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Migrants and Ethnic Minorities in Austria: Assimilation, Integration and the Media

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Fremd ist der Fremde nur in der Fremde -
A stranger is strange only in a strange land
(Karl Valentin)

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This paper explores issues concerning the media situation of ethnic minorities and migrants in Austria. It is based on the premise that ethnic minority groups that have been present in the country for centuries and contemporary migrants encounter similar problems in preserving their languages and culture within the society at large. This situation results from an asymmetrical relationship between majority and minority. In contrast to migrants, semi-autonomous minorities are well-integrated into Austrian society. Yet, there are a number of parallels between ethnic minorities and migrants in reference to the ways they are dealt with by agents such as the media, politicians and the general public. The Austrian media landscape reflects the conflict-ridden situation of ethnic minorities and migrants.

1. Introduction

In the perception of the general public, ethnic minorities and migrants have something in common: both groups have problems with their image. At best, their image is neutral; but very often, esteem for both segments of society is slight, and thus, they have a negative image among the population.

In Austria, semi-autonomous minorities are a fairly local phenomenon in certain parts of the country. The largest minority includes approximately 30,000 members, but in spite of this small number ethnic minorities have always been a "conflict-ridden" issue in Austrian politics and media.

Croats in Burgenland and Slovenes in Carinthia have been officially recognised in Austria since 1955. Yet, the key issue has always been –- and still is –- the implementation of Article 7 of the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, which grants minorities the right to educational opportunities in their own language and the right to use their own topographic designations and (road) signs officially and to use their native language in public institutions.

The controversies about the installation of bilingual road signs in the Slovenian and German languages in Carinthia ("Ortstafelkonflikt") have clearly

illustrated to what extent emotions and opinions are expressed in the politically oriented public sphere and conveyed by the media.

The number of migrants in Austria is about ten times higher than that of the semi-autonomous minorities. Migrants comprise nearly 15 percent of the Austrian population and are at the centre of media attention and public debate. There are approximately 1.2 million residents who are either foreign citizens or persons born abroad who have acquired Austrian citizenship (Federal Institute of Statistics Austria 2007).

2.   Problems in Defining "Heimat" and "Identity"

In addition to Croats and Slovenes, groups which have lived in Burgenland and Carinthia for centuries, the "Volksgruppen Gesetz" of 1976 officially recognized Czechs, Slovaks and Hungarians as semi-autonomous ethnic minorities. The criteria for such recognition were: Austrian citizenship, non-German mother tongue, existence of a separate nation and the principle of "Beheimatung", which can be described as maintaining a distinct traditional lifestyle in certain regions of the country. Not until 1993 were Roma and Sinti officially recognized as a semi-autonomous minority. Previously, such recognition had been refused on the grounds that Roma and Sinti were not a "native minority" ("keine bodenständige Minderheit").

After the end of the Second World War, Austrian politicians and nearly all of the national opinion leaders were engaged in building an "Austrian identity", which was intended to have nothing to do with the "Volksnation" of the Nazis. The somewhat unexpected official recognition of the Roma as an Austrian ethnic group in 1993 was facilitated by concerns for Austria's international reputation. After many years of fruitless effort, the organisations of the Roma under the leadership of Rudolf Sarközi and representatives of the Centre for Ethnic Groups succeeded in eliminating any reservations against official recognition. At the same time Austria attempted not to compromise itself in the aftermath of the "Waldheim debate". Because of the discussion about the role of the former UN secretary general and newly elected Austrian president in the Nazi past, the Austrian government took care not to send out the wrong signals by not recognizing an ethnic group which had nearly been totally annihilated by the Nazis. At the same time Austria was promoting the implementation of regulations in favour of ethnic minorities within the CSCE and did not want to make its role there seem questionable because of problems connected to the country's internal affairs (Baumgartner 2000).

2.1   Ethnicity as a Nation-Building Paradigm

Austria was anxious to perceive itself as "eine gute politisch-konsensuale Staatsnation" (Wodak et al 1995, 7), as an uncontested nation oriented to the state and not to a specific (in this case, German) people. Languages were not to play a part in the development of a new Austrian identity (de Cillia 1995, 4). Yet, during this entire period Austrian language policies actually aimed at the assimilation of members of minority groups and their languages. When members of ethnic minorities demand their rights, the majority's perception of itself as an in-group can be reinforced, and this can lead to an exaggerated idealization of the in-group (Treibel 1993, 334f), with the consequence that ethnic and national affiliations are exploited.

In this context, the majority identifies itself as "we"/"us", while members of minority groups become "them"/"others". In the public sphere, only "major" languages are perceived; the "minor" languages of ethnic minorities are only noticed if issues concerning ethnic groups are reported on. The majority population is poorly informed about minority issues and sees minorities mainly as troublemakers who are constantly making demands and never seem satisfied. The demands of ethnic groups seem to annoy the general public. Various ethnic groups are often perceived as a single consistent group characterized by its own rituals, languages, and cultural expressions. The public image of ethnic groups, especially that shown on television, is dominated by clichés that present such groups primarily in folkloristic contexts.

A glance at the situation of the language minorities in Burgenland shows that, on the one hand, they have acquired a special legal status and that efforts have been made to officially preserve regional languages, but that language assimilation is a dominant trend, so that only small and somewhat concerned groups of minority language users persevere (Baumgartner 2000). Even after 20 years, Perchinig's description of Austrian public debates on minorities is still accurate. He maintains that much of the debate centers on the criterion of language, and that no new arguments related to objective or subjective criteria of belonging to a minority have been found. For one side ("objective") "assimilation" primarily consists in abandoning the minority language; for the other side assimilation means the abandonment of "self-identification as part of the minority" (Perchinig 1988, 134).

