I don't belong, to go back home. 'You're not wanted here'.' The dynamic of belonging and non-belonging to communities, based on similarity or difference (Wodak, 2007), designates inclusion and solidarity structures as happening between the members of the migrant group or the minority, supporting each other because of their commonality. This questions European societies' hospitality and inclusivity towards 'outsiders'.

### **Sense of belonging to place**

In general, ARTE's 'European stories' explicitly locate the context of filming by always introducing the protagonists in a split screen next to a map (Appendices 4.4, 4.5, 4.7). This structure helps compare life stories in different parts of Europe, portray a diversity of people and places, and is particularly crucial in the representation of migrants' stories. By showing Tugba between the city of Cologne and the refugee camp in Dohuk, ARTE represents her mobility between two places and their respective cultures, a recurrent migrant narrative in the contemporary context (La Trecchia, 2011), framed by Tugba as the collision between two worlds: the home country, attacked by the IS, and the new life made of football matches and success. These two worlds, moreover, connote different dimensions of diaspora by representing the perspectives of those who fled (Tugba, Maisa and Maisun) and those who stayed, as this Scoring Girl's father:

Your life is rooted where you were born. It's normal to want to return here. If our children were to go to Europe, to Germany or the Netherlands, it would become their new home and they'd stay. Even the younger generation wants to return to our land. There is no other place for us but here (Salia's father, from Kurdistan).

This frames a resistance to mobility towards Europe because of a sense of belonging to the place of birth, mediated by identity factors such as language: in Kurdistan, Tugba does not feel like 'such a foreigner'<sup>17</sup> as in Germany, regardless of her 'successful' life there.

Europe, however, is 'a dream' for young Africans in *Stranded in Northern Cyprus*, whose mobility is motivated by economic factors (Horstmann & Jung, 2015). Their expectations of a Europe with better life conditions shows that 'migrants today, as migrants throughout human history, move either to escape horrible lives, to seek better ones, or both' (Appadurai,

2019, p.560). In the two documentaries, ‘migrant narratives’ (Leurs et al. 2020) differently frame their belonging to the countries of origin and arrival.

Among the contemporary scenarios where racial diversity in Europe plays a crucial role in migrants’ successful or unsuccessful stories, the documentary, *Stranded in Northern Cyprus. African Students in need* embodies the perspective of Hubert from Cameroon, while Europe is only referred to as an ‘educational dream’, linked with human rights and justice. The following analysis of racial diversity, through the representations of Europe, Africa and Northern Cyprus, is guided by the question of ‘who can speak for whom - are migrants the sole legitimate producers of their own experiences or can they be ethically represented by outsiders?’ (Leurs et al. 2020, p.683), where I place European media within those outsider’s perspective.

### **‘Eufrika’: Between Europe and Africa**

The association of Europe with the protection of human rights, and the fight against racism, emerges in the way Yagmur, a human rights lawyer, and her team are shown discussing how to protect African students, like Hubert, who are being scammed by the University in Northern Cyprus. They appear working around the desk, where the EU flag is placed. This reflects a narrative that associates the idea of Europe with those of rights and justice (Delanty, 2013), and recognizes the latter as constitutive elements of a European identity.

The beginning of the documentary gives space to concrete images of Africa by following Hubert in his work as a plasterer in Garoua-Boulai, Cameroon; the voiceover emphasises the abundance of manual work in the city, which allows Hubert to ‘save money for his dream of studying abroad’. The representation of Europe as ‘developed’ and ‘upgraded’ are reflected in the words of African students, leaving their country ‘to find something better elsewhere’, and not solely by the European media’s own narrative.

Between these representations of Europe and Africa, Northern Cyprus is described by an African student as follows:

We’re in Eufrika. It’s neither Africa nor Europe. Our agents in Africa and Guinea say that they want to help us to come to Europe. We come here, this is not the reality of Europe, it’s a different reality (African student in Northern Cyprus).

The term ‘Eufrika’ suggests the significance of the border as a ‘liminal space’, closely linked to the material and metaphorical border between Africa and Europe. In fact, migration can be analysed as ‘the metaphor for movement and dislocation’ (Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018, p.1), here motivated by a desire for better education, and designates a mobility as the crossing of borders and barriers (Ahmed, 1999; Arcimaviciene & Baglama, 2018; Chambers, 1994). Moreover, the geo-political context of Northern Cyprus further foregrounds the importance of *place* in an investigation of Europe and its migrants.

In recognizing the difference between the situation in Northern Cyprus and that of a Europe they dream about, the speaker highlights the expectations embedded in the ‘idea of Europe’, in contrast with an inaccessible ‘real’ Europe. In this representation:

[W]e are reminded that there is no such monolith as Europe, that much of Europe comes up short of the gleaming ideal of “Europe” as an obscure object of desire (De Genova, 2016, p.76).

Inclusion, exclusion, solidarity and belonging in Europe relate to migration stories of ethnic and ‘racial’ diversity because they interrogate ‘the impact of space and movement on contemporary subjectivities, and help provide theoretical and critical reflection on forms of solidarity and hospitality that are yet to be created and planned’ (La Trecchia, 2011, p.444).

## **Disability**

Disability, intended in the social model (Hughes & Paterson, 1997) as a ‘function of the environment in which people are constrained to live’ (Burr, 2015, p.43), was analysed as a kind of diversity that ‘concerns matters of embodied difference associated with impairment’ (Thomas, 2015, p.43), in relation to society, and broadly referring to mental and physical health. Performing QCA, the groups and conditions in the documentaries were variously women (endometriosis), adolescents (anxiety), workers (burnout), or elderly (Alzheimer), represented with a focus on resilience and inclusivity emerging from expressions such as ‘breaking taboos’ and ‘inclusive workplaces’. Moreover, the daily lives of people with disability, filmed ‘without sensationalism’ (ARTE, 2019, p.37), are highlighted by the title ‘Living with’.

In the following section, physical disability is first represented in the documentary *Disabled Fashionistas in Baku* as an occasion for a *transnational* understanding of everyday life with disability, fostering a sense of inclusion across diverse societies in Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan. Second, the representation of ‘mental’ disability articulates exclusion for ‘outsider’ groups, such as the LGBTQ community and Irish travellers, and their resistance through bottom-up activism.

### **Inclusivity and transnationalism**

In *Disabled Fashionistas in Baku*, Mohamad, the initiator of an inclusive fashion project called Kekalove, is followed in his business promotion, first in his home city, Baku (Azerbaijan) and then in Tashkent (Uzbekistan), contexts described as neglecting disability-friendly infrastructure. Next to Mohamad, the protagonists of the story are the models of the fashion show, who express gratitude for the project: ‘I’m glad that there are projects like this in the country’, says an Uzbek woman, while the project is described by another model as ‘a dream come true’.

The documentary represents disability through the lenses of inclusivity and resilience. This is conveyed through the model’s appreciation for the project in an atmosphere of joy (Appendix 4.6), which allowed them to become ‘more independent and stronger’ in the words of Mohamad. This supports the image of ARTE Re: as ‘an authentic format which places people in its focus’ (Sagamedia, 2024, n.p.).

Moreover, the voiceover suggests the transnational dimension of disability when describing the Uzbek models’ positive reaction to the adaptive fashion show in Baku to ‘seeing that they aren’t alone, that people in a different country struggle with the same problems’: ARTE points at physical and mental disability as dimensions of diversity that bring people together through the recognition of the *similarities* of their everyday lives, regardless of other markers of ‘belonging’ such as nationality.

At the same time, the contexts of the story in Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan, not usually associated with Europe but more with its geographical borders, is ‘legitimised’ in the framework of the collection by the representation of Germany and France as supporters of the Kekalove project: ‘The French ambassador and her German counterpart agreed immediately to finance the event’, comments the voiceover. The French ambassador, further interviewed, highlights how it is ‘really important to help them, to give them visibility, to support them



financially ... because it's something society as a whole should do'. This scene underlines the French-German (and thus, European) role in making the Kekalove project visible, where the first is framed in terms of the supporter, financier and promoter of the second: the representation of the latter does not involve production companies from Azerbaijan or Uzbekistan, but only the German-based ones (see Appendix 1). At the same time, ARTE's guidelines specify that '[s]tories can also - sometimes - be set in non-European regions if the story lines and individual stories are universal and trigger emotion' (ARTE, 2023, n.p.). This supports the analysis of disability as a transversal diversity that dismisses national or geographical markers of collective identity.

### **Mental health discrimination**

Mental health disabilities are recurrent in the entire ARTE collection, particularly in relation to minorities. For instance, health and gender diversity intersect in the representation of Irish travellers in *Irish Travelers. A Community in danger*, where depression mainly affects men, who 'grow up with a lot of pressure on their shoulders in this community' (ARTE voiceover), and is described by a traveller, Peter, as 'a balloon' waiting to burst. Suicide, resulting also from depression, is discussed by Meg Casey, community advocate in the cemetery in Limerick, where her family is resting:

I never got over the fact of losing. Why so many people are buried in the graveyard, down to suicide, is because of institutional racism, discrimination, prejudice and Irish society dehumanizing us (Meg Casey).

Mental health problems and depression are here represented in the intersection with class, within a wider context of discrimination and social exclusion that affects the minority and accumulates over time (Bracic, 2022). These are resisted by Meg in a bottom-up activism, to combat 'the sorrow and pain that they're living in everyday life' at the European level. A similar discrimination is faced by people with disabilities in *Disabled Fashionistas in Baku*, where they report being seen as 'aliens' and called 'cripples' in the streets.

The intersection between mental health disability and gender diversity is also relevant in the representation of the LGBTQ community, as in the case of Alperen in *Showtime in Paris* who, while suffering from depression, was helped by Maëva's presence online, described as 'the guardian angel for that community in Paris'. In the intersectionality of these representations, disability emerges as a social construction perceived by the 'others' and

potentially resulting in experiences of discrimination: as for the LGBTQ community, inclusivity is represented *within* the affected people, whose connection designates the ‘internal’ group as separated from the external one, to whom it is hard to convey the meaning and implications of this diversity in everyday life (Vicari, 2021).

### **Class difference: socio-economic diversity**

Class difference, intended as ‘structured social and economic inequality (related to the possession of economic and power resources)’ (Crompton, 2008, p.15), points at socio-economic diversity in the documentaries by referring, as a result of QCA, to expressions such as ‘crises’, ‘in danger’, and ‘in need’. Class difference in Europe is narrated through stories of unequal access to education, job market, and housing, and the resulting dynamics of exclusion. The documentary *Irish travellers. A community in danger* represents class as an exclusionary category (Ayame Hiraide, 2022) by focusing on a minority excluded from education, employment and housing; moreover, class difference is analysed across two documentaries.

### **Exclusion in education, employment and housing**

The film opens by informing that ‘a recent EU report ranked them as the poorest and most discriminated against minority in Europe’ (ARTE voiceover), connecting actual statistics (FRA, 2020) with the broader socio-economic conditions of the community. The latter has been considered for long as a non-ethnic category in Western Europe, who shares nomadic roots and traditions (Matras, 2011; Simhandl, 2006), as well as ‘socio-economic characteristics (mainly of *exclusion*)’ (Cemlyn & Ryder, 2017, p.164, my emphasis). Only in 2011, ‘Irish Traveller’ were considered as an ethnic category in the UK census (Cemlyn & Ryder, 2017).

Discrimination and exclusion emerge from the narratives of young travellers, such as in school: ‘When all the rest of the people is doing big workout, they just put me in the back of the classroom and give me baby work’, reports a 11-year-old traveller in Wexford, south of Ireland. The voiceover also suggests how these children ‘struggle to integrate at school’, while being persistently avoided by classmates and teachers. Mary, the interviewed kid’s grandmother, highlights how, across time, they still get ‘the very same treatment. Nothing don’t change in decades’. These circumstances of exclusion and discrimination at school

reflect how ‘the structural injustices the communities face and the cultural prejudice and discrimination extend into the education system, in turn, reinforcing marginalization’ (Ryder, 2015, p.168).

Marginalisation designates the fragile and moving condition delimited by inclusion on one hand, and exclusion on the other (Raaum et al. 2009); however, this rather static view (Fangen, 2010) could be substituted by a more mobile one, which investigates how marginalisation happens along several areas at the same time, thus stressing the ‘*cumulative dynamic* of multiple intersecting planes of exclusion’ (Bracic, 2022, p.1046, emphasis original). This dynamic informs the condition of Irish travellers, for whom the absence of education causes future lack of employment:

So we don’t have jobs, we never got no education, we didn’t have time to get education. Unfortunately, for the travelling people it’s a life that my little girl is going to be growing up into (Peter, 21-year-old traveller in Limerick, west of Ireland).

The documentary suggests that Travellers ‘have always been viewed as outsiders and a threat to the norm ...[and] their identity is more likely to be used as justification for overt exclusion’ (Cemlyn & Ryder, 2017, p.168).

The spatial dimension of exclusion, elsewhere highlighted in regard to segregation of Roma neighbourhoods (Bracic, 2022), is here represented in the lack of comfort of Irish travellers’ nomadic life:

It’s not comfortable really, but it’s a bed. Nothing works, nothing...It’s just for electricity but there’s nothing there, you know, no electricity, just decoration, just to make it a little bit more homely (Peter, 21-year-old traveller in Limerick, west of Ireland).

Social exclusion and marginalisation, resulting from the interplay between ‘a plurality of disadvantaged categories’ (Fangen, 2020, p.137), similarly emerge in the documentary *Stranded in Northern Cyprus*, where African student Hubert pursues his education in Northern Cyprus. This ‘country’, officially recognized by Turkey only, attracts many African students because of the ‘relatively easy visa procedure and the low university fees’ (ARTE), creating fertile ground for human trafficking. In fact, Hubert’s finances ‘could not permit [me] to go to any other European country’: this indicates the economic barriers to entry in Europe and explains why ‘the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus has become *an*

*alternative to Europe* in the field of higher education’ (ARTE, my emphasis). The implicit exclusionary tendencies of Europe, exemplified by the financial means asked to non-Europeans, designate class diversity as a crucial factor in accessing education, and determined by unequal material possessions (Crompton, 2008). After fighting to get an appropriate education, Hubert ends up working for 20 euros per day, embodying the multi-dimensionality of social exclusion (Room, 1995) in education *and* employment.

While class inequalities for Irish travellers are represented within a western European context (Ireland) in the first documentary, the second one problematizes class difference in a context ‘at the borders of Europe’ (Northern Cyprus), in the intersection with racial issues of discrimination towards African students, and in the power imbalances between Africa and Europe:

Everything is changing, and at a very high speed, I need to upgrade also. And staying in Africa, I don’t think I can upgrade. Because most of the things we look upon as upgraded, they always come from Europe, the developed countries (Hubert, student from Cameroon).

