

Mapping Minorities and their Media: The National Context – Austria

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1 *MIGRATION AND MINORITIES IN AUSTRIA*

Austria's minority population can be broadly separated into the officially recognised minority groups and the 'new minorities' following from post war immigration into Austria. To the former belong the following groups: Slovenes in Carinthia, Croats in Burgenland, Hungarians in Burgenland and Vienna, Roma and Sinti, Czechs and Slovaks in Vienna.

With regard to these groups minority politics have traditionally not been made on the basis of language or citizen rights in Austria, but rather in dependency on respective national or international politics. Furthermore, the situation of different minority groups differed significantly between the Austrian and former Hungarian part of Austria, due to the historical standing of minority groups and in particular their (anti)clerical and political affiliation in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Thus, while for example the use of Slovenian in Carinthia was clearly stigmatised after world war II, the use of Croatian in Burgenland was not a critical issue then. (Bernhard/Perchinig 1995). Against the background of mostly hesitant, at times practically absent minority politics and generally restrictive immigration politics in Austria, the self-ethnization of minority groups and multi-cultural approaches have developed alongside each other.

1.1. A short overview of immigration to Austria

Immigration to Austria can be characterised on the one hand by a history of so-called 'guestworker-migration' and on the other hand, by the immigration of refugees - mostly from former Eastern European Countries in different phases. For four major groups of Eastern refugees Austria represented a transitional stopover on their way from one of the Eastern European Countries to one of the Western Countries (mostly to the United States) and to Israel. The numbers are as follows: Hungarians (180,000 in 1956), Czechoslovakians (160,000 in 1968), Poles (140,000 in 1981/82 and Jews from the former Soviet Union (about 250.000 between 1973 and 1989).

'Guest-worker' immigration was promoted by contract labour programmes since the 1960s, and organised by state agencies like in Germany. The first contract labour programme was established already in 1962 with Spain, followed by that with Turkey in 1964 and two years later, followed by Former Yugoslavia. By the end of the 1960s, the percentage of foreign workers had noticeably increased. For the first time in 1970, more than 100.000 work-permits were issued. A first peak was reached in 1973, with 226,800 foreigners working in Austria. As Austrians increasingly found employment in the service sector, the remaining jobs in the production sector were occupied by unskilled immigrant workers. Due to this role as unskilled workers in the industry, "guest-workers" had to be preferably young and healthy men rather than well educated ones. However, due to its lower rates of income, Austria attracted less qualified workers than Germany, and did so also after the abolition of the "guest-worker"-scheme in 1973 (Parnreiter 1994). The first slump in the Austrian economy led to a drastic reduction in foreign labour between the mid 70's and the early 80s. Austria experienced a long period of prosperous economic development, highly supported by the 'Austro-Keynesian' policy which was following the Swedish model. The structural problems of Austria's labour

market became obvious in the 1980s. While Austrians found increasingly employment in the service sector, the remaining work places in the production sector were occupied by unskilled immigrant workers. The short period of economic progress in the early 90s was mainly induced by immigrants' employment, then followed by predatory competition in the secondary sector and finally by increased unemployment of immigrant workers in the 90s.

The basic idea of the guest-worker system was the rotation principle. Immigrants were supposed to stay for a short period of time to cover the specific demand for labour. However, for several reasons the system never worked as expected: Migrants wanted to stay longer because their income had not met their expectations, and employers refused to recruit new inexperienced workers and preferred to keep the already trained ones. As the mostly male immigrants decided to stay longer, the immigration of their family members started in the beginning of the 1970's. This phase of immigration profoundly changed the structure of the foreign population. Austria became in fact an immigration country, relative to the size of its population, even one of the foremost immigration countries in Europe. However, this status has never become part of Austria's official self-understanding (Fassmann, H, Münz, R 1995). Even in phases of significant immigration, the political discourse held on to notions of "Zuwanderung", thus emphasising the transitory state of immigration, as opposed to "Einwanderung", which implies settlement. Integration was considered as the unifying policy objective related to immigrants, which served to distract from the fact of immigration (Gächter 2001). Following from this outlook, the need for an active immigration policy was not perceived in Austria until the mid 1990's.

1.2. Immigration Policy, Labour Market Access and the Role of the Social Partners

A significant pillar of the Austrian political system has for a long time been the elaborate system of social partnership. As this corporate political system has also influenced the history of Austria's immigration policies to a considerable extent, it shall be briefly illustrated in this section.

The four organisations that have been dominating this system are: on the one hand the Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Agriculture, both entertaining good relations with the Conservative People's Party and on the other hand, the Chamber of Labour and the Trade Unions Congress, which have always been close to the Social Democratic Party. In policy decisions concerning the economy and the labour market and in central questions of social policy these 'social partners' have traditionally had a decisive influence, based on a netting of personal, formal and informal linkages with decision-makers in the government, the administration, the parliament, and the political parties (Tálos/ Leichsenring/ Zeiner 1993). The institutionalisation of the "Sozialpartnerschaft" however started in the beginning of the 1960s and was indeed initiated by a clash of interests regarding the opening of the labour market to foreigners. While the Chamber of Labour and the trade Unions Congress were strictly opposed to this opening, the Chamber of Commerce pressurised for it. Due to the hardened front lines, the consensus necessary for a law that regulates the employment of foreigners could not be achieved. Instead the unions agreed to open the labour market and the borders for a first temporary immigration of 47.000 guest-workers in 1961 under the condition of equal payment, fixed one year-contracts and prior dismissal of immigrants in the case of job-losses. At the origin of this concession

was an agreement about the increased influence of the employees' representatives in one of the central arenas of negotiation within the framework of "Sozialpartnerschaft", the "parity price and wage commission". Until 1975 the unions and the Chamber of Labour strengthened their position within the social partnership by using the yearly negotiations of the contingent for foreign workers as lever (Wimmer 1986, Wollner 1996, Bauböck 1997). In the following decades the initial social partnership-agreement, the 'Raab-Olah-agreement', remained the determining framework for regulations of the labour market access by immigrants.

While the unions controlled the employment of immigrants in Austria, the Chamber of Commerce tried to stimulate 'guest-worker' immigration through