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**The Contribution of Intercultural Media
to Pluralism and Diversity in the Public Discourse:
Necessary Voices in Contemporary Democratic Society –
The Case of Austria**

Acknowledgement

Thanks to
Pierre-François Docquir for his excellent supervision
and all the others, who shared their thoughts and accompanied me.

Abstract

One of the most important challenges for our present society is the increase in ethnic and social heterogeneity, which also implies great effects on our communication. The democratic ideal of giving all people an equal voice in the decisions affecting them is getting harder to fulfil in the face of a heterogenic population, as there can be the risk that less influential and powerful groups such as migrants or ethnic groups have less possibilities to raise their voices. The media provide the public sphere for negotiating democratic decisions, but often have difficulty in offering equal access.

I argue that adequate access for groups in society that have traditionally had disadvantaged access to the media such as migrants is crucial for the democratic discourse. I also advocate that intercultural media giving migrants and ethnic groups a voice in the public arena, could help mitigate the risk described above. The main characteristic of intercultural media is diversity. Firstly, they are produced by ethnic groups of different origins. Secondly, they address an audience with and without a migration background. Thirdly, the content is created with the particular perspective of their ethnic producers, mostly in the language of the host country.

I will demonstrate my argument using the case of Austria, whose media are a "murky mirror" of the existing diversity of the country. Media concentration, a variety of channels without a real diversity of reflected opinions, unequal power relations are reasons that deprive the migrant population of adequate participation and representation in the public sphere.

However, the state has responsibility to provide an environment for a media system that reflects the existing diversity in a country and does not disadvantage certain groups such as migrants. Human rights underscore this duty of the state to guarantee the right of freedom of expression, stressing the negative, but as well the positive obligations.

The theoretical reasoning and the findings of the mapping of intercultural media in Austria illustrate that intercultural media hold a huge potential for a more democratic discourse, as they allow access to the public sphere for migrants, offer opportunities for self-representation, provide information with an intercultural focus for a general audience, create a bridging function, counter discriminatory reporting and strengthen the quality of media pluralism.

List of Abbreviations

AGTT	Arbeitsgemeinschaft Teletest (Workinggroup Teletest)
CE	Council of Europe
EC	European Commission
ECHR	European Court for Human Rights
ECHR	Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order
ÖAK	Österreichische Auflagenkontrolle (Austrian Circulation Control)
ORF	Österreichischer Rundfunk (Austrian Public Broadcaster)
UN	United Nations
UN OHCHR -	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner of Human Rights
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
VÖZ	Verein Österreichischer Zeitungen (Austrian Newspaper Association)
WAN	World Association of Newspapers
WAZ	Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung

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*The quality of a democracy depends fundamentally
on the way in which its society communicates.*
(Wolfgang Rudzio)

Introduction

"One of the most important challenges facing modern societies, and at the same time one of our most significant opportunities, is the increase in ethnic and social heterogeneity in virtually all advanced countries. The most certain prediction that we can make about almost any modern society is that it will be more diverse a generation from now than it is today. This is true from Sweden to the United States and from New Zealand to Ireland."[1]

I would like to take this prediction by the U.S. sociologist and political scientist Robert Putnam as the starting point for my thesis. The development he describes implies a great impact on our lives – in the considerable effect on our communication, particularly when it comes to intercultural exchange. Indeed, a society consisting of different ethnic and social groups consequently comprehends as many different opinions. Hence, the democratic ideal to give all people an equal voice in the decisions affecting them is challenged by a heterogenic population, too. The risk can occur that less influential and powerful groups are also less heard.

In our current societies, the media provide a space to negotiate democratic decisions in public. Ethnic groups such as migrants traditionally do not have privileged access to the mediatised public sphere, which makes them less visible and deprives them of the power to express their concerns and consequently empowers the impact of stronger speakers as can be observed by demagogic right-wing politicians instrumentalising immigration. Apparently mainstream media have difficulty in providing equal access to the public arena. Thus, alternative ways are necessary to enable a pluralistic and diverse public discourse. In this thesis, I want to argue for intercultural media as a means to enable the necessary voices in a contemporary democratic society.

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[1] Putnam, 2007, p. 1.

I will demonstrate my argument using the case of Austria. Austria's population can be considered as diverse, as it includes 18 % migrants that live in the country. But this is not reflected in the mediatised public. The migrant population does not have adequate representation in the mainstream media; moreover, the coverage of migrants and ethnic groups has been described as xenophobic, one-sided and tendentious – especially in the boulevard press. The fact that the tabloid is by far the biggest newspaper in Austria, which is also the most influential and a highly concentrated media landscape in Austria consolidates this position. Thus, diversity is not the main distinction of the Austrian media landscape. In a nutshell: some voices may become very load, whereas other voices do not even get a chance to be raised in public, a situation that is not healthy for a democracy.

Media play an important role in the democratic system. But while open access can enable everyone to impart information and ideas as freedom of expression promises, some groups are traditionally deprived of equal participation in a public discourse, not being able to enjoy their human rights fully. Here, my thesis explores the situation in the public sphere, focusing on the importance of equal access for minority groups, in particular migrants. Furthermore, I investigate the role of human rights in this respect, taking into account the principle of pluralism as a prerequisite of democratic discourse.

I will assess the significance of equal access for migrants by evaluating one special type of media in detail: intercultural media. The development of intercultural media in Austria has been discernible in the recent years. Intercultural media are produced by migrants of different origins and address an audience consisting of migrant groups, as well as the host population. They cover issues that are relevant to "old" and "new" Austrians, but add an ethnic viewpoint.

The main thrust of my thesis will be to answer the question on how intercultural media can give migrants and ethnic groups their voice in the public discourse, and how intercultural media can contribute to the mediatised public sphere.

I will argue that adequate access for traditionally disadvantaged parts of a society such as migrants and ethnic groups is crucial for democratic discourse and advocate intercultural media giving migrants and ethnic groups a voice in the public discourse and, moreover, contributing in various ways to a democratic society. Apart from allowing access to the public sphere for migrants and ethnic groups, intercultural media offer opportunities for self-representation, provide information with an intercultural focus for a general audience, create a bridging function, counter discriminatory reporting and, last but not least, strengthen the quality of media pluralism.

In order to give consideration to the various aspects of the topic, I use a multi-disciplinary approach taking different scientific disciplines into account such as communication science, law, philosophy, sociology, political science, migration studies.

Research was conducted on different levels. Firstly, on the level of primary and secondary literature on the most relevant theories for the topic such as the public sphere by Jürgen Habermas and responding critiques by Nancy Fraser; secondly, on the level of scientific research reports, academic studies, as well as theses and dissertations about intercultural media and related issues; thirdly on the level of national and international legislation important to the topic and related case law; fourthly, on reports and statements of international organisations dealing with freedom of expression, media pluralism, intercultural media in general or the specific situation in Austria; fifthly, on the level of media reporting on the issues; sixthly, on the level of public relations material and other information from the examined media in Austria; seventhly, on the level of available national and international data as demographic statistics.

To investigate the issue in practice, I will take Austria as a case study. After examining the media landscape, I will map the most important intercultural media products in Austria. At the same time, I will apply the underlying theoretical framework to demonstrate the importance of intercultural media.

The thesis is organized into three different sections that support to answer the main research question: The first section analyses the framework for placing intercultural media in Austria, the second provides the theoretical background, the third applies the theoretical findings to intercultural media in Austria and assesses its value for the public discourse in a contemporary democratic society.

The aim of Part A "The Austrian Media – A Murky Mirror of the Existing Diversity" is firstly to provide the relevant insights on ethnic diversity and immigration in Austria to assess how existing diversity is reflected in the media and secondly to serve as a base for exploring the value of intercultural media. The section focuses on the most important parameters, starting with a demographic description, highlighting the position of migrants. After giving an overview of the media landscape characterized by a high concentration, I will focus on the portrayal of migrants in the Austrian mainstream media, facing the prevalence of stereotypical or derogatory reporting and an underrepresentation of migrant voices.

Part B "Enabling a Multi-Ethnic Public Sphere" presents the theoretical background to this thesis, embeds the research question within the related literature and further discusses the role of human rights. I chose the concept of the public sphere by Jürgen Habermas as a starting point and use Nancy Frasers critique that is of great use in the context of intercultural media to discuss exclusion and equality. In addition, I would like to introduce Charles Husband, whose model of a multi-ethnic public sphere advocates a multiplicity of public spheres that offer enhanced potentials for disadvantaged groups and reflect the diversity of the different participants. I will highlight the role of human rights, focusing on the right of freedom of expression and its interpretations, after evaluating the importance of structural media pluralism for a democracy.

Bearing in mind the philosophy underlying the multi-ethnic public sphere and the role of media for public discourse, Section C "Intercultural Media – Giving a Voice to Migrants" aims to apply the case study of Austria to demonstrate the value of

intercultural media for a democratic society. After giving a definition of intercultural media and its contents, I want to discuss the role of intercultural integration for media integration of migrants. I will present a mapping of the most important intercultural media products in Austria, starting with a historical approach, further examining different kinds of intercultural media and giving concrete examples. I further give insights into Austrian media policy and conclude in highlighting recommendations by international organisations, emphasizing the importance of media that encourage intercultural communication and a reflection of the existing diversity within a country.

In my final conclusions, I will summarise the relevant findings, demonstrate the potential of this media type and present the main arguments for advocating intercultural media as an important contribution for pluralism and diversity in a democratic society.

A   The Austrian Media – A Murky Mirror of the Existing Diversity

In the first part of the thesis I want to evaluate the most relevant conditions for intercultural media in Austria. The chapters are organised around three important aspects that build the frame for intercultural media: immigration, the media landscape and the situation of migrants in the media.

I begin by describing long standing ethnic diversity and immigration in Austria, developing a reference point for assessing the reflection of the existing diversity in the mainstream media. The Austrian media landscape and its characteristics such as a high concentration of ownership are a further point of importance needed to locate intercultural media and describe the influence of reporting about migrants and ethnic groups. Finally, I want to focus my attention on the situation of migrants and cultural groups in Austrian mainstream media coverage.

1   Ethnic Diversity in Austria

The information on ethnic diversity and immigration in Austria serves as a base, assessing whether this existing diversity is reflected in reporting on migrants and evaluating the value of intercultural media. Austria has experienced a significant history of immigration, adding to long-standing ethnic and cultural diversity, but the country is ambivalent about recognising its ethnic diversity and considering itself a migration country.

1.1   A Reluctant Migration Country

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is one example of the Austrian migration history before the immigration of "guest workers" from Turkey and Ex-Yugoslavia in the 1960s and the "new" immigration of Eastern European, African and Asian migrants in the 1980s. However, the country is ambivalent about considering itself a migration country.

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was a multi-ethnic state and millions of people of different nationalities moved to different locations[2] as, throughout the centuries, the migration and recruitment of foreign workers was a central part of economic development in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the second half of the nineteenth century, foreigners accounted for more than half of the inhabitants of many towns and cities in what is now Austria and several languages were could be found.[3] The multi-ethnic composition of the population could also be observed in the capital – there were 1.6 million inhabitants in Vienna in 1910, of which 585,000 were foreign citizens. If second-generation migrants are included, about a third of the population were non-German speakers.[4] However, this heritage was not perceived as a matter of pride when trying to create an Austrian identity after the fall of the Empire.[5]

In 1961, about 100,000 foreign citizens lived in Austria – a share of 1.4 % of the population. Since the second half of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, this number rose mainly due to the targeted recruitment of workers from former Yugoslavia and Turkey. Although these "guest workers" were expected to stay in the country just on a temporary basis, a large proportion settled permanently in Austria. Up to 1974, the number of foreign citizens rose to 311,700 persons (4% of the population) and remained quite stable for the next 15 years. With the collapse of the former communist regimes in Eastern Europe in the beginning of the 1990s, immigration increased again, resulting in a foreign population of 8%. Intensified immigration has been registered since 2000, mainly through citizens of the European Union.[6]

The migration history of Austria is barely reflected in Austria's national identity and self-understanding[7] and *"[…] throughout four decades, the majority of Austria's*

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[2] John, 1996, p. 137.
[3] Herzog-Punzenberger & Rao, 2011, p. 184.
[4] John, 1996. p. 137.
[5] Herzog-Punzenberger & Rao, 2011, p. 184.
[6] Baldaszti, Faßmann, Kytir, Marik-Lebeck & Wisbauer, 2010, p. 22.
[7] This monoethnic ideal picture of today's Austria is also reflected in its ethnicised concept of citizenship. see Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003, p. 1121; see also in Jandl & Kraler 2003; Cinar 2004, Wögerer 2004.

political forces pretended that Austria was not an immigration country."[8] A sentence made by the head of the parliamentary faction of the FPÖ (Austrian Freedom Party) in the course of the introduction of the Integration Agreement of 2002, the amendment to which should illustrate this attitude. *"With this law, we are making one thing clear: Austria is not and will never be an immigration country. We will make sure of that!"*[9]

This understanding of migrants as *"cyclical movable bulk"*[10] that is not meant to stay, settle and have families come to Austria is still reflected in the mass media.[11] In addition, the United Nations Independent Expert on cultural diversity visiting Austria in 2011 identified potential in dealing with diversity and encouraged the Austrian Government *"[…] to approach cultural diversity as an invaluable resource for the inclusion of all and to adopt measures to mainstream cultural diversity and the cultural heritage of Austria's diverse populations by, inter alia, incorporating minority cultures and histories in […] media […] activities"*.[12]

The reluctant attitude towards its migrants is an important factor examining the portrayal of ethnic groups and migrants in the media.

1.2   Here to Stay

Austria's partial reluctance to accept its ethnic diversity looses more ground when taking current demographic data into consideration, as Austria is one of the countries with the largest share of foreign-born inhabitants in the European Union.

In the beginning of 2010, the total population of Austria amounted to 8.375 million people. The share of the foreign-resident population was 10.7% (895,000 persons) and consisted of 213,000 persons from Germany, followed by 207,000 persons from Serbia,

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[8] Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003, p. 1122.
[9] Westenthaler, Peter, Head of the Parliamentary Group of the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), Plenary Meeting of the Austrian Parliament 9 July 2002, in Mourão-Permoser, 2010, p. 200.
[10] Herzog-Punzenberger, in ORF, 2 June 2011, http://news.orf.at/stories/2061639, (Acessed 02 April 2011).
[11] Herzog-Punzenberger, 2003, p. 1122.
[12] Shaheed, in UN OHCHR, 2011, p. 2.

Montenegro and Kosovo, followed by Turkey with 183,000 persons, Bosnia and Herzegovina with 130,000 persons, Croatia with 70,000 persons, Rumania with 63,000 persons, Poland with 59,000 persons and the Czech Republic with 46,000 persons, 39,000 persons from Hungary and 29,000 persons from Italy.[13]

The percentage of persons with migration background was 17.8% (1.468 million persons). Among them were 1.082 million first-generation immigrants, who were born abroad and moved to Austria. The remaining 385,000 persons are the Austria-born offspring of parents with a foreign place of birth, thus referred to as second generation. This places Austria 4th among the 27 EU countries, when comparing the number of non-Austrians to the total size of the population.[14] Ethnic diversity within the capital is even higher. 38.2% of the population of Vienna (642,000 persons out of 1.679,800 persons) are first or second generation migrants.[15]

Citizenship policy – which is among the most restrictive in the European Union – is one example of Austria's reluctance to acknowledge itself as a plural immigration society.[16] A total of 7,480,146 persons (89.3%) of the population have Austrian citizenship – 6,952,559 (83%) were born in Austria, whereas 527.587 (6.3%) Austrian citizens were born abroad.[17] Since 2003, the number of naturalisations has decreased from 45,000 in 2003 to about 8.000 in the year 2009. The main reasons are changes to legislation, the fulfilment of the integration contract (e.g. language knowledge) and the citizenship test.[18]

This is also interesting regarding the portrayal of migrants in the media. Although I will not have space to go into detail about the role of citizenship, I want to emphasize it here,

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[13] Baldaszti, Faßmann, Kytir, Marik-Lebeck & Wisbauer, 2010, pp. 8-9.
[14] European Commission, 2011, p. 50.
[15] Statistik Austria,
http://www.volkszaehlung.at/web_de/statistiken/bevoelkerung/bevoelkerungsstruktur/bevoelkerung_nach_migrationshintergrund/index.html 2010 (Accessed 2 May 2011).
[16] Hintermann, 2009, p. 6.
[17] Baldaszti, Faßmann, Kytir, Marik-Lebeck & Wisbauer, 2010, p. 21.
[18] Baldaszti, Faßmann, Kytir, Marik-Lebeck & Wisbauer, 2010, pp. 80.

as it is one factor determining the power relations that I will discuss in detail later.[19] *"The selection process by the mass media is precisely one of the central mechanisms by which citizenship regimes impinge on patterns of public claims-making."*[20] In countries where migrant organisations command few resources and are not regarded as part of the political community, migrants find it more difficult to break through raise their voices in the media.[21]

A demographic perspective demonstrates that Austria is an immigration country with ethnic diversity. That the society is not always conscious of this can also be observed in regards to its autochthonous minorities.

1.3 'Old' and 'New' Minorities

The autochthonous minorities of Austria are also granted special rights in the field of media. However, Austria's governments have not always been actively implementing this law, as the important case of Lentia and Others v. Austria[22] demonstrates.

Croatians, Slovenes, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Roma and Sinti are officially recognized as minorities[23] through the State Treaty of Vienna of 1955[24] and the State Treaty of Saint Germain of 1920[25].[26] This legal status implies equal rights with other Austrian citizens in regards to media in their own language and equal conditions for participation in cultural facilities. However, the general minority protection legislation applies only to the recognised minorities – inhabitants with minority descent – but not to groups like immigrants. [27]

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[19] See also chapter B 2.1 Exclusion and Inequality, B 2.2 A Multiplicity of Public Spheres.
[20] Koopmans, 2004, p. 454.
[21] Koopmans, 2004, p. 454.
[22] Informationsverein Lentia and Others v. Austria, (Application no. 13914/88; 15041/89; 15717/89; 15779/89; 17207/90), 24 November 1993, A 276.
[23] Purkarthofer, Rainer & Rappl, 2005, p. 2.
[24] Staatsvertrag von Wien 1955 (State Treaty of Vienna of 1955), BGBl Nr. 152/1955, Article 7.
[25] Staatsvertrag von Saint-Germain-en-Laye 1920, (State Treaty of Saint Germain of 1920), StGBl Nr. 303/1920, Article 62 – 69.
[26] Austrian Center for Ethnic Groups, 2011. p. 1.
[27] Böse, Haberfellner & Koldas, 2001, p. 11.

Looking back in history, until the signing of the state treaties the various Austrian governments were criticised constantly of a policy of indifference and delay concerning the implementation of these rights.[28] A consequence of this political practice was the attitude of the majority population towards the autochthonous minorities – one of not recognising and valuing their cultural and ethnic background.[29]

The politicians responsible have not taken the initiatives to implement the rights implicated by the state treaty.[30] One example is the rejection of a free a local radio licence for a multilingual and non-commercial radio station in 1989[31] which was brought was brought before the European Court of Human Rights.[32] A main argument in the complaint was the limited access to audio-visual media, creating discrimination against the Slovene minority and a violation on media pluralism. The court viewed the restrictions as a violation and, as a major consequence, the Austrian national broadcasting monopoly fell in 1993.[33]

The attitude of Austrian society towards its autochthonous minorities can be considered as symptomatic of exposure to cultural diversity, thus affecting the reflection of this diversity in the media. In the following, I will analyse the Austrian media landscape.