ARTE therefore foregrounds the inequality structures in which narratives ‘within’ and ‘outside’ Europe are embedded, both pointing at them as a global question, while interrogating Europe’s responsibility in creating barriers to entry, that hinder the possibility of social and economic advancement for minorities or migrants: in fact, social exclusion is determined both by the expulsion from a group and ‘the denial of access to ‘outsiders’ (Fangen, 2020, p.136).

## **Cultural diversity**

‘Culture’ is here intended in its emphasis as ‘whatever is distinctive about ‘the way of life’ of a people, community, nation or social group [and] as a set or *practices* and meanings’ (Hall, 2012a, p.xviii). Through QCA, cultural diversity is the largest category identified in the sample, with subdimensions of folklore, gastronomy, biodiversity, and lifestyle, reflecting ARTE as ‘the European Culture Platform’ that aims to ‘promote understanding and bring people together through culture’ (ARTE, 2024, p.3). The following analysis shows the representation of cultural diversity as lived in conviviality or conflict, and in its intersections with other spheres of diversity, creating inclusion and exclusion.

## Food and traditions

Food embodies familiar and cultural bonds between people in everyday, or occasional, moments of conviviality, mostly reflecting the connections between groups and their culture of origin. In *Disabled Fashionistas in Baku*, the initiator of an inclusive fashion project in Azerbaijan, Mohamad, is shown in his house during family meals, when they celebrate the values, taught by his grandmother, of ‘inclusion and kindness and justice’; the documentary shows the preparation of the meal by Mohamad’s family members, because ‘food is important in Azerbaijan at almost every occasion’ (ARTE voiceover). Similarly, in *Empowerment through football*, a Kurdish family in Germany explains, while cooking the traditional Afragh: ‘We use food to remind us of our home in Iraq, what our culture means’. This representation reflects how migrants variously negotiate their sense of identity and connection to their home country upon their arrival to the new one (Naidu & Nzuzza, 2013; Philipp & Ho, 2010). In fact, migrants’ mobility ‘often includes adjusting to the new host environment while having to preserve their identity and sense of belonging’ (Naidu & Nzuzza, 2013, p.193).

Similar moments of conviviality are represented in *Stranded in Northern Cyprus* between African students (Appendix 4.8). While eating Attieke, a typical African food, with their hands as it is customs in Africa, they debate whether they should eat the food in an ‘European way’, with cutlery: the represented ‘home food’ (Naidu & Nzuzza, 2013) is necessarily complemented by a ‘home practice’ of consumption, to reflect the tradition of the home country. More than an identity marker, food becomes a ‘boundary marker’ of separation between groups (Naidu & Nzuzza, 2013) and a demonstration that ‘food serves both to solidify group membership and set groups apart’ (Mintz & Du Bois, 2002, p.109).

Shifting from everyday contexts to specific occasions, the documentary *El Rocio Pilgrimage* portrays local food consumption in an atmosphere of festivity within the same group of pilgrims, who ‘cook together and spend the entire day singing and dancing’ (ARTE voiceover).

In the three examples, cultural diversity is represented in a conviviality that is not, however, intended as a practice of living together among different groups in the same locality (Duru, 2015, 2024; Wise & Noble, 2016; Wise & Velayutham, 2009), but rather as shared moments

of ‘embodied culture’, through food, within the *same* group, connected by a shared migration or a common belonging to a place.

If food has been said to be a marker of class, regions, nations and cultures (Fieldhouse, 1995; Lupton, 1996; Warde, 1999), similar boundaries are also set by community traditions in a broader sense. In fact, Andalusian traditions, such as long horse-breeding, are crucial to preserve the community’s cultural heritage and are described as ‘a source of pride’ in contrast with modern times, similar to Irish travellers’ lifestyle in closeness to nature. However, travellers’ culture’s nomadism connotes their *ordinary* life in contrast to El Rocio pilgrims, whose mobility is an *extra-ordinary* occasion; moreover, if Irish society discriminates against travellers’ culture because of its class difference, the Andalusian one is never represented as excluded. This contrast reflects unequal dynamics of exclusion towards different groups in Europe.

### **‘Convivencia’, inclusion and exclusion**

The representations in *El Rocio Pilgrimage* reflect a confluence between the Spanish meaning (which is also the original one used by the interviewed locals) of the word ‘convivencia’, as coexistence or ‘living together’ (Erickson, 2011; Novicka & Vertovec, 2014; Overin & Passes, 2000; Wise & Noble, 2016), and the English one of ‘having a good time with others’ (Duru, 2024, p.5). Originally, the term was adopted to describe precisely the context of Andalusia in the Middle Ages, in its coexistence between different religious groups (Heil, 2015; Mann et al. 1992; Suárez-Navaz, 2004). In this contemporary media representation, religious difference leaves space to a rather unifying vision of Catholicism, experienced in commonality and described by a pilgrim as ‘a moment when it’s a coexistence<sup>18</sup>, or friendship, of an old friendship that you have’. This joyful embodiment of Andalusian Catholicism is in sharp contrast with the Islamic culture in *Losing My Religion*, where an ex-Muslim woman living in France criticises Islam:

We have two cultures we must have to reconcile and that’s complicated. I think Islam is the biggest problem. I call it culture, but it’s Islam that demands things that aren’t compatible. It’s part of you, and you live in a country that tolerates it. That’s the conflict: they hate everything French but still live here (anonymous woman).

If ‘conflict’, ‘tolerance’ and ‘problem’ represent the Islamic culture as incompatible with religion, the Andalusian culture is lived in harmony with ‘religiosity’:

This is Andalusia. Our traditions seem frozen in time and they're closely linked to all our folklore. Our entire culture is closely linked to religiosity. And although to the world, it seems that we haven't modernised and it isn't fashionable to be Christian, to be Catholic, it's still alive precisely because of those traditions (David Rubio, Andalusian businessman and pilgrim).

In these examples, culture is depicted by the local people as a 'fiesta', an embodied practice lived through senses (Chau, 2008; Duru, 2016), rather than in abstraction: a pilgrim describes how 'people are joyously singing the Sevillian *rociera* about religion, about the path, about experiences ... living them, living and feeling'<sup>19</sup>.

In relation to inclusion and exclusion, Andalusians pilgrims describe their culture as both context-specific, addressed to Andalusians only, *and* as 'open' to all, regardless of nationality or other markers of belonging. This contradiction emerges in the exchange between two pilgrims, proudly describing their music as part of the local identity, and later in Titi's idea of El Rocio as welcoming, because 'This has nothing to do with Andalusian or non-Andalusian. A *rocillero* may be a man from Ukraine, and poor, in the war. El Rocio has no borders'. This represents inclusion in terms of belonging to the community of *rocilleros*, where cultural practices are shared within a *similar* rather than a heterogeneous group, and suggest nuanced understandings of 'closed' and 'open' cultures in Europe, and the respective dynamics of inclusion of 'others'.

The analysis of cultural diversity suggests that its practices are represented as lived in conviviality in Europe, in the case of the Andalusian 'popular religiosity', or in conflict when referring to Islam. This contrast, in two different contexts but related to the existence of plural cultures in Europe, critically reminds researchers to 'explore conviviality and coexistence/toleration together, explore how they take place, how they are related to each other, and analyse the situations in which the balance between them break' (Duru, 2024, p.242).

## **Intersectionality and Superdiversity**

In comparing the dimensions of diversity in a holistic approach, the analysis can be summarised as follows. Religious diversity was represented as a separation between Christians and Muslims, the different denominations of Christianity, and *within* the same 'subcategory' of religion, resulting from diverse interpretations of the same belief. For

instance, QCA showed that, in the documentary *Lavish Communion in Poland*, there was a representation of ‘superdiversity’, intended as diversity within diversity, at different localities: the Catholic communion was lived in the luxury of castles in the city of Łódź, and in inner-contemplation and prayer in the rural village of Trzeszków. At the intersection between religion and class difference, these communions in rural and urban Poland reflect ‘structures of material inequality’ (Crompton, 2008, p.6).

In this category, the representation of a variety of groups links religion with other dimensions of diversity, such as *gender*, where the condition of ‘single mothers’ in Catholic Ireland is framed as problematic<sup>20</sup>, or *politics*, where the fight against the ‘mafia’ by Italian priests suggests ‘the very diverse ways in which religion intersects with politics’ (Byrnes, 2006, p.302)<sup>21</sup>. This foregrounds religion as one of the ‘many diacritical markers ... that set normative standards for belonging and thus potentially organize social inclusion and exclusion’ (Koenig & Knöbl, 2015, p.7), themes at the core of *Losing my religion*.

In this documentary, apostasy experiences are linked to ‘questions of identity, belonging and the formation of the boundaries that separate insiders from outsiders’ (Larsson, 2018, p.218), and highlight the gendered aspects of religion and politics in the context of Islam (Mahmood, 2009). Moreover, religious diversity intersects with politics in the representation of apostasy, as a political weapon by far-right agendas to promote an image of Europe as ‘modern’ and ‘secular’ (Delanty, 2013; Vlieg, 2019). The documentary foregrounds exclusion and discrimination in Islamic societies, and freedom, hospitality and inclusion in the European ones, mobilising questions at the core of Europe’s contemporary complex, heterogeneous society. It suggests a holistic understanding of diversity that ‘should be examined in terms of its own meanings, intersections, constraints, and processes’ (Vertovec, 2023a, p.166), that vary according to individual experiences and national contexts in Europe, as it emerged in the stories of Ahmed, Zeinab and Momo in Germany and France, and of Andalusian pilgrims. Only in this approach, it is possible to discard homogenising and islamophobic discourses, that either neglect the role and prominence of Muslims in Europe or equates Islam to its extremisms, in favour of a nuanced investigation of the relationship between Europe and Islam.

The analysis of cultural diversity through two documentaries, *El Rocío Pilgrimage* and *Losing my religion*, suggests how culture and religion inevitably intersect in the representation of a community’s practices, whether in special celebrations or in everyday life,



showing the ‘variety of ways of dealing with religious and other forms of social and cultural diversity and their entailments’ (Knott, 2015, p.92).

The stories of transgender and non-binary protagonists in *Showtime in Paris* showed how gender diversity is ‘constituted’ by several kinds of diversities, to promote a fluid representation of gender, and where the discrimination resulting from this ‘superdiversity’ can be investigated through Crenshaw’s (1989) intersectionality lenses:

[T]ransgender people experience marginalisation and discrimination because of their very refusal to conform to the two-sex system and fit in or adapt to become feminine or masculine. They are stigmatised as cross dressers, drag queens or kings and transgender, and are continuously challenged to adopt a particular sex (Crenshaw, 1989, p.28).

This double discrimination also emerged in the analysis of political diversity in the case of Russian journalists as ‘outcasts both in Russia and Europe’, reinforcing an understanding of diversity as *opposed to binary*, and equalising, interpretations of societal complexities.

The analysis of *Empowerment through football* showed the intersection between ethnic and gender diversity, the latter as ‘the differences between women as well as between women and other social groups’ (Agustín, 2013, p.158), in understanding inclusion and exclusion within a sport, differently perceived from various cultural and religious standpoints.

*Disabled Fashionistas in Baku*, and other documentaries referring to disability, suggest how the latter, in the example of depression, is represented in its intersection with other dimensions of diversity and difference: class, reinforcing a circle of social exclusion for minorities; and gender, foregrounding mental health issues within the LGBTQ community. This intersectionality foregrounds the need to understand complex society through an equally complex interplay of diversity approaches: ‘health’ diversity, in particular, can be formulated via the lens of social constructivism, as ‘the interpretation of our experience within our particular cultural context of assumptions, norms and values’ (Burr, 2015, p.46).

Finally, in the analysis of *Irish travelers. A community in danger*, the multiple levels of class difference, as reflected in the areas of education, and employment and housing, was suggested through representations of Irish travellers and African students’ everyday life struggles. In the first case, in particular, class is explicitly framed in relation to discrimination

and oppression by a traveller senator talking to her community: ‘Not only are you discriminated against, you have internalized oppression. We are not treated as second class citizens in this state, we are treated as rubbish!’. In doing so, ARTE documentaries call for complexity and intersectionality in investigating contemporary European stories, a framework that can be understood as follows:

*Intersectionality* signifies the need to understand oppression not from a single axis (patriarchy, racism, colonialism, heteronormativity, capitalism, ableism, etc.), but from the *intersecting dynamics* of two or more of these axes that shape most experiences of domination, exclusion and marginalization (Bruyneel, 2019, p.437, my emphasis).

To conclude, if *intersection* refers to the ways in which multiple dimensions of diversity need to be investigated in a holistic approach, *intersectionality* considers the effects that this intersection creates in the everyday lives of people, entailing potential realities of exclusion or discrimination from one’s simultaneous belonging to different areas of diversity.

<b>Summary of Intersectionality and Superdiversity</b>		
<b>Dimension</b>	<b>Intersectionality (horizontal)</b>	<b>Superdiversity (vertical)</b>
Religion	Religion + Class Religion + Gender Religion + Culture Religion + Politics	Lavish communions Traditional ceremonies Refusal of faith
Politics	Politics + Gender	Russians Europeans
Gender	Gender + Politics Gender + Disability Gender + Culture	Transgender Non-binary Masculinities
Class	Class + Disability Class + Race	Inequality in: Education Employment Housing
Disability	Disability + Class Disability + Gender	Mental health Physical health
Culture	Culture + Religion Culture + Gender Culture + Ethnicity	‘Everyday’ culture ‘Occasional’ culture Food Tradition Lifestyle
Ethnicity	Ethnicity + Gender Ethnicity + Culture	Religion (Yazidis) Gender (Scoring Girls) Culture (Iraqi food) Nationalities (German/ Kurd) Languages (German/Kurdish)
Race	Race + Class	

## CONCLUSION

From theoretical and contextual investigations of narratives of Europe, the aim of the thesis was to analyse the media representation of diversity in relation to specific European contexts, delimited by the framework of the contemporary ARTE Magazine Show ‘Re: European Stories’.

Through the analysis of a selected sample of 8 documentaries, carried out through qualitative content and textual analysis, I have argued for an understanding of European diversities in the media that challenges homogeneous and unified visions of European everyday lives, while claiming for the role of European media in highlighting the multiple dimensions of diversities in this context. It is precisely in their *intersectionality* and *superdiversity* that the complexity of European societies and experiences emerge. In the following section, the original research questions are answered.