Ethnic identity (a sense of belonging to a particular group) expresses itself in the use of a common language and of cultural codes, in acting together as a group and in sharing a common history (Fillitz 2003, 24). Ethnic identity, one of the most complex concepts of sociological theory, is to be understood as a process and not as a constant. Max Weber defined ethnic groups on a symbolic level as "those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in

their common descent because of similarities of physical type or customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration; this belief must be important for the propagation of group formation; conversely, it does not matter whether or not an objective blood relationship exists. Ethnic membership (*Gemeinsamkeit*) differs from the kinship group precisely by being a presumed identity, not a group with concrete social action, like the latter." (Weber 1978, 389)

2.2   Subjective Perception and Reality

Perceiving oneself as belonging to a group does not necessarily correspond to objective circumstances. Reasons for differentiating the group from others are of secondary import and can be based on tradition or on "disposition". As one example, Weber mentions language communities, which can produce ethnic communities for a variety of reasons – e.g., due to specific economic or political conditions. Ethnicity provides an opportunity for socialisation and collectivisation (Ornig 2006, 34). For semi-autonomous groups this is an ambiguous situation, because, on the one hand, the individual has to decide if he or she wants to belong to an ethnic group, and, on the other, there is the issue of what kind of values and concepts the ethnic group is perceived as representing. This applies to the situation of both semi-autonomous and fully assimilated minorities. Ethnic identities are created by communication within one's own group and in distinction to others.

"For ethnicity to come about, the groups must have a minimum of contact with each other, and they have to entertain ideas of each other as being culturally different from themselves. If these conditions are not fulfilled, there is no ethnicity, for ethnicity is essentially an aspect of a relationship, not a property of a group" (Eriksen 1993, 11-12).

Ethnic identities are integrated into power relations which are characterized by asymmetrical communicative relations. Since 1945, this has also been evident in Austrian history (Weiss 2000, 25). The official politics in the road sign controversy provide an example, as it was not until 2000 that bilingual road signs for Croats and Hungarians were installed in Burgenland, despite the fact that the Austrian State Treaty of 1955 explicitly included an obligation to set up such signs.

3.   The Situation of Migrants from the 1960s to the Present

There had been few migrants in Austria before the late 1960s, when the so-called "Gastarbeiter" ("guest workers"), primarily from ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey, began to come to the country. Between 1961 and 1972, 265,000 immigrants came to Austria. For the most part, they were employed in heavy labour and, at any rate, did work that was not appealing to Austrians. They were not integrated into Austrian society and had a negative image within the Austrian population.

To counteract negative reactions on the part of the general public and the media, the government started an awareness campaign to increase the acceptance of migrants. Posters showed a little boy and a big man, with the boy asking the man, "I haaß Kolaric, du haaßt Kolaric – warum sogn's zu dir Tschusch?" ("My name is Kolaric, your name is Kolaric – why do they call you bad names?") This campaign alluded to the fact that many Viennese citizens are descendents of Slavic immigrants, which could be readily demonstrated by reading the names in a Viennese telephone directory.

This first distinctive wave of migration in the second half of the twentieth century was followed by constant immigration: the former guest workers attempted to bring their families to Austria, and their focus of interest shifted to Austria. Now, second and third generations of people of immigrant background live in the country.

A second wave of migration arrived with the dissolution of former communist regimes in Eastern Europe. This migration could be seen as a return to the regional migration typical of the 19th and early 20th centuries in Austria, involving people from the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Hungary, Poland and Romania (Hintermann 2000, 10). Between 1989 and 1993, the number of persons with foreign citizenship living in Austria increased from 387,000 to 690,000.

Especially during the war in the Balkans, the number of citizens of former Yugoslavia emigrating to Austria increased, as did immigration from Turkey and other countries. In the early 1990s, about 90,000 refugees from the Bosnian war came to Austria. Approximately half of them remained there. According to official statistics, about 155,000 persons of Bosnian origin now live in Austria. About 41,000 are now Austrian citizens. Hence, tens of thousands of Bosnian refugees have been integrated into Austrian society.

3.1   Migrants in the Media

Xenophobia has become a major issue in the media, after initial moves in this direction were undertaken by the right-wing Freedom Party and then popularized by the *Neue Kronen Zeitung*, a tabloid that has the highest circulation of all of the newspapers in Austria (the *Neue Kronen Zeitung* is read by 43.8 percent of all Austrians of age 14 and older – a total readership of 3,031,000).

Surveys indicate that even today somewhat diffuse attitudes towards "foreigners" among the Austrian public remain and that migrants are primarily perceived "as a problem". A new discourse has appeared in the mass media: "…different migrant groups were portrayed as a threat to the social system, to security, and the economic stability of Austria. The stereotypes created in the early 1990s were still prevalent in today's newspapers and broadcasts." (Joskowicz, EUMC[1] 2002, 311). This discourse was dominated by references to economic arguments ("Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge") and during the Bosnian war in 1993 the *Neue Kronen Zeitung* reported "primarily about the discussion about refugees in Austrian politics and the impact that the refugees would have on the economy, and did not consider the perspectives of refugees at all" (Joskowicz, EUMC 2002, 318). In 1993, the Freedom Party's anti-immigrant petition ("Österreich zuerst" – "Austria first") was propagated by the tabloid *Neue Kronen Zeitung*. The quality press opposed the petition. One typical way this tabloid engaged in opinion making can be seen in the fact that it practically ignored one of the largest demonstrations ever held in Austria, the "Lichtermeer" ("Sea of lights") against the FPÖ anti-foreigner campaign.