2   A Highly Concentrated Media Landscape

In order to evaluate intercultural media as a part of the media landscape, I will provide a general overview of the Austrian media landscape and explain its distinct features. The strongest characteristic of the media landscape in Austria is a high concentration within the press and an oligopoly structure in its ownership, as well as the wide reach of the public service provider in TV and radio. This structure creates s a huge influence of the dominant media actors on the selection of news published and, consequently, on the

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[28] Austrian Center for Ethnic Groups, 2011. pp. 1-6.
[29] Wakounig, 2005, pp.4 - 6.
[30] Wakounig, 2005, pp.4 – 6.
[31] See also chapter C 4.4.1 Free Radio as a Pioneer for Plurality.
[32] Informationsverein Lentia and Others v. Austria, (Application no. 13914/88; 15041/89; 15717/89; 15779/89; 17207/90), 24 November 1993, A 276.
[33] Purkarthofer, Pfisterer & Busch, 2008, p. 13.

way it is covered, especially affecting issues concerning migrants and ethnic cultural groups.

2.1   The Influential Voice of the Largest Tabloid

Although Austrians may choose between eight nationwide newspapers, the dominance of the largest daily is exceptional. In addition, a high degree of concentration of ownership contributes to its huge influence on news topics, as well as on politics. The quality papers rank far behind in the reach of the boulevard in comparison.

The Austrian newspaper market offers 17 daily newspapers from which eight are published nationwide, whereas nine are regional dailies. With a circulation of 928,627[34] printed copies, the Austrian newspaper the "Neue Kronen Zeitung" is not only the most successful newspaper in the country, but also one of the largest dailies in the world. It ranks 61st[35] after high-circulation papers from populous countries such as Japan, China, the US or India.

About 2.8 million out of 7.1 million Austrians over the age of 14 read the "Neue Kronen Zeitung", corresponding to a reach of 38.9% [36] or close to the international maximum value. In relative terms to the size of the population, that makes the "Neue Kronen Zeitung" to one of the strongest, most successful and also most influential newspapers in the world. This provides the paper with power in the political arena, too.[37]

Remarkable is also the big gap between it and other newspapers – the "Kleine Zeitung" und the free tabloid "Heute" follow, each with a reach of 12%. The nationwide quality press "Der Standard" and "Die Presse" rank beside the largest regional papers "OÖ Nachrichten" und "Tiroler Tageszeitung".[38]

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[34] ÖAK, 2010.
[35] WAN, 2005.
[36] Media-Analyse, 2010.
[37] Trappel, http://www.ejc.net/media_landscape/article/austria/, (Accessed 03 April 2011).
[38] Media-Analyse, 2010.

In addition, ownership is characterized by extreme concentration. Mediaprint is the largest publishing house in Austria and publishes the "Neue Kronen Zeitung" and the "Kurier" and is also responsible for print, advertising and distribution. Moreover, as a wholesaler, it distributes approximately 300 other titles, from daily newspapers to weekly and monthly products from Austria and from other countries.[39] Several other firms involved broadcasting and advertising belong to it.

Foreign – especially German – investment plays an important role as well. The WAZ Media Group has a 50 % share in the publisher "Neue Kronen Zeitung" and 49.4 % co-ownership of the publisher "Kurier". WAZ is also a major shareholder in Mediaprint.[40]

Whereas the reach of daily newspapers from Germany is marginal, the reach of magazines, particularly special interest magazines of different kinds, is very high. The Austrian Newspaper Association (VÖZ) lists 233 weekly magazines and 61 magazines that are published in Austria at least 10 times a year.[41]

However, the market for news magazines is almost entirely owned by the "News-Group" and constitutes an unprecedented accumulation of media ownership, assembling practically all news magazines ("News", "Profil", "Trend", "Format") and some ten other magazines (among them "Woman", "tv-media", "e-media") under the same entrepreneurial roof. Gruner+Jahr, a Bertelsmann subsidiary, owns a 75% stake in the "News-Group".[42]

The wide reach of the largest tabloid, in combination with media ownership structure, influences media diversity and the plurality of opinion, thus bearing consequences on the selection of topics and the shaping of newsworthy issues. This concentration in the press sector can also be observed in broadcasting.

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[39] WAZ, 2010.
[40] WAZ, 2011.
[41] VÖZ, 2010.
[42] Trappel, 2010.

2.2　The Domination of the Public Service Broadcaster

Although Austrians have the opportunity to receive a multitude of programmes from neighbouring German speaking countries and beyond, the national public broadcaster still is the most dominant actor in radio and TV. One reason may be the very late fall of the state monopoly.

Austria currently operates a dual broadcasting system – the coexistence of public service broadcasting and private commercial radio and television. The third sector containing free radio and community TV has not been legally recognised so far. I will deal with this situation in detail later.[43] The liberalisation and the fall of the public monopoly took place quite late in comparison with other European countries, as a decision of the European Court of Human Rights in 1993[44] forced the adaption of the appropriate laws.[45]

Subsequently, the first legislation to grant licenses to private radio operators was enacted in 1993[46], resulting in the start of the first two radio stations two years later.[47] Eight years later in 2001, private television operators could start to apply for licenses at the national, regional and local level, making Austria as the last European country to give up a state monopoly in TV-broadcasting, The first national terrestrial television frequency for private broadcasters was given to ATV in 2003, followed by a number of small broadcasters at the regional and local level. [48]

In 2011, the public broadcaster ORF (Österreichischer Rundfunk) operates two Austrian wide television channels. Additionally, ORF runs a studio to produce regional content

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[43] See also chapter C 4.4.1 Free Radio as a Pioneer for Plurality.
[44] Informationsverein Lentia and Others v. Austria, (Application no. 13914/88; 15041/89; 15717/89; 15779/89; 17207/90), 24 November 1993, A 276.
[45] Holoubek, Kassai & Traimer, 2006, p. 7.
[46] BG 505. Bundesgesetz: Rundfunkgesetz-Novelle 1993; BG 506. Bundesgesetz: Regionalradiogesetz – RRG, 30 July 1993.
[47] Trappel, http://www.ejc.net/media_landscape/article/austria/, (Accessed 03 April 2011).
[48] Trappel, http://www.ejc.net/media_landscape/article/austria/, (Accessed 03 April 2011).

for radio and television in each of Austria's nine provinces. Four private TV stations broadcast nationwide programmes.

A total of 93% of Austrians live in a household with cable or satellite reception. On average, 87 TV stations were available in 2010, among them 64 in the German language. For households equipped with digital satellites, the number rises to a total of 130 TV stations. However, the market share of the Austrian public broadcaster was still 37.8% in 2010. The largest Austrian-wide private station ATV had a market share of 3.5%. The most-watched foreign stations were SAT 1 with a market share of 6.8%, followed by RTL with 6.3% and PRO7 with 4.9%.[49]

In 2010, the public broadcaster ORF ran three national radio stations and nine regional programmes. More than 80 regional and local Austrian radio stations were on air. However, ORF had an audience of 69.9% with its stations in 2010, whereas the total market share of all the other Austrian private broadcasters was 25.8%. The remaining 3.1% of the market was held by foreign stations.[50]

The law regulating media ownership[51] has resulted in a strong involvement of media owners (newspapers, radio, and television) and banks. This participation of publishers in the area of broadcasting further adds to the existing media concentration,[52] as the only nationwide private radio "kronehit" is owned by the biggest tabloid "Neue Kronen Zeitung".

I will deal with Austrian media policy later[53], but the late opening of the market for private broadcasting, the status of free media and the high concentration of mainstream media illustrates the challenging situation for intercultural media. However, the internet

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[49] ORF, 2010 and AGTT, 2010.
[50] ORF, Mediaforschung, 2011.
[51] BGBl. I Nr. 20/2001 idF: BGBl. I Nr. 136/2001, Bundesgesetz, mit dem Bestimmungen für privaten Hörfunk erlassen werden (Privatradiogesetz - PrR-G), Para 9.
[52] Trappel, http://www.ejc.net/media_landscape/article/austria/, (Accessed 03 April 2011).
[53] See also Chapter C 5.1.1 Media Policy.

is platform that offers space for TV and radio, as well as other forms of expression, in addition to terrestrial and digital transmitted broadcasting.

2.3   Press and Broadcasters also Lead Online

More than two thirds of the Austrian population are able to access the Internet. The media accessible most users are the online versions of the local press and the public broadcaster.

In the first quarter of 2010, 80% of the Austrians owned a PC and 77% of the population had access to the Internet. One of the main reasons for using the Internet is searching for current news – 69% of the internet users in the first quarter of 2010 searched for daily news and 55% accessed online print media, thus information and news are one of the main reasons why Austrians to go to the internet.[54]

Consequently, online content from newspapers are among the most frequented Austrian websites .The websites of the public broadcaster ORF reach 2,474,000 unique users making it the leading portal, followed by the online extension of the "Neue Kronen Zeitung" which got 1,065,000 unique users, ranked before the website of the Austrian quality daily "Der Standard" with 1,026,000 unique visitors in the first quarter of 2011.[55]

Of course, a huge variety of websites provide general or special information generated in or outside of Austria that is available for every user on the world wide web, in addition to press and broadcasting. But comprehensive reliable data for Austria is not available, thus it is difficult to say how much influence foreign news channels might have.

However, the picture within the Austrian media landscape as was described for the press and broadcasting is repeated on the web. Indeed, it is enforced by using an additional

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[54] ORF, Mediaforschung, 2011.
[55] ORF, Mediaforschung, 2011.

channel to publish information, thus the most influential voices dominate the online space, too. After assessing the relevant parameters of the existing communication channels, I would now like to turn to the content they produce, focussing on issues related to migrants and cultural groups.

3   Mainstream Media – A Difficult Space for Migrants

This chapter intends to detail the situation of migrants and cultural groups in Austria's mainstream media. Migrants are rather objects in the mass media than empowered to play an active role and raise their voices by their own means. Moreover, being portrayed using negative stereotypes, especially in the boulevard media, does not make migrants feel represented as a self-evident part of society.

3.1   Reduction to a "Problem Case"

Negative stereotypes created in the 1990s are still common in the Austrian mainstream media, a fact that is especially true for the boulevard media. Indeed, topics that cover migrants' special interests are hardly covered and migrants do not feel represented equally.

After the immigration push at the beginning of the 1990s, a new discourse on migrants emerged in Austria. Several studies published between 1995 and 2000[56] showed that the print media voiced anti-immigrant fears with a high frequency and a language unheard in the Austrian media until that time – decisively triggered by the biggest Austrian tabloid the "Neue Kronen Zeitung". This paper presented itself as the advocate of the Austrian people against the foreigners, while excusing and legitimising populist reactions.[57] *"In this new discourse, different migrant groups were portrayed as a threat to the social system, to security, and the economic stability of Austria."*[58] "Foreigners"

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[56] A problem often mentioned in academic discourse is the lack of relevant data in the context of migrants and the media in Austria. Studies have focused mainly on specific turning points, for example in the discourse on migrants from Eastern Europe.
[57] See Matouschek, Wodak, & Januschek, 1995; Hochstöger-Wittmann, 1995; Zuser 1996; Rohrauer, 1997; Zierer, 1998; Isak, 1999 in Joskowicz, 2002, p. 318.
[58] Joskowicz, 2002, p. 311.

were usually only present in a highly stereotypical form, they hardly ever appeared as individuals in the newspapers; reports about their everyday life were exceptional.[59]

Studies conducted around 2000 pointed out the connection made by some media between Africans and drug trafficking and the prevalence of a discourse directed against Eastern Europeans.[60]

"The stereotypes created in the early 1990s are still prevalent in today's newspapers and broadcasts."[61] This is confirmed by study conducted in 2010 by Fritz Hausjell on behalf of the public broadcaster ORF[62] showing that migrants do not feel represented sufficiently well in the media. More often than not, persons with a migration background are covered in the context of two topics: crime and integration. Nevertheless, the quality media is trying to show a more balanced picture.[63]

Further results are the lack of inclusion of migrants in most of the programmes and the reduction to a "problem case". Another finding is the selection of experts shown on TV. Persons with migration background appear seldom on TV discussion on topics not related to migration. Often, the same persons represent minority groups, secular Turks for example are seldom questioned. Thus, the diversity within the communities is not expressed.[64]

A media-analysis conducted by a centre of opinion research in 2011 found that migration and integration is a topic in the Austrian newspapers. However, only the quality media makes the effort to give fair, balanced coverage. By contrast, the tabloid

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[59] See Rohrauer, 1997; Isaak 1999, in Joskowicz, 2002, pp. 318-320.
[60] See Rausch, 1998; Ottomeyer, Isak, Orlitsch, Lassenberger and Sellner, 2000; in Joskowicz, 2002, p. 320.
[61] Joskowicz, 2002, p. 311.
[62] Study conducted by Fritz Hausjell, University Vienna in 2010.
[63] ORF, 11 December 2010, http://oe1.orf.at/artikel/264019, (Accessed 18 April 2011).
[64] Der Standard, 26 December 2010, http://dastandard.at/1291454235142/Public-Value-Studie-Migranten-wuenschen-sich-staerkere-Praesenz-im-ORF, (Accessed 18 April 2011).

papers contribute to a strong polarisation, especially in regards to abstract topics such as migration policy and issues such as religion and crime.[65]

The findings from Austria are confirmed by the results of numerous research projects[66] dealing with the representation of migrants in other countries. *"The main result is an unbalanced, negatively distorted presentation of ethnic minorities: negative coverage ("problem people") prevails clearly over positive coverage."*[67]

However, the situation in Austria has attracted international attention and in the UN Universal Periodic Review of 2011 concerns about xenophobic statements and agitation against ethnic groups by the media were raised, as well as concerns about racial stereotyping and prejudice.[68]

The coverage of migrants in the mainstream media, especially in the influential boulevard press, is dominated by unbalanced coverage including negative stereotypes. I want to make another point in this respect, looking at the opportunities for migrants to raise their voices in the public discourse.

3.2   Low Migrant Voices

In addition to negative stereotyping and biased reporting, migrants are rarely seen as individuals in the mainstream media, but if they are, the portrayal might turn more positive. Furthermore, the mainstream media do not give many opportunities to migrants to take an active role in the public discourse.

Studies on the portrayal of migrants and minorities point not only to the problem of stereotyping, but also establish that members of many migrant groups and minorities are

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[65] ORF, 25 January 2011, http://news.orf.at/stories/2038344, (Accessed 18 April 2011), Kurier, 25 January 2011, http://kurier.at/kultur/2067843.php (Accessed 18 April 2011).
[66] See Geißler 2006, Weber-Menges 2007; Windgasse 2007; Trebbe, Heft & Weiß 2008; ARD-ZDF Studie, Migranten und Medien 2007.
[67] Geißler, 2006, p. 14.
[68] UN Human Rights Council, 2011, pp. 5-13.

not presented in the media as individuals.[69] However, if migrants are perceived as individuals the portrayal becomes less hostile.

When refugees considered as well integrated were to be expelled in 2007, an intensive debate on integration arose in the media, followed by reporting on individual cases. The fate of 15-year-old Arigona Zogaj and reactions to this by politicians attracted special attention. At this time, the main coverage of the mass media was in favour of the people concerned. Even the biggest tabloid in the country, the "Neue Kronen Zeitung," which was not normally an advocate of migrants concerns, started a campaign to support Arigona.[70]

Gruber, Herczeg & Wallner conducted a quantitative academic study[71] looking at the ensuing coverage and found that quality media led a more open discourse and involved a greater number of actors. Another important finding showed that the public discourse was dominated by elites. "*Often enough, migrants are reported upon, they do not attain active roles in society's mass media.*"[72] The majority of the speakers in the public discourse were politicians (35%). The second biggest group were writers of letters to the editor (17%) that were particularly active in the tabloid "Neue Kronen Zeitung" followed by experts (12%). The actual group concerned only took part in the discourse at a very marginal level (11%).[73] These results underline the perception that migrants are not being represented adequately in the mass media.[74]

Mainstream media do not give migrants many opportunities to raise their voices unless they are concerned directly with a discourse subject. Thus, mainstream media do not

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[69] Joskowicz, 2002, p. 322.
[70] Herczeg, 2009, p. 80.
[71] See Gruber, Herczeg & Wallner, in Herczeg, 2009, http://www.univie.ac.at/sowi-online/esowi/cp/migrationpkw/migrationpkw-14.html, (Accessed 20 April 2011).
[72] Herczeg, 2009, p. 85.
[73] Herczeg, 2009, http://www.univie.ac.at/sowi-online/esowi/cp/migrationpkw/migrationpkw-full.html, (Accessed 20 April 2011).
[74] See also chapter A 3.1 Reduction to a "Problem Case".

encourage migrants to take their place in the public sphere, but rather limit them to participate in democratic public discourse.

4   Conclusion

In conclusion, Austria has experienced a significant history of immigration, adding to its long-standing ethnic and cultural diversity, but the country is still ambivalent to consider itself a migration county. Moreover, although the current demographic figures demonstrate ethnic diversity, the state does not approach this as a valuable resource, and thus incorporate minority cultures in media activities. Specifically, the reluctant way Austria deals with its autochthonous minorities can be considered as symptomatic of the country's exposure to cultural diversity, which consequently affects the reflection of this diversity in the media.

The most distinct feature of the media landscape in Austria is a high concentration within the press and an oligopoly structure in media ownership, as well as a wide reach of the public service broadcaster. This results in the huge influence of the dominant media actors on the selection of news and the way topics are covered, and this is especially striking in the issues related to migrants and ethnic cultural groups. Additionally, objections in giving up the state broadcasting monopoly and the status of the free media sector illustrate the challenging situation for intercultural media.

Migrants and issues related to them are often covered in an unbalanced, distorted way in which negative coverage dominates over the positive. Hostile stereotypes created in the 1990s are still common in the Austrian media, a fact that is especially true for the boulevard. Migrants are rather objects in the mainstream media than empowered to play an active role and raise their voices using their own means. Consequently, the coverage of migrants in the mainstream media – especially in the influential tabloid – creates a public sphere in which migrants do not feel represented adequately. Thus, mainstream media do not encourage migrants to take over their place in the public sphere, but rather limit their participation in public discourse.

This aspect will be the starting point of the following section of this thesis, exploring the questions of whether the public sphere can offer an equal access to all participants and in which way less dominant groups such as migrants can raise their voices in a democratic public discourse.

B Enabling Multi-Ethnic Public Spheres

The aim of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework for democratic participation in the public discourse as a base of exploring the contribution of intercultural media. Based on Jürgen Habermas' concept of the public sphere, I will assess the general accessibility to the public sphere using Nancy Fraser's critiques. Her arguments are especially valuable for assessing the situation for migrants as she points out exclusion and inequalities and concludes in a multiplicity of public spheres.

To further underpin my argumentation that intercultural media are a means of fostering public discourse, I want to assess Charles Husband's model of a multi-ethnic public sphere that acknowledges diversity and calls for a democratisation of media. After highlighting the functions of media for a democratic society, I will discuss the importance of a pluralistic media landscape and its role in representing different groups in society, then focusing on alternative media. Of further significance is the role of human rights and the framework that human rights are able to provide for groups that traditionally do not have privileged access to the media such as migrants,

1 Defining the Public Sphere

Discussing the question whether everybody has the same opportunities to take part in the public discourse, I want to introduce the philosophy underlying the concept of the public sphere determined by Jürgen Habermas.