### **RQ1: What kinds of diversities are represented in ARTE’s Magazine Show ‘Regards: European Stories’? In which ways?**

In answering the first research question, qualitative content analysis was performed to address a relevant body of material from the European media platform, and the following findings emerged. First, the 8 main ‘kinds of diversities’ represented, both deduced from theory and inducted from data, were represented in their *intersection*, showcasing how personal and collective identities were constructed along the lines of religion and culture, politics and class, race and ethnicity, gender and disability. Moreover, this ‘superdiversity’ was not only represented as intersection, but also as *diversity within diversity*, pointing at the multiple levels and interpretations of a particular dimension, such as religion. The analysis showed that even the ‘absence’, or refusal, or faith, can be crucial in formulating one’s belonging or non-belonging to a particular group, enacting dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in the society one lives in.

Linking horizontal (intersection) and vertical (diversity within diversity) understandings of diversity (see Table p.64), media representations of European stories emerged in complexity: the intersection between class and religious diversity was coupled with a different experience of the same religion, resulting in two distinct representations of Catholicism as lived in luxury or simplicity.

Second, ‘the diversity of European standpoints’ from the title was represented in the documentaries as a lived practice (of inhabiting spaces, participating in cultural traditions, or practising sport among the same ethnic group) or as a literal ‘performance’ (of gender fluidity in a Parisian cabaret). *Practices* or *performances of diversity* become useful terms in the framework of this analysis, to designate an embodied, experiential way to live diversity from the standpoint of the people. However, the terms by no means points at ‘performance’ as a fictional representation: in fact, an overall analysis of ARTE’s aims and of the documentary genre suggests the authenticity, and actual existence, of the stories and realities of the films.

In opposition to several dimensions of diversity, the *absence of diversity*, and the resulting homogenising or exploiting discourses, was represented as promoted by right-wing political agendas in Europe: by defining Russians as all accomplices to the invasion of Ukraine; by using Islamic apostates’ counternarrative to reinforce negative perceptions of Islam, and islamophobia; and by framing the LGBTQ community in the media as dangerous propaganda.

Finally, it should be stressed that the analysis focuses on the ways diversities are *lived by the protagonists* of the documentaries and *represented by ARTE*. In doing so, the aim of the thesis was to balance a horizontal study on the representation of diversity, with a vertical, specialised insight on every kind of diversity which, however, by no means tries to be exhaustive. As noted by Vertovec (2023):

Every category, criterion, or marker of difference (and their intersections) has a unique history of discrimination, with differential self- and other-ascribed meanings and discrete social, economic, and political outcomes (Vertovec, 2023a, pp.166-7).

While striking for keeping these categories mutually exclusive to achieve methodological clarity (Bryman, 2012), several dimensions of diversity needed to be considered in dialogue as mutually informing each other, a demonstration that ‘absolute unambiguity cannot always be achieved’ (Kuckartz & Rädiker, 2023, p.42), and a reflection of the complexity and heterogeneity of the social worlds represented in the documentaries. For instance, religious and cultural diversity could not be easily separated in the documentary *The El Rocio Pilgrimage*, as it emerges in the ARTE synopsis (‘a festival that brings together religion, flamenco and horses’), and in the words of a local: ‘Our entire culture is closely linked to religiosity’. Another case of how ‘the textual layering of diversity is in itself constituted by

several of [these] categories’ (Braedel-Kühner et al. 2016, p.12) was the intersection between ‘ethnicity’ and ‘class’. As argued by Bracic (2022) in her study of social exclusion, the latter ‘happens along several dimensions such that people can find themselves excluded in the realms of education, employment, housing, health, politics, and more’ (p.1045). Therefore, representations of ethnic diversities, and of minorities in particular, mainly referred to class differences in relation to their wider context: for instance, Irish travellers were portrayed in their social and economic condition that made them different from, and excluded by, the rest of Irish society.

Balancing a focus on the content with that on the producer, the analysis of ARTE as a ‘pan-European’ media was crucial in understanding its specific approach to the representation of European diversities. While ideals of inclusion were highlighted as being transnational (such as in the representation of disability), a strongly European standpoint was present in the documentaries: for instance, the analysis of gender diversity showed how ARTE associates LGBTQ rights with Western European values, and ‘includes’ narratives of Muslims in this framework only in light of their abdication from Islam. This aspect reflects ARTE as ‘the *European* culture channel’, while representing migration stories in a heterogeneous, contemporary Europe. Those stories suggest migration-driven diversity as internal, and characteristic, to European societies, whose dynamics of inclusion and exclusion are discussed in the next section.

**RQ2: How do these representations of diversity relate to issues of inclusion and exclusion in Europe?**

As for the second research question, the findings were multiple and more complex, because they considered the contemporary European realities reflected in the documentaries: social, political, religious, ethnic, racial, gender, class, and disability-related ones.

The analysis suggested a two-sided representation of Europe as *both* inclusive and exclusive towards specific groups and their related diversity. This double dynamics, emerging from the themes of ARTE’s documentaries, informs how diversities are lived and perceived within structures of solidarity, inclusion and exclusion. In fact, I argue that diversities can be lived in conviviality and through shared practices, but can also create divides and separations between groups, defined by sameness; therefore, diversity can be better formulated as a fragile

dimension that constantly moves between these two positions. In the following section, I develop this argument further in conjunction with the concept of ‘unity in diversity’.

### **United Europe: conviviality, inclusion and solidarity**

A unified and convivial image of European societies emerges in relation to their cultural diversity, expressed through ordinary (food preparation and consumption) and extraordinary practices (cultural and religious traditions). These representations suggest conviviality in Europe as a shared, embodied experience between people belonging to the same ‘cultural group’, community or locality. Within histories of migration, or diaspora, these convivial practices become crucial in maintaining one’s identity and link to a sense of ‘home’, which, as Stuart Hall suggested, is lost in the case of migration, the latter defined as ‘a one-way trip’ (Hall, 1987, p.44).

In the ‘complex nature of contemporary, migration driven diversity’ (Vertovec, 2010, p.170) in Europe, then, words such as *conviviality* and *solidarity*, while generally referring to a shared practice between people and groups from different backgrounds, religions or ethnicities, acquire more complex meanings in the case of migrant experiences. By intending conviviality as ‘integration at all costs’, the risk is to minimise the struggle that migrants might face upon arrival to a new culture, and that policies of integration in Europe should be sensitive to the stories that those groups bring with them.

Removing migration as a factor (of analysis), conviviality can still denote a sense of commonality, lived and experienced in togetherness by local or regional groups in particular contexts in Europe, such as Andalusia, defining diversity as an internal feature of European societies. Conviviality and inclusion are also commonly associated with gender diversity, especially in contemporary policy discourses in Europe. However, inclusivity still links members of an already established community, such as the LGBTQIA+ one: its members share similar experiences of identity processes and discrimination, and more easily find support and solidarity structures *within* the community, rather than in the outside, ‘heteronormative’ society. Similarly, inclusion discourses can be used to describe disability as a sphere of diversity, whether concerning physical or mental health: people who share similar experiences constitute the group where convivial practices can arise, and where disability functions as a social bond that transcends markers of identity ‘politics’, such as religious

affiliation or national citizenship.

Arguing for the need of a holistic understanding of the multiple dimensions of diversity, and the power relations in which they are embedded, the thesis follows the research direction delineated by Vertovec (2015) in regard to diversity studies:

[B]y linking sociological, anthropological and geographical analyses within the field of migration studies, we can learn a great deal about migrants' motivations, adaptations, community dynamics and patterns of transnational linkage; similarly, through a range of works across disciplines within gender studies we can understand more about the social construction of masculinities and femininities, gender roles in relation to biological and cultural traits and the reproduction of patriarchies (Vertovec, 2015, pp.9-10).

Solidarity structures in Europe are traditionally associated with attitudes of hospitality towards groups who find themselves in precarious or dangerous situations; when they take place, they tend to designate Europe as a welcoming place of democracy, freedom and rights. These dynamics have emerged in the stories of African migrants, in their trajectory to reach a European standard of education, and in those of ex-Muslims, who feel free to express their ideas against Islam in the 'new' European societies they live in. These portrayals of solidarity and hospitality in Europe, which might relegate exclusion and discrimination issues in the background, frame human rights, such as theLGBTQ ones, in close association with a 'free Europe'. For instance, 'migrant narratives' (Leurs et al. 2020) often frame Europe as a blurred dream, a developed country vaguely defined in opposition to their reality, or to other world contexts more broadly.

Inclusion and solidarity also play a crucial role within minorities in Europe. They can enable stronger connections through a common narrative of diaspora, or mental health support through a shared reality of social exclusion, as in the case of Irish travellers. In the documentary about the ethno-religious minority of Yazidis, solidarity is crucial to 'integrate' into the new society, while maintaining the memory of the country of origin. In this framework, the minority's sense of identity and belonging is fostered through material practices and emotional structures as well.



## **Divided Europe: exclusion, discrimination and difference**

Since terms are always relational, the representation of an inclusive and hospitable Europe goes together with the recognition that Europe is, as a geographical and socio-political region, defined by its boundaries. It therefore connotes issues of exclusion along both ‘religious’ or ‘secular’ lines, however blurred, that seem to define Europe in opposition to other worldviews.

Islam, for instance, a debated issue in contemporary politics, denotes a ‘difference’ in comparison to the so-called majority of Europeans, despite the considerable presence of Muslims in Europe, even more prominent today within the phenomenon of ‘EuroIslam’ (Ahmed, 2018; Alsayyad & Castells, 2002; Delanty, 2013; Göle, 2004; Hellyer, 2009; Nielsen, 1999). Recently, a debate in Italian politics arose when a school in Pioltello, Milan decided to close on occasion of the last day of the Ramadan, because about 40 percent of the students were Muslims. The far-right Italian politician Salvini did not wait to express nationalist and supposedly ‘secular’ criticism towards the decision of the school, framed as ‘an unacceptable choice, against the values, identity and traditions of our country. This is not the ‘model’ of Italy and Europe that we want’ (Fatto Quotidiano, 17 March 2024, n.p.).

If religious borders can create contrasts and conflict, so is the more explicit case of geographical borders, physically separating Europe from other parts of the world. The representation of ‘Eufrika’ as a liminal space between Europe and Africa, for instance, highlighted the power of borders, both material and metaphorical. It further suggests that ‘Fortress Europe’ may solidify in the upcoming years, as new wars and conflicts suggest future dynamics of immigration to the continent, one that ‘needs migrants but simultaneously fears them’ (Checkel & Katzenstein, 2009, p.226). The limits and exclusions of Europe as a fortress, either imagined or lived, have been poetically and powerfully reconstructed in the recent film *Io Capitano* (Garrone, 2023): here, we follow the journey of Seydou and Moussa from Senegal to Italy, across unspeakable tortures and challenges, but also with moments of hope for a new country that might – or not – welcome them. Between fiction and documentary, the film puts the audience in front of migrant experiences, whose tangible names and images interrogate Europeans about their (our) positioning in these stories.

And even *within* the borders of Europe, exclusion and discrimination still happen if one

belongs to the less privileged strata of society. Inequality structures, either material (as the access to livable space) or cultural (as the access to education as a key factor to overcome inequalities) are, in fact, common realities of exclusion in Europe, especially ‘where markers of *difference* also have somatic links with individuals’ appearance and/or behaviours’ (Thomas, 2015, p.45). Minorities, moreover, are often excluded by the ‘dominant’ group, also because the latter is numerically dominant, designating exclusion and discrimination, among others, as matters of *majority and minority*.

Finally, solidarity in Europe might designate a different way of performing exclusionary tendencies, by selecting one particular group (among others who might need the same support), because of its affinity to a certain European identity and values. Solidarity becomes, then, a matter of contrast with non-European standpoints, reinforcing an exclusionary understanding of ‘otherness’ and ‘difference’. For this reason, I suggest that further research on diversity, and its related issues of inclusion and exclusion, should not only interrogate Eurocentric standpoints, but also ‘underline the importance of including historical and non-Western contexts in order to build better theory concerning contexts, process and consequences of variable modes of social differentiation’ (Vertovec, 2015, p.10), and investigate the field beyond the borders of Europe.

### **(Super)diverse Europe: complexity, intersectionality, and diversities**

I argue that European media need to recognize the ways in which ‘superdiversity’, or the mutually connected levels of diversity in complex societies, informs the ideas of Europe, and to systematically consider the multiple patterns of migration that create Europe today. The representation of diversity in Europe, in a European media channel such as ARTE, has highlighted the presence of a strong European stance (through the presence of European agents, initiatives, or voiceover) that does not, however, equate Europe to any fixed image or category. Rather, this representation includes diverse protagonists, contexts, and stories that point at diversity as the *norm* rather than the *exception* in our increasingly complex societies (Vertovec, 2023a). In fact, although each story embodied a kind of diversity more explicitly, there was no distinct barrier between those dimensions, but rather fluidity and intersection between them.

The thesis, therefore, was an attempt to conceptualise the diversity in which we are living, through a concrete case study that represents multiple diversities from the context of European media. I argue that the role of the latter in representing diversity is a crucial one in pointing at narratives of diversity and difference. In Europe, a standpoint that recognizes superdiversity as ‘endemic’ in society might be a concrete suggestion to be suspicious towards any fixed, immobile and limited understanding of Europe and its inhabitants. Rather, this diversity study could be seen as a strategy to combat unifying and one-dimensional views of Europe and Europeans, that are fertile ground for nationalism and xenophobia.

A holistic understanding of diversity is a necessary tool to grasp the complexity of European realities, one where multiple dimensions of diversity cannot – and most importantly, *should* not – be easily separated. In this complexity, it is necessary to engage every day in reflections around migration, inclusion, exclusion and solidarity in Europe, because those are the questions that mostly mobilise the fragile dimensions of the Self and the Other(s) in the context we live in.