As mentioned above, immigration from Turkey and also from African and Asian countries increased simultaneously with a third phase of migration. This led to further stereotypical reporting on migrants' issues and to corresponding perceptions on the part of the general public. In her comparative analysis ("Alte und neue Minderheiten - zum Einstellungswandel in Österreich 1984 – 1998"), Hilde Weiss demonstrates that the category of "Ausländer"/ "foreigners" is very imprecise, as foreigners can be "illegal aliens, refugees, persons working in Austria for shorter or longer periods, with or without Austrian citizenship, immigrants of the first, second or third generation, tourists, Europeans or only non-Europeans coming from the western hemisphere or elsewhere, etc." (Weiss 2000, 26).

Furthermore, the EUMC Report demonstrates that at the end of the 1990s, mainly black migrants have been reported on in a negative way, primarily as drug traffickers and in connection with other drug-related crimes.

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1   EUMC was renamed in March 2007 in EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) and is based in Vienna.

One particular example is the reporting on the deportation of Marcus Omofuma. The tragic death of Marcus Omofuma led to much coverage in the press: "After being tied up and gagged with adhesive tape by the police, Mr. Omofuma died in an airplane during his deportation from Austria. In the *Neue Kronen Zeitung*, his name was always abbreviated as 'Marcus O.' – a form that is used for alleged perpetrators suggesting that he was a criminal. Already earlier, Africans had been systematically depicted as drug traffickers in the *Neue Kronen Zeitung*." (Joskowicz, EUMC 2002, 321-322)

The tabloid press and surveys on the potential 'risks' of migration have often warned of a "mass immigration" from eastern and central eastern European countries, which, however, has not become a reality.

3.2 The Image of Ethnic Minorities and of Migrants

In the comparative survey mentioned above, a survey on the development of Austrians' attitudes towards so-called "new" and "old minorities" in the period between 1984 and 1998, Weiss discovered that the continuity of stereotypes and attitudes towards the "old" minorities was "impressive". Even "traditional" minorities such as Slovenes, Croats and Jews did not manage to acquire a better image and remained on nearly the same level as 14 years before. What was new was that the ethnic groups that had only recently arrived were assessed in much more negative ways (Weiss 2000, 34f). Only in one respect did acceptance increase: the Austrian population became more tolerant towards a better legal status regulating equal social security and length of residence. On the whole, acceptance of the rights of the semi-autonomous minorities actually decreased somewhat (Weiss 2000, 35). This might be related to a majority opinion that Austrian ethnic minorities have been assimilated and thus are only expected to demonstrate their ethnicity in relation to certain cultural and folkloristic aspects.

Under the assumption that migrants are integrated into society if they have access to social life as "access to work, education, habitation, health, justice, politics, mass media and religion..."(Bommes 2007, 3), it is clear that migrants and ethnic minorities are perceived as not striving for integration if they demand their rights or call attention to politicians' or the general public's disregard for their problems. The majority sees participation in public life only as a process of adaptation. In debates in the media and elsewhere, distinctions between terms such as "assimilation", "integration" or "segregation" are largely ignored.

In 2004, one significant result of a survey undertaken by the GfK Austria Market Research GmbH on the attitudes of the Austrian population towards

migration and integration was that nearly a quarter of the Austrian population makes no distinction between "refugees" and "immigrants". People from lower social classes, persons with little formal education, and older people were especially prone to see no distinction here. Twenty percent of the Austrian population stated that they most definitely did not want to have foreigners as neighbours. The groups rated as least popular were Roma and Sinti. Citizens of former Yugoslavia, Romania and Bulgaria but also immigrants from Russia or China were perceived to be well prepared for integration. A categorical rejection of integration and the lowest level of willingness to become integrated were attributed to "Moslem" groups, i.e., Turks, Iranians, Afghans and people from North Africa (Brettschneider 2007, 22f).

Fassmann notes that especially in politics people presume that "the meaning of integration can be defined precisely (...) but 'integration' is only a vague concept for various analytic and normative concepts of integration and can mean many different things. Integration can mean anything from total adaptation to a loose way of incorporating social groups into a larger society" (Fassmann 2006, 225). In the debate on integration in the media and which role the media have to play in this context, the concept of media integration can be seen in three ways: "media segregation and assimilative media in-tegration (media assimilation) as the two external poles and intercultural media integration as a middle course between the two extremes" (Geißler/Pöttker 2006, 21).

The dilemma involved in dealing with both semi-autonomous minorities and fully assimilated groups is evident in the diffuse use of the concepts. But in contrast to the "new" minorities, the main issue for the semi-autonomous minorities is not integration into society. The main problem is how language and culture can be preserved and passed on to future generations. The preservation of minorities' languages involves not only individual responsibili-ty, but also a collective responsibility, and complex issues related to multi-lingualism.[2]

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2   A personal note about my student days: When fellow students asked me about my background, I answered that I was from "Burgenland" and told them that I was Burgenland-Croatian and had been raised as a bilingual. Often enough, the response was astonishment, accompanied by compliments on how well I spoke German. I could only reply that we Croatians had been in the area for 500 years and, considering that, I was actually in pretty good shape. More seriously, though, it was obvious that my fellow students were ill-informed about Austrian ethnic groups.