Using a historical-sociological approach, Jürgen Habermas starts drawing what he calls the "bourgeois public sphere" that emerged in the 18th century and therefore identifies three "institutional criteria" as prerequisites for the appearance of the new public sphere: Disregard of status, domain of common concern and inclusivity. The resulting civil society found its way in the public arena and used public debate to gain influence over the public authorities.[75] *"The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people coming together as public; they soon claimed the public*

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[75] Habermas, 1962, p. 17.

sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the in the basically privatized yet publically relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor."[76]

Habermas emphasizes the importance of public discourse, the media and its related rights for the constitution of the public sphere. "*Citizens behave as a public body when they confer in an unrestricted fashion–that is, with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions-about matters of general interest.*"[77] "*[…] this kind of communication requires specific means for transmitting information and influencing those who receive it. Today newspapers and magazines, radio and television are the media of the public sphere.*"[78]

Important from my perspective is that Habermas points out the principal of accessibility. "*By "the public sphere" we mean first of all a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens.*"[79] But does this pass a reality check? One may object that the concept does not take into account the individuality and fragmentation of the public. Indeed, the issue of participation focusing on the exclusionary character and those who fought to enter it was pointed out by diverse scholars - among others from a perspective of cultural studies and feminism.[80]

Habermas' concept of the public sphere provoked a lot of reactions. The assertion that the public sphere offers open access has been contradicted, among others by Nancy Fraser whose argumentation is of great avail in the context of intercultural media.

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[76] Habermas, 1962, p. 17.
[77] Habermas, 1964, p. 49.
[78] Habermas, 1964, p. 49.
[79] Habermas, 1964, p. 49.
[80] See Fraser, 1990; Benhabib, 1990, Eley, 1990; Ryan, 1990; in Calhoun, 1992, p. 3, and Fiske, 1987; Meyrowitz, 1985; Alasuutari, 1999; Seaman, 1992; Zavarzadeh, 1991 in Wimmer, 2007, p. 78.

2 Rethinking the Public Sphere

Certainly, Habermas is describing the "Bourgeous Public Sphere" as an ideal, nevertheless the critic of Nancy Fraser is relevant for discussing the real life situation, particularly the situation of migrants and their access to the public sphere. The analysis she undertook is still relevant today. Thus, I want to highlight two arguments: Firstly, equal access to the public sphere and secondly, the public sphere as one single space.

2.1 Exclusion and Inequality

The public sphere is not a homogenous place offering equal access to every willing participate. On the contrary, according to Fraser exclusions, hierarchies, unequal power relations of a society tend to manifest and intensify in the public sphere.

Referring to Habermas' early theory, Nancy Fraser questions, if "*[…] all citizens are really full members of the national political public*" and if *"all can participate on equal terms?"* In her discussion she concludes that Habermas' concepts of a public sphere disregards *"[…] the existence of systematic obstacles that deprive some, that are nominally member of the public of the capacity to participate on a par with others, as full partners in public debate."* and *"[…] highlighting class inequalities and status hierarchies in civil society[…]"* as well as the *"[…] effects on those who were included in principle, but marginalized in practice: propertyless workers, women, the poor; ethno-racial, religious, and national minorities."*[81]

Fraser argues that Habermas' account idealizes the liberal public sphere, although it was constituted by a number of significant exclusions.[82] While the bourgeois conception of the public sphere claims to be open and accessible to all, indeed this openness constitutes one of the central norms of publicity, full accessibility was not realized. *"In fact, the social inequalities among the interlocutors were not eliminated, but only*

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[81] Fraser, 2009, p. 82.
[82] Fraser, 1990, p. 59.

bracketed."[83] Fraser focuses on female exclusion, when she cites Jane Mansbridge noting that *"[…] subordinate groups sometimes cannot find the right voice or words to express their thoughts, and when they do, they discover they are not heard,"* but this also is true for excluded ethnic cultural groups. Thus, *"[…] deliberation can serve as mask for domination extended beyond gender to other kinds of unequal relations, like those based on ethnicity."*[84] Fraser follows *"[…] in stratified societies, unequally empowered social groups tend to develop unequally valued cultural styles. The result is the development of powerful informal pressures that marginalize the contributions of members of subordinated groups both in everyday life contexts and in official public spheres.'*[85]

As will be shown later[86] one main channel for circulating views and opinions in the public sphere is the media. Here, Fraser points out the relevance of the ownership structure. Marginalized groups may lack the equal access to the material conditions for an equal participation due to privately owned and profit-oriented media. Thus Fraser suggests a radical solution for overcoming these inequalities: *"Instead, it is a necessary condition for participatory parity that systemic social inequalities be eliminated. This does not mean that everyone must have exactly the same income, but it does require the sort of rough equality that is inconsistent with systemically-generated relations of dominance and subordination."*[87]

The media, as one main channel for the circulation of views and opinions in the public sphere are not accessible to all participants in an equal way, which is especially relevant looking at traditionally disadvantaged groups such as migrants. This also underlines the idea that the public sphere consists of diverse participants.

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[83] Fraser, 1990, p. 63.
[84] Mansbridge, in Fraser, 1990, p. 64.
[85] Fraser, 1990, p. 64.
[86] See chapter B 4 The Importance of Media in a Democratic Society
[87] Fraser, 1990, p. 65.

2.2 A Multiplicity of Public Spheres

While Habermas stresses the singularity of the public sphere – one single public arena, Fraser questions that concept and favours a multiplicity of publics. She assesses this in two kinds of modern societies: Stratified societies and egalitarian multi-cultural societies.

I would like to begin with stratified societies, where the basic institutional framework creates unequal social groups and full equality of participation in public debate is not possible. "W*here societal inequality persists, deliberative processes in public spheres will tend to operate to the advantage of the dominant groups and to the disadvantage of subordinates.*"[88] These effects would be enforced in a single public sphere, determined under the supervision of the dominant group. "*Members of the subordinate groups would have no arenas for deliberation among them-selves about their needs, objectives, and strategies.*"[89] "*They would be less able than otherwise to expose modes of deliberation that mask domination by "absorbing the less powerful into a false 'we' that reflects the more powerful."*"[90]

Thus, members of subordinated social groups have successfully created alternative publics with which I will go into detail later[91]. Fraser calls them "*subaltern counterpublics*" meaning "*[...] parallel discursive arenas, where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs.*"[92]

Clearly, these subaltern counterpublics do not have to be necessarily upright themselves, even if their aims are democratic and egalitarian. They may practice their own modes of exclusion and marginalisation. However, Fraser endorses them insofar as

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[88] Fraser, 1990, p. 66.
[89] Fraser, 1990, p. 66.
[90] Fraser, 1990, p. 67.
[91] See chapter B 4.3 An Alternative Sphere
[92] Fraser, 1990, p. 67.

these counterpublics are a response to the exclusions within the dominant publics and thus help to broaden the discursive space. She also appeases the objection of separatism, as the counterpublics are public. "*After all, to interact discursively as a member of a public subaltern or otherwise is to disseminate one's discourse into ever widening arenas.*"[93]

Now, I will discuss egalitarian, multi-cultural societies, considered to be classless societies without any division of gender or ethnicity, something that does not mean that they are culturally homogeneous. Here, "*[...] participating means being able to speak in "in one's own voice," thereby simultaneously constructing and expressing one's cultural identity through idiom and style.*"[94]

Public spheres are not areas of "*zero degree culture*", they consist in culturally specific institutions such as various journals that serve as rhetorical lenses and filters and can accommodate some expressive modes and not others. As there cannot be one single lens that is truly culturally neutral, one single sphere would favour the expressions of one group over the others. Thus, an egalitarian multi-cultural society needs a variety of public arenas, where groups with different values are able to participate. [95]

Furthermore, under conditions of social equality "*[...] the concept of a public presupposes a plurality of perspectives among those who participate within it, thereby allowing for internal differences and antagonisms, and likewise discouraging reified blocs.*"[96] It may be difficult to "*communicate across lines of cultural difference*", but it is not impossible, one requirement would be "*multi-cultural literacy",* to achieve this Fraser suggests simply practice.

A multiplicity of public spheres offers enhanced potentials for disadvantaged groups and makes it possible to mirror the variety of the different participants. Thus, alternative

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[93] Fraser, 1990, p. 67.
[94] Fraser, 1990, p. 69.
[95] Fraser, 1990, p. 69.
[96] Fraser, 1990, p. 69.

publics provide discourse possibilities for migrants and ethnic groups such as intercultural media that support to reflect the complex ethnic diversity of a society.

3   Multi-Ethnic Public Spheres

Like Nancy Fraser, Charles Husband also advocates a multiplicity of public spheres that offers an equal access for all participants and enables especially migrants and ethnic groups to raise their voices.

3.1   Acknowledging Diversity in a Democracy

A multi-ethnic public sphere requires the recognition and valorisation of complex ethnic diversity. This is granted through a commitment to the expanded right to communicate, on the base of a democratic system which reflects these values and enables their achievement.[97].

Husband assumes that in a state ethnic communities do not simply co-exist, but *operate within a hegemonic context in which culture and identity is contested.* Principle for his model of a multi-ethnic public sphere is "*[…] the necessity of conceiving of ethnic identities as being always complex; fractured and uniquely changed by, inter alia, gender, class, sexual preference and age. Thus, there can be no "ethnic audience" simply defined and homogeneously served in relation to a common diet of communicative needs."*[98] Consequently, a single public sphere cannot work sufficiently, as it would not be able to address the complex ethnic diversity that is present.

Dahlgreen and other scholars[99] also maintain that the public sphere is not a single place. "*Reality suggests that we should actually speak of public spheres, e. in the plural […], we find an array of distinct, even if overlapping, social spaces that constitute different public spheres, for different publics. The major mass media of a society can be seen as*

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[97] Husband, 1996, pp. 205-215.
[98] Husband, 1996, pp. 205-215.
[99] See Fraser, 1990; Benhabib, 1990, Eley, 1990; Ryan, 1990; in Calhoun, 1992, p. 3, and Fiske, 1987; Meyrowitz, 1985; Alasuutari, 1999; Seaman, 1992; Zavarzadeh, 1991 in Wimmer, 2007, p. 78.

creating the dominant public sphere, while smaller media outlets can generate cluster of smaller spheres defined by interests, gender, ethnicity, etc. p."[100]

Husband further points out the importance of the democratic organisation of a state in recognising the diversity within its society and allowing the different groups to participate equally as a prerequisite for a multi-ethnic public sphere. However, he observes deficits in this respect in the modern European democracies. In fact, as regards the right to communicate for Europe's new ethnic minorities such as migrants, particular institutions of democratic participation are inherently undemocratic as the democratic principle to involve all people that are affected by decisions in the policy making is not always achieved.[101]

Thus, he urges *"[…] a necessary condition for the promotion of an effective public sphere is the proper democratization of democracy. Resulting in a democracy that does not tolerate or even foster the exclusion of marginalized groups like migrants from the sphere were deliberation takes place, […]"*[102] and furthermore adjusts the tendency that dominant groups acting closely with the institutions in which decision making takes place, define the topics in the public debate.

Iris Young proposes a model with institutional and political mechanisms that empower the oppressed and focuses on ethnic minorities. *"A democratic public, […] should provide mechanisms for the effective representation and recognition of the distinct voices and perspectives of those of its constituent groups that are oppressed or disadvantaged within it.*"[103] In recognition of differences without prejudices she suggests a proactive engagement with the interests of the other.[104]

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[100] *21 Dahlgreen, Peter, Media, markets & public spheres: European media at the crossroads* Von Jostein Gripsrud,Lennart Weibull Public spheres, societal shifts and media modulations Peter Dahlgren , Bristol: Intellect 2010 p, 21
[101] Husband, 1996, pp. 205-215.
[102] Husband, 1996, pp. 205-215.
[103] Young, 1989, p. 261.
[104] Young, 1989, pp. 261-262.

A functioning democracy that acknowledges ethnic diversity and involves all participants equally is the base of a multi-ethnic public sphere, thus enabling space for the different groups in society to express themselves.

3.2   Need for a Democratisation of the Media

A diverse media landscape is one feature of the multi-ethnic public sphere. Observing a lack of democracy, thus, Husband advocates a civil-society based public media that empower people to take their visible place in public sphere.

The media play a central role in the multi-ethnic public sphere, although they are not always able to fulfil their important democratic role for diversity. *"The vision of the media serving as an open conduit for a diverse and contested range of information, opinion and cultural expression is highly improbable in the face of current evidence."*[105]

As described for the situation of migrants in Austrian mainstream media,[106] Husband assesses that the representation of ethnic minorities in dominant mainstream media is stereotypical and often marginalizes the portrayed. In his reasoning, he draws attention firstly to *"exclusionary processes of professional practices"* whereby ethnic groups are excluded from full and equal participation in the production and distribution of the mass media; and secondly to the *"economic and political determination of the media systems"* meaning the concentration of ownership of communications industries and the untamed commercial interests of media operations.

A narrowing of the range of media content can be observed as a consequence. All citizens are affected by this development but the minority groups of a society to a far greater extent. Husband advocates a civil society based public media that are neither

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[105] Husband, 1996, pp. 205-215.
[106] See also chapter A 3 Mainstream Media – A Difficult Space for Migrants

controlled by undemocratic state forces nor by undemocratic market forces to enable them to speak up.[107]

One solution in this respect is represented by intercultural media. Democratic media allow ethnic groups to give voice to their concerns adequately and represent the diversity within their community. Thus, intercultural media are a channel to mirror this diversity in a society, consequently resulting in a more diverse pluralistic media landscape[108] that is characterized not only by the number of channels, but also by the multitude of groups represented and the differences in opinion.

Denis McQuail further defines a participatory–democratic model of media that *"[…] supports the right to communicate, defining communication as a two-way process, based on dialogue and interaction. This is combined with an emphasis on the democratization of communication, facilitating non-professionals' access and participation in the content as well as in the content-producing media organizations."*[109] This description conforms with the characteristics and functions of intercultural media.

I want to highlight one point in McQuail's definition "dialogue and interaction" that Husband emphasizes as well for democratic media and that is especially valid for intercultural media trying to build a bridge between cultures.[110] A multi-ethnic public sphere requires exchange between parties, not a plethora of ghettoised parallel communicative systems, but interaction within and between publics,[111] as *"[…] the viability of a multi-ethnic public sphere cannot be measured only by the vitality of a rich diversity of communicative players; but also by the extent of their interaction through shared audiences and secondary transmission into parallel systems."*[112]

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[107] Hamelink, 1993 in Husband, 1996, pp. 205-215.
[108] See also chapter B 4.2 Media Pluralism and a System of Representation
[109] McQuail, 1994, in Carpentier, 2007, p. 158.
[110] See also chapter C 1. Diversity: a Key Characteristic for Intercultural Media, E 4 Creating a Bridging Function
[111] Husband, 1996, pp. 205-215.
[112] Husband, 1996, pp. 205-215.

Media play an important role in public spheres as they enable a discourse in public. For an equal access and the possibility to take over the active speaking role, media should live up to democratic principles. Now, I want to focus on the importance of media in a democratic society.

4   The Importance of Media in a Democratic Society

The rule of the people in a contemporary democracy is characterized by liberty and equality. These principles are especially valid when it comes to involving all participants in the common space where democratic decisions are negotiated. A plural media landscape that reflects the different groups and thus different opinions of a society is a prerequisite, alternative public spheres are possibilities to enhance a structural pluralism. This thesis is not the place to go into the different functions of media in society, but I want to provide a quick overview and focus on the importance of enabling public discourse in a democracy.

4.1   Functions of Media

Discussing the role of intercultural media in a democratic society, I want to start with a brief notion of democracy. "The sovereignty by the people" provides the common foundation of what is understood as democracy. Different theories define this rule of the people in different ways, however, mostly they agree on its two basic constituents: liberty and equality. Liberty refers to the right of mutual influence of rulers and ruled, whereas equality refers to the similar opportunities to participate in the decision-making process.[113]

Indeed, democracy can be understood as form of decision making in which all of those who are bound by the decisions have the same right to participate equally in the decision-making process.[114] The public sphere is seen as one space for decision making, consequently everybody should have the same access in order to fully exercise his/her

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[113] Christians, Glasser & McQuail, 2009, p. 91.
[114] Jones, 1994, p. 172.

democratic responsibilities. As preaviously discussed, the public sphere does not always live up to this ideal. [115]

The opinions and interests of the citizens and different actors in the society are articulated and discussed through public discourse. At the same time, the responsible politicians communicate and explain their actions and decisions.[116] The media have taken over an important part in supporting and enabling this negotiation process in our current society.

Imhof, Blum, Bonfadelli & Jarren identify four elementary prerequisites that are the basics for the functioning of a democracy:[117]

1) The rule of civil and human rights law like freedom of expression, assembly and freedom of the press as well as the right to vote.

2) The formal equal, materiel at least almost equal chances of the citizens to participate, regardless of education, socio-economic situation or ethnic or religious origin.

3) The perception of the citizens of a common political sphere and the opportunity to influence and impact via this political sphere. The public sphere is the prerequisite for both.

4) The interlinkage between the sphere of the political system and the sphere of public communication that legitimates the political system and its organisations and institutions.

These conditions demonstrate well that public communication and, thus the media enabling the public discourse, play a crucial role in democratic processes in our current society. [118]

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[115] See also chapter B 2 Rethinking the Public Sphere
[116] Neidhardt, 1994, in Wallner, 2010 http://www.univie.ac.at/sowi-online/esowi/cp/staatpkw/staatpkw-titel.html (Accessed 17th May 2011).
[117] Imhof, Blum, Bonfadelli & Jarren, 2006, pp. 13-14.
[118] Imhof, Blum, Bonfadelli & Jarren, 2006, p. 13.

Also the model of Roland Burkart, who subsumes the numerous approaches that deal with the functions of media, identifies *"Enabling Public Discourse"*[119] as a major responsibility. He categorizes social, political and economic functions that are, of course, interlinked but mainly provide the social, political or economic system of a society and an information function that is equally essential for all systems.[120]

Social	Political	Economic
Information		
Socialisation Social Orientation Recreation (Entertainment and Escaping) Integration	Enabling Public Discourse Articulation Political Socialisation and Education Criticism and Control	Circulation KnowledgeTransfer, Social Therapy and Legitimisation Regeneration Domination
Social	**Political**	**Economic**

Figure 1: The functions of mass media, in Burkart, 1994, p. 382.

Further, I want to stress the approach of Nico Carpentier that focuses on active citizenship and appears valuable in respect to the functions of intercultural media. He lists five basic components that provide the foundations for the relationship between media and democracy: *"An informative function, a control function, a representative function, a forum function, a participatory function."*[121]

Another important point in this respect is the agenda setting function of the media. The actors that have the power of defining issues for the public, may also determine the political agenda. Agenda setting does not mean that the media define "what" we think, nevertheless "about" what we think.[122]

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[119] Burkart, 1994, p. 382.
[120] Burkart, 1994, p. 382.
[121] Nico Carpentier bases his approach on Siebert, Petersen and Schramm, 1956 that refer to the Hutchins Commission, 1956 and McQuail, 1994.
[122] Wallner, http://www.univie.ac.at/sowi-online/esowi/cp/staatpkw/staatpkw-4.html (Accessed 17th May 2011).

Media fulfil important roles in a society such as enabling the public sphere and making the democratic processes function. The reflection of the existing diversity within its society is as important as democratic access to the media.

4.2   Media Pluralism and a System of Representation

A structural media pluralism that expresses the different opinions present in a society is main cornerstone for a democracy.

According to Denis McQuail, media can contribute to diversity in three main ways, by reflecting present differences in society, by giving access to any different points of view and by offering a wide range of choice. Each focus implies a different version of what diversity means, based on different political rationalities.[123]

The marketplace of ideas[124] is a market-driven approach of diversity, which emphasizes choice and deregulation. The concept of the public sphere[125] is a public regulation approach, which relies on cultural–political norms of civic equality[126]. Both can be challenged, when trying to achieve an ideal democratic discourse. As already discussed, obstacles are profit-oriented media concentration, undemocratic state forces, exclusionary processes of professional practices and societal inequality.[127] That does not necessarily have to lead to fewer information channels, but implies unequal power relations and unequal access to the public discourse, and, thus, gives us pause for thought about the quality of media pluralism.