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## Endnotes

1. A note of the words ‘report’ and ‘reportage’. Although their difference, mainly related to length, is crucial in the context of journalism, it is not relevant in the framework of this study, where the interest lies in the formats of ‘report’ and ‘reportage’ as both part of the documentary genre. For this reason, I mainly employ the term ‘documentary’ when referring to the constitutive films of the collection ‘Re: European stories’.
2. ARTE’s eleven European public service partners . LTV (Latvia) - 2023; RTVE (Spain) - 2022; LRT (Lithuania) - 2022; Film Fund Luxembourg - 2018; RTÉ (Ireland) - 2016; RAI Com (Italy) - 2016; ČT (Czech Republic) - 2013; ORF (Austria) - 2001; YLE (Finland) - 1999; SRG SSR (Switzerland) - 1995; RTBF (Belgium) - 1993.
3. ‘Realität’ and ‘Reaktion’: Reality, reaction. (German)
4. In German, ‘Vielfalt’ could be translated into ‘variety’, or ‘multiplicity’, while ‘Diversität’ usually refers to the diversity of the people.
5. ARTE RE: Wie wir ticken. Reportages aus Europa (‘how we are. Reportages from Europe’).
6. For a discussion on Christianity and secularism in Europe, see Delanty, G. (2013) Formations of European modernity. A historical and political sociology of Europe, pp 67-82, Chapter: Christianity in the Making of Europe.
7. ‘La mort sociale’ in French, translated in the subtitles with ‘ostracism’.
8. Within the time frame considered (19/12/2023 - 14/02/2024): Hungary (Orban), Russia (Putin), Israel (Netanyahu) and Turkey (Erdoğan).
9. In the respective order: *Hungarian school kid defies Orban. Elections in Turkey. The Anti-Erdogan Alliance. A Polish mayor fights for tolerance. Dojd. Russian media in exile.*
10. *Russian conscientious objectors.*
11. *Russians in Serbia. Very discreet exiles.*
12. The English title states ‘Dojd’, while within the documentary the subtitles spell ‘Dozhd’.
13. ‘How others see you’ (‘Comment les autres te perçoivent’ in the original French, my translation),
14. ‘Travelos’ in the original French.
15. *Romania on Alert. The fear of war next door; Surrounded by the enemy. Life in Moldova’s security zone; Tensions in Kosovo.*
16. *Pieds-Noirs. Eternal Algerian exiles.*
17. ‘Hier bin ich nicht so fremd’: here I am not such a foreigner / stranger, in the subtitles: ‘here I belong’.
18. ‘Convivencia’ in the original Spanish.
19. ‘Sentiendo’ in the original Spanish: feeling (with the senses).
20. *Ireland’s forced adoptions.*
21. *Preaching for peace. Italy’s anti-mafia priests.*

## Appendices

### Appendix 1: List of the final sample of 8 documentaries

Diversity	Languages	Title <i>[translations if they differ from the English title]</i>	Date / availability	Link to English version	Production companies (Countries if available)	Languages spoken	ARTE Synopsis
Gender	ENG	Re: Showtime in Paris: Madame Arthur's Cabaret	Filmed on: 18/09/2023 Available until: 20/10/2026	<a href="https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/111777-008-A/re-showtime-in-paris/">https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/111777-008-A/re-showtime-in-paris/</a>	Together Media (France) Arte Regards	French <i>Voiceover:</i> German	Since 1946, punters have flocked to Parisian cabaret Madame Arthur to see the creatures of the night. The pioneering venue is a place of iconoclastic freedom where the art of showmanship meets the refusal to conform to established sexual norms.
	FR	Re: Madame Arthur: Le cabaret du mélange des genres <i>[Madame Arthur: The Cabaret of the mixing of genders]</i>					
	DE	Re: Showtime in Paris: Madame Arthurs Cabaret					
Culture	ENG	Re: The El Rocío Pilgrimage. An Andalusian Fiesta	Filmed on: 18/10/2023 Available until: 16/10/2028	<a href="https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/111751-009-A/re-the-el-rocio-pilgrimage/">https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/111751-009-A/re-the-el-rocio-pilgrimage/</a>	The Big Story Film ZDF (Germany) Arte	Spanish <i>voiceover:</i> German	El Rocío, a village with a population of just 800, attracts almost 900,000 pilgrims every year for one of the most spectacular events in Spain - a festival that brings together religion,
	FR	Re: Le pèlerinage d'El Rocío, une fête andalouse					

	<b>DE</b>	Re: Die Wallfahrt nach El Rocio. Sherry, Flamenco und Gebet [The El Rocio Pilgrimage. Sherry, Flamenco and prayer]					flamenco and horses.
<b>Disability</b>	<b>ENG</b>	Re: Disabled Fashionistas in Baku	Filmed on: 23/11/2023 Available until: 21/11/2024	<a href="https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/110252-009-A/re-disabled-fashionistas-in-baku/">https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/110252-009-A/re-disabled-fashionistas-in-baku/</a>	Sagamedia (Germany) WDR (Germany) Arte	Azerbaijani Uzbek English German French <i>voiceover:</i> German	Mahammad Kekalov has a passion: offering minorities fashion designed just for them, made in Azerbaijan. This young student lives in the capital Baku where he produces clothes and organises fashion shows. His models are blind, wheelchair users or have difficulty walking.
	<b>FR</b>	Re: Mode et handicap: design made in Bakou [Fashion and handicap: design made in Baku]					
	<b>DE</b>	Re: Fashion aus Baku. Mode für Menschen mit Handicap [Fashion from Baku. Fashion for people with handicap]					
<b>Religion</b>	<b>ENG</b>	Re: Losing my religion. When Muslims stop believing	Filmed on: 07/04/2022 Available until: 25/07/2024	<a href="https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/100290-005-A/re-losing-my-religion/">https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/100290-005-A/re-losing-my-religion/</a>	HR productions (Germany)	German French <i>voiceover:</i> German	Muslims that renounce their religion can be shunned by their family and receive death threats. Apostasy is condemned by the Koran and those who turn their back on Islam may be
	<b>FR</b>	Re: Adieu Allah: quand les musulmans se détournent de la foi					

		<i>[Farewell Allah: when Muslim turn away from the faith]</i>					subject to divine punishment. ARTE Re: follows four Muslims who no longer believe in Allah.
	<b>DE</b>	Re: Abschied von Allah: wenn Muslime aufhören zu glauben					
<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>ENG</b>	Re: Empowerment through football	Filmed on: 07/07/2023 Available until: 06/07/2024	<a href="https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/110252-011-A/re-empowerment-through-football/">https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/110252-011-A/re-empowerment-through-football/</a>	Kigali Films (Germany) WDR (Germany) Arte	German Kurdish <i>voiceover:</i> German	In Germany, the Scoring Girls project aims to help girls from migrant backgrounds to build their self-esteem through football, It's a sport that challenges certain cultural or religious practices. But for Tugba Tekkal, the initiator of the project, football can be a vehicle for integration.
	<b>FR</b>	Re: Les Scoring Girls : le football leur donne des ailes <i>[The Scoring Girls: football gives them wings]</i>					
	<b>DE</b>	Re: Stark durch Fußball, Mädchen kicken gegen Widerstände <i>[Strong through football. Girls kick against resistance]</i>					
<b>Class</b>	<b>ENG</b>	Re: Irish Travellers. A Minority in Danger	Filmed on: 08/11/2022 Available until: 06/11/2026	<a href="https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/107608-008-A/re-irish-travellers/">https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/107608-008-A/re-irish-travellers/</a>	Kraken Films (France) Arte	English, Irish <i>Voiceover:</i> English	Irish Travelers live on the fringes of society and their living conditions are on a downward spiral. A recent EU study
	<b>FR</b>	Re: Irish Travellers, minorité en danger					

	<b>DE</b>	Re: Ein Volk auf Reise. Das harte Leben der Irish Traveller [ <i>A population on the move. The hard life of Irish travellers</i> ]					revealed shocking figures: 11% of Irish travellers die by suicide and most die before the age of 65. No other minority in Europe faces such dire statistics.
<b>Race</b>	<b>ENG</b>	Re: Stranded in Northern Cyprus. African Students in Need	Filmed on: 21/11/2023 Available until: 19/11/2028	<a href="https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/111751-003-A/re-stranded-in-northern-cyprus/">https://www.arte.tv/en/videos/111751-003-A/re-stranded-in-northern-cyprus/</a>	Carlo ZDF (Germany) Arte	English, French  <i>Voiceover:</i> German	Hubert is from Cameroon and dreams of studying in Europe. The relatively easy visa procedure and the low university fees in Northern Cyprus are a big draw for him and other foreign students. The further education sector in Northern Cyprus is positioning itself as a cheaper alternative to studying in the European Union. But with many African students disappointed, it it keeping its promises?
	<b>FR</b>	Re: Etudier à Chypre Nord - Une tromperie organisée [ <i>Studying in Northern Cyprus - an organised scam</i> ]					
	<b>DE</b>	Re: Gestrandet in Nordzypem. Afrikanische Studierende in Not					
<b>Politics</b>	<b>ENG</b>	Re: Dojd: Russian Media in Exile	Filmed on: 23/02/2024* Available until: 22/02/2028		Kobalt Productions (Germany)	Russian  <i>voiceover:</i> German	Dojd was the main independent TV channel in Russia, critical of the regime. But after the invasion of Ukraine, they
	<b>FR</b>	Re: Dojd, un média en exil - L'Europe et l'opposition					



		russe [ <i>Dojd, a media in exile - Europe and the Russian opposition</i> ]					had to leave. Setting up in Latvia before moving on to the Netherlands, the station has not been welcomed with open arms in Europe.
	DE	Re: Ein Sender im Exil - Europa und die russische Opposition [ <i>A media in exile - Europe and the Russian opposition</i> ]	*2 year anniversary of the outbreak of the war.				

## Appendix 2: One transcript of documentary

### *Empowerment through Football*

Notes: ARTE voiceover in *italic*; information on the visuals in brackets []

*Voice over: This is a very special football team: the Scoring Girls, made up of girls of many different countries*

- “Scoring Girls helped me find my passion: football”.

*Maisun and Maisa have been part of the team from the start.*

- Maisun: “Scoring Girls helped me lose all the fears that war created in me. I feel free here.

*On the pitch, it’s about more than just the sport*

- Trainer: (*to the girls*) Good, stay on it, stay on it! (*to the camera*) Football has helped many girls grow in confidence and show them they can overcome everything.

**Title: Empowerment through Football (ENG); Stark dutch Fußball. Mädchen kicken gegen Widerstände (DE) / Les Scoring Girls. Le foot leur donne des ailes (FR)**

Showing the map: Cologne, Germany

*The Scoring Girls meet on the training grounds next to the Cologne Bundesliga Stadium.*

Ok girls, shoes on!

*They train once a week.*

- *Maisun*: It's mostly about having fun. The training isn't just focused on playing matches. It's about having fun, forgetting your problems and spending time with your friends.

*Just playing, without any worries. A new experience for the sisters. Nine years ago, they and their family fled the war in Iraq.*

- *Maisa*: I used to be very shy, never talked with anyone. At school too. Training helped me talk more at school and make more friends. And I've become more self confident.

[Girls running and training under the 'orders' of the trainer]

*Tugba Tekkal is the boss around here. Her goal for the scoring girls isn't just about football skills.*

- The Scoring Girls isn't a regular club. It's a sport project for girls who are usually excluded from this sport. We include them.

[Trainer showed next to the map of Cologne]

*The girls are from a dozen different countries and have different religions. Tugba Tekkal was born in Germany. She comes from a Kurdish-Yazidi family background*

- *Tugba*: I've experienced much discrimination. I had teachers who didn't believe in me, told me I would never make it, said I'd be a cleaner like my mum. It's a honorable profession, but they had no confidence in me. And when you're 12 or 13, that affects you. You believe it. I'm 38 now and I still notice how this beliefs still affect me a little. In the end it was football that proved that I can excel at something.

*She is so good that she made it into professional sports.*

- *Tugba* to the girls: Do you see how great working together feels? This is really really important.

*Tugba played in the Bundesliga for FC Cologne. She has to go against her family to achieve her dream.*

- *Tugba*: My parents didn't allow me to play football. They said it's a boys' sport. That it's not a girls' sport. I came home with bruised legs and they said that was unacceptable. So I played football in secret.

*It wasn't until years later that her parents gave her approval. To this day, it has been a major issue in Tugba's work: many parents forbid their daughters from playing football.*

- *Tugba*: Fear of social exclusion, fear of losing or forgetting language, or forgetting their roots. Parents have these fears and we must try to ease them.

[Showing buildings from the top] *Maisa and Maisun live here, on the outskirts of Cologne.*

[inside the house] *The family of seven lives in a four-room flat. As they are expecting*

*company this evening, they are preparing a special meal. Maisa and her mother are rolling spinach leaves and filling them with rice and vegetables.*

- *Maisa:* We use food to remind us of our home in Iraq, what our culture means. This [the food] is very traditional in Iraq, every family likes it: Afracgh.

[Tugba greeting the girls at the entrance of their house, and then their families as she is invited to come inside]

*Tugba has become like a big sister to the girls. Unlike many other parents, theirs are not against their daughters playing football. They have been surprised by how the football practice has affected their girls.*

- *Maisa and Maisun's mother, talking in Iraqi Arabic?:* We forced them to go to school. They couldn't speak German. Maisa was in fourth grade, Maisun in first grade. They couldn't be together as Maisun wouldn't speak at all. But six months later, a teacher came over, we asked how it was going, and she said that now Maisun wouldn't stop speaking!

[everyone sits at the table to eat]

*Tugba and the family are also connected through their religion: Yazidism. The family is from the north of Iraq, one of the main settlement areas of the Yazidis. In 2014, they had to flee the Islamic State, along with thousand of others.*

- *Tugba:* You have to imagine: we are at present one million Yazidis, and half, so 500 million, had to flee. Most of them live in Germany, 220 or 250 thousand I think. We don't have religious writings like others. We have no Torah, Bible or Quran. Our religion is passed down orally. And that's why the IS tried to systematically murder our chiefs, so that this religion would die with them too.

*After dinner, they all congregate on the sofa to watch the Champions' league: Manchester city are playing RB Leipzig. The stadium is sold out and the match is broadcast live. This is normal in men's professional football. Maisa and Maisun have predominantly male role models, although now, there are also some well known female football players too.*

- *Maisun:* Barcelona has a great team. But they're the only ones who are well known.

*Nonetheless, Maisun has the German Women's team T-Shirt. It was a present from Tugba.*

- *Tugba to Maisun:* With your name. Maybe one day you'll wear a shirt like this and sing the German national anthem...
- *Maisun:* When the women are famous. [laughing]
- *Tugba:* Maybe when you're playing, we'll see more women on TV. Famous ones.
- *Maisun:* That would be nice.

- *Tugba*: That's your dream?
- *Maisun*: Yes.
- *Tugba*: So let's make it come true.

[Back to the football pitch, following Tugba]

*Tugba's own dream came true here: on the pitch of FC Cologne. In this stadium, she experienced the highlight of her career.*

- *Tugba*: In 2015, we were promoted. Won the championship unchallenged. It was one of the best days of my life.

[Archive video]. *The team was promoted to the Erste Bundesliga, the highest level of the German football league system. While Tugba was playing her best season, thousands of kilometres away, the IS was attacking the Yazidis in Iraq.*

- *Tugba*: When I wasn't training or playing, I was always occupied in my mind, the whole picture. My sister was there then. She sent videos and photos. The fear was ever-present. Except of those two hours at practice, or at matches, when I could switch off. But it was also the year we were promoted. A successful year. So two worlds collided. So it was very difficult for me to deal with it.