3.3   The Current Situation of Migrants

In 2005, a new law regulating the status of foreigners in Austria went into effect. Certain aspects of this new law have been a subject of heated debate: allowing for force-feeding of hunger strikers or required proof of persecution or danger for asylum seekers and mandatory participation in language courses, as demanded by the so-called new "integration agreement". The aims of this contract are outlined on the website of the Austrian Integration Fund (http://www.integrationsfonds.at). The main goal of the Integration Agreement is that "migrants and asylum beneficiaries […] learn enough German to participate in the social, economic and cultural life of the host country."

Obviously, migrants must be able to communicate in the language spoken in the host country to facilitate integration. Yet, this should not require the abandonment of the mother tongue, since the knowledge and use of one's native language are significant factors affecting the self-confidence and identity of a person. But in the Austrian public sphere, the ways of representing languages other than German are inadequate, even though Austria is a multilingual country.

Often, migrants have been held responsible for the poor results attributed to the Austrian education system in the PISA report of 2003. Not only the right-wing FPÖ attempted to depict such results as an effect of "mass migration", but also the media often focused on the problems involved in teaching migrants' children. One major issue of this debate was whether one-year pre-school attendance should be mandatory for migrants' children to insure better knowledge of the German language. In contrast, a view of migrants' languages as cultural resources that can only be activated if a society is able to offer suitable conditions has, for the most part, been disregarded (Bourdieu 1983).

3.4   The Discourse on the Deportation of Asylum Seekers in 2007

To what extent the mass media can contribute to the integration of individuals is a subject of much debate. As Geißler and Pöttker have demonstrated (Geißler/Pöttker 2006), the media have a function related to social integration, insofar as they provide the public with relevant topics. According to Pöttker, one of the major responsibilities of journalism is to mediate between social segments in this complex domain. Mediating between distinct ways of life and practical knowledge creates an open-ended sphere that allows for participation in society as a whole (Pöttker 2000, 377-378).

In the autumn of 2007, a large-scale debate on integration arose among the general public and in the media when refugees who had been living in Austria for several years were to be deported. Laws on foreigners require the deportation of asylum seekers even if the processing of their applications has been going on for years. All members of the government agreed that there was no need to change the laws on foreigners and that no general right to permanent residence should be put into effect.

The media reported that families who had been staying in Austria for years were to be split up and deported. The refugees involved were described as well-integrated and, together with their children, as forming part of the community. The dominant viewpoint in mass media reports can be expressed with the headline: "Thousands in danger of being deported. Uncertainty a cause of anxiety for long-term asylum seekers" *(Der Standard* 5th Oct 2007).

Individual cases have been portrayed in the mass media. On 3 October 2007, under the headline: "Deported" the *Salzburger Nachrichten* printed a photograph of the Milici family holding hands, with the six children lined up between their parents according to their age. The caption read: "The township of Peggau in Styria fought against the deportation of family Milici in vain. On Tuesday, the eight members of the family were deported. … According to mayor Werner Rois, in the past two years the members of the family had become fully integrated. Many of the co-residents are shocked that humanitarian aspects are not taken into consideration in such cases. On Monday, the mayor and other people from Peggau demonstrated in front of the centre for deportation in Vienna."

One case especially caught the attention of the mass media: Fifteen-year-old Arigona Zogaj went into hiding to avoid her impending deportation. Her father and brothers and sisters had already been deported; her mother had had a nervous breakdown and had been hospitalized. Arigona stated in a letter that she was in danger of committing suicide and that she would only resurface when her younger brothers and sisters had returned to Austria.

In contrast to its usual anti-foreigner slant in reporting, even the tabloid *Kronen Zeitung* started a campaign supporting Arigona Zogaj. The publisher of the "Neue Kronen Zeitung", Hans Dichand, wrote under his pen-name "Cato": "Which of the politicians would dare to act this way? In this case, a condemned humanity must be given priority to the letter of the law" (*Neue Kronen Zeitung* 3rd Oct 2007).

Arigona took an active role and sent a video from her hiding place with a message to the Austrian Minister of the Interior and to the general public. The video was broadcast by the ORF news programme "Zeit im Bild". It shows a girl sitting against the wall of a bare room, looking directly into the camera and saying that she is very badly off and repeating that she is in danger of

committing suicide. The aesthetics of the image reminds one of videos of hostages, in which "prisoners" of terrorists appeal to the public to free them. Here, liberation would mean the right to remain in the country.

With tears in her eyes Arigona appealed to minister Günther Platter to allow her brothers and sisters to return. She repeated that she would rather die than return to Kosovo, where she would have no future. In the 5-minute video, Arigona stressed, "I cannot understand at all why Mr. Platter does not allow us to stay in Austria. We did not do anything wrong. I miss my family very much…"

This example illustrates that in public discourses a distinction between "integration" and "assimilation" is becoming blurred. This family consents to complete adaptation, which is regarded by the public as successful integration, but for some of the political actors the legal basis for their continued residence is lacking. For this reason, the Austrian Minister of the Interior publicly interpreted the girl's desperate appeal as attempted extortion and refused to revise his point of view. This interpretation, with the contention that the state could not allow itself to be blackmailed, had the effect of criminalizing the case. These circumstances parallel a tendency to construct negative images of victims reported on in a considerable number of research studies – with the distinction that this time it was politicians and not the mass media that exhibited this tendency (see e.g. Müller 2005, 112; Bonfadelli 2007a).