Critiques of an enhanced media plurality raise concerns about fragmentation, extreme individualism, loss of common public platforms, and their consequences for the public sphere. Creating a common culture, constructing a national identity, or one shared arena

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[123] McQuail 1992, p. 144.
[124] See also chapter B 5.3 The Debate on the Right to Communicate.
[125] See also chapter B 1 Defining the Public Sphere and B 5.3 The Debate on the Right to Communicate.
[126] Karppinen, 2007, p. 22.
[127] See also chapter B 2 Rethinking the Public Sphere and B 3.2 Need for a Democratisation of the Media.

for public debate seems to be in contradiction to strong media pluralism.[128] These opposite aspects have been described as *"diversity paradoxes",* for example an increased consumer choice does not necessarily increase the visibility of minorities.[129]

That point here is not to argue against the importance of media pluralism, but what the public spheres require is *"appropriate heterogeneity"*, acknowledging that *"[…] while all arguments can never be heard, the public sphere is above all a domain in which multiple perspectives should openly engage."*[130] Pluralism is as much about *"[…] a system of representation within a given society that allows for different political viewpoints and different forms of expression to be visible within the public sphere."*[131]

Van Cuilenburg states that *"[…] the real issue for media policy is not lack of information, but information accessibility and openness, particularly to new and innovative ideas and opinions of minority groups".* Thus, it can be followed that *"[…] in the context of continuing structural power, the emphasis should be put above all on the inclusiveness of the public sphere, access to alternative voices, and contestability of all hegemonic structures and general openness."*[132]

So, media pluralism should be achieved through open access for different social groups, rather than through the wishful thinking that it will arise from either the free competition of ideas or an open debate.[133]

The state and its media policy have an important task in ensuring this quality of pluralism and should *"[…] support and enlarge the principled opportunities of structurally underprivileged actors of the public sphere, create room for critical voices outside the systemic structures of the market or state bureaucracy, aiming to increase*

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[128] Karppinen, 2007, p. 15.
[129] Van Cuilenburg, 1998, in Karppinen, 2007, p. 15.
[130] Karppinen, 2007, p. 23.
[131] Doyle, 2002, in Karppinen, 2007, p. 16.
[132] Karppinen, 2007, p. 23.
[133] Curran, 2002, in Karppinen, 2007, p. 23.

the inclusiveness, and openness of the public sphere to various forms of contestation."[134]

As the mainstream media do not always live up to representing the diversity in society in terms of migrants and ethnic groups, alternative ways have to be created. One means is alternative media like free radio or community TV.

4.3   An Alternative Sphere

Alternative media such as free radio or community TV fulfil important democratic functions and support a pluralistic media landscape as they also enable disadvantaged groups to participate in the public discourse and contribute to a diversity of opinions.

The country media institutions in Germany have highlighted the democratic function of open channels: "*In a democracy, media are central to the formation of public opinion and will, as it is an open process of negotiation of conflicting interests where all have to be able to raise their voices. This means that a democratic social system can function only as good as their media are accessible [...]. Free and immediate access to the mass media, television and radio stations in Germany offer only citizens' media. [...]. Community media provide a platform for a democratic culture of communication. In addition to a participatory function, they also take over an integrative function, for example in the promotion of intercultural dialogue.*"[135]

In contrast to the third sector media like free radio and TV, public broadcasting traditionally refers to a general informational and educational mission as a core mandate and sees itself as a mediation process, whereas private commercial radio orients rather towards target groups in the sense of the advertising industry: The communication objective is achieved when the target numbers of potential consumers are achieved.[136]

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[134] Karppinen, 2007, p. 24.
[135] Arbeitskreis Offene Kanäle (AKOK) (country media institutions Germany) in Schütz, 2002, p. 22.
[136] Purkarthofer, Pfisterer & Busch, 2008, p. 103.

"In free media, the roles of the content producer and recipients coincide largely. Goal is active participation, open access, and the negotiation of relevant public issues."[137] Non-commercial broadcasting is not for profit, oriented towards minorities and is characterized mainly by its open access. Its organizational purpose is the emancipation and empowerment of marginalized groups in society.[138]

Through their orientation towards civil society and the consideration of women, socially disadvantaged, minorities, migrants, special groups, they take over an agenda setting function for the whole society. Non-commercial broadcasters establish counter publics, are a voice for civil society and a complementation in a diverse media landscape. Their broad variety on issues covered and the diversity of the individual channels contributes to secure pluralism of different public opinion in the public.[139]

Chris Atton points out something that is especially true for migrants that a main characteristic of these media is to give voices to individuals who are not empowered to speak in the mainstream media. Mass media may focus on and mirror specific groups, suggesting that those groups are blameworthy for particular economic or social conditions or hold extreme political or cultural views. Such groups rarely comprise the powerful and influential elites that can influence such media. Indeed, marginalized and disempowered groups have generally no redress against their portrayal in the media. Free media aim to provide access to the media for those groups on those group terms.[140] Thus, alternative media create alternative public spheres, as also requested by Nancy Fraser and others.[141]

A further point that is important for the public discourse in a democratic society is the diversity of issues covered. Atton emphasizes the selection of news and the way the selection is made as another difference between mainstream media and the alternative

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[137] Busch, 2004, Atton, 2002, in Purkarthofer, Pfisterer & Busch, 2008, p. 103.
[138] Dorer, 2004, p. 10.
[139] Dorer, 2004, p. 13.
[140] Atton, 2002, p. 10.
[141] See also chapter B 2.1 A Multiplicity of Public Spheres.

media. *"In a media culture that appears less and less interested in in-depth investigative reporting alternative media provide information about and interpretations of the world which we might not otherwise see and information about the world that we simply will not find anywhere else. Alternative publications are at a bottom more interested in the free flow of ideas than in profit."*[142]

Thus, migrants find an opportunity to publicly discuss issues important to them that the mainstream media might not cover and report this in a more differentiated way and in depth. Additionally, they are able to crack the elite discourse as the people directly concerned take the active part of the speaker. Thus, they create their own public spheres as Husband, Fraser, MacQuail suggest.[143]

Another interesting aspect appears if you twist the perspective: *"Alternative public sphere makes use of skills and sites belonging to groups and communities normally excluded from mainstream modes of distribution."*[144] It is not an act of charity to give the ones in need a space, but making use of skills that would otherwise be ignored. Personal individual skills that further add to a diversity of views in the public spheres – a contribution that a democratic society should appreciate highly.

Certainly, alternative media have a lot of challenges to face inherent in their production process, most strikingly in their financial situation. As they are not profit-oriented and mostly abstain from advertisement, they rely on private or public subsidies.

The limited audience represents another objection. Atton agrees that no product of the alternative press can hope to reach circulation figures that are comparable with mainstream counterparts. This can only be achieved by extending circulation beyond the alternative public sphere.[145] However, modern communication technologies enable

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[142] Atton, p. 13.
[143] See also chapter B 2.1 A Multiplicity of Public Spheres, B 3.2 Need for Democratisation in the Media.
[144] Downing, 1998, in Atton, 2002, p. 28.
[145] Atton, 2002, p. 39.

certain media to go beyond their traditional circulation. The internet, in particular, opens access to an almost unlimited audience.

Alternative media fulfil important democratic functions. They enable alternative public spheres that offer space to groups that usually only have limited access to mainstream media such as migrants. However, the state has to provide the necessary structures, thus I want to explore the role of human rights.

5   A Right to Communicate?

Human rights are a main framework through which multi-ethnic public spheres get their legitimization. This is the responsibility of the state not to intervene in the exercising of the right of freedom of expression, as well as to facilitate the infrastructure for a democratic media system.

5.1   State Responsibility

Through guaranteeing the right of freedom of expression, the state fulfils its duty firstly not to intervene in the right to free speech and secondly to provide conditions for a media system that is able to live up to its crucial role in a democracy.

The responsibility of the state is to establish a framework in which media can operate their democratic function and in which diversity is possible. Therefore, Husband and Downing point out the role of human rights. *"For there to be a viable multi-ethnic public sphere there must, ideally, be an institutional expression of human rights supported by the state"*[146] including positive and negative rights.

Negative rights *"[…] serve to guarantee the legal/political framework that will guarantee the rights of communication to all."*[147] The communications policy of a state has to enable space for its citizens to make use of their freedom of expression.

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[146] Downing & Husband, 2005, p. 207.
[147] Downing & Husband, 2005, p. 207.

"*However, the lack of state interference does not guarantee an equitable capacity to communicate.*"[148] As seen[149] in a society with unequal power structures, access to the means of production and distribution is not guaranteed to all. Groups, which have limited economic resources, may not be able to compete with the rich and powerful.

Here, the state has to fulfil its positive obligations *"[…] by enabling the emergence, and continued vitality, of a media infrastructure that reflects the ethnic diversity present in the society.*"[150] Husband and Downing describe clearly what should be the duty of the state and point out the role of minority media as well. "*Thus, through the state subsidies for minority media, through regulation of commercial media, through the policies of public service broadcasters, and through programmes of education and training, amongst other things, the sate my positively intervene in facilitating and sustaining a dynamic multi-ethnic public sphere*".[151]

In addition to the role of the state, Husband also ascribes responsibility to the citizens and claims for solidarity in order to allow a multi-ethnic sphere.

5.2   Solidarity

For his human rights approach, Husband draws on the framework of the third generation of human rights[152]. Although it has no legal basis in international law, I want to outline his reasoning.

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[148] Downing & Husband, 2005, p. 207.
[149] See also chapter B 2.1 Exclusion and Inequality, B 3.2 Need for Democratisation in the Media.
[150] Downing & Husband, 2005, p. 209.
[151] Downing & Husband, 2005, p. 209.
[152] First generation human rights in general are referred to as civil and political rights. Second generation human rights as laid down in the United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) refer to the assurance of adequate social and material general set-ups. Unlike first- and second-generation of human rights, the classification of "third generation rights" into traditional juridical categories appears to be quite difficult. Third generation rights do not primarily focus on the protection of the autonomous individual, but rather address more directly the collective of social groups or peoples such as the right to development. In Sehmer, 2007, p. 3.

In advocating the right to communication, Husband goes further and claims that even if individuals have been granted these rights, this is not enough to prevent an egocentric and ethnocentric use of engaging in communicative acts of others. The basis of a multi-ethnic public sphere is the recognition of the social construction of identities and the understanding of individuals and communities.

He, therefore, suggests a third generation of human rights framework, which recognizes the integrity and solidarity of people and promotes an extension of the right to communicate into *"The right to be understood"*. This requires that all should "*accept the burden of trying to understand.*"[153] Therefore, he requires respect for the dignity, integrity, equality and liberty of anyone among us – including respect for differences.

In addition to state responsibility, solidarity is needed to enable multi-ethnic public spheres that make differences visible, but also respect them. This is quite an extension to the classical perception of the right of freedom of expression. Not only this, but the debate on the right to communicate goes further and offers valuable insights into the role of intercultural media.

5.3   The Debate on the Right to Communicate

The developments in communications technologies and the consciousness of an inequality in the power to communicate have evoked a debate about the right of freedom of expression.

"The "right to communicate" as such does not exist as a provision of international law."[154] However, it has been heavily discussed since Jean D'Arcy coined this term in 1969, taking Article 19 of the UDHR and demanding a new broader interpretation. [155]

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[153] Husband, 1996, pp. 205-215.
[154] Hamelink & Hoffman, 2008, p. 1.
[155] "*1. Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference. 2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.*" UDHR, Article 19.

Referring to emerging satellite communication technology, D'Arcy predicted that existing communication rights would not be sufficient to accommodate future developments in technology. A variety of new communication channels would enable personal, one-to-one global interactive communication by individuals. [156] *"The time will come when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights will have to encompass a more extensive right than man's right to information. [...] This is the right of men to communicate."*[157]

A similar discussion occurred in the United States at that time, focusing on new media radio and television and the consequences for the First Amendment[158]. [159] "A marketplace of ideas," where the best ideas would win over the worst, is an aim that seemed to be no longer appropriate. This conception is perhaps valid for the 18th century, but Jerome Barron argued in 1967 for a 21st century interpretation of the First Amendment. *"While we protect expression once it has come to the fore, our law is indifferent to creating opportunities for expression. Our constitutional theory is in the grip of a romantic conception of free expression, a belief that the "marketplace of ideas" is freely accessible."*[160]

Unequal access to the public discourse could be observed and gave raise to concerns. *"There is inequality in the power to communicate ideas just as there is inequality in economic bargaining power"*.[161]The "marketplace of ideas" view has rested on the assumption that protecting the right of expression is equal to providing it. But changes in the communications industry have destroyed the equilibrium in that marketplace.

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[156] Hamelink & Hoffman, 2008, p. 1.
[157] D'Arcy, 1969 in Fisher, http://www.righttocommunicate.org/viewReference.atm?id=10 (Accessed 15 May 2011).
[158] *"The people shall not be deprived or abridged of their right to speak, to write, or to publish their sentiments; and the freedom of the press, as one of the great bulwarks of liberty, shall be inviolable."* Madison, Annals of Congress 434 ,1789, http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/data/constitution/amendment01/06.html (Accessed 20 May 2011).
[159] Barron, 1967, pp. 1-22.
[160] Barron, 1967, pp. 1.
[161] Barron, 1967, p. 5.

In addition, D'Arcy requires the recognition of a right for everyone to take part in communication and design policies and laws accordingly.[162] Further, he wants to broaden the existing rights and add, "*[…] both for individuals and societies, the concepts of access, participation, two-way information flow – all of which are vital as we now sense for the harmonious development of man and mankind.*"[163]

He also emphasizes the opportunities for smaller less powerful groups. Satellite communication would "*[…] provide access to global communication by local communities as a means of addressing the challenge of preserving cultural diversity against the dominance of powerful media monopolies.*" He envisioned a future leading to "*[…] societies drawn on a human scale ("micro societies") where communication flows freely*".[164]

Barron also refers to a free flow of ideas, warning at the same time, that this is not protected sufficiently by the First Amendment. The domination of power might limit the access for different people, following that "*[…] the government is quite useless in assuring free speech if a restraint on access is effectively secured by private groups*"[165]. Moreover, he stresses the function of the constitution in ensuring an adequate opportunity for discussion, "*[…] the interests of those who control the means of communication must be accommodated with the interests of those who seek a forum in which to express their point of view.*"[166]

A First Amendment that aims to secure a free marketplace of ideas has to promote a "*[…] dissemination of news from as many different sources, and with as many different*

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[162] Hamelink & Hoffman, 2008, p. 8.
[163] D'Arcy, 1979, in Harms
http://www.righttocommunicatein.org/viewDocument.atm?sectionName=human&id=15, (Accessed 28 May 2011).
[164] D'Arcy, 1979, in Birdsall, at http://www.waccglobal.org/en/20061-celebrating-cultural-diversity/558-A-right-to-communicate-as-an-open-work.html (Accessed 28 May 2011).
[165] Barron, 1967, p. 10.
[166] Barron, 1967, p. 10.

facets and colours as is possible[167]*"* as *"creating opportunities for expression is as important as ensuring the right to express ideas without fear of governmental reprisal."*[168]

The reception to a new interpretation of the freedom of expression was ambiguous and also influenced by political concerns. However, one important point made, is that a government not only has to assure free speech, but also take over responsibility on a fair communication environment.

The debate was also one starting point for the preoccupation with challenges for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO).[169] As a consequence, UNESCO assembled a Commission for the Study of Communication Problems that concluded in the MacBride report.[170]

5.4   The MacBride Report

Although the MacBride Report was written 30 years ago, its findings are still relevant today. It gives comprehensive recommendations to advance public discourse and foster the democratisation of communication in the areas of human rights, the removal of obstacles for democratic media, diversity and choice, integration and participation.

In 1977, UNESCO established a Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. The Commission published its final report "Many Voices, One World" also known as the MacBride report in 1980, which received great attention and still continues to be a reference document.

It recognised the right to communicate that advocates the advancement of the "*democratization of communication*". "*Communication needs in a democratic society*

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[167] Barron, 1967, p. 9.
[168] Barron, 1967, p. 8.
[169] Nordenstreng, 2010, p. 7.
[170] Hamelink & Hoffman, 2008, p. 10.

should be met by the extension of specific rights such as the right to be informed, the right to inform, the right to privacy, the right to participate in public communication – all elements of a new concept, the right to communicate."[171]

The report emphasizes that media are an important means of widening public participation in a democratic decision-making process. Broad access and open communication process should lead to a free interchange of ideas, information and experience among equals, without dominance or discrimination. But this also depends on the structures and practices of the media and their management. Here, the report identifies obstacles and restrictions deriving from the concentration of public or private media ownership, from commercial influences or from private or governmental advertising that influence diversity.[172]

As *"[…] diversity and choice in the content of communication are a pre-condition for democratic participation,[…]"*[173] everyone should be able to form judgements on the basis of a full range of information and a variety of opinions, as well as having the opportunity to share these ideas with others. Furthermore, *"[…] the development of decentralized and diversified media should provide larger opportunities for a real direct involvement of the people in communication processes."*[174] Moreover, the report pays special attention to the concerns of national, ethnic, religious, linguistic minorities.[175]

In a resolution in 1980, the UNESCO General Conference subsequently referred to a *"[…] right of the public, of ethnic and social groups and of individuals to have access to information sources and to participate actively in the communication process"*.[176]

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[171] UNESCO, 1980, p. 265.
[172] UNESCO, 1980, pp. 265-266.
[173] UNESCO, 1980, p. 266.
[174] UNESCO, 1980, p. 267.
[175] UNESCO, 1980, p. 267.
[176] Hamelink & Hoffman, 2008, p. 3.

Having discussed an extended right to communicate that aims at a more democratic media landscape, I now turn to the interpretation of the right of freedom of expression of the European Court for Human Rights.

5.5   ECHR Advocating for Equal Participation in Public Discourse

When analysing the challenges freedom of speech was facing in the US, James Barron suggested that the courts could provide for a right of access by reinterpreting the First Amendment to provide for the emergence, as well as the protection of, expression.[177] So, let us have a look at Europe.

Article 10 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR) declares: *"Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers."*[178]

The European Court of Human Rights emphasizes the importance of the right for each citizen stating that it *"[…] constitutes one of the essential foundations of a democratic society, one of the basic conditions for its progress and for the development of every man."*[179] Since then, the court has repeated the fundamental importance of the right as one of the basic conditions for the progress of a democratic society and for each individual's self-fulfilment.[180]

I want to highlight some decisions of the European Court of Human Rights that are interesting when discussing the value of diverse opinions. Although the cases primarily

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[177] Barron, 1967, p. 17.
[178] Council of Europe, Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms Article 10.
[179] Handyside v. United Kingdom, (App 5493/72), 7 December 1976, A 24 (1979-80) 1 EHHRR 737, §48, in Jacobs, White & Ovey, 2010, p. 425.
[180] Jacobs, White & Ovey, 2010, p. 425.

deal with political advertising on radio and television, they stress the importance of giving a voice to the less powerful parties in the public discourse.