*Tugba didn't want to stand idly by, so with her sisters, she founded the human rights organisation "Hawar.help". It translates to "Cry for help". Scoring Girls is one of their projects. This is what Tugba is focusing on following her playing career. Amongst other organisations, she gets support from the German Football Association and FC COlogne. Tugba organises fundraising and grants. She's setting up new Scoring Girls projects in Cologne, Berlin and even in Yazidi refugee camps in Iraq.*

*In a few weeks, she wants to start a new group there. She discusses all important matters with her sister Duzen. [Tugba talking on a video call in a park].*

- *Tugba talking to her sister*: I'm so curious to see if we manage to attract or reach enough girls who are allowed to play, who want to play. I'm excited and nervous about it.
- *Sister Duzen over the phone*: We're talking about Iraq, about the region Kurdistan, it's conservative, religious. It will be a challenge. Stay cautious and careful, but I think that we need your courage.
- *Tugba*: Thank you, see you soon!

*Tugba is visiting Maisa and Maisun again to tell them about her upcoming trip to Iraq.*

[Tugba goes to their house, comes in]

*Memories immediately resurface of when the family had to flee from the IS.*

- *Maisa and Maisun's mother*: I couldn't believe it was happening. I never thought they would capture and kill people. I thought we'd be gone for a few days, not for so long. *[crying slightly]*

*Maisun was six, and Maisa was seven. [camera on Maisun's knees shaking]*

- *Maisa*: I didn't understand anything because I was kind. I wondered where, why we were going. There were old people who couldn't walk anymore. And we tried to pick them up as we had room in the car. But they were too many. *[crying]*.

*It's estimated that 5000 people were killed. Women and children were enslaved, boys were trained to be IS fighters. The family managed to escape to Turkey and lived in a refugee camp for a while. Then they crossed the sea to get to Europe.*

- *One of the brothers talking*: Smugglers would offer to take people from Izmir across the border to Greece rubber dinghies *[inflatable boats]* Most died because it's not exactly easy crossing the sea in a rubber dinghy.

*The family made it to Germany. For years, they lived in refugee accommodation until they were lucky enough to get their flat. The path here has been difficult and consistently paved with rejection.*

- *Maisa*: Some will tell me that I don't belong, to go back home. "You're not wanted here". It's horrible. ... We would rather have stayed there. We didn't have a choice, we had to come.
- *Tugba*: I hear these stories and they give me goosebumps every time. I cannot believe this happened in the 21st century. It's an active genocide. There are still 2700 women in IS captivity, who knows where.

*Despite everything, Maisa still longs for her home country.*

- *Maisa*: I would love to see it again.
- *Tugba*: I can believe it. We'll get there. You're from there. You're homesick

*[Tugba going to the airport]*

*Tugba knows how it feels to go back to her roots. Travelling to Iraq is special for her every time.*

- *Tugba*: I'd often feel this homesickness but I didn't know what for. Until last year when I traveled to Iraq: then I knew I was home. Here everyone speaks Kurdish, my mother tongue, here I am not such a foreigner *[subtitles: here I belong]*

*After months of preparation, Tugba is laying out the next step of her project in Iraq.*

- *Tugba*: We're opening our third site in Dohuk and it's very exciting because for the first time we're not in a camp, but in the city. I'm excited to see what happens.

*Tugba arrives in the region of Kurdistan in North Iraq. The Yazidis' fate is suddenly very close again.*

- *Tugba:* This is the Mosul Dam. On the other side, Mosul was the first city to be taken by the IS in Iraq. They organised from there. And had one clear goal in mind: the extinction of Yazidis. The genocide of Yazidis. Being here is strange. Knowing how close it is. It's all so close. Even to Germany. Four hours by plane. ... The Yazidis are absolutely scared the IS will return. That everything will happen again. So they stay away.

*More than 10.000 people are living in this camp alone. Internally displaced within their own country.*

*Tugba is visiting the Scoring Girls Project that has existed here for some years.*

*For many, playing football is their only relief in their day-to-day life.*

- *Tugba:* Our aim in this camp is for sure different to Germany, our aim here is that they leave the tent. Many girls and their parents tell us the pitch is like therapy, they're getting outside. We want them to forget daily camp life, to forget all the bad things that happen and has happened here, the trauma they've experienced. They can forget all that on the pitch, for two hours and have fun. They love it.

*Most of them have now been living here for about nine years.*

- *Tugba:* Of course I'm sad to see that so many girls are stuck here. But for me, the solution isn't to be sad, rather my solution is to get into action, to be motivated to change these girls' lives.

*Salia is one of the Scoring Girls. Time on the football pitch is precious to her.*

- *Salia:* I feel free and strong. I only think about playing. I tell myself: whatever may come, we have to stay strong, not just when playing, in other things too. We should always aim to be first, or at least second or third. That's a good aim.

*Salia's day-to-day life takes place in tents. But at least she can get school education at the camp. Several aid groups are involved here.*

- *Salia:* After graduation, I want to leave the camp and support my parents. They bought me a backpack and stationery. If I were unsuccessful, it wouldn't be good, I have to have a bright future.

*Waiting for a future, when no one knows if or when it will arrive. But returning to their former home isn't a possibility. The Shingal region, where Salia's family is from, has largely been destroyed.*

- *Salia*: It's not beautiful there anymore. There's nothing there, not even aid groups. The area is dangerous. I can't run or play football or any other games there.

*Leaving Iraq is out of the question for her family.*

- *Salia's mother*: My husband doesn't want to go to Germany
- *Salia's father*: I don't want to go abroad at all.
- *Salia's mother*: He doesn't want to live anywhere but here.
- *Salia's father*: Your life is rooted where you were born. It's normal to want to return here. If our children were to go to Europe, to Germany or the Netherlands, it would become their new home and they'd stay. Even the younger generation wants to return to our land. There is no other place for us but here.

*And so, they are staying in the camp. Salia finds comfort in football and companionship with others.*

- *Salia*: I forget about camp and my pain when I'm playing football or any other cool game.

*It's a big day for Tugba. In Dohuk, in North Iraq, she and her team want to start offering regular football practice. A sports club is supplying the practice space. And it's positive. The project is underway.*

- *Tugba*: We're in the middle of the city. Because we don't want to be just in camps. Many girls in the city want to play football too.

*Some are already doing their warm-ups. Tugba is surprised by how many girls are here. Because, unlike in the refugee camps, many parents here are against the sport and don't want their daughters to play.*

- *Tugba*: Sadly it is still forbidden and unwelcome. We promised the parents that this is a safe space, that they shouldn't worry. And for now they trust us. Today we're over 20 girls and this is amazing.

*The sports club can benefit from the project as well. And the men in charge are aware of this.*

- *Man*: This is a great chance for you. There is no difference between you and the boys. We've organised tournaments for boys and now we've opened it to you and hope you'll come. I'll see you play. You're great. We will support you and you can use the hall whenever you wish.

[girls playing and having fun].

*Tugba wants to get to know the girls. One of them is 19-year-old Lulav.*

- *Lulav*: Girls are not as free as boys in our Kurdish culture. Initially, my mother was fine when I told my family I was going to play. But my father was against it. My brother too. I asked them why and they said, others will speak badly of us if I do this.

[Tugba says something encouraging to her in Kurdish and hugs her.]

- *Tugba* [again to the interviewer] She said some beautiful things. That she had to fight for two years but she persisted because she has a dream. It is her dream to one day play at a higher level. And she wishes that one day her father will come to watch her.

*Stories like Lulav's remind Tugba of her own: the fact that she managed to become a professional player in Germany means the girls see her as a star.*

- *Tugba*: It's so funny because for me they are the stars. I find them courageous and extraordinary. It's strange that they see me this way. On the other hand, of course I'm excited to be a model to girls as strong as them. It's so special for me. I'm thrilled to have another child, another site for this. It is going to positively affect so many girls.

*Months of preparation, a great deal of persuasion, but at last the Scoring Girls are training in Dohuk.*

*Back in Cologne, even during the holidays, Tugba won't abandon her girls.*

*Today they're going climbing, as well as kicking.*

- *Tugba*: The parents are grateful that we offer this camp over the holidays. Otherwise they'd be home the whole day.

*Tugba cares about more than just passing the time. She wants to put the girls in constantly changing situations.*

- *Tugba*: It's important to introduce them to different sport practices, to solo sports. Football is a team game, but solo sport will teach you to be motivated in different ways. But there is team support.

- *Tugba to the girls*: Yesterday you told me, I'm scared of heights, I don't dare, so how was it?

- *One Girl*: I was scared, but then it was okay.

- *Tugba*: We learnt to still believe in ourselves, to keep going. You all made it to the top

*Tugba is proud of the girls and will help them in any way she can.*

- *Tugba*: They seem independent but there's things like bureaucracy, things like right of residence, like finding a flat, somewhere to live. We're helping a girl apply for German citizenship. She couldn't do it on her own. We're here for them, at their side.

*Scoring Girls is the complete package: the girls also receive support with writing applications, or studying for school.*



*There's a newcomer at practice. Maisa and Maisun's little sister, Hilva, has just joined. The two girls' enthusiasm was contagious.*

- *Maisa:* Here I only think about playing, I forget all my fears and doubts.
- *Maisun:* From Tugba I have learnt to always follow my dreams.

The team practices and Tugba gives instructions.

*Tugba has also had a dream come true.*

- *Tugba:* I am proud of myself that I wasn't deterred. That I believed in this. I'm so thankful for the girls' trust, that they can grow and teach the younger ones.
- *Maisa:* This means everything to me.

*Hilva is right in the thick of it.*

- *Tugba to Hilva:* Do you like it so far?
- *Hilva:* I love it.

*There are seven Scoring Girl sites in Germany so far. In Iraq, there are now three. Tugba's involvement is paying off: more and more girls are growing strong through football.*

- *Tugba:* What I love most is the seeing the girls grow, and how football has helped them become more confident. How their dreams have changed: they don't dream of being doctors' assistants but doctors. This shows that football can help achieve.

### **Appendix 3: One coded documentary (Qualitative Textual analysis)**

**Title: Empowerment through football**

**Category: Ethnicity**

<b>Context of filming</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Open codes</b>	<b>Thematic codes</b>	<b>Final themes</b>	<b>Theories</b>
Cologne Germany	Voice over	The Scoring Girls, made up of girls of many different countries	National diversity within the football team	NATIONAL DIVERSITY	Diversity
Cologne Germany	Maisun, Scoring Girl	fears that war created in me. I feel free here.	Fear (war) vs freedom ('here')	WAR IN IRAQ / FREEDOM IN GERMANY	migration

Cologne Germany	Tugba, football trainer	<b>grow in confidence and show them they can overcome everything.</b>	Confidence, resilience	SELF-CONFIDENCE RESILIENCE	values
Cologne Germany	Maisa, Scoring Girl	forgetting your problems	Escapism	FREEDOM	values
Cologne Germany	Voice over	Nine years ago, they and their family <b>fled the war in Iraq.</b>	Forced migration Diaspora	DIASPORA	migration
Cologne Germany	Maisa	I've become more self confident.	Self-confidence	SELF-CONFIDENCE	values
Cologne Germany	Tugba	It's a sport project for girls who are usually <b>excluded from this sport. We include them.</b>	Gender exclusion within football Inclusion project	GENDER EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION	diversity
Cologne Germany	Voice over	The girls are from a dozen <b>different countries and have different religions.</b> Tugba Tekkal was born in Germany. She comes from a Kurdish-Yazidi family background	Different countries, different religions Kurdish-Yazidi family Second generation in Germany	NATIONAL DIVERSITY RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY ETHNIC DIVERSITY	diversity
Cologne Germany	Tugba	I've experienced much <b>discrimination.</b> <b>The teacher</b> said I'd be a cleaner like my mum. ... How great <b>working together</b> feels? They said <b>it's a boys' sport.</b>	Discrimination / class Working together Boys' sport / Girl's sport	CLASS DISCRIMINATION SPORT INCLUSION GENDER DISCRIMINATION	Discrimination Inclusion exclusion
Cologne Germany	Voice over	Many parents forbid their daughters from playing football.	Gender discrimination within football (from parents)	GENDER DISCRIMINATION	Discrimination

Cologne Germany	Tugba	fear of <b>social exclusion, fear of losing or forgetting language, or forgetting their roots.</b>	Social exclusion, forgetting language / roots	SOCIAL EXCLUSION	exclusion
Cologne Germany	Maisa	We use food to remind us of <b>our home in Iraq, what our culture means.</b>	Food as reminder of Iraqi culture	CULTURE	Diversity
Cologne Germany	Voice over	They have been surprised by how the football practice has affected their girls.	Influence of football on girls	FOOTBALL	conviviality
Cologne Germany	Maisun and Maisa's Mother	They couldn't speak German	Language barrier in Germany	LANGUAGE	Diversity
Cologne Germany	Voice over	Tugba and the family are also <b>connected through their religion: Yazidism.</b> The family is from the north of Iraq, one of the main settlement areas of the Yazidis. In 2014, they had to <b>flee the Islamic State, along with thousands of others.</b>	Religion (Yazidism) as connection Forced migration and persecution of Yazidis by the Islamic state	CONNECTION THROUGH RELIGION  DIASPORA	Diversity migration
Cologne Germany	Tugba	<b>We don't have religious writings like others. We have no Torah, Bible or Quran. Our religion is passed down orally. And that's why the IS tried to systematically murder our chiefs, so that this religion would die with them too.</b>	Ethno-religious difference as reason for oppression and discrimination	ETHNIC DIVERSITY RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY DISCRIMINATION	Diversity discrimination
Cologne Germany	Voice over	they all <b>congregate</b> on the sofa to watch the Champions' league:	Convivial practices around TV	CONVIVIALITY	conviviality

Cologne Germany	Voice over	<b>This is normal in men’s professional football. Maisa and Maisun have predominantly male role models,</b>	Gender roles in football	GENDER ROLES	diversity
Cologne Germany	Voice over	german Women’s team T-Shirt	Women in football	GENDER ROLES	diversity
Cologne Germany	Tugba	<b>we’ll see more women on TV.</b>	Women in football	GENDER ROLES	diversity
Cologne Germany	Voice over	While Tugba was playing her best season, thousands of kilometres away, the IS was attacking the Yazidis in Iraq.	Contrast between situation in Germany and in Iraq	WAR IN IRAQ / FREEDOM IN GERMANY	migration
Cologne Germany	Tugba	<b>The fear was ever-present.</b> Except of those two hours at practice, or at matches, when I could switch off. But it was also the year we were promoted. A successful year. <b>So two worlds collided</b>	Constant fear Collision of two world (Iraq and Europe)	WAR IN IRAQ / FREEDOM IN GERMANY	migration
Cologne Germany	Voice over	She founded the <b>human rights organization “Hawar.help”</b> . It translates to <b>“Cry for help”</b> . <b>Scoring Girls is one of their projects.</b> This is what Tugba is focusing on following her playing career. ... she’s setting up new Scoring Girls projects in Cologne, Berlin <b>and even in Yazidi refugee camps in Iraq.</b>	Human rights organization Scoring Girls project in Cologne and refugee camps in Iraq	HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT	values
Cologne Germany	Tugba’s sister Duzen	<b>We’re talking about Iraq, about the region it’s Kurdistan,</b>	Kurdistan (Iraq) as conservative and religious	RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY	diversity