Commentaries were in widespread agreement in denouncing the "inhumane procedure" in handling this case. In his analysis in the "Salzburger Nachrichten", Andreas Koller wrote:

> The secrecy of the political basis for decisions (the list of criteria regulating deportations - P.H.) results in the inhumanity of the political practice. Government bureaucracy acting in secret nearly inevitably leads to the abuse of power and to despotism. For this reason, the fathers of our democracy established instruments to monitor and control government bureaucracies. One of these instruments is the parliament, another the freedom of the press, a third a critical public. Austrian policy on foreigners is carried out under the observation of these three monitoring authorities. At least, that is the way it seems. Humane treatment only takes place if some extraordinarily dramatic fate (a girl who goes into hiding or a six-year-old is threatened with deportation) is portrayed. *(Salzburger Nachrichten,* 4th Oct 2007)

The general public sympathized with the fate of the girl and her family. The fellow residents of the township organized a demonstration with ca. 500

participants, including artists and politicians. The president of the Austrian parliament, Barbara Prammer (of the Social Democratic Party), made a speech.

Pöttker defines integration as a desirable process which interconnects various segments of society (Pöttker 2005, 40-41), a process involving both similarity and the harmonization of segments of society on the one hand and a wide variety of specific conditions on the other. Below, the criteria affecting integration cited by Pöttker are applied to the factors involved in the public perception of Arigona's predicament.

- *Intensity and contents of communication between segments of society:* Various groups of communicators take action and influence Arigona's situation: a minister of the interior who refuses to reconsider his position on the one hand and on the other the mass media and the general public (which consists of many and varied groups) and the victims, who are represented by Arigona.

- *One result of the extent of communication and of mutual knowledge of varied segments of society:* For the most part, communicated knowledge referred to the fact that this family was integrated into a variety of social communities. Arigona's country of origin is seen as a place without any hope or perspective, where life is not possible. Her appeal culminates in the statement that she and her family "did no wrong". What is meant is that she and her family acted in conformance with widely accepted habits and norms, in other words, that they had become assimilated.

- *Extent of participation on the part of societal institutions*: Institutional participation is demonstrated in Arigona's use of a video message to appeal to the public and the media and to draw attention to her needs.

- *Extent of collective acceptance of basic cultural values*: There was a broad consensus among journalists, a number of politicians and businesspersons, and the general public that humanity was to be valued more highly than the letter of the law and that humanitarian action in granting permission to remain in the country was the required solution.

- *Societal consensus on the extent of pluralistic views and resolution of conflicts between heterogeneous segments of society*: The majority society exhibited conflicting views: the interior minister and some official sources on the one hand, the mass media, certain politicians and businesspersons, fellow residents of the family's town on the other. The general public is prepared to accept some Other, if that Other and his or her fate are portrayed in an individualized way.

The case of Arigona also attracted the attention of the international mass media. The story was covered e.g. by the French newspaper "Le Monde", by the "Herald Tribune" and by the "Associated Press". The international reporting touched upon a crucial point relevant to integration:

> The Zogaj family's story has fanned a fiery debate in Austria about deporting well integrated foreigners who seek asylum and often try to stay on illegally when their applications are rejected. It is a debate similar to those in other European countries, where conflicts about immigration are often tied to questions of national identity and humanitarianism." (*Associated Press*, 6th Oct 2007)

Here again, after the Waldheim controversy and the debates focused on the participation of a right-wing party in the government, Austrian politics were portrayed in a negative context on an international scale.

4.   Ethnic Groups, Migrants and their Media

To gain attention from the general public, minorities must be present in the mass media. Multilingual programmes on radio and television provide suitable opportunities to achieve this aim. In the awareness of the general public, ethnic groups are often seen in folkloristic contexts, and migrants are often associated with negative media coverage. The relevant surveys demonstrate that the media primarily convey negative images of migrants.

There are no quantitative surveys on the media use of migrants in Austria. This implies that there is no reliable information on migrants' use, for example, of Turkish television programmes or of print media. In a research overview, Piga states (Piga 2007, 226) that the quantitative dimensions of the motivation behind migrants' media use have been studied extensively, but this does not apply to the situation in Austrian. The ORF (Austrian Broadcasting Corporation) is now planning a survey on migrants' use of television in Austria modelled on the ARD/ZDF study „Migranten und Medien 2007". This is a first step in demonstrating that the non-uniform group of migrants is also considered a target group by the Austrian public broadcasting company.

For migrants, the Austrian media landscape is rather limited. On Austrian television, there is only one weekly programme for all groups of migrants: "Heimat, fremde Heimat", a programme broadcast on Sunday afternoons. The aim of the programme, as described by the editorial staff, is "to support togetherness, cultural variety and integration in Austria". Target groups are "Austrians who are interested in ethnic issues, naturalized immigrants, long-term residents of foreign nationalities and members of Austrian ethnic

groups". The programme is presented in German; the persons interviewed on the program use their native tongues, and their statements are translated with the use of German subtitles.

Every Sunday evening, the regional radio station of Vienna broadcasts a radio programme of the same name. A wide variety of topics ranging from political developments to folkloristic features are covered here, often with interviews of minority representatives, members of ethnic minorities, and migrants.

In the Austrian media system, the number of migrants involved in production is negligible. Only in the minority department of the ORF can journalists of a migration background be found. The minority department of the ORF is managed by Silvana Meixner, a migrant from Croatia, who is one of the anchorpersons of the television program "Heimat, fremde Heimat". Another anchorperson is Lakis Iordanopoulos, who originally came from Greece to study in Austria and eventually settled here indefinitely.

The opportunity to become involved in the production of media is a crucial point relevant to integration, for in this way the perspectives of minorities can be integrated into the majority media, and minorities involved in media production can ensure that suitable ethnic programs are offered.