A ban on political advertising should safeguard the public and democratic debate and prevent the influence on the public discourse by groups and parties that have enough funds to buy airtime. In recent years, these restrictions have been subject to cases before the European Court of Human Rights. In its decision concerning Article 10 the Right of Freedom of Expression, the court referred to the plurality of opinions and the support to the access to means of mass media also and especially for parties that are small and impecunious.[181]

In its decision in VgT Verein gegen Tierfabriken v. Switzerland, the court stated that the advertising of the VgT Verein gegen Tierfabriken was not of purely commercial content but *"[…] reflected controversial opinions pertaining to modern society in general, lying at the heart of various political debates."*[182] Thus *"what was at stake was […] participation in a debate affecting the general interest."*[183]

Furthermore, the court observed that powerful financial groups can obtain competitive advantages through commercial advertising and, thus, may exercise pressure on the media. *"Such situations undermine the fundamental role of freedom of expression in a democratic society, particularly where […]"* it serves to impart *"[…] information and ideas of general interest which the public were entitled to receive"*.[184]

The court is clearly an advocate for a plurality of opinions and protects the opportunity to impart information, as well as the right to get different opinions. It also points out the

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[181] Lewis, 2009, pp. 37 – 38.
[182] VgT Verein gegen Tierfabriken v. Switzerland (App. 24699/94) 28 June 2001, 34 EHHR 4, § 57 and 70.
[183] VgT Verein gegen Tierfabriken v. Switzerland (App. 24699/94) 28 June 2001, 34 EHHR 4, § 71.
[184] VgT Verein gegen Tierfabriken v. Switzerland (App. 24699/94) 28 June 2001, 34 EHHR 4, § 72.

facilitator. *"Such an undertaking cannot be successfully accomplished unless it is grounded in the principle of pluralism of which the State is the ultimate guarantor."*[185]

In the grand chamber decision VgT Verein gegen Tierfabriken v. Switzerland, the court reiterated its reasoning and even emphasized the role of the state. *"Freedom of expression was one of the preconditions for a functioning democracy and that genuine, effective exercise of this freedom did not depend merely on the State's duty not to interfere but could also require positive measures."*[186]

TV Vest As & Rogaland Pensjonistparti v. Norway is another case in which the court protects the right of freedom of expression of a less powerful party in order to participate in the public discourse.[187]

The European Court of Human Rights has frequently emphasized the important role of media for a democratic society, thus supporting an equal access for less powerful groups in its case law. The aim is also to foster a diverse media landscape.

6   Conclusion

The public sphere as Jürgen Habermas conceptualises it, is a public arena where citizens debate and negotiate, an affirmed characteristic is the access guaranteed to all. One may state that Habermas neglected the individuality and fragmentation of the public and therefore his concept indeed received many critics, among others Nancy Fraser.

She pointed out the exclusion of certain groups and the inequality of the public sphere, thus suggesting a multiplicity of public spheres, enhancing potentials for disadvantaged groups and make it possible to mirror the variety of the different participants. Alternative publics enabled by intercultural media provide discourse possibilities for migrants and ethnic groups that reflect the complex ethnic diversity of a society.

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[185] VgT Verein gegen Tierfabriken v. Switzerland (App. 24699/94) 28 June 2001, 34 EHHR 4, § 73.
[186] Verein gegen Tierfabriken Schweiz (VgT) v. Switzerland (No. 2) (App. 32772/02) 30 June 2009, §§ 78 – 82.
[187] TV Vest As & Rogaland Pensjonistparti v. Norway (App. 21132/05) 11 March 2009, 48 EHHR 51.

Charles Husband underscores this argumentation in his concept of multi-ethnic public sphere that seeks to acknowledge and value ethnic diversity.

Besides enabling the public sphere media have important roles in a society such as making the democratic process function. Broad access and open communication process should enable a free interchange of ideas without dominance or discrimination. A structural media pluralism that expresses the different opinions present in a society is a prerequisite for democratic participation.

Thus media must not be controlled by undemocratic state or market forces. This aspect was highlighted during the debate on the right to communicate or a broader interpretation of the First Amendment. Therefore, a government not only has to assure free speech, but also take over responsibility on a fair communication environment. Consequently, human rights play an important role to provide this framework, as a state has a duty not to intervene in the exercising of the right to freedom of expression, but moreover has a responsibility to foster pluralism and establish conditions that enable different groups such as migrants to raise their voices.

Husband calls for civil-society based public media that empower people to take their visible place in public sphere. Intercultural media are one solution as they allow ethnic groups to adequately give voice to their concerns and get the equal access as Husband, Fraser and other scholars request. Intercultural media that I will describe in detail in the next chapter, represent one important group in society, namely migrants and ethnic communities, and thus serve as a channel for mirroring the diversity of a society, consequently resulting in a more pluralistic media landscape.

C   Intercultural Media – Giving a Voice to Migrants

After introducing the philosophy underlying the multi-ethnic public sphere and the role of media in public discourse, I want to demonstrate the value of intercultural media for a democratic society. Building on ethnic media I will first give a definition of intercultural media and the contents they may cover in this chapter, then I want to provide an overview of the most relevant models of media integration of migrants and explain the role of intercultural integration to highlight the importance of intercultural media.

After that, I will map the most important intercultural media products in Austria, starting with a historical overview of ethnic and intercultural media, further examining different kinds of intercultural media and giving concrete examples. The objective is to demonstrate the contribution of intercultural media to the public discourse. However, it would go beyond the scope of this thesis to examine the concrete impact on a society, especially as very little research has been done. I will conclude with evaluating the state as main facilitator of a fair communication environment by examining media policy in Austria and international recommendations.

1   Diversity: a Key Characteristic for Intercultural Media

Defining intercultural media is not an easy task as we are challenged by a very heterogenic group. It is not the task of this thesis to give a perfect classification of media types, but I will provide a proper description of intercultural media and explicate the key characteristic – diversity, among its producers, as well as among the audience addressed.

1.1   Definition and Differentiation

Media for migrants are very heterogenic regarding the type of medium, the content and the channel, as well as the target group. To build up the definition of intercultural media, I have chosen the very useful concept of ethnic media as defined by Sonja Weber-Menges, who classifies it in both a narrow and a wide manner.

Firstly, the narrow definition of ethnic media includes media such as newspaper, magazines, radio- and TV programmes that are mainly produced by ethnic groups for ethnic groups in the country of residence. [188] Other scholars also define ethnic media in this narrow way. *"Ethnic media are media that are produced by and for (a) immigrants (b) racial, ethnic, and linguistic minorities as well as (c) indigenous population living across different countries."*[189]

Secondly, a broader definition of ethnic media contains – as well as parts of press such as press inserts – individual radio or TV broadcasts or web pages. It also includes ethnic media that is produced in the country of origin – with or without adaptations or mutations. This notion of ethnic media also covers media products such as programmes or broadcasts or press items such as supplements made by mainstream media that are targeted to ethnic minority groups.[190]

The definition of intercultural media I will use in my thesis is based on Weber-Menges[191], but goes further into detail about describing media with intercultural features. Intercultural media is a form of ethnic media, although Weber-Menges definition is not deep enough to cover the special quality of intercultural media.

The development of intercultural media is also a consequence of a media society that is spread out into many different levels of quality.[192] Despite this heterogeneity there are some distinct features of intercultural media. As we will see later the organisational structure including financing or the involvement of the editors and producers may differ from type-to-type of media, as well as the circulation and the number of the consumers reached.[193]

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[188] Weber-Menges, 2008, p. 123.
[189] Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2010, p. 6.
[190] Weber-Menges, 2008, p. 123.
[191] Weber-Menges, 2008, p. 123
[192] Wögerer, 2004, p. 82.
[193] See also chapter C 4 Made in Austria with Intercultural Ingredients

The main characteristic is diversity, diversity in regards to the producers, but also the recipients. Intercultural media are produced by ethnic groups from different origins in contrast to just one single ethnic group. The media product addresses a diverse audience – different ethnic groups or inhabitants with and without a migration background. The content is created with the particular point of view of their ethnic producers. Another point is the use of a common language, mostly the one of the hosting country, additionally one or more other languages.

An important aspect looking at intercultural media is intercultural competence, *"[…] the ability to communicate effectively in cross-cultural situations and to relate appropriately in a variety of cultural contexts."*[194] Intercultural media are produced in *"[…] awareness of operating in a cultural context. This usually entails some conscious knowledge of one's own culture (cultural self-awareness), some frameworks for creating useful cultural contrasts (e.g., communication styles, cultural values), and a clear understanding about how to use cultural generalizations without stereotyping. "*[195]
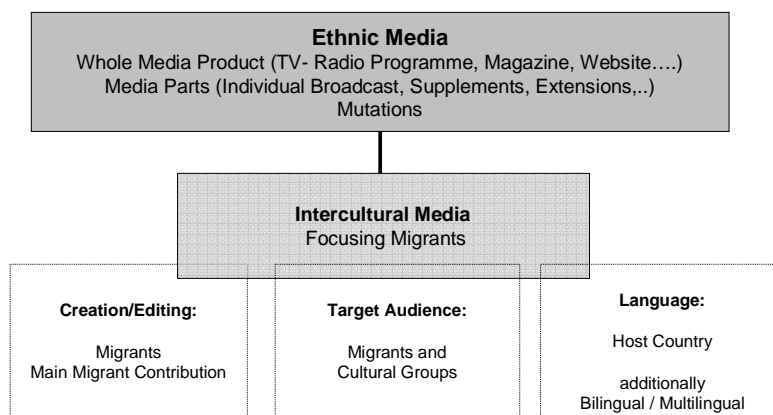

Figure 2: Main characteristics of intercultural media.

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[194] Bennett & Bennett, 2004, p. 149.
[195] Bennett & Bennett, 2004, p. 149.

An important reason for the development of intercultural media is the lack of representation and the distorted portrayal of ethnic groups in the mainstream media[196] as it is also the case in Austria.[197] As migrants do not feel represented as a self-evident part of the society in mainstream media they turn towards alternatives.

This can be observed as well in media produced by the bicultural socialised children of migrants. Neither the media of the country of origin nor media of the host country can always represent their attitude to life. The self-conception of second and third generation migrants differs from their parents. Their demands on society have changed, the new self-assurance of the younger generation with migration background, their search for new and self are also mirrored in their media. Their hybrid identity containing "old" and "new" culture is neither always met by the traditional media, nor by the ethnic media. Thus, they are creating new forms of media. [198]

To sum up, intercultural media cover a wide range of different media products. However, they contain common qualities such as the ethnic diversity of their producers and their addressed users. After explaining that the content is mainly produced in the common language of the country of residence and reflects the particular point of view of their ethnic producers, I will now focus on the topics covered.

1.2   Content and Topics Covered

Migrants are not a homogenous group. The world of the migrant is as manifold as the one of the receiving population. Thus, the portfolio of relevant topics is as diverse.

The differences result from a different socialisation and the mostly missing connecting factors at the arrival in a new country, such as real estate property, traditional companies and certain networks that cannot be transferred when moving to another country.[199]

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[196] Weber-Menges, 2008, p. 140.
[197] See also chapter A 3 Mainstream Media – A Difficult Space for Migrants.
[198] Kaya, 2001, Hafez, 2000 in Weber-Menges, 2005, p. 136.
[199] Klingler & Kutteroff, 2009, pp. 298-299.

One group of topics that are covered in intercultural media are ones associated with immigration as such. Teun van Dijk identified the most common topics in this respect[200]:

- New (illegal) immigrants are arriving,
- Political response to, policies about (new) immigration
- Reception problems (housing)
- Social problems (employment, welfare, etc.)
- Response of the population (resentments,..)
- Cultural characterization: How are they different?
- Complications and negative characterization: How are they deviant?
- Focus on threats: Violence, crime, drugs, prostitution
- Political responses: Policies to stop immigration, expulsion
- Integration conflicts

Certainly, these are the same issues as in the mainstream media. The big difference is that in the mainstream media they are mostly defined as problems, as problems because of their assumed implications for the host country population. Whereas in intercultural, media migrants cover issues with a different perspective, as well as in a different way. This also demonstrates the potential of serving as a corrective to discriminatory reporting in the mainstream media.

Giving migrants the active speaking role has also implications on the experts questioned in the media, as they differ from the mainstream media. It can also be assumed that elite-dominated discourse as examined by Gruber, Herczeg & Wallner is less often.[201]
Another field of topics contains homeland related issues. Intercultural media may also offer information about the country of origin that is important to adaptation; after all, *"[…] news from or about home capitalizes on an immigrant's longing for information about the "there" as a basis for fitting in "here"*[202]

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[200] Van Dijk, in Haynes, 2007, p. 176.
[201] See also chapter A 3.2. Low Migrant Voices.
[202] Lin & Song, 2006, in Fleras, 2009, p. 726.

Whereas Martina Böse and Cornelia Kogoj criticised the focus on folklore and "necessity of self-exotic" for minorities to be newsworthy in the mainstream media,[203] Fritz Hausjell has observed a change in Austria as the contents have become very differentiated. New formats have been developed, after information of unions that provided service for newly arrived people,[204] the second generation, in particular, wants news on social policy, economics, but also on parties and music.[205] Random examples of articles from the Vienna city magazine "biber" show a broad diversity of topics: sex and Islam, Austrians with Turkish background returning to Istanbul, a portrayal of the new Austrian state secretary for integration, 20 years since the Yugoslavian war, fashion tips, migrants as Austrian police wo(men),…[206]

As can be seen, the contents are not limited to one single migrant culture, but represent the views of a mixture of ethnic backgrounds. The editorial staff may consist of Croats, Serbs, Turks, Kurds… that also produces for a diverse audience.

Portraying migrants as individuals, showing everyday life situations or using also positive stories of success both at home and abroad characterize the contents of intercultural media and may respond to the picture of migrants and ethnic groups in some mainstream media. Furthermore, these issues are not only relevant for migrants, but also for the population of the receiving country as "migrants' issues" represent parts of common society.

Intercultural media offer a variety of coverage. Although they cover information from the home countries of migrants and topics on immigration, the issues go far beyond that. However, the ethnic view on the topics and the way they are presented are a key quality.

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[203] Böse & Kogoj, in Gouma, 2009, p. 19.
[204] See also chapter C 3.1 The Development of Media Products for Migrants.
[205] Hausjell, http://diepresse.com/home/kultur/medien/444872/Medien_Integration-ist-nicht-unsere-Aufgabe (Accessed 26 June 2011)
[206] Biber, http://www.dasbiber.at/wasistbiber, (Accessed 28 June 2011)

On the basis of the main characteristics of media type and content, I now want to demonstrate the value of intercultural media for media integration of migrants.

2   Media Integration of Migrants

The impact of media for integration is not the focus of this thesis, however it adds to the picture, when analyzing the role of intercultural media for giving migrants a voice in the public discourse. Thus, I want to introduce the most important concept in this respect: "Intercultural Integration"[207] of Reiner Geißler.

According to Geißler *"[…] media integration means integration of ethnic minorities into the media system and into the public"*.[208] Based on the different concepts that describe the relationships sought among groups, such as the larger society and the migrant population, assimilation, segregation and intercultural integration[209] Geißler differentiates between three ideal-typic models of the role of media for the integration process.

We can observe media segregation firstly when minorities mainly use ethnic media. As a consequence, ethnic public spheres exist that are separated and excluded from the receiving society and the dominant public sphere. Secondly, in the mainstream media, migrants are neither present as producers, nor as users. Additionally, they seldom appear in the media, are portrayed as foreigners, the presentation is unbalanced and distorted negatively.[210]

On the contrary, within media assimilation minorities are integrated within relevant institutions, what means in the media they are adequately represented as journalists,

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[207] See also Weber-Menges 2005, Herzceg, 2009, Hepp 2009, Gauma 2007, Göttlich 2007, Bonfadelli 2010.
[208] Geißler & Pöttker, 2005, p. 14.
[209] Assimilation – involvement of the migrant group in the larger society while giving up the heritage culture; segregation – no involvement of the migrant group in the larger society while maintaining heritage culture, integration/multiculturalism– involvement of the migrant population in the larger society, while maintaining the heritage culture; in Berry, 2011. pp. 2.4-2.6.
[210] Geißler & Pöttker, 2005, p. 21.

managers or owners. As the assimilative model assumes that the ethnic minorities are also assimilated within the dominant society, thus the dominant media system represents no specific ethnic issues. There are not ethnic public spheres, as there are no ethnic media. The migrant population uses the same media as the majority population.[211]

It is obvious that both models do not function adequately. While media segregation prevents an integration of ethnic minorities, media assimilation is contradictory to the existential orientation of big parts of the migrants not to break totally with their heritage. Thus, Geißler suggests an "intercultural media integration" that includes both needs.[212]

The concept of "intercultural integration" is oriented to the main principles of Canadian multiculturalism. It means neither assimilation nor segregation of ethnic minorities, but is based on the fundamental principle of "unity-within-diversity" – the right of minorities to be different, limited by the right of the majority to get respect for its laws and core values. It is based on the principle of mutual communication between and mutual knowledge of mainstream and minority cultures.[213] A successful integration means mutual adaption and change, from the side of migrant population, but also from the receiving society.[214]

Kai Hafez concludes the functions of media in regard to the integration of migrants[215]:
- Integration as citizens (system integration, rights, political participation)
- Social Integration (economic and institutional integration like education, living, employment)
- Cultural integration (Identity building, right of cultural difference)

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[211] Geißler & Pöttker, 2005, p. 22.
[212] Geißler & Pöttker, 2005, p. 22.
[213] Geißler & Pöttker, 2005, p. 14.
[214] Volf & Bauböck, 2001, in Tauschitz, 2010, p. 41.
[215] Hafez, 2005; Dorer & Marschik, 2006, in Tauschitz, 2010, p. 43.

Media integration refers to three areas that are interlinked: media content, media professionals and media usage. Media content is intercultural integrative, if it shows the ethnic diversity within a country as normality, if problems of a multi-ethnic immigration society, but also chances and successes are presented in a balanced way, if migrants find themselves in the mainstream media – for example as journalists, interview partners, show masters, actors…[216] Reporting about the different groups in order to foster a mutual knowledge is particularly important.[217]

Ethnic media are a necessary complement to the mainstream media for unassimilated minorities. The needs for contact with their heritage culture and information about their specific situation and the specific problems of their ethnic groups cannot be adequately satisfied through the mainstream media. Facing the vast ethnic diversity and the growing socio-cultural differentiation within the individual migrant, mainstream media cannot fulfil this demand – they are overextended. However, their intercultural integrative character is important. Segregated content, such as pure concentration on the culture of origin or a biased negative representation of the receiving society do not fit to this model. [218]

Intercultural integration provides an adequate proportional participation in the production process of the mainstream media. They contribute to a pluralistic-democratic public discourse with specific information and specific knowledge about their ethnic group. They incorporate an important part of democratic pluralism in the media system – its ethno dimension that is positioned equally among other dimensions, such as gender, age or religion.

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[216] Geißler & Pöttker, 2010, p. 10.
[217] See Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 1996, in Weissenböck, 2009, p. 74.
[218] Geißler & Pöttker, 2005, p. 24-25.

However, ethnic media exists, in addition to the ethno-plural mainstream media. Migrants with knowledge of the receiving society produce them in order to create intercultural integrative content.[219]

It is not realistic that the majority population will use ethnic media. Thus, an adequate representation in the mainstream media is important. On the contrary, it is necessary for the minority group to use the mainstream media to be informed about the common society.[220]

Moreover, migrants use ethnic media to stay in contact with their heritage culture and get specific information. An exclusive use of ethnic media could lead to ethnic media ghettos[221] or parallel societies.[222] However, there are no such ghettos as numerous studies[223] show a complementary use – migrants consume majority media, as well as specific ethnic media.

Intercultural media can play an important role in intercultural media integration as they foster mutual communication between and mutual knowledge of mainstream and minority cultures. They fulfil the criteria of minority integration in production, content and provide a way for a common usage. Intercultural media are created by diverse editorial teams that consist mainly of producers with a migration background. They create content with the view of their ethnic culture and the knowledge of the receiving society. The media products are addressed to migrant groups, as well as to nonmigrant groups, and use the language of the receiving society.