	(over the phone)	<b>conservative, religious.</b> It will be a challenge. Stay cautious and careful, but I think that <b>we need your courage.</b>			
Cologne Germany	Voice over	Memories immediately resurface of when the family had to flee from the IS.	Memory of diaspora	DIASPORA	migration
Cologne Germany	Maisun and Maisa's Mother	<b>I thought we'd be gone for a few days, not for so long</b>	Memory of diaspora	DIASPORA	migration
Cologne Germany	Maisa	<b>We wondered where, why we were going. There were old people who couldn't walk anymore.</b> And we tried to pick them up	Memory of diaspora	DIASPORA	migration
Cologne Germany	Voice over	<b>The family managed to escape to Turkey and lived in a refugee camp for a while. Then they crossed the sea to get to Europe.</b>	Diasporic journeys, from Iraq to Turkey to Europe	DIASPORA	migration
Cologne Germany	Maisun and Maisa's brother	Smugglers would offer to take <b>people from Izmir across the border to Greece</b>	Smugglers, illegal migration	DIASPORA	migration
Cologne Germany	Voice over	For years, they <b>lived in refugee accommodation</b> until they were lucky enough to get their flat. The path here has been difficult and <b>consistently paved with rejection.</b>	Life in refugee accommodation Denied access to accommodation	REFUGEE CAMPS DIASPORA	migration
Cologne Germany	Maisa	Some will tell me that <b>I don't belong, to go back home. "You're not wanted here"</b> . It's horrible. ...	To not belong: exclusion, discrimination	EXCLUSION DISCRIMINATION	exclusion

Cologne Germany	Tugba	<b>I cannot believe this happened in the 21st century. It's an active genocide.</b>	Genocide of Yazidis	GENOCIDE	migration
Dohuk Iraq Refugee camp	Tugba	<b>I traveled to Iraq: then I knew I was home. Here everyone speaks Kurdish,</b> my mother tongue, here I am not such a foreigner	Language proximity Iraq as home, not a foreigner	HOME	diversity
Dohuk Iraq Refugee camp	Tugba	<b>the extinction of Yazidis. The genocide of Yazidis.</b> Being here is strange. Knowing how close it is. <b>It's all so close. Even to Germany. Four hours by plane. ...</b>	Extinction and genocide of Yazidis (geographical) closeness to Germany	GENOCIDE	migration
Dohuk Iraq Refugee camp	Voice over	<b>Internally displaced within their own country.</b>	Internal displacement	DISPLACEMENT	migration
Dohuk Iraq Refugee camp	Tugba	<b>Our aim in this camp is for sure different to Germany,</b> our aim here is <b>that they leave the tent.</b> Many girls and their parents tell us <b>the pitch is like therapy, they're getting outside.</b> We want them to forget <b>daily camp life, to forget all the bad things that happen and has happened here,</b>	Different project in Iraq from Germany Football pitch like therapy Forget camp life and its bad things	NATIONAL DIVERSITY SPORT THERAPY	Diversity values
Dohuk Iraq Refugee camp	Salia, scoring girl in Kurdistan	we have to stay strong, not just when playing	Need to stay strong, resilience	RESILIENCE	values
Dohuk Iraq Refugee camp	Voice over	But at least she can get <b>school education at the camp</b>	School education at the camp	EDUCATION	inclusion

Dohuk Iraq Refugee camp	Salia	<b>I have to have a bright future.</b>	Need to have a bright future	FUTURE	exclusion
Dohuk Iraq Refugee camp	Salia	<b>The area is dangerous.</b> I can't run or play football or any other games there.	Dangerous area, no possibility to play	DANGER	exclusion
Dohuk Iraq Refugee camp	Salia's father	<b>Your life is rooted where you were born.</b> It's normal to want to return here. <b>If our children were to go to Europe, to Germany or the Netherlands, it would become their new home and they'd stay.</b> Even the younger generation wants to return to our land. <b>There is no other place for us but here.</b>	Connection to one's birth roots	HOME	culture
Dohuk Iraq Refugee camp	Voice over	Salia finds comfort in football and <b>companionship</b> with others.	Football as comfort and companionship (convivial practice)	CONVIVIALITY	conviviality
Dohuk Iraq City	Voice over	<b>Because, unlike in the refugee camps,</b> many parents here are against the sport and don't want their daughters to play.	Gender difference within sport in European country	GENDER DIVERSITY	diversity
Dohuk Iraq City	Male football trainer in Dohuk, North Iraq	<b>There is no difference between you and the boys</b>	Gender equality promoted through sport	GENDER EQUALITY	inclusion
Dohuk Iraq City	Lulav, Kurdish Scoring Girl	<b>Girls are not as free as boys in our Kurdish culture.</b> Initially, my mother	Gender difference in Kurdish tradition	GENDER DIVERSITY	diversity

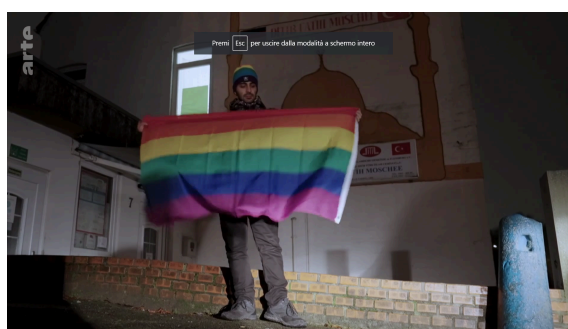
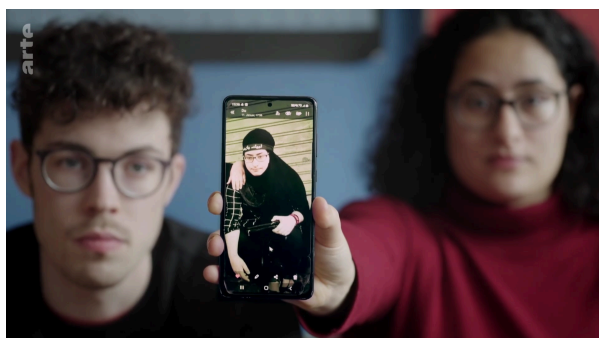
		was fine when I told my family I was going to play. <b>But my father was against it. My brother too.</b> I asked them why and they said, <b>others will speak badly of us if I do this.</b>			
Dohuk Iraq City	Tugba	I find them <b>courageous and extraordinary.</b> It's strange that they see me this way. On the other hand, of course I'm excited to be a model to girls as strong as them. It's so special for me. I'm thrilled to have another child, another site for this. <b>It is going to positively affect so many girls.</b>	Scoring girls as courageous (Tugba) a model for the girls	RESILIENCE	values
Cologne Germany	Voice over	<b>She wants to put the girls in constantly changing situations.</b>	Constant challenge	CHALLENGE	values
Cologne Germany	Tugba	Football is a team game, but solo sport will teach you to be <b>motivated in different ways.</b> But there is team support.	Motivation	MOTIVATION	values
Cologne Germany	Tugba	They seem independent but there's things like <b>bureaucracy, things like right of residence, like finding a flat, somewhere to live. We're helping a girl apply for German citizenship.</b>	Bureaucratic aspects of life in Germany	ACCESS	inclusion



Cologne Germany	Voice over	The girls also receive support with writing applications, or studying for school.	Bureaucratic support of life in Germany	SUPPORT	inclusion
Cologne Germany	Maisun	From Tugba I have learnt to always follow my dreams.	Dreams	DREAM	values
Cologne Germany	Voice over	There are seven Scoring Girl sites in <b>Germany</b> so far. <b>In Iraq</b> , there are now three. Tugba's involvement is paying off: <b>more and more girls are growing strong through football.</b>	Football as girls' practice	GENDER	diversity
Cologne Germany	Tugba	They don't dream of being doctors' assistants but doctors. This shows that <b>football can help achieve.</b>	Football as motivation to get achievements in life	MOTIVATION DREAM	values

## Appendix 4: Screenshots on visuals for each category of diversity

### 4.1 Screenshots for Religious diversity

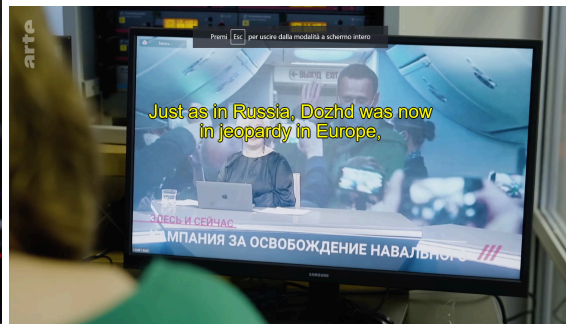


Scenes from *Losing My Religion. When Muslim stop believing.*

00:17:40 (left)

00:32:04 (right)

## 4.2 Screenshots for Political diversity

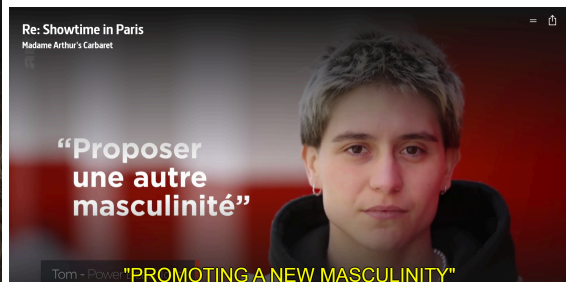


Scenes from *Dojd. Russian Media in Exile*.

00:01:12 (left)

00:19:57 (right)

## 4.3 Screenshots for Gender diversity

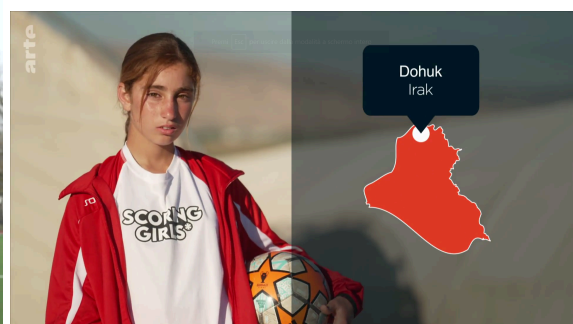
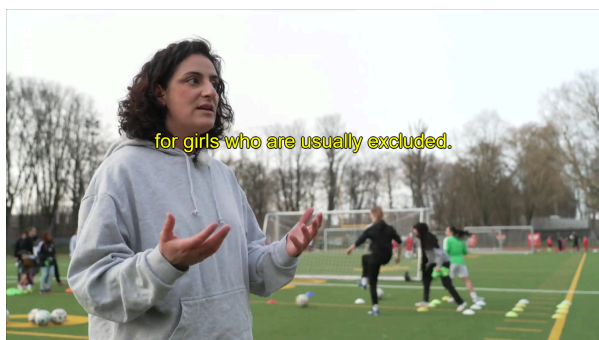


Scenes from *Showtime in Paris. Madame Arthur's Cabaret*.

00:05:11 (left)

00:08:31 (right)

## 4.4 Screenshots for Ethnic diversity



Screenshots from *Empowerment through football*.

00:02:59 (left)

00:19:48 (right)

#### 4.5 Screenshots for Racial diversity



Screenshots from *Stranded in Northern Cyprus. African students in need.*

00:13:22 (left)

00:16:24 (right)

#### 4.6 Screenshots for Disability

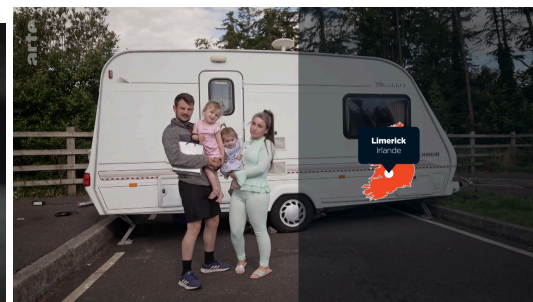


Screenshots from *Disabled Fashionistas in Baku.*

00:12:50 (left)

00:22:05 (right)

#### 4.7 Screenshots for Class difference



Screenshots from *Irish travelers. A community in danger*

00:01:14 (left)

00:12:42 (right)



## 4.8 Screenshots for Cultural diversity



Scenes from *Disabled Fashionistas in Baku* (left) and *Stranded in Northern Cyprus. African students in need.*

00:09:27 (left)

00:14:38 (right)



Screenshots from *The El Rocio Pilgrimage. An Andalusian Fiesta* (left) and *Empowerment through football* (right).