The specific forms that media use and gratifications take are closely related to which generation of migrants a person belongs to. German surveys on television use of Turkish migrants indicate that the elder generation attempted to deal with homesickness and to reinforce their relationship with the old country by watching television programmes from Turkey (Aumüller 2007, 39) – a type of media consumption not perpetuated by the younger generations. Ethnic media can support an orientation directed towards the host country. Yet, ethnic media can also inhibit the disposition to integrate if, instead, there is an emphasis on content that promotes segregation (Geißler/Pöttker 2005, 396).

Although there are no similar empirical data available for Austria, the surveys of ethnic media use mentioned above can indicate which problems have to be coped with by other migrants and can demonstrate how ethnic media have been able to build bridges between various cultures. Migrants' integration involves a learning process the results of which can range from complete adaptation (assimilation) to a type of adaptation that allows for cooperation within the framework of the majority society. Only this second type allows for cultural diversity.

Weiss considers whether maintaining ethnically influenced cultural habits is a barrier to integration and raises the question, "Where can the borderline be drawn between the cultural adaptation required for mastering professional and everyday life on the one hand and assimilation on the other?" (Weiss 2007, 14).

Media and integration play interdependent roles in a society. Hafez (2005, 176) notes three different aspects of integration:

- Civic integration, including, for example, participation in political processes;

- Social integration, i.e., material and institutional integration; and

- Cultural integration, which is necessary for forming personal identities and hybrid identities and relates to demands for equal rights for various cultures.

For the process of integration, these three aspects are determining factors on the social and structural levels, but also on the individual level. The Austrian mass media make no effort to cover topics related to migrants' special interests. As mentioned above, there is a lack of specific quantitative surveys on the media use and the media requirements of migrants. This research deficit is perhaps symptomatic for the treatment of minority media issues. Often enough, migrants are reported upon; they do not attain active roles in society's mass media. Consequently, demands have been voiced that members of ethnic minorities should acquire positions in the editorial staff of large-scale media companies, so that their perspectives can be represented in the reports of the media. Such demands, which are not at all new, are still repeated when media issues are debated in the context of integration – a further indication of the standstill media politics has come to with respect to ethnic minorities.

In Austria there is no daily newspaper in the language of an ethnic minority. Hence, the only media specifically catering for such audiences are certain daily programmes of the public broadcaster and the groups' own ethnic media. The Burgenland Croats and the Slovenes, for example, have weekly journals; other ethnic groups publish magazines on a fairly regular basis. The government provides support for all of these media. The EUMC report from 2002 notes: "Newspapers in the Slovenian and Croatian languages are found to limit reporting to topics connected directly with ethnic identity, whereas media in the majority language are the main providers of general information and entertainment for minorities (Busch 1998). The result of this format is that minority media remain more dependent on state funding." (EUMC 2002, 313)

The majority of the population expects that ethnic minorities and migrants articulate themselves in the language of the majority. Language use "is the commonest form of social behaviour, and the form of social behaviour where we rely most on 'common-sense' assumptions" (Fairclough 2001, 2). Fairclough proceeds on the assumption that language is an important factor of power and remarks, "nobody who has an interest in relationships of power in modern society can afford to ignore language" (Fairclough 2001, 3). Language

use involves many opportunities to orient relationships between various segments of a society, which also applies to the relationship between the majority and ethnic minorities. How various groups deal with different languages is also a question of ideology.

4.1   A Typology of Transcultural Media

In her master thesis, Wögerer characterized "transcultural media" in Austria and defined these as media which deal with issues like integration or multiculturalism and promote a counter-establishment public sphere or countercultural developments (Wögerer 2004, 82). She compiled a list of transcultural media in Austria and developed a typology for the print media involved. Wögerer describes transcultural media as exhibiting the following features:

-    Multi-, inter- and transcultural content;

-    Critical or semi-professional journalism;

-    Linked to social movements;

-    An interest in promoting a counter-establishment public sphere: a form of communication on integration issues not provided by the mainstream media (Wögerer 2004, 84)

Wögerer's typology is oriented toward key issues and specific target groups (Wögerer 2004, 94). This orientation is somewhat problematic, as the typology is not limited to migrants' media or media for ethnic groups. The typology includes the following:

-    *Print magazines of associations or magazines aimed at increasing donations for projects related to migrants' issues* – for instance, the "Gute Zeitung" (Wiener Integrationshaus), "Zebratl" (Verein ZEBRA), "Hin & Her" (Caritas) or "ÖIF-Magazin. Integration in Focus" (Austrian Integration Fund).

-    *Magazines concerned with migration policies*, in which a theoretical discussion of issues relevant to migration takes place, e.g., "Liga" (Österreichische Liga für Menschenrechte/Austrian League for Human Rights), "Stimme von und für Minderheiten" (Initiative Minderheiten/Initiative Minorities), "Die Bunte Zeitung" (Verein "Die Bunten") and "Mega-phon" (Caritas Graz).

-    *Cultural magazines* such as "der.wisch" (Kulturverein Kanafani/Cultural club Kanafani) deal with specific cultural issues and antiracism.

- *Migrants' media aiming at a specific migrant readership.* There are many print media which are in Turkish or target the Turkish community – media such as "Yeni Vatan", "Yeni Hareket", "Öneri", "Aktüel Haber", and "Vienna Post". These periodicals cover the social and political spectrum of opinions among Turkish migrants, are distributed free of charge and financed by advertisements. "Echo. The first and only magazine for the second generation" is edited six times a year. In Vienna, there are also some periodicals available to migrants from former Yugoslavia in their languages. There is no Turkish-language daily produced in Austria itself.