Intercultural media are the ideal facilitators of a multi-ethnic public sphere. As suggested by Husband,[224] intercultural media enable an exchange between parties, not a

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[219] Geißler & Pöttker, 2005, p. 23.
[220] Geißler & Pöttker, 2005, p. 25.
[221] See Meier-Braun 2002; Piga, 2007, in Weissenböck, 2009, p.104.
[222] Weber-Menges, 2008, p. 21.
[223] See Weber-Menges 2007; Windgasse 2007; Trebbe, Heft & Weiß 2008, ARD-ZDF Studie, Migranten und Medien 2007;Geißler& Pöttker 2005.
[224] See also chapter B 3.2 Need for Democratisation of the Media

plethora of ghettoised parallel communicative systems, but interaction within and between publics.[225]

Intercultural media meet the demands of intercultural integration in production, content and usage as they facilitate on a common understanding based on valuing of differences and work against assimilation or segregation. Tracing the development of media for migrants I want to ask, if this was always at the core.

3   From Guest Worker-Radio to Transcultural Media

The past decades have seen the development of media focused towards migrants. In this chapter I want to offer insights in this development that conclude in the rise of intercultural media. The development is also a consequence of a media society that is spread out into many different levels of quality and the needs of a diverse migrant population.[226]

3.1   The Development of Media Products for Migrants

The phases Sonja Weber-Menges establishes, are not always temporary selective including some overlap and parallels.[227] Although the findings were focused on Germany, they can be translated – including some adaptations – for the situation in Austria. In fact, comparing and expanding the development with Austria concludes in quite similar results, although we find some interesting delays. Due to limited space, the differences between and among the migrant groups that would be reflected in media development cannot be taken into account. However, the phases show a general development from one source of information for all, to a differentiation of contents concluding in the intercultural model.

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[225] Husband, 1996, pp. 205-215.
[226] Wögerer, 2004, p. 82.
[227] Weber-Menges 2008, p. 126.

3.1.1 Phase 1: Guest worker Press and Guest worker-Radio

The first phase is situated in the 1960s, the period of active recruiting of guest workers. At this time, it was assumed that the guest workers would stay for just a short period and then return to their countries of origin. Due to the lack of language knowledge at the beginning of the recruiting period, it was important to receive news, entertainment and other information in the native language. One medium for that was short-wave radio.[228]

Whereas in Germany, the public broadcaster produced native language radio broadcasts for immigrant workers, this was not the case in Austria. In addition to churches, labour unions and corporations pleaded for the establishment of programmes for guest workers. In Austria the first newspaper for immigrants from Yugoslavia in native language "Na List" was published by the Austrian industry union to inform guest workers about labour rights and duties.[229] This was not a medium to give migrants voice or visibility, but to teach them about rules in the host country.

3.1.2 Phase 2: Programmes for Foreigners on TV, Expansion of Ethnic Press

The second phase lasts from end of the 1960s to the end of the 1970s. In Germany, the public broadcaster established special programmes for migrants. After radio, now TV was the medium for the broadcasts that should act as a bridge to the country of origin and as an aid for orientation, but in the beginning of the 1980s started to aim towards integration. As well as ethnic press from the country of origin, ethnic press was produced in the host country in Germany, as well in Austria. In 1971, the Turkish daily "Hürryiet" started to produce an edition for Germany. [230]

The first newspaper produced by Yugoslavian migrants in Austria "DANAS" was published between 1973 and 1975. The weekly newspaper tried to inform the immigrants "*[…] about Austria and the people and the history, in order to enable a*

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[228] Weber-Menges, 2008, p. 126.
[229] Bratic, 2008, p. 22.
[230] Weber-Menges, 2008, p. 127.

better understanding with their neighbours and colleagues."[231] Letters to the editor by migrant readers that showed a growing concern about the negative attitude of the majority population towards migrant workers can be seen as the first opportunity to communicate one's opinion. Furthermore, different ethnic unions that also served as platform for get-togethers to promote the preservation of national culture published own information products.[232] This media allowed people to speak up at least among their own community.

3.1.3   Phase 3: Ethnic Video Market

This phase is mainly found in the 1980s and characterised by a rising usage of ethnic videos in Germany and Austria.[233] The immigrants were supplied with video tapes of their country of origin that partly functioned as bridge to the homeland. As a consequence, the public broadcasters in Germany lost reach, but still remained important as a source of news.[234] In Austria, the public broadcaster transmitted a radio programme in Serbo-Croatian for migrant workers two times a week.[235]

In the 1980s, the number of periodicals of ethnic migrant communities in Austria rose. The organisational and informational background was built up mainly by diverse migrants unions.[236]

3.1.4   Phase 4: Broadening of the Cable TV, Local Open Channels

The increase of cable TV at the end of the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s allowed migrants to get TV programmes from their country of origin. As a consequence, the migrant programmes by the public broadcasters in Germany lost importance for their target group. Additionally, the diversification among the migrant communities got more

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[231] Interview on 5 September 1973 in the "Stadtgespräche" with the publisher of Danas, in Bratic, 2008, p. 26.
[232] Bratic, 2008, p. 24.
[233] Böse & Kokoj, 2002, p. 304.
[234] Weber-Menges, 2008, p. 129.
[235] Bratic, 2008, p. 27.
[236] Bratic, 2008, pp. 26-27.

and more of a challenge for the producers. It was hard to meet the expectations of the diverse audience in a 30 to 40 minute programme per week. In the same time, the opening of public channels in TV and radio brought a possibility for nationals, but also for migrants, to raise their voices.[237]

This development was a delayed in Austria. It was not until 1989 that the public broadcaster started its first programme targeted towards autochthonous ethnic groups, migrants and nationals interested in ethnic issues. "Heimat. fremde Heimat" (Home, foreign Home) was broadcasted 20 minutes a week in German. I will talk about the public broadcaster later in more detail[238]. As Austria at that time still held a state monopoly on radio and TV free channels as in Germany did not exist.[239]

3.1.5   Phase 5: Private TV via Satellite, Further Differentiation of Ethnic Press

The starting of the 5th phase can be dated with the beginning of the 1990s, although some developments are still ongoing today. Satellite technology brought the start of private TV stations in the migrants countries of origin, connected with the easy accessibility in the host countries. [240] Starting with the Turkish state TV TRNT whose aim it is to inform the Turkish diaspora, more and more commercial stations launched programmes for communities abroad.[241] As mentioned the number of satellite receivers in Austria is very high[242] , what enables migrants to watch programmes in their native language.

Consequently, the media products of the public broadcaster in the national language targeted to migrants got fierce competition. The public broadcaster reacted through new concepts within the ethnic elements, however no integration of ethnic groups into the

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[237] Weber-Menges, 2008, pp. 130-131.
[238] See also chapter C 4.1 Diversity by the Public Broadcaster.
[239] See also chapter C 4.4 Free to Speak up – Free Radio and TV.
[240] Weber-Menges, 2008. pp. 131-132.
[241] Böse & Kogoj, 2002, p. 303.
[242] See also chapter A 2.3 Press and Broadcaster also Lead Online.

mainstream products occurred.[243] The wide diversity among "the migrants" was another challenge for the public broadcasters.[244] As detailed in the concepts of the public spheres, one single medium can hardly serve the needs of a diverse audience.[245]

At the same time, the variety of ethnic press for migrants ascended again. Both the press products produced within the countries of origin including editions for foreign markets and the host country.[246] A discussion on how far these media may contribute to a rise of media ghettos and parallel societies for migrants was obvious. As seen before exclusive use of ethnic media carries this danger, however ethnic media are used complementary.[247]

After the fall of the state monopoly for radio and TV in Austria in the late 1990s, the first open radio channels went on air. In 1998, free radio Orange gave migrants of different origins the possibility to produce radio content for the first time[248].

3.1.6   Phase 6: Multi Cultural Models

The developments of the sixth phase already began slightly in the 1990s, but are still ongoing today and are going to gain more importance. New technologies, and moreover a different approach towards concepts and contents are characteristic, causing three important: multicultural models, transcultural media cultures and the possibilities of the internet.

Intercultural media already started in the 1990s and were produced by public broadcasters and replaced the "guest worker" programmes. In addition to a German support programme, the broadcasts were multilingual and should reach different ethnic

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[243] Weber-Menges, 2008, p. 135.
[244] Weber-Menges, 2008. pp. 131-135.
[245] See also chapter B 2.2 A Mulitpiplicity of Public Spheres, B 3.1. Acknowledging Diversity in a Democracy.
[246] Weber-Menges, 2008. p. 134.
[247] See also chapter C 2 Media Integration of Migrants.
[248] See also chapter C 4.4 Free to Speak up – Free Radio and TV.

migrants, as well as the autochthonous population. They were aimed at being intercultural integrative and should contribute to mutual understanding and tolerance.[249]

In Austria, the public broadcaster offers multilingual content just for the autochthonous minorities, but offers a broadcast in German addressed to different ethnic groups with "Heimat, fremde Heimat". Additionally, free radio producing multicultural content has expanded and internet TV has offered new possibilities for migrants to gain public space.[250]

In Germany a new German-Turkish media and cultural scene has evolved that is very manifold. German-Turkish filmmakers, authors or musicians are contributing to this development. Actors with a migration background have more roles in German films. Furthermore, German-Turkish newspapers and magazines have come into existence. Despite a high fluctuation in this experimental space, some media are very successful, such as Radyo Metropol, a radio station that offers a mix of entertainment and news in both German and Turkish.[251]

In Austria these developments are present too, although less distinctively. Here print products such as cultural and youth media, but also the free radio stations offer space for Austrians with a migration background. The popular Vienna based lifestyle magazine "biber – mit scharf," which I will evaluate in detail later on,[252] covers issues affecting different ethnic groups in the German language and addresses both "old" and "new" Austrians.

The third big trend represents the growing importance of the Internet and the possibilities it implies. The Internet offers space for ethnic groups to get informed and exchange information, get connected, express themselves or initiate discussions, so the

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[249] Weber-Menges, 2008, p. 135.
[250] See also chapter C 4.4 Free to Speak up – Free Radio and TV.
[251] Weber-Menges, 2008, pp. 136-137.
[252] See also chapter C 4.3 Independent Intercultural Magazines.

number of Internet portals and web pages that meet the need of migrants is growing fast.[253]

But it is not just the technology itself, also the way in which society uses ir that is undergoing change. Not only have the means for communication become more diverse and multi-directional, but also the references between media have got stronger. As in the middle of the 1990s there was a clear distinction between local, regional and national radio stations, now satellite and Internet allow all kinds of stations a much wider reach.[254]

Another perspective is that technology nowadays is much easier to use – almost everyone can produce content, even content for TV with simple training. I will go into more detail about the first non commercial open TV channel in Austria okto.tv[255] that went on air 2005. The programme can be viewed in Vienna, however the Internet-live stream enables Internet users to watch worldwide. Thus, developments in technology have allowed more people to take over a speaker role in the public discourse and at the same time to involve more consumers.

A further point related to cross-media aspects is the online versions of newspapers, magazines or radio stations. The German Radyo Metropol[256] or the Austrian magazine biber offer Internet forums[257] where lively discussions take place. Here, different ethnic groups find a place to take part in the public discourse.

This development shows that in fact there is more than one public sphere, indeed also a multi-ethnic public sphere consists of a multiplicity of public spheres. Obviously, it is a challenge to serve this diversity with a uniform service that will barely meet the needs of the audience as programmes provided by the public broadcaster. Moreover,

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[253] Weber-Menges, 2008, p. 138.
[254] Busch, 2006, pp. 54-55.
[255] See also chapter C 4.4 Free to Speak up – Free Radio and TV.
[256] See http://www.metropolfm.de/ (Accessed 01 July 2011).
[257] See www.dasbiber.at (Accessed 1 July 2011).

mainstream media that poorly represent migrant audiences and their issues or portrays them rather negatively may lose these groups. Thus, they will look for alternatives or produce their own media.

As we have seen, media for migrants have experienced some changes from a means of practical information for "guest workers" to an intercultural lifestyle magazine made by the young second generation. After this historical approach, I now want to explore the current situation in intercultural media in Austria.

4   Made in Austria with Intercultural Ingredients

The objective of this chapter is to map intercultural media in Austria. I will examine concrete examples and assess advantages critically, but also limits. However, I want to demonstrate the value of intercultural media for the public discourse.

The chosen media are not exhaustive, so media of clubs and unions could not be taken into account. However, the selection covers the largest portion of the intercultural media Austria has to offer at present. As already mentioned, a perfect classification is not the aim of this paper, thus I will make a broad categorisation in media of the public broadcaster, quality newspapers, independent magazines, free media and online media.

4.1   Diversity by the Public Broadcaster

As we have seen, the Austrian media landscape is very concentrated, the picture of migrants is blurred especially in the boulevard press and dominated mostly by negative stereotypes.[258] Thus, in this section I want to explore what the public service provider ORF provides in terms of intercultural media products.

According to the relevant law, autochthonous minorities are defined,[259] as well as people of different ages, peoples with disabilities and different religions.[260] Migrants are

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[258] See also chapter A 3 Mainstream Media – A Difficult Space for Migrants
[259] ORF-Gesetz, ORF-G, StF: BGBl. Nr. 379/1984 (WV), § 4. (5a).

not mentioned. However, the principles of the public broadcaster ORF include the obligation towards a comprehensive programme palette, valuing integration, equality and understanding.[261] Furthermore, the principles and the core mandate emphasize the duty to foster the understanding of democratic pluralism [262] and to contribute to a democratic public discourse.[263] Moreover, the broadcaster has to consider the plurality of the interests of all viewers and listeners and incorporate them in a well-balanced way,[264] as well as to reflect the variety of opinions represented in public life[265]. In contrast, the programme guidelines and the mission statement include ethnicity explicitly when it comes to a comprehensive programme schedule, plurality in all dimensions and the contribution to eliminating prejudices.[266]

For decades Austrian media policy only dealt with the autochthonous minorities. The first regulation on this was the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, granting Austrian citizens belonging to minorities from Slovenia and Croatia special rights including press in their own language. Yet, it took more than 20 years to establish a Croatian broadcaster that started to produce a weekly radio show for half an hour in 1978. Additionally, 10 minutes of diverse information and two minutes news were broadcasted daily.

Today, ORF has different radio programmes for the individual groups that are broadcast from daily up to three times a year. The programme is either in the language of the minorities or combined with German. ORF has been producing two TV magazines for autochthonous groups that broadcast once a week in the respective region and are repeated weekly at 3 o'clock in the morning since 1989.

Migrants did not enter the media stage until the end of the 1990s. Since 1997, ORF has been operating an information and experimental channel on medium wave. In 2009, the

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[260] ORF-Gesetz, ORF-G, StF: BGBl. Nr. 379/1984 (WV), § 4. (1).
[261] ORF-Gesetz, ORF-G, StF: BGBl. Nr. 379/1984 (WV), § 10. (3).
[262] ORF-Gesetz, ORF-G, StF: BGBl. Nr. 379/1984 (WV), § 4. (1) 2. and § 10 (4).
[263] ORF-Gesetz, ORF-G, StF: BGBl. Nr. 379/1984 (WV), § 10. (4).
[264] ORF-Gesetz, ORF-G, StF: BGBl. Nr. 379/1984 (WV), § 4. (2).
[265] ORF-Gesetz, ORF-G, StF: BGBl. Nr. 379/1984 (WV), § 4. (5) and § 10 (6).
[266] ORF, Mission Statement, Public Value Report, 2011. and Programmrichtlinie p. 9.

medium wave Radio 1476 was transferred in oe1 campus. ORF provides students, school pupils, migrants, persons belonging to ethnic groups, people with disabilities with air time with a 24-hour frequency on the web. Among other programmes, the frequency broadcasts Radio Africa with information about Africa and the life of Africans in Europe and Austria.[267]

In 1989, ORF started "Heimat, fremde Heimat," a weekly 30-minute TV magazine addressing *"Austrians interested in ethnic topics, naturalized citizens, foreign fellow citizens and Austrian autochthonous ethnic groups".*[268] Its minority editorial office provides information, entertainment and services on a diverse range of topics in German and in the native language of new minorities and autochthonous ethnic groups. The editorial goal aims to foster community, cultural variety and integration.[269]

Figure 3: Silvana Meixner & Lakis Ioordanopoulos present Heimat, Fremde Heimat.

ORF was heavily criticized for its involvement or lack of involvement in issues of ethnic minorities and migrants.[270] However, in 2008 the Director General announced that also migrants and not just the majority population have to be catered for by the programmes.[271] Statements such as this have seemed hollow because it was announced

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[267] ORF, 2011, p. 78.

[268] ORF, http://kundendienst.orf.at/programm/fernsehen/orf2/hfh.html (Accessed 4 June 2011)

[269] ORF, http://kundendienst.orf.at/programm/fernsehen/orf2/hfh.html (Accessed 4 June 2011)

[270] See Böse & Kogoj, 2002, Volf 2003, Purkarthofer, Rainer & Rappl, 2005, Herczeg, 2008, Gauma, 2009.

[271] See Der Standard, 29.4.2008 in Herczeg, http://www.univie.ac.at/sowi-online/esowi/cp/migrationpkw/migrationpkw-full.html, (Accessed 05 May 2011) .

in 2009 that there was the intention to change the frequency of the magazine "Heimat, fremde Heimat" from weekly to monthly.[272]

ORF has countered that *"[...] the subject of integration is an integral part of the programme in television, radio and online, where it owns an increasingly important place"*[273] and demonstrates that in his last public value report with the number of different broadcasts dealing with migration. For example, the news reported 485 times on "migration, integration, immigrants, asylum" in 2010.[274]

Although ORF refers to intercultural content, the recent study by Fritz Hausjell finds that Austrian migrants do not feel adequately represented and wish more involvement in the programmes of ORF. One explanation for this different perception is who inherents the speaker role as broadcasts with the active participation of Austrians with migration background are missing according to Hausjell.[275] In addition, the diversity within the migrant groups is not reflected sufficiently. Experts with migration background would just be given the floor in public broadcasts concerning migration issues, thus neglecting experts in other fields. [276]

Although the public broadcaster is obliged to take into account the ethnic diversity of the country in its programming, it offers just one decided intercultural magazine in TV produced by a minority editorial office. Furthermore, it presents focus-topics on migration-related issues in diverse other broadcasts in TV and radio. However, Austrian migrants do not feel sufficiently represented as a consequence of the lack of active participation.

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[272] Gouma, 2009, p. 19.

[273] ORF, http://zukunft.orf.at/show_content.php?sid=84&pvi_id=941, (Accessed 4 June 2011).

[274] ORF, http://zukunft.orf.at/show_content.php?sid=84&pvi_id=941, (Accessed 4 June 2011) http://zukunft.orf.at/show_content.php?sid=84&pvi_id=867, (Accessed 4 June 2011). http://zukunft.orf.at/show_content.php?sid=84&pvi_id=866, (Accessed 4 June 2011).

[275] Hausjell, in Medieninsider, http://medieninsider.at/orf-studie-das-problem-von-migration-medien-1132/ (Accessed 31 May 2011).

[276] Hausjell, in Medieninsider, http://medieninsider.at/orf-studie-das-problem-von-migration-medien-1132/ (Accessed 31 May 2011).

4.2   Supplementary News in the Quality Dailys

Recently, quality papers have shown an increased interest in migrants that may also lead to a stronger involvement in the mainstream media. In this section I want to discuss the approach of the Austrian quality press to giving migrants a voice and examine which intercultural media products they provide.