00:11:11

00:05:53

## Appendix 5: Qualitative Content Analysis Chart

**Theme: Diversity**

N.	CATEGORIES, subcategories			Descriptions	Applications	Codes
1	RELIGION	Christian	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Orthodox</b></p>	<p><b>RELIGION:</b></p> <p>Includes representations of religious diversities in the form of rituals, practices, symbols and events; any representation related to the topic of religion, whether as a singular dimension in people's daily lives, or in conjunction with other dimensions such as family, gender, or politics.</p> <p><b>Christian:</b> refers to Christianity and its denominations into <b>Catholic</b> and <b>Orthodox</b>.</p>	<p>Total: 6 (4,4%)</p> <p>Videos n/title:</p> <p><b>35</b> <i>The El Rocío Pilgrimage. An Andalusian Fiesta</i></p> <p><b>50</b> <i>Lavish Communion in Poland</i></p> <p><b>59</b> <i>Losing my religion. When Muslims stop believing</i></p> <p><b>78</b> <i>Ireland's forced adoptions</i></p> <p><b>84</b> <i>Israel's drift to the right</i></p> <p><b>126</b> <i>Preaching for peace. Italy's antimafia priests</i></p> <p>Sampled video: n. <b>59</b></p> <p>Title: <b>Re: Losing my Religion. When Muslims stop believing</b></p> <p><b>Orthodox:</b> Ultra orthodox right in Jerusalem (84)</p> <p><b>Catholic:</b> Catholic tradition in Andalusia (35), Catholic communion in Poland (50), single mothers in catholic country (78); Catholic priests and mafia (126)</p> <p><b>Islam:</b> Apostasy</p>	<p><b>Orthodox:</b> radical Jewish settlers (84)</p> <p><b>Catholic:</b> pilgrims/More than 40 churches, convents and monasteries re proof of its Catholic tradition (35), First communion / expensive event; city of Lodz, rural province (50); In this very Catholic country (78); Pope Francis declared war on the Italian mafia / 85% of population Catholic / priests helping out on the ground (126)</p> <p><b>Islam:</b> Muslim who renounce to Islam / Apostasy / Muslims who no longer believe in Allah (59)</p>
			<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Catholic</b></p>	<p><b>Islam:</b> refers to the Islamic religion and its adherents, Muslims.</p>		

						and islam (59)	
			<b>Islam</b>				
2	POLITICS	<b>Right</b>	<b>POLITICS:</b> Includes representations of political diversities in a specific context; includes reference to a country's governments, political actors, political parties, elections.	Total: 8 (6%) Videos n./title: 2 <i>Hungarian school kid defies Orban</i> 31 <i>Albania faces its dark past</i> 81 <i>Russian conscientious objectors</i> 84 <i>Israel's drift to the right</i> 90 <i>Elections in Turkey. The Anti-Erdogan Alliance</i> 112 <i>A Polish mayor fights for tolerance</i> 119 <i>Dojd. Russian media in exile</i> 144 <i>Far-Rights infiltrate Viking community</i>	<b>Right:</b> Albania's dictatorship (31), ultra-orthodox right government/ Netanyahu (84), far-right in Poland (144).	Communist dictatorship omnipresent surveillance, imprisonments, and executions (31), ultra orthodox right in Jerusalem (84), minority of far-right extremists in Poland (144).	
		<b>Left</b>	<b>Right:</b> includes representations and references to right-wing governments, dictatorships and extremists.	Sampled video. 2 Title:	<b>Left:</b> Hungarian kid protest (2), opposition to Putin (81), opposition to parties to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (90), opposition party to Poland's right wing (112), media opposition to Russian regime (119).	Take the streets, protest; performance against the government; icon of the protests, Fidesz supporters, political paternalism (2), took in three Russian refugees/not to participate in any combat actions against Ukraine, strongly oppose Putin (81); come together/try and beat/Erdoğan, accused of undermining Turkish democracy (90), mayor of Świdnica/Poland/opposed to the country's right-wing government/ striving to advance democracy and tolerance (112), Doijd independent TV	

				<b>Left:</b> includes representations and reference to left-wing governments, parties, actions by political or civil actors.	<b>Re: Dojd. Russian media in exile</b>		channel in Russia, critical of the regime (119).
3	GENDER	LGBTQIA+		<b>GENDER:</b> Includes representation of gender diversities, both binary (women/men) and non-binary (LGBTQIA+).	Total: 11 (8%) Videos n/title: 9 <i>Granny plays Punk Rock</i> 15 <i>Endometriosis. Breaking the taboo</i> 23 <i>Mummy influencers: the family business</i> 29 <i>Women doctors helping migrants</i> 44 <i>Showtime in Paris</i> 48 <i>The 84-year-old DJ</i> 64 <i>In prison with mum</i> 66 <i>Empowerment through football</i> 74 <i>Women of Ceuta</i> 78 <i>Ireland's forced adoptions</i> 111 <i>Driller Queens in Berlin</i> 133 <i>Female truckers take the wheel</i>	LGBTQIA+: Drag queens and kings (44)	LGBTQIA+: creatures of the night / iconoclastic freedom/ refusal to conform to established sexual norms (44)
		Women	Men	<b>Women:</b> includes representations of and references to women, girls, femininity, in relation to health, professions, spaces, activities.	Women Women on stage (9), affected by endometriosis (15), mommy influencers (23), doctors (29), DJ (48), mothers in prison (64), girls from migrant backgrounds (66), helping	<b>Men:</b> Driller queens (111), driving women (133), men-only spaces (145).	<b>Women:</b> Didn't want to do sewing / more women into bands (9); these women are fighting for recognition, 'I should just stop making such a fuss' (15); 'mum influencers', boundary between family life and real job, opportunity for parents, family vlogger, everyday mother (23), she aims to inspire seniors to live their lives more confidently and <b>Men:</b> bring a breath of fresh air into a sector dominated by men (111); Driving heavy goods vehicles/ male-dominated sector / more women are getting behind the wheel/global influencer online (133); communal spaces / societies continue to be men-only spaces (145).

				<p><b>Men:</b> includes representations of and references to men, masculinity, male (dominated) spaces and practices.</p>	<p><b>145</b> <i>Basque Gastronomic Societies</i></p> <p>Sampled video: n. <b>44</b></p> <p>Title: <b>Re: Showtime in Paris Madame Arthur's Cabaret</b></p>	<p>migrants (74) single mothers (78).</p>	<p>freely (48), prison mums (64), forbid their daughters from playing football (66), single mother/frowned upon, homes for single mothers, babies were taken away for adoption, looking for their biological mothers (78).</p>	
4	CLASS	Education	<p><b>CLASS:</b></p> <p>Includes representations of and references to class diversities, intended as social and economic inequalities and differences in different contexts.</p> <p><b>Education:</b> includes representations of and references to class diversity as they relate to: access to education, perception of diversity and difference in schools and in educational sectors.</p>	<p>Total: <b>29</b> (21%)</p> <p>Videos n/title:</p> <p><b>3</b> <i>Return to Calabria: Starting a new life in southern Italy</i></p> <p><b>11</b> <i>Polish Border Bazaars</i></p> <p><b>12</b> <i>The Land of Champagne</i></p> <p><b>13</b> <i>Squatting in Barcelona: The housing crisis in Catalonia</i></p> <p><b>17</b> <i>Irish fishing in peril</i></p> <p><b>20</b> <i>Living together: Life in</i></p>	<p><b>Education:</b> African students in need (22), For Roma people (58), bullying in schools (68).</p>	<p><b>Education:</b> Dreams of studying in Europe / a cheaper alternative, looks like an educational paradise (22) have access to education /Roma (58); Bullied in school/ psychological or physical violence / phenomenon often invisible / shame / blame for their own abuse (68).</p>		



		<p><b>Employment</b></p>	<p><b>Employment:</b> includes representations of and references to class diversity as they relate to: (unequal) access to employment, job market; references to (different) salaries, job opportunities, perceptions of diversity and difference in work environments, job conditions, work systems.</p>	<p><i>a large community</i>  <b>22</b> <i>Stranded in Northern Cyprus. African students in need</i>  <b>32</b> <i>Retirement in Bali</i>  <b>38</b> <i>Prisons without walls</i>  <b>39</b> <i>Brits on the Edge. Costs of living crisis in the UK</i>  <b>51</b> <i>Homeless children in France</i>  <b>54</b> <i>Making housing affordable</i></p>	<p><b>Employment:</b> Calabria (3), bazaar in Poland (11), migrant workers in France (12), Europeans retiring in Bali (32), healthcare in Albania (73), healthcare in Europe (79); delivery drivers in Europe (96), gambling in Serbia (109), health at work (143).</p>	<p><b>Employment:</b> Mafia and unemployment (3); old vendors stop working / keep the prices low / inflation highest in Europe (11); Modern-day slaves; exploitation, human trafficking, slave work, extreme poverty (12); Life is cheaper and weather warmer / large influx of older residents (32) attracted to Germany by higher salaries and more opportunities (73); threatening healthcare systems in Europe/demanding higher wages (79); delivery drivers/intense job insecurity throughout Europe/ this precarious industry (96); unemployment and a lack of opportunities / gambling addiction (109) shortage of skilled labour / workers under pressure (143).</p>
		<p><b>Housing</b></p>	<p><b>Housing:</b> includes representations of and references to class diversity as they relate to housing situations: access, conditions, prices, crises; and in relation to broader urban conditions</p>	<p><b>56</b> <i>Deported to Albania</i>  <b>58</b> <i>Bucharest' lost children</i>  <b>67</b> <i>Gentrification in Athens. How investors are changing the city</i>  <b>68</b> <i>School bullying in Spain</i>  <b>71</b> <i>Little Britain in the Dordogne</i>  <b>73</b> <i>Health care workers in Albania. Stay or leave?</i>  <b>79</b> <i>Hospitals on life support</i>  <b>80</b> <i>The rail workers of Ukraine</i>  <b>85</b> <i>Europe's</i></p>	<p><b>Housing:</b> Squatting (13); communal living (20), innovative prisons (38), homeless children (51), expensive (54), Albanian / poor houses (56) changing cities (67), slum (85), living conditions for travelers (92) after earthquake Turkey + Syria (113, 134).</p>	<p><b>Housing:</b> citizens with few other options, the edge of legality, people without homes (13), Community living as an answer; combat social exclusion; supportive /sustainable/self-managed way, "we're a group" (20); open structures / new ways of treating prisoners (38), being a single mother...; right to housing / private flats inaccessible / shortage of home units (51), expensive housing (54); humble home barely recognizable (56), changing the face of the ancient city with new hotels/Greece (67); Europe's largest shantytown / live without electricity / leave their camp (85); living conditions on a downward spiral (92); left homeless (after earthquakes) (113); Two violent earthquakes Turkey and Syria/ local people feel abandoned/ the rebuilding plan stalled (134).</p>

		<p><b>Economy</b></p>	<p><b>Economy:</b> includes representations and references to class diversity as they generally relate to the economy: n a local context, among social groups, and in the consequences for people in daily lives.</p>	<p><i>biggest slum</i>  <b>92</b> <i>Irish Travelers - A minority in danger</i>  <b>94</b> <i>Charles is crowned - can he renew the monarchy?</i>  <b>96</b> <i>Is my order ready yet? Delivery drivers fight back in Grenoble</i>  <b>104</b> <i>A chance for children. Volunteers for a better life</i>  <b>109</b> <i>Gambling generation. Young Serbs bet against their future</i>  <b>113</b> <i>Earthquake in Turkey. Catastrophe of the century</i>  <b>134</b> <i>Turkey. One year after the earthquake</i>  <b>143</b> <i>Health at work</i></p> <p>Sampled video n. <b>92</b>  Title:  <b>Re: Irish Travelers. Minority in Danger</b></p>	<p><b>Economy:</b> Irish fishing (17), Cost of living crisis UK (39), Brits after Brexit (71), Ukrainian rail staff /Iron people (80), UK economic crisis (94).</p>	<p><b>Economy:</b> Irish fishing in peril/the future looks bleak (17), Barely making enough/struggling to make ends meet (39); with Brexit, life more difficult (71); transport people, weapons, goods, and supplies across Ukraine (80), country is experiencing a serious economic crisis (94), inflation and social division (104).</p>
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5	<b>DISABILITY</b>	<p><b>Mental health</b></p>	<p><b>DISABILITY:</b></p> <p>Includes representations of and references to disability, intended as 'any condition of the body or mind (impairment) that makes it more difficult for the person with the condition to do certain activities (activity limitation) and interact with the world around them (participation restrictions)' (definition by CDC).</p>	<p>Total: 13 (9,6%)</p> <p>Videos n/title:  <b>15</b> <i>Endometriosis.</i>  <b>15</b> <i>Breaking the taboo</i>  <b>19</b> <i>A dog's life: how fashionable hounds suffer</i>  <b>21</b> <i>Disabled fashionistas in Baku</i>  <b>30</b> <i>Fear of school: helping adolescent phobias</i>  <b>40</b> <i>Inclusive workplaces in Catalonia</i>  <b>41</b> <i>Living with adult ADHD</i>  <b>43</b> <i>Spanish</i></p>	<p><b>Mental health:</b> Anxiety (30), disabled people in workplace (40), Adult ADHD (41), burnout in healthcare (43), Adult OCD (110), Alzheimer (125).</p>	<p><b>Mental health:</b> Suffer from anxiety/going to school (30); jobs for people with mental health issues or disabilities. prioritise people, not profit (40), adults suffer from the condition / difficulties throughout life (41), 92% of healthcare workers in Madrid say they are suffering from burnout. (43) three different women/living with OCD/ phobias/intrusive thoughts take over their daily lives, a lot of suffering (110), Alzheimer's/life-changing condition for sufferers / safe and welcoming place innovative 'Alzheimer's village'(125).</p>
		<p><b>Physical health</b></p>	<p><b>Mental health:</b> includes representations of and reference to mental (health) issues and disabilities.</p>		<p><b>Physical health:</b> endometriosis (15), dog diseases (19), disabled in fashion</p>	<p><b>Physical health:</b> fighting for better recognition of this condition, subject not a taboo (15), suffer from diseases, emotional/financial burden (19),</p>

			<p><b>Physical health:</b> includes representations of and reference to physical (health) issues and disabilities.</p> <p><i>healthcare in crisis</i>  <b>60</b> <i>New allergy treatments</i>  <b>101</b> <i>Festival of the Ugly</i>  <b>110</b> <i>Everything under control? Living with adult OCD</i>  <b>125</b> <i>The Alheimers's village</i>  <b>130</b> <i>Swimming through adversity</i>  <b>138</b> <i>Treating Chronic diseases</i></p> <p>Sampled video n. <b>21</b>  Title:  <b>Re: Disabled Fashionistas in Baku</b></p>	(21), allergies (60), Festival of the Ugly (101), paralympic swimmer (130), chronic diseases (138).	Offering minorities fashion / models are blind, wheelchair users, showing themselves confidently, inclusive fashion (21), most widespread chronic diseases, (60), 'Ugliness is a virtue, beauty is slavery' / festival of ugliness is held here where local residents reject the Italian cult of beauty (101), Paralympic swimmer / together with two able-bodied swimmers, (130) Rheumatism, psoriasis, Crohn's disease / 10% of Europeans/ cancer, heart failure or diabetes /new therapies (138).
6	CULTURE	<p><b>Folklore</b></p> <p><b>CULTURE:</b></p> <p>Includes representations of and reference to cultural diversities, where 'culture' is broadly intended 'a set of practices and meanings' (Hall, 2012).</p> <p><b>Folklore:</b> Includes representations of and reference to different folkloristic traditions, such as festivals, pilgrimages, activities, music.</p> <p><b>Gastronomy</b></p>	<p>Total: <b>55</b> (40%)</p> <p>Videos n/title:  <b>1</b> <i>Snow farming in Switzerland</i>  <b>4</b> <i>Sweden's energy revolution</i>  <b>6</b> <i>The Return of the Wolf</i>  <b>7</b> <i>Intensive farming of Iberian ham</i>  <b>8</b> <i>Saving Giant Trees</i>  <b>14</b> <i>The Horse Guide of Georgia</i>  <b>16</b> <i>Ethical and</i></p>	<p><b>Folklore:</b> Hunting in Scottish Highlands (25); El Rocio Pilgrimage (35), Spanish Fiesta culture (47), Techno scene in Kyviv (93), Festival of the Ugly (101), Bullfighting in Spain (124), Viking Festival in Poland (144).</p> <p><b>Gastronomy:</b> Iberian Ham (7)</p>	<p><b>Folklore:</b> Hunting important/part of our culture and heritage (25); attracts pilgrims, festival/brings together religion, flamenco and horses (35), Spanish Fiesta culture / refusing to give up their tradition (47), Kyiv techno scene / partying as a vital part of life/ in spite of the war (93), festival of ugliness/local residents reject the Italian cult of beauty (101), Bullfighting/one of Spain's most emblematic traditions (124), reenactment of famous battles/world's largest Viking festival/attracts enthusiasts of medieval history (144).</p> <p><b>Gastronomy:</b> Pride of Spain, national treasure, true to its origins, harmful to</p>