4.2 Semi-autonomous Ethnic Groups and the Public Broadcasting Company

The public broadcasting company ORF is required by law to offer pro-grammes in the native languages of all officially recognized semi-autonomous minorities . The law on public broadcasting from 2001 specifies that the ORF broadcast appropriate programmes for any recognized ethnic minority, but does not make any stipulations about the use of languages. The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages was ratified by Austria in 2001. Yet, the Charter entails no further requirements related to additional multilingual programmes for semi-autonomous minorities.[3]

Debates on the use of minority and migrants' languages take place within the context of debates on the presence, use, and impacts of languages in the public sphere and can take various forms. At any rate, the EUMC report stated, "members of many migrant groups and minorities are not presented in the media as individuals. This is due partly to the problems arising from the absence of employees from these groups in mainstream media as well as to the lack of strong minority media in Austria" (EUMC 2002, 322).

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3 I am familiar with the conditions of the production of minority programmes, as I worked on the Burgenland-Croatian editorial staff for radio and television broadcasts for 8 years. Of course, I am also aware that assessment of media work can diverge dramatically, depending upon whether the perspective is an external or internal one. My colleagues and I often encountered significant problems in finding interview partners who were able to expound on certain topics in Croatian. Frequently, the language competence of these speakers – even in their native tongue – proved to be deficient.

4.2.1   Television

At the same time when the nationwide programme "Heimat, fremde Heimat" is broadcast in the region of Burgenland, there is a 25-minute programme for Croats ("Dobar dan Hrvati") and, in Carinthia, a television program for Slovenes ("Dober dan, Koroska"). The programme consists of a mixture of current affairs and more traditional topics, such as villages and local peculiarities or other cultural concerns.

In addition, ORF Burgenland broadcasts a quadri-lingual television programme called "Servus Szia Zdravo del tuha" four times a year. This is an information programme about the ethnic minorities that live in Burgenland. The main focus is on cultural topics, and the programme is also available as a download on the Internet.

4.2.2   Radio

Here, media staff and institutions do not debate the use of minority languages, nor is there any mandatory arrangement of multilingual programmes. Of course, these circumstances have an impact on the media situation of ethnic minorities in Austria. Space prevents the mention of all the relevant programmes broadcast by the ORF in the past. But it should be noted that in 2001, the ORF and two private radio organizations established a combined public and private radio station for ethnic minorities in Carinthia: Radio Dva. Radio Dva offers a Slovene and a partly bilingual (German and Slovene) 24-hour programme, including much music. That is, much of the time on the air does not involve spoken language.

This is symptomatic for the specific situation of programmes for ethnic minorities. Journalists attempt to reach a target group that has a wide variety of different interests and cannot be defined with a quota. One of the effects is that the Slovene language has become nearly extinct in the local majority radio programme, for the broadcasts in Burgenland now only include: 40 minutes daily for the Croatian, 5 minutes for Hungarian minorities and a number of services in the language of the Roma.

With the introduction of private radio stations in Burgenland in 1998, Radio Mora was established as a trilingual radio project involving the languages Croatian, Hungarian and Romani. These three ethnic minorities shared one radio license with a commercial provider. This project was terminated in 2001, when the government stopped providing financial support.

4.2.3 Public Community Radio

For the Austrian ethnic minorities, there has been an increase in the programmes provided by the medium-wave (AM) station Radio 1476 – especially for Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians and Roma in Vienna. For the most part, these are bilingual news programmes for ethnic groups, but a major focus is on recruiting youths who are encouraged to work for the radio. The hope is that this could lead to a stronger identification with the programme and demonstrate that the use of minority languages in the public sphere is important for the self-confidence of both individuals and groups. Collaborations with schools like the "Komensky Gymnasium", which are supported by the Education Ministry, make all those involved in school life (students, teachers, parents) aware of the significance of taking part in communicative societal action in languages other than that of the majority. Youths can achieve better language and media competence when they engage in making broadcasts and decide to use their mother tongue to convey ideas and concepts through the media. There are specific problems involved in the use of the languages of Sinti and Roma. Even within the minority, knowledge of their languages is not very extensive, so that the Roma Radio Kaktus is, in fact, multilingual: German may be the lingua franca, yet the various languages of European Roma (Romani, Sinti, Lovara-Romani) are also used. Dialects of Romani from Romania, Serbia or Montenegro, such as Gurbet, Dambaz, Erli, are also spoken. Topics frequently dealt with here include the history and persecution of the minorities, but also the struggle against discrimination and poverty. Radio 1476's programmes are also available on the Internet at http://1476.orf.at.

4.3 Alternative Media and Migrants

For the past ten years, one particular project of the ORF medium-wave station "Radio 1476", multilingual "Radio Africa", has been dealing with issues relevant to the African community in Austria and has become a community-building factor. The people collaborating on this project have also established additional Internet services and cooperate with others in broadcasting African television programmes in Vienna.

These examples illustrate that media and their editorial staff are not simply producers of certain programmes, but that they can promote integration by dealing with certain topics and representing migrants in certain ways. As mentioned above, the public broadcasting company is required by law to represent all relevant groups of society, ethnic minorities included. Yet, the

much larger group of migrants is neglected by laws on broadcasting and by most of the broadcasting companies.