The daily "Der Standard" has been providing among its websites an independent online platform focusing on migration "dastandard.at" since 2010. The content is mainly produced by young editors with a migration background. The editorial goal is a fairer mediatised representation of people with a migration biography.[277] *dastandard.at wants to talk about the daily lives of migrants in Austria beyond sentimental stories of migrants suffering and the omnipresent asylum debates.*[278]
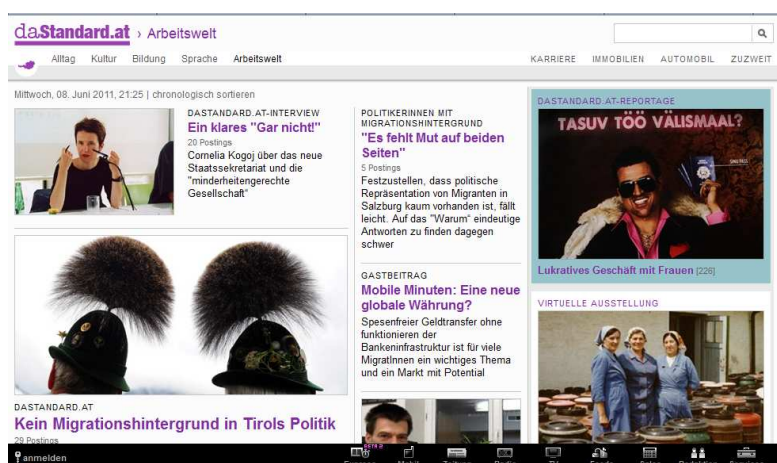

Figure 4: www.dastandard.at (Screenshot taken 8 June 2011).

dastandard.at reports about integration, diversity, multiculturalism and tolerance and points out inequities while looking critically below the surface. It is a website that is

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[277] dastandard.at, 15 Februar 2010, http://dastandard.at/1265852053655/Editorial, (Accessed 4 June 2011).

[278] dastandard.at, 15 Februar 2010, http://dastandard.at/1265852053655/Editorial, (Accessed 4 June 2011).

editorially diverse, authentic and discursive [279] and offers a forum for young journalists with a migration background that gives them a voice in the public discourse. Moreover this is a way into mainstream media.

Another project is the cooperation between m-media, an association for fostering intercultural media work, with the daily Presse that started in 2008. The idea was to give journalists with a migration background space to cover topics related to integration. On the one hand, young journalists should get easier access to training and gain practical experience, and on the other, they can contribute with another perspective on the issues covered. The cooperation was expanded and team of journalists with a migration background edits one page for the Presse each Wednesday.[280]

The most recent developments of the Austrian quality papers are independent intercultural products that provide space for the voices of migrants and contribute to a more plural discourse. That may also lead the way to a stronger incorporation of these issues in the regular content of mainstream media and help to create a model of intercultural integration as advocated by Geißler.[281] Before the quality media "discovered" migrants, independent magazines had already put them on their covers.

4.3   Independent Interculturel Magazines

In contrast to the regular press, independent magazines have greater freedom in their content creation. Here, I want to highlight a successful intercultural magazine that may serve as a role model for representing migrants.

Independent magazines are very diverse media products when it comes to content, audience and production. However, in contrast to mainstream media mostly being 100%

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[279] Zick, in dastandard.at, 27 May 2011, http://dastandard.at/1304553081821/Laudatio-Civis-Medienpreis-2011-Unser-journalistisches-Kabinettstueck (Accessed 4 June 2011).
[280] Die Presse, 11 Januray 2011,
http://diepresse.com/home/panorama/integration/624442/Dreijahresbilanz_Es-begann-mit-Joerg-Haider (Accessed 05 June 2011).
[281] See also chapter D2 Media Integration of Migrants

marketing products, forced to produce the highest return for investors, independent magazines are produced and published by the owners themselves.[282] Their independence from big publishing houses and international cooperation gives them editorial freedom, the possibility to cover issues that do not have the largest audience or use a different approach on topics. *"They come from people's desire to communicate, to have a voice."*[283]

I want to focus on one Austrian intercultural magazine, "biber – mit scharf," which was launched in 2006. It is published 10 times a year with a circulation of 65,000 in German.[284] The magazine is free and financed mostly through advertisements.[285] The lack of a popular magazine for the younger generation of migrants in Vienna was the reason for developing "biber".[286] The target group is mainly young Viennese belonging to the second and third generation. Furthermore *"biber is the magazine for all inhabitants of Vienna who appreciate the cultural diversity of a unique city."*[287]

Figure 5: Selection of cover of the Vienna city magazine biber – mit scharf.

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[282] Koedinger, 2009, in Lackner, 2009, p. 17.

[283] Jeremy Leslie, February 2009, http://blog.colophon2009.com/colophon-2009-interviews/#more- (Accessed 5 June).

[284] biber, http://www.dasbiber.at/files/110214_biber_mediadaten_rz_low%281%29.pdf (Accessed 28 June).

[285] Tauschitz, 2010, p. 51.

[286] Lackner, 2009, p. 44.

[287] biber, http://www.dasbiber.at/wasistbiber, (Accessed 28 June).

The editorial team consists mainly of journalists with migration backgrounds from various countries. In addition, voluntary writers add articles. Thus, *"biber reports out of the middle of the multi-ethnic communities of the city and thus shows exciting and "spicy" facets of Vienna. Biber reflects the attitude towards life of a new generation, but without the moralising integration hammer. "biber" praises, attacks, criticises, and sets issues."*[288]

The magazine is cheeky, plays with the clichés associated with migrants and non migrants and exaggerates. Reporting does not necessarily have to be truly objective, but it criticises ethnic groups as well. The range of issues covered is broad, from politics to fashion, from economics to society. But also controversial issues such as he veil and head scarves, religion and forced marriages are discussed. Clearly, the mainstream media are not able to edit in this style or have the possibility to cover the wide range of special topics.

The aim is also to give Austrian society another view on migrants. Stereotypes should be countered through reporting outside the mainstream.[289] The multi-ethnic focal point generates different pictures to the mainstream. The young migrants speak out themselves without being represented using the magazine as a microphone. A bridging function is more important than integration. *"Integration can be an effect, but it is not our task.* [290]

Independent magazines are a way of creating an alternative public sphere that enables speakers to part with their information in a free-spirited way. Thus, they contribute to the diversity of existing public opinions and a more plural media landscape. In addition to printed products, free TV and radio are media that give the floor to people that traditionally to do not have access to the public sphere.

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[288] biber, http://www.dasbiber.at/wasistbiber, (Accessed 28 June).
[289] Tauschitz, 2010. p. 52.
[290] Cucujkic, in Die Presse, 18. January 2009
http://diepresse.com/home/kultur/medien/444872/Medien_Integration-ist-nicht-unsere-Aufgabe
(Accessed 26 April 2011).

4.4 Free to Speak up – Free Radio and TV

Free media, especially free radio, have played a crucial role, when it comes to the freedom of speech in Austria. They are an important platform for everyone that wants to raise his/her voice and offer less advantaged groups in society a media channel.

4.4.1 Free Radio as a Pioneer for Plurality

Free radio claims to be a truly democratic medium as it offers access to the public sphere for everyone that wants to share ideas. In Austria, this medium has also played an important role in achieving the right of freedom of expression.

As already mentioned, Austria was one of the last European countries to abandon the state monopoly on TV and radio.[291] In 1989, the association Radio Agora filed a complaint on the basis of Article 10 "Freedom of Expression" to the European Court of Human Rights after the rejection of a free a local radio licence for a multilingual and non-commercial radio station. The court found that decision to be a violation and stated that no adequate media diversity was present.[292]

In its decision, the Court explicitly stated that the emergence of private monopolies has to be prevented and that the rights and needs of special groups of listeners have to be taken into account, especially considering a plurality of opinions. As a major consequence, the Austrian national broadcasting monopoly fell in 1993.[293] In that year, the first legislation to grant licenses to private radio operators was enacted. Two years later, the first two commercial radio stations started.[294]

In contrast to commercial radio, licenses for free radio stations were not granted.The first free radio stations were allowed to go on air legally in 1998, only after an adaption

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[291] See also chapter A 2.2 The Domination of the Public Service Broadcaster
[292] Informationsverein Lentia and Others v. Austria, (Application no. 13914/88; 15041/89; 15717/89; 15779/89; 17207/90), 24 November 1993, A 276.
[293] Purkarthofer, Pfisterer & Busch, 2008, p. 13.
[294] Trappel, http://www.ejc.net/media_landscape/article/austria/, (Accessed 03 April 2011).

of the respective law. Before that free radio operated as pirate channels and was prosecuted rigorously by the public authorities.[295] In contrast to other countries such as Germany, Austria still sticks to a dual broadcasting system[296] that does not provide a legal base for a third sector of media such as free radio stations. Although there are big structural differences, free media counts as private commercial media. [297]

Although the financial situation was very difficult and the support from authorities was modest, in 1998 Radiofabrik, Radio Orange, Radio FRO and bilingual Radio AGORA were able to start broadcasting. In 2011, the Austrian Association for Free Radio had 15 free radio stations as members.[298]

As described above, free media offer access to groups of persons that are disadvantaged by the mainstream media – in terms of active production and representation. Furthermore, free media cover subjects not given regular coverage by the mainstream media. In this respect, free radio is important for migrants as they can find a space to discuss in public and differentiate issues that are relevant to them. Moreover, the stations actively encourage and invite ethnic groups to get involved.

In their charter, the Austrian Association of Free Radio (VFRÖ) explicitly give priority to "*[…] social, cultural and ethnic minorities, and those individuals and groups that do not have any or little chance to speak in the media because of their social marginalization or sexist or racist discrimination.*"[299] Moreover, they emphasize fostering the participation of migrants in any areas. "*Already shortly after their launch free radio stations in Austria had a larger variety in broadcasts in the language of migrants than the public broadcaster ever had.*"[300]

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[295] VFRÖ, http://www.freie-radios.at/article.php?ordner_id=27&id=52 (Accessed 6 June 2011).
[296] See B 4.3 An Alternative Sphere.
[297] VFRÖ, http://www.freie-radios.at/article.php?ordner_id=27&id=53, (Accessed 6 June 2011).
[298] VFRÖ, http://www.freie-radios.at/article.php?id=57&ordner_id=29, (Accessed 6 June 2011).
[299] VFRÖ, http://www.freie-radios.at/article.php?ordner_id=27&id=194, (Accessed 6 June 2011).
[300] Purkarthofer, Pfisterer, & Busch, 2008, p. 69.

Zenska soba – Das zweisprachige Frauenzimmer, Marrakesch-Meidling-Express, Radio Afrika, Bharat Radio, African Time, Der arabische Morgen, China am Puls, Anatolien Radio are examples of broadcasts by different stations that focus on topics related to ethnic communities or migrants. Radio Stimme is a magazine produced by the Initiative Minderheiten reporting on cultural and social diversity in Austria that is broadcast by various stations. It is a perfect example of a sphere of interconnection in which dialogue and diversity can happen, as advocated by Husband.[301]

The diverse free radio stations contribute to a democratic society as they offer especially to migrants the possibility to freely broadcast issues and share opinion and, thus, participate actively in the public discourse. Community TV also provides these opportunities.

4.4.2   Broadcasting for Plurality – Community TV

Austria was one of the last countries where state TV monopoly fell and private licenses were granted. Thus, the number of free TV stations in Austria is quite limited, however, they provide a vital way to actively express one's opinion, as TV is still a powerful way to spread information.

TV still is one of the most important media for the building of opinion, intermediation and the transporting of political ideas and contents important to society across all social strata.[302]

"The open channel strengthens democratic structures, as it allows the right of freedom of expression in the electronic medium television."[303] This was the reasoning in 1970s and 1980s to establish open channels in many countries. Indeed, media experts stressed in early discussions the chances the media offered democratic systems and even prevent systems of crises in a representative democracy. The requested participatory

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[301] See also chapter B 2.1 A Multiplicity of Public Spheres.
[302] Altendorf, 2002, p 10.
[303] Schütz, 2002, p. 9.

dynamic put high demands on the communication system – local TV with the participation of citizens was one explicit solution.[304]

After talking about the delays in media development in the history of Austria, it may be surprising that at the beginning of the 1980s experts looked to Austria, when they were thinking about starting to open channels. Innovative video projects in Austria such as "Video Initiative Graz" were role models. The first attempts to build a local participative TV to foster communication in society in 1977 were unique in the German speaking area. Although they were quite promising developments, the pioneer work could not be continued after 1984, as public funding was no longer granted. By contrast, open TV channels started and, moreover, were legally institutionalised in other countries like Germany.[305]

In 2002 the city of Vienna prepared a comprehensive feasibility study[306] for a possible open channel for Vienna. The common tenor was that the city would benefit in various ways, in particular that it would be a meeting room for different communities. *"An open channel is a public sign of confidence for more civil society and a more publicly positioned hope to the growing integration competence of the various communities in the city, which can be optimized through opportunities for authentic self-expression and meeting in relation to foreign media representation."*[307] Three years later, in 2005, Okto was launched in Vienna. As it is not commercial, it relies on public funding that is mainly provided by the city of Vienna.

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[304] Vowe & Wersig, 1983, in Schütz, 2002, p. 21.

[305] Zacharias-Langhans, 1977, in Schütz, 2002, p.65.

[306] Studie zur praktischen Umsetzung des offenen Fernsehekanals Wien, Im Auftrag des Presse und Informationsdienstes der Stadt Wien, Schütz, 2002.
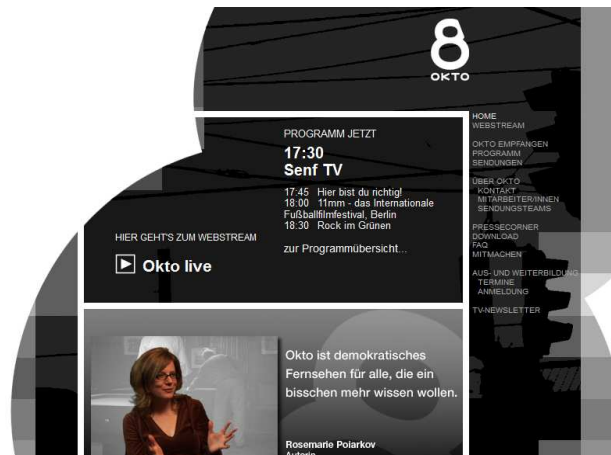
[307] Bauer, 2002, p. 12.

Figure 6: okto.tv (Screenshot taken 7 July 2011).

Okto sees itself s a complementary media that contributes to the diversity of public opinion. Plurality is a principle that is applied to programme composition and production teams.[308]

The general guidelines state that Okto is conceptualised as a participatory medium and emphasizes that it gives individuals and groups that generally get little coverage the chance to freely express their opinions and interests and a platform for their topics. [309] It does not explicitly mention migrants, but "*[…]* e*specially those individuals with little representation in the electronic media sphere (ethnic, social, linguistic, cultural or sexual minorities) should be addressed."*[310]

Moreover, a policy of affirmative action for groups which are excluded from and discriminated against by society is codified. "*This policy sees the preferential treatment of minority groups as a sensible and practicable way to compensate for the impact of past and present discrimination, at least to a certain extent.*"[311]

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[308] Okto, 2005, p.3.
[309] Okto, 2005, p.1.
[310] Okto, 2005, p.2.
[311] Okto, 2005, p.1.

One main focus of Okto lies in empowering various civic groups. The channel encourages people to see themselves as experts in their particular field or environment, and to express their issues in a subjective, authentic and thorough manner.[312] *"Through the establishment of new spheres for discourse in television, the project functions as a major impulse for the encouragement of civic discourse".*[313] *The opportunity to participate also helps to encourage integration and democratic consciousness.*

Since its beginning, Okto strongly involves ethnic communities in its programming. Afrika TV, bUnternehmen. Wien, Bum TV, Dijaspora uživo, Ethiopian Documentary, Ex-Yu in Wien, Latino TV, Misch Maš, Projekt Xchange, So Be, Urban Connection, Zëri Ynë[314] are some examples of magazines dealing with issues concerning diverse ethnic groups or migrants. This broadcasting has enabled producers to be actively involved in public discourse and has allowed them to work against the stereotypes presented in the mainstream media.

About 25 to 30% of the programming account for broadcasts dealing with issues relating to migrants. That represents the percentage of immigrants in the population in Vienna. Thus, Okto reflects the plurality of the society.[315]

The audience is increasing steadily. More than 1,000,000 inhabitants in Vienna can watch the programmes on their TV and the online stream reaches a far bigger audience. In 2010, the "weitester sehrekreis" (persons that watched the programme in the last months for more than one minute) was 241.000.[316] The programming reaches an audience whose needs are not met by other channels.[317] In contrast to satellite programmes from their country of origin, migrants find local information that affects their daily lives in Austria and Vienna as a central theme.[318] But also Austrians without

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[312] Okto, 2005, p.3.
[313] Okto, 2005, p.1.
[314] Okto, http://okto.tv/sendungen/, (Accessed 7 June 2011).
[315] Jankovic, 2010, p. 77.
[316] Okto, http://okto.tv/ueberokto/, (Accessed 7 June 2011).
[317] Jankovic, 2010, p. 76.
[318] Jankovic, 2010, p. 77.

migration background find issues covered that are interesting for them and mostly disregarded by other media.[319]

Following these insights on intercultural media in Austria, I now want to emphasize the role that the state has in encouraging a plurality of opinions and, therefore, providing a framework for structural media pluralism.

5   The State – Setting the Framework for Intercultural Media

Intercultural media do not operate in a vacuum. Media structure and performance are the results of political and ideological conditions and frameworks.[320] The European Court of Human Rights has frequently stressed "*[…] the fundamental role of freedom of expression in a democratic society, in particular where, […] it serves to impart information and ideas of general interest, which the public is moreover entitled to receive. Such an undertaking cannot be successfully accomplished unless it is grounded in the principle of pluralism, of which the State is the ultimate guarantor.*"[321]

Certainly, if we look at intercultural media, this goes beyond media policy. It is also about migration policy and giving migrants the rights of citizens, as well as about anti-discrimination and creating a climate in which different opinions are valued and an open debate of equals is possible. There is no space here to go into detail, but I would like to point to some critiques on the situation in Austria that add to the understanding of the conditions in which intercultural media have to exist.

5.1   Media Policy

The lack of pluralism that can been observed in Austria is mainly due to three factors: firstly, a high media concentration and the oligopoly structures in ownership[322]; secondly, the failure of regulatory policies to support the development of independent

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[319] Jankovic, 2010, p. 78.
[320] Karpinnen, 2007, p. 25.
[321] Informationsverein Lentia and Others v. Austria, (Application no. 13914/88; 15041/89; 15717/89; 15779/89; 17207/90), 24 November 1993, A 276, § 38.
[322] Dorer, 2002, p. 13.

media and thirdly, a considerable government influence over the public service broadcaster and national broadcast regulator. [323]

This analysis was made by Article 19 an NGO observing freedom of expression in 2007 and illustrates that the findings of the European Court of Human Rights of 1993 are still prevalent. The court stated in a decision that caused the fall of the public broadcast monopoly that no adequate media diversity was present [324] and *"[…] that true progress towards attaining diversity of opinion and objectivity was to be achieved only by providing a variety of stations and programmes. In reality, the Austrian authorities were essentially seeking to retain their political control over broadcasting.*"[325]

Austrian policy has been shaped by the traditional workings of corporate consensus politics (Sozialpartnerschaft) since 1945 and that has also affected media policy, *"[…] as far as one can say that there has ever been an Austrian media policy."*[326] Media policy meant trying to leave everything connected with media and journalism as it was until the government of 2000.[327]

The Austrian state regulator failed to set up a suitable framework for a diverse media landscape. Corporate consensus politics led to the mutual interweaving of politics, which paralysed the country's media development.[328] Although there has certainly been some development and new regulations have been introduced, the consequences of this situation are still being felt, as can be observed in high ownership concentration.