			<p><b>Gastronomy:</b> Includes representations of and reference to different gastronomic traditions (food, industries, practices, productions, festivals).</p>	<p><i>sustainable jewelry</i>  <b>18 Climbing:</b> <i>Europe's new trend</i>  <b>24 The Dark side of Italian mozzarella  <b>25 New Trees and Dead Deers:</b> <i>Reforesting the Scottish Highlands</i>  <b>26 New Age Animal Welfare</b>  <b>34 Snake invasion in the Canaries</b>  <b>35 The El Rocio Pilgrimage. An andalusian Fiesta</b>  <b>36 Europe's beer in danger.</b>  <b>37 Made in Portugal</b>  <b>45 Compassionate zoos</b>  <b>46 Forever chemicals in French drinking water</b>  <b>47 Welfare or tradition?</b> <i>Animal rights in Spain</i>  <b>49 High-tech food in the Netherlands</b>  <b>52 Drones and Robots. Can High-Tech save lives?</b></b></p>	<p>Mozzarella di Bufala Campana (24), Beer in Czechia and South Germany (36), high-tech agriculture (49), Iraqi food (66) Sparkling Wine (82), Hungarian Paprika (107), Insects on French menus (129), honey production (137), French cheese culture (142), Gastronomic societies in San Sébastian (145).</p>	<p>the animals, farmers and shepherds / keep their animals safe; intense livestock farms (7), producers, premium product, facing hard times (24), Will beer become a luxury product? (36), second largest exporter of agricultural produce (49), We use food to remind us of our home in Iraq, what our culture means (66), a love for sparkling wine/rival French champagne (82), Hungarian paprika/small pepper producers in Hungary (107), new trend/eating habits/biggest producers of insects/luxury item (129),12,000 beekeepers/ Slovenia is the apiculture capital of Europe/protecting bees (137), France's cheese culture/the pride of the nation (142), cook and eat together (145).</p>
		<b>Biodiversity</b>	<p><b>Biodiversity:</b> Includes representations of and reference to biodiversity, different forms of life in nature, and related issues such as sustainability.</p>	<p><b>Biodiversity:</b> Village in Georgia (14), protection/promotion of biodiversity (1, 8, 87), nature as dangerous (6, 34), national parks-Franconian Jura in Bavaria (18), reforesting Scottish Highlands (25), Animal welfare (26), sustainable industries (37), respectful zoos (45), forever chemicals (46), Dolomites (57), Tara River Canyon in Montenegro (61), Narta lagoon in southern Albania (62), Lago Maggiore (72),</p>	<p><b>Biodiversity:</b> Due to climate change (1), forested and mountainous regions/wolves/keep animals safe (6), promote biodiversity/forest management (8), Preserve this area, inherited from ancestors, preserve heritage, adapt new traditions in a good way (14) Concerns conservationists, mountain rescue teams (18), ecologists / reforestation project (25) animal health / medicine for animals (26), upsetting the ecosystem, control the snake population (34), sustainable industries / socially conscious fashion and textiles (37), new breed of zoos (45), drinking water/contaminated with forever chemicals (46), UNESCO World Heritage Site/ecological impact of mass tourism (57), beauty of the Tara River Canyon/threatened by the construction of a motorway (61), new airport/next to the Narta lagoon/sanctuary for many rare bird species (62), Italy's crucial water reservoir (72),Tagus river/ largest</p>	

				<p><b>55</b> <i>Drinking water. A precious but dwindling resource</i></p> <p><b>57</b> <i>Saving the Dolomites</i></p> <p><b>61</b> <i>The Montenegro-China Deal. A highway threatens the environment</i></p> <p><b>62</b> <i>Flamingos or Flights? Nature threatened in Albania</i></p> <p><b>63</b> <i>Second-hand living. What the circular economy looks like</i></p> <p><b>65</b> <i>How to tackle bicycle theft</i></p> <p><b>66</b> <i>Empowerment through football</i></p> <p><b>69</b> <i>For the love of trains. Citizens buy railways</i></p> <p><b>72</b> <i>Lake Maggiore in crisis</i></p> <p><b>76</b> <i>Water shortages in Spain</i></p> <p><b>77</b> <i>Save the Leftovers! How to fight food waste</i></p> <p><b>82</b> <i>England's sparkling future</i></p> <p><b>83</b> <i>French coal</i></p>	<p>Tagus River in Spain (76), rats in Paris (86), wildfires (97), environmental activism (100, 103), Atacama Desert (105), Iceland blood farms (106), Puffins in Iceland (136).</p> <p><b>Lifestyle:</b> Digital technologies in everyday life (52), drinking water habits (55), second-hand living / sustainable economies (1, 4, 16, 37, 63, 91), Anti-theft measures (65), Private railways (69), anti-waste initiatives (77), coal industry (83), Tourism after pandemic (132), technology in Corsica (135), sustainable furniture (140), being a village teacher (141).</p>	<p>watercourse in the Iberian peninsula/water shortages (76), invade the streets of the city/rodent problem (86), decline /protection of biodiversity (87), new strategies/threat from wildfires (97), Last Generation/Germany/ save the Earth from destruction (100), increasingly spectacular forms of protest (103), Atacama Desert in northern Chile/garments buried (105), Iceland still allows controversial blood farms (106), save this distinctive bird (136)</p> <p><b>Lifestyle:</b> Taking actions to preserve; green industrial revolution; snow farming (1); all this activity/traditional way of life (4); ethical and sustainable jewelry / 'green' / 'fair trade' / environmentally friendly (16); Generation Z/ space and openness /ideas of sustainable industry (37); technology/reduce the risk of accidents/ save lives (52); Humanity/more frugal with this dwindling resource (55), Vintage fashion/participative repair workshops /second-hand/growing circular economy (65); Private individuals/taking matters into their own hands (69); three original anti-waste initiatives (77); coal power-plants are reopening (83), electronic devices/more sustainable production cycle (91), travel platform/tourism after pandemic (132); local people/latest technology (135); cheaply made 'fast furniture' /easily reused and recycled (140), teacher in Alekseevka/ everyday life in Russian provinces (141).</p>
		<b>Lifestyle</b>	<p><b>Lifestyle:</b> Includes representations of and reference to different lifestyles in relation to: family issues, digital technologies and media, life in villages and cities, tourism.</p>			

*comeback*  
**86** *A plague or rats in Paris*  
**87** *The Conservationists*  
**91** *E-Waste, Recycling and Reusing*  
**93** *Kyiv's techno scene helps out*  
**97** *Fighting fire with Fire. protecting forests from climate change*  
**100** *Environmental activism. The last generation movement*  
**101** *Festival of the Ugly*  
**103** *Climate radicals. Vandalism or raising awareness?*  
**105** *Fast fashion in the desert. Clothes Dumping in the Atacama*  
**106** *Iceland's blood farms*  
**107** *Hungarian paprika in Danger*  
**124** *Spaniards turn against Bullfighting*  
**129** *Insects on the menus*  
**132** *Italian tourism, after*

				<p><i>the pandemic</i>  <b>135</b> <i>A small village in Corsica</i>  <b>136</b> <i>Saving Puffins in Iceland</i>  <b>137</b> <i>Slovenian Bee Culture</i>  <b>140</b> <i>Sustainable Future</i>  <b>141</b> <i>A village teacher in Russia</i>  <b>142</b> <i>French Cheese in crisis</i>  <b>144</b> <i>Far-Rights infiltrate Viking community</i>  <b>145</b> <i>Basque Gastronomic Societies</i></p> <p>Sampled video n. <b>35</b>  Title:  <b>Re: The El Rocio Pilgrimage. An Andalusian Fiesta</b></p>		
7	ETHNICITY	<b>Ethno-national</b>	<p><b>ETHNICITY:</b> Includes representations of and reference to ethnic diversity, where 'ethnicity' designates groups of people with shared attributes.</p>	<p>Total: <b>11</b> (8,1%)  Videos n/title:  <b>4</b> <i>Sweden's energy revolution</i>  <b>5</b> <i>From Germany to Chile: Looking for Lost Families</i>  <b>28</b> <i>Goldrush in Finland: The Sami under</i></p>	<p><b>Ethno-national:</b>  Chile / Germany (5), Romania / Ukraine (33), Moldova / Transnistria (70), Colombians (95), Kosovo/Serbia (108), Russia/Ukraine (121)</p>	<p><b>Ethno-national:</b> Juan, a German resident since 1975, searching for father and mother Chile (5), Romanian village of Plauru / border with Ukraine/ across the Danube/ Ukrainian port of Izmail (33) Moldovan-controlled territory surrounded by the separatist region of Transnistria (70), European couples / adopted tens of thousands of children from Colombia/find their biological parents (95), Kosovo / borders Serbia/ home to a mostly Serbian population (108), Russia /war crimes against the</p>



			<b>Ethno-national:</b> emphasising a shared national identity	pressure <b>33</b> Romania on Alert. The fear of war next door; <b>58</b> Bucharest's Lost Children <b>66</b>		Ukrainian civilian population (121)
		<b>Ethno-regional</b>	<b>Ethno-regional:</b> emphasising a shared local identity	Empowerment through football <b>70</b> Surrounded by the enemy. Life in Moldova's security zone	<b>Ethno-regional:</b> Sami in Sweden, (4), Sami in Finland (28)	<b>Ethno-regional:</b> Not good news for Sami people / traditional way of life under threat / Europe's last remaining indigenous people (4); Sami, Europe's only indigenous people, upset their ancient way of life. (28)
		<b>Ethno-religious</b>	<b>Ethno-religious:</b> emphasising a shared religion.	<b>92</b> Irish Travelers - A Minority in Danger <b>95</b> Adopted children look for their parents	<b>Ethno-religious:</b> Yazidis (66)	<b>Ethno-religious:</b> Kurdish-Yazidi family background, sport that challenges cultural/religious practices (66)
		<b>Ethno-cultural</b>	<b>Ethno-cultural:</b> emphasising a shared culture or tradition.	<b>108</b> Tensions in Kosovo <b>121</b> War Crimes. Collecting evidence in Ukraine	<b>Ethno-cultural</b> → <b>Minorities:</b> Roma (58), Irish Travelers (92)	<b>Ethno-cultural</b> → <b>Minorities:</b> Violence, drugs and prostitution/from Roma minority/grew up in poverty/have access to education (58); live on the fringes of society shocking figures: minority in Europe/ dire statistics (92).
		<b>Minorities</b>	<b>Minorities:</b> emphasising the minority status of the ethnic community.	Sampled video n <b>66</b> Title: <b>Re: Empowerment through football</b>		

8	RACE	Migrants	<p><b>RACE:</b></p> <p>Includes representation and reference to consequences of race as perceived, socio-constructed difference; in connection to Europe's past history (holocaust) and colonialism; diaspora, deportation, war survivors, war crimes, exile..</p> <p><b>Migrants:</b> refers to those embarking in “voluntary movements’ due to economic reasons” (Horstmann, A. &amp; Jung, J.H., 2015); the category is coded when the term is explicitly used.</p>	<p>Total: 15 (11%)</p> <p>12 <i>The Land of Champagne</i></p> <p>22 <i>Stranded in Northern Cyprus</i></p> <p>27 <i>Saved from the Holocaust</i></p> <p>29 <i>Women doctors helping migrants</i></p> <p>42 <i>Kidnapped Ukrainian children</i></p> <p>66 <i>Empowerment through football</i></p> <p>74 <i>Women of Ceuta</i></p> <p>81 <i>Russian conscientious objectors</i></p> <p>89 <i>Ukrainian child refugees in France</i></p> <p>98 <i>Sea, war and sun. A Bulgarian seamount resort in wartime</i></p> <p>104 <i>A chance for children. Volunteers for a better life</i></p> <p>119 <i>Dojd. Russian media in exile</i></p> <p>127 <i>Pieds Noirs. Eternal Algerian exiles.</i></p> <p>131 <i>Secret hiding places of the Warsaw's ghetto</i></p> <p>139 <i>Russians in</i></p>	<p><b>Migrants:</b> African in France, work (12), African in Northern Cyprus, education (22), African migrants in France, healthcare for migrants (29), empowerment for migrants through sport (66), Turkish speaking families in Germany (104) Algerian pieds-noir in France (127)</p>	<p><b>Migrants:</b> Tens of thousands of migrant workers to France/ modern-day slaves on piecework /Exploitation, human trafficking and slave work/ Luxury meets extreme poverty in Champagne (12), Dreams of studying in Europe / a cheaper alternative, looks like an educational paradise (22) African migrants coming to France, vulnerable pregnant migrants/ traumatised (29) help girls from migrant backgrounds/ football vehicle for integration (66). migrant backgrounds / Turkish speaking families / solidarity (104); France, where the Europeans of Algeria went to exile (127)</p>
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		<b>Refugees</b>	<p><b>Refugees:</b> refers to those “associated with ‘enforced’ movement/displacement due mainly to political reason” (Horstmann, A. &amp; Jung, J.H., 2015); the category is coded when the term is explicitly used.</p>	<p><i>Serbia</i></p> <p>Sampled video n. 22</p> <p>Title:</p> <p><b>Re: Stranded in Northern Cyprus: African students in need</b></p>	<p><b>Refugees:</b> Jewish during Nazism (27, 131); Ukrainian (42, 89, 98); Russians (81, 119, 139); Women helping migrants in Ceuta (74).</p>	<p><b>Refugees:</b> Issued passports and transport visas/ European Jews / escape from the Nazis (27); in Russian-occupied Ukraine, children abducted by Russia (42); improve the lives of local people and refugees / poverty and desperation (74), took in Russian refugees (81) millions of Ukrainian refugees/ refugee status/ children welcomed by French families (89); Pro-regime Russians and Ukrainian refugees who have fled their homes in search of safety (98), Russian TV station not welcomed with open arms in Europe (119), Jewish / stories of survival (131), Russian refugees in Serbia (139).</p>
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