There is a tradition of dealing with issues relevant to migrants among alternative broadcasters. Since independent radio stations began their operations, various groups of migrants have been able to produce programmes in their own languages. Radio Orange, e.g., (located in Vienna) broadcasts programmes from different editorial groups in the Turkish, Bosnian, Serb, Croatian, Portuguese, Spanish and French languages. Radio Orange also offers courses on the technical and editorial production of radio programmes.

In Linz, Radio FRO (Free Radio Oberösterreich-Upper Austria) has been broadcasting programmes for migrants since 1998. The staff of Radio FRO explains its immediate popularity with compensating for the intervals when Turkish satellite television was not broadcasting. The audience reacted with enthusiasm and felt that Radio FRO was providing important services.

Another alternative, independent radio station in Austria is the "Radiofabrik" (located in Salzburg). This station offers multilingual programmes such as "Bosporus Nights", with a Turkish student who dedicates the programme to his home city of Istanbul and tries to build bridges between Salzburg and Istanbul by the means of jazz, hip hop, pop and rock music and by talking with guests from countries all over the world, with Turkish being the language most often used. Similar programs include "Zenska Soba", a bilingual programme for women in the Bosnian and German languages, "Lusophonica" in Portuguese, and "Vecer u Radio" in Serbo-Croatian with programs related to the natural surroundings, culture and society "of a country that no longer exists". Descriptions of the programmes can be found on the Internet, where listeners can also make their opinions known or vote on options for certain programmes.

On the whole, independent radio stations broadcast programmes in more than 20 languages. In contrast to the print media, such radio stations provide migrant groups with a lower-cost opportunity of making their presence felt in the public sphere and of reaching the members of their particular target groups (Busch/Peissl 2003, 189f). As noted above, one of the dilemmas of the radio producers is the question of how to reach the target groups, which, much like majority target groups, consist of different people with various needs and interests and various approaches to the media.

4.4   Easy Access through the Internet

The Internet can be seen as a new space for communication that can easily be used by ethnic minorities. One such use is illustrated by the ORF's multilingual

site (volksgruppen.orf.at), which is linked with editorial staff in Vienna, Eisenstadt, and Klagenfurt. The homepage offers written news and downloads of several ethnic programmes and can be used by interested target groups as a news archive in the languages of the semi-autonomous minorities in Austria.

The platform for minorities in Austria, "Initiative Minderheiten", established "Radio Stimme" ("Radio Voice"), which is broadcast over independent stations in Vienna, Linz, Graz, Innsbruck and the southern areas of Carinthia. The one-hour programme, which is produced twice a month, aims to counteract any form of marginalisation on the basis of a person's origin or political convictions. "Radio Stimme" attempts to develop counterstrategies for a media landscape which does not support minority issues and uses the Internet for newsletters and downloading radio programmes. It also provides its audience with podcasts of its programmes.

A large-scale consensus asserts that variety is characteristic of our media-dominated society. Yet, the question of how different ethnic groups and their needs are to be covered in the media remains. Resolving this issue is a challenge to all of the relevant groups: journalists, politicians, academics, and the general public. Here, a single aspect is both the starting point and the major problem: developing an awareness of minorities and migrants, such that the majority does not judge them as a threat, but, instead, sees them as an opportunity for everyone concerned to experience plurality. Both scientific and journalistic efforts have a contribution to make here. To overcome segregation in the area of communication, a common European media policy is essential. Particularly in this context, integration can only be promoted if societal and democratic interests are accorded priority over economic interests.

5. Concluding Remarks

A comparison between the situation of ethnic minorities and that of migrants indicates that both groups have similar problems in gaining the attention of the general public. The actual public perception of such groups is often solely related to negative contexts.

The general public expects that ethnic groups exhibit behaviour in conformity with the mores of the society at large and that they do not dispute widely accepted norms.

In general, the media most accessible to ethnic minorities and migrants are alternative and ethnic media.

It is imperative that public policy establish conditions promoting the integration of ethnic minorities and migrants into the public sphere, supporting

their presence in mainstream media, and encouraging awareness-raising projects to integrate the different ethnic groups into society.

Many key factors will impact the success of such efforts. But one paramount insight is that a positive image of ethnic minorities and migrants can only arise in the context of societal communication.

6. Appendix

In the field of sociology or political science, there is no lack of empirical surveys on migrants and ethnic minorities in Austria. Yet, the data available (for example Weiss 2007; Ornig 2006) do not reveal much about the crucial factors of media and media use. There are a considerable number of qualitative surveys on migrants of various backgrounds, but no long-term studies on the relationship between migrants and the media in Austria.

Bonfadelli et al. compiled European research on the media use of ethnic minorities (Bonfadelli et al. 2007b, 143) and concluded that "the research situation in Europe is disparate and varies considerably in the different countries (…) Most of the studies identified and taken into account come from Northern, North-Western or Central European countries like the Netherlands (7), United Kingdom (5) and Germany (4) whereas only very little research from Southern Europe has been found" (Bonfadelli et al. 2007b, 149). In spite of the fact that 15% of the Austrian population are migrants, there is a significant research deficit here. As Trebbe pointed out (Trebbe 2007, 174-175), much needed research on the relationship between migrants and the media in Austria could be oriented to the following questions:

(1) Can different types of integration and/or assimilation with respect to their attitudes towards the German (or: the Austrian – P.H.) society be described and identified? (2) If so, how are these different patterns of integration related to the society of origin? (3) Is there any evidence for different media use patterns within these types of integration? (4) And, finally, can empirical evidence be provided for effects of integration/acculturation strategies on the use of German and Turkish (and other migrant-language – P.H.) media?

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