Austria is probably the most advanced European case of consolidation in the market for newspapers and magazines following the complex merger of the Mediaprint and the

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[323] Article 19, 2007, p. 4.
[324] Informationsverein Lentia and Others v. Austria, (Application no. 13914/88; 15041/89; 15717/89; 15779/89; 17207/90), 24 November 1993, A 276.
[325] Informationsverein Lentia and Others v. Austria, (Application no. 13914/88; 15041/89; 15717/89; 15779/89; 17207/90), 24 November 1993, A 276, § 37.
[326] Dorer, 2002, p. 13.
[327] Dorer, 2002, p. 13.
[328] Murschetz, 2002, p. 1.

News-Group in 2001, unchallenged by the Austrian media control agency,[329] initiating *"[…] a globally unique concentration process in the Austrian print media sector"*[330] with 63% of the circulation of the dailies, 100% of the political weekly magazines and 62% of the circulation of all weekly publications controlled by this conglomerate.[331]

Furthermore, the granting of licences for private broadcasters has been criticised for being opaque and favouring existing media conglomerates. Large commercial broadcasters that focus their programming on entertainment and music have been awarded licences at the expense of small independent and community broadcasters, who exist at the margins of the media sector. [332]

Austria sustains a dual broadcasting system, maintaining commercial and public media, with no legal recognition for third sector media such as free radio or community TV.[333] After the government abolished national subsidies for non-commercial radio in 2001, changes in politics can be observed. In 2010, the Austrian government introduced a new subsidies model for private radio [334] and also announced its support for media diversity.[335]

Austrian governments have ignored criticism about non-existing media policy and politics that have facilitated a globally unique media concentration. Thus, Austria faces international calls for media pluralism, but also criticism about discriminatory reporting on migrants and cultural groups.

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[329] European Commission, 2004, p. 68.
[330] Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs and the Austrian representations, http://www.austria.org/content/view/397/211/, (Accessed 11 May 2011).
[331] Austrian Federal Ministry for European and International Affairs and the Austrian representations, http://www.austria.org/content/view/397/211/, (Accessed 11 May 2011).
[332] Articel 19, 2007, p. 3.
[333] See also chapter C 4.4 Free to Speak up – Free Radio and TV.
[334] Bundeskanzleramt, http://www.frauen.bka.gv.at/site/cob__39735/currentpage__0/6592/default.aspx (Accessed 20 May 2011).
[335] Bundeskanzleramt, http://www.frauen.bka.gv.at/site/cob__43942/currentpage__0/6592/default.aspx (Accessed 20 May 2011).

5.2   International Recommendations

International organisations are calling on Austria to foster intercultural exchange and counter discriminatory reporting in migrants and cultural groups. Furthermore, important recommendations focus on media pluralism and media capable of approaching ethnic diversity as a valuable resource.

In the Universal Periodic Review of 2011, concerns were raised that "*[…] xenophobic statements and agitation against a national or ethnic group were not uncommon features in the Austrian political sphere and in the media, […]*"[336] further highlighting "*incidences of racial stereotyping and prejudice by the media, […] concerning migrant communities […].*"[337]

In the Universal Periodic Review of 2011, CERD noted that "*Austria has adopted measures to combat racism, stereotyping and racial prejudice in the media, such as the incorporation into the Federal Act for Austrian Broadcasting of provisions prohibiting racial incitement. However, CERD was concerned that some media contributed to the creation of an atmosphere of hostility and rejection towards non-citizens in Austria.*"[338] It recommended that Austria take action to counter this situation.

Furthermore, the UN independent expert on cultural rights visiting Austria in 2011 urged the government that measures are needed to encourage private media to avoid stigmatizing certain communities. "*Intercultural exchanges amongst diverse groups would help to overcome ghettoization according to attributes such as language, religion, ethnic backgrounds, and impairment.*"[339]

In its comprehensive recommendations on media pluralism and diversity of media content, the Council of Europe calls on the member states "*[…] to encourage the*

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[336] UN Human Rights Council, A /HRC/WG.6/10/L.6, 2 February 2011, para. 64.
[337] UN Human Rights Council, A /HRC/WG.6/10/L.6, 2 February 2011, para. 37.
[338] UN Human Rights Council, A /HRC/WG.6/10/AUT/2, 11 November 2010, para. 15.
[339] Shaheed, in UN OHCHR, 2011, p. 2.

development of other media capable of making a contribution to pluralism and diversity and providing a space for dialogue."[340] This could be community, local, minority or social media. The content could be created mainly, but not exclusively, by and for certain groups in society, thus providing a response to their specific needs or demands, and serving as a factor in social cohesion and integration. [341] The Council of Europe further stresses the necessity to preserve *"[…] independent and autonomous channels capable of presenting a plurality of ideas and opinions to the public […]" "[…] and a pluralistic public sphere, in the interest of democracy and democratic processes."*[342]

The European Parliament resolution of 2008 on community media in Europe highlights among other things that community media *"[…] promote intercultural dialogue by educating the general public, combating negative stereotypes and correcting the ideas put forward by the mass media regarding social categories threatened with exclusion, such as refugees, migrants, Roma and other ethnic and religious minorities"*[343] and further emphasizes that community media are one means of facilitating the integration of immigrants and enabling disadvantaged members of society to become active participants by engaging in debates that are important to them.

The recommendations point out the importance of media for intercultural exchange

6   Conclusion

Although intercultural media cover a wide range of different media products, they contain one common quality: diversity. They are produced with a high level of participation of migrants or ethnic groups, addressing an audience composed of migrants, but also the host country population. The content is provided in the common language of the country of residence and reflects the particular point of view of its ethnic editors. These characteristics intercultural media also represent one means of

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[340] Council of Europe, CM/Rec(2007)2E, 31 January 2011, para. I 4.
[341] Council of Europe, CM/Rec(2007)2E, 31 January 2011, para. I 4.
[342] Council of Europe, Decl-31.01.2007E, 31 January 2007.
[343] European Parliament, Resolution 2008/2011(INI) 25 September 2008.

supporting media integration of migrants, as they foster mutual understanding based on valuing of differences.

A media society that is spread out into many different levels of quality as a consequence of a plural society with a diversity among migrant and ethnic groups is one reason for the development of intercultural media. It is a challenge to serve this diversity with a uniform palette of products. Another aspect compounding complexities in the development of intercultural media is that mainstream media poorly represents migrants and their issues or pictures them rather negatively and thus may lose this audience.

The historical approach visualises this general development from one source of information for all, to a differentiation of contents concluding in the intercultural model – from a means of practical information for "guest worker" to an intercultural lifestyle magazine made by the young second generation.

As demonstrated in the mapping of Austrian intercultural media, a variety of different types fall into this media category. Although they have different approaches, they all foster intercultural communication, provide a platform for self representation and the issues of migrants and ethnic groups and, thus, contribute to a plurality of opinions in the public discourse.

However, it is the duty of the state to provide a framework for a plural media landscape and encourage an environment in which intercultural media can exist and mirror the diversity of society. The lack of structural pluralism that can been observed in Austria is mainly due a high media concentration and the oligopoly structures in ownership, a failure of regulatory policies to support the development of independent media and a government influence over the public service broadcaster and national regulator.

Thus international organisations are urging Austria to encourage intercultural exchange and counteract discriminatory reporting in migrants and ethnic groups. Numerous recommendations focus on media pluralism and media capable of approaching ethnic

diversity as a valuable resource and highlight the importance of media for intercultural exchange. Intercultural media are a valuable means in order to reach such objects as they enable communication across lines of cultural difference.

Conclusion – Advocating for Intercultural Media

The aim of my thesis is to answer the question how intercultural media can give migrants and ethnic groups their voice in the public discourse, and how intercultural media can contribute to the mediatised public sphere.

As we have seen, in the case of Austria the ethnic diversity of a country is not always reflected adequately in the mainstream media, nor do these media provide necessary space for migrants to raise their own voices. As the public sphere is not a place that offers equal access to every participant, but rather fosters existing inequalities and exclusivity, a multiplicity of public spheres provides more opportunities for disadvantaged groups. A multiplicity of public spheres enables alternative forms of media that may create a public arena for different voices – such as the ones of migrants.

This leads also to pluralistic media landscape that does not just offer a variety of channels, but also a variety of different opinions evolving out of the different groups in society. Here, I want to emphasize the responsibility of the state that has to provide a framework that encourages a media system that reflects the existing diversity in a country and does not disadvantage certain groups such as migrants. Human rights underscore this duty of the state to guarantee the right of freedom of expression, stressing the negative, but as well the positive obligations.

One reason for the development of intercultural media is the challenge for mainstream media to serve the plurality within society, in particular the complex diversity within migrant and ethnic groups. Mainstream media that represent migrants and their concerns poorly or picture them rather negatively are another aspect.

As demonstrated in the mapping of Austrian intercultural media, these media cover a wide range of different products. The main common characteristic is diversity, diversity in terms of the producers and the recipients, as well as the content. Despite different approaches, they all promote intercultural communication, offer a platform for self-representation and issues of migrants and ethnic groups. Intercultural media also represent one means of supporting the media integration of migrants, fostering mutual understanding based on valuing differences.

I conclude my findings with the most important arguments advocating intercultural media as a valuable contribution to the public discourse in a democratic society:

1   Enabling Access for Migrants and Ethnic Groups

As described previously and emphasized by Nancy Fraser criticising Jürgen Habermas' concept of public sphere[344] inequalities that can be found in any society, deprive some members of the public of the capacity to participate as full partners in public debate in a democratic society.[345]

This also affects the people who are included in principle, but marginalized in practice – such as migrants.[346] The debate about the right to communicate and the reinterpretation of the First Amendment of free speech centre on this point, too.[347] Freedom of expression guarantees the right to raise one's voice legally, but informal power relations may prevent the effective use of these rights. James Barron puts it bluntly – that there is inequality in the power to communicate ideas just as there is inequality in economic bargaining power.[348]

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[344] See also chapter B 2.1 Exclusion and Inequality.
[345] Fraser, 2009, p. 82.
[346] Fraser, 2009, p. 82.
[347] See also chapter B 5.3 The Debate on the Right to Communicate.
[348] Barron, 1967, p. 5.

Intercultural media in their variety of media products[349] offer migrants and ethnic groups real access to mediated public spheres. The mapping of intercultural media in Austria[350] illustrates the different opportunities migrants can take to raise their voices.

Alternative media[351] provide a platform for a democratic culture of communication and allow all interested parties to take part in the public discourse without discrimination. Free radio and community TV like Radio Orange or okto.tv in Austria have been a voice for migrants since their beginnings and have been aware of their importance for groups that are easily deprived of access to the mainstream media.

But also mainstream media is becoming aware of their "intercultural side" and is trying to involve migrants in their editing process – as the examples of Austrian quality dailies show[352]. "Der Standard" has established an independent online platform where journalists with a migration background can work. "Die Presse" cooperates with "m.media", an association for fostering intercultural media work.

If traditional media do not offer adequate access for migrants, an alternative path is to produce their own media products. The Austrian independent magazine "biber" represents a prototype of claiming the right to impart ideas and information.[353]

In addition to an intercultural magazine produced by an editorial office of diverse ethnic origin and content for autochthonous ethnic groups, the Austrian public broadcaster ORF is trying to mainstream migrants in its programming.

Not only this, the fact that intercultural media imply migrants becoming media professionals such as journalists or producers, these persons also serve as role models for others and can receive expert status outside their own media product.

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[349] See also chapter C 1.1 Definition and Differentiation, C 4 Made in Austria with Intercultural Ingredients.
[350] See also chapter C 4 Made in Austria with Intercultural Ingredients.
[351] See also chapter B 4.3 An Alternative Sphere.
[352] See also chapter C 4.2 Supplementary News in the Quality Dailys.
[353] See also chapter C 4.3 Independent Cultural Magazines.

Reclaiming access to the public discourse by migrants or ethnic groups consequently gives them control over their representation.

2 Offering Opportunities for Self-Representation

Being present in public spheres enables the participants to shape their own views. This is especially essential, after looking at the representation of migrants in the mainstream media. Numerous studies show a biased media image, mainly consisting of negative stereotypes. Migrants are reduced to a problem case and do not feel part of society – this is also true of the situation in Austria.[354]

A democratic society should reflect the different groups it consists of within the public spheres. Firstly, migrants are not adequately represented at all, secondly, they are an especially heterogenic group. Charles Husband's concept of a multi-ethnic public sphere[355] is based on the necessity of conceiving ethnic identities as always being complex, as well as fractured and uniquely changed by, inter alia, gender, class, sexual preference and age."[356]

Intercultural media recognise and value this complex ethnic diversity. An adequate representation of migrants in the media that implies that they are able to speak for themselves, taking over an active role – for example as journalists, interview partners, show masters, actors… The various types of intercultural media are platforms for the self-representation of migrants, either it in ethno plural mainstream media, in alternative or in independent media.

The analysis of Austrian intercultural media illustrates the possibilities migrants have and the developments that can be observed. In a country with a highly concentrated

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[354] See also chapter A 3.1. Reduction to a "Problem Case".
[355] See also chapter B 3.1. Acknowledging Diversity in a Democracy.
[356] See also chapter B 3.2. Need for Democratisation of the Media.

media landscape such as Austria that does not offer too much space for migrants, intercultural media are a way for migrants to represent themselves.

The self-representation of migrants in intercultural media contributes to pluralism and diversity in the mediated public spheres and underpins a democrat public discourse. The basis of a democratic discourse is the various opinions of the different members of its public including information with intercultural focus.

3   Providing Information with an Intercultural Focus

Representing oneself implies influence on setting topics in the media, as well. Providing the public with different opinions, offering information that is important to migrants, presenting issues with an ethnic focus and correcting biased information are important contributions to the public discourse in a democratic society.

Reiner Geißler advocates a model of intercultural media integration.[357] Media content should show the ethnic diversity within a country as normality, present the problems of a multi-ethnic immigration society, but also the chances and successes in a balanced way.

Intercultural media are a necessary complement to the mainstream media for migrants and ethnic groups, as they satisfy the needs for contact with their heritage culture and information about the specific situation and the specific problems of their ethnic groups. Mainstream media cannot fulfil this adequately,, facing the vast ethnic diversity and the growing socio-cultural differentiation within the individual migrant groups.

However, intercultural media can contribute to the necessary plurality of information in a democratic society. It helps bringing different existing opinions to the public spheres as it provides the audience with the multitude of topics their migrant editors produce.

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[357] See also chapter C 2 Media Integration of Migrants.

They contribute to a pluralistic-democratic public discourse with specific information and specific knowledge about their ethnic group. Thus, intercultural media add an important quality to the media system, its ethnic dimension that is positioned equally among other dimensions, such as gender, age or religion.

This intercultural quality of the communication fosters mutual understanding and implies a bridging function between migrant groups and the host country population.

4 Creating a Bridging Function

Intercultural media create a bridging function regarding different aspects. They foster mutual understanding between migrants and the receiving society, connect different migrant groups and serve as a means of bridging the gap for the second and third generation of migrants.

Husband requires for Multi-ethnic public spheres an exchange between parties. Not exclusive parallel communicative systems, but interaction within and between publics is the aim.[358] Intercultural media can play that mediating role between migrants and the host country population. Producers of intercultural media create content with the view of their ethnic culture and the knowledge of the host society. As the media products are addressed to migrant groups, as well as to nonmigrants, and use the language of the receiving society, they foster mutual communication between and mutual knowledge of mainstream and ethnic minority cultures. Thus they are also a means of practice for multi-cultural literacy as Fraser suggests and enable communication across lines of cultural differences.[359]

They meet the goal of "*strengthening the identities of specific interest groups, while at the same time enabling members of those groups to engage with other groups in society,*

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[358] See also chapter B 3.2 Need for Democratisation in a Democracy.
[359] See also chapter B 2.2 A Multiplicity of Public Spheres.

and therefore play an important role in fostering tolerance and pluralism in society and contribute to intercultural dialogue".[360]

Intercultural media may further help to negotiate conflicts in cultural values, but also find ways to "fit-in" and co-exist with others who have a different cultural background.[361]

Production that involves media experts from different ethnic origin covering a variety of issues concerning these diverse groups can also contribute to a better understanding between those groups. The language of the host country serves as a common base of understanding as the different migrant groups mainly speak the native language of their own group.

Neither the media of the country of origin nor media of the host country can always meet the needs of biculturally socialised children of migrants. Their hybrid identity containing "old" and "new" culture is neither always met by the mainstream media, nor by the ethnic media.

Intercultural media can serve as a bridge connecting both cultural backgrounds, moreover just looking at an issue from another point of view can be an action against discriminatory reporting.

5   Countering Discriminatory Reporting

The studies on the portrayal of migrants and minorities point not only to the problem of stereotyping, but also establish that members of many migrant groups and minorities are not presented in the media as individuals. This is partly due to problems arising from the absence of employees from these groups in the mainstream media, as well as the lack of strong minority media in Austria.[362]

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[360] European Parliament, Resolution 2008/2011(INI) 25 September 2008.
[361] Matsaganis, Katz, & Ball-Rokeach, 2011, pp. 15-15,
[362] Joskowicz, 2002, p. 322.

Intercultural media are produced by those who may be affected by discriminatory reporting. They cover issues with a different focus than mainstream media and combat prevalence of stereotypical or derogatory information and counter biased or inadequate reporting. Intercultural media aim to be a necessary correction mechanism against the misrepresentation faced by ethnic groups.[363]

This is particularly necessary in Austria. As observed, xenophobic statements and incidences of racial stereotyping and prejudice concerning, among others, migrant communities can be found in the Austrian media.[364]

Countering discriminatory reporting through raising different voices and showing different opinions adds to the quality of a plural media landscape.

6 Strengthening the Quality of Media Pluralism

Pluralism of information and media diversity is not just about a multitude of different communication channels, a key aspect is the reflection of present differences in society.[365] The important prerequisite is openness, in particular for opinions of minority groups, as media pluralism is as much about "*a system of representation within a given society that allows for different political viewpoints and different forms of expression to be visible within the public sphere* [366]".

In order to foster diversity in society and a reflection of this existing diversity in the media, international organisations are urging governments to implement measures "*in*

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[363] Downing & Husband, 2005, p.210.
[364] See also chapter A 3.1. Reduction to a "Problem Case", chapter C 5.1 Media Policy, C 5.2 International Recommendations.
[365] See also chapter B 4.2 Media Pluralism and a System of Representation.
[366] Doyle, 2002, in Karppinen, 2007, p. 16.

order to ensure that a sufficient variety of information, opinions and programmes is disseminated by the media and is available to the public."[367]

Intercultural media allow migrants and ethnic groups to give voice to their concerns adequately, and represent the diversity within their community. Intercultural media help to strengthen the quality of media pluralism, as they involve a group of people that are an important part of the society, but traditionally do not have advantaged access to the public sphere and, thus, promote wider democratic participation. In adding diverse issues and different – ethnic – perspectives to topics, they contribute to a critical debate and a more diverse public discourse.

To conclude, one of the most important challenges for our present society is the increase in ethnic and social heterogeneity, which also effects our communication. Also the democratic ideal of giving all people an equal voice is getting harder to fulfil and the risk that less influential and powerful groups such as migrants or ethnic groups have less possibilities to make their voices heard, occurs.

Intercultural media hold a huge potential to provide migrants with a place in the public arena and offer opportunities for self-representation, provide information with an intercultural focus for a general audience, create a bridging function, counter discriminatory reporting and, last but not least, strengthen the quality of media pluralism.

However, the state has a responsibility to enable a media environment that does not disadvantage certain groups such as migrants and support intercultural media to realise their potentials. Human rights underscore this duty of the state to guarantee the right of freedom of expression, emphasizing the obligation not to interfere, but as well to take positive steps.

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[367] Council of Europe, CM/Rec(2007)2E, 31 January 2011, para. II 1.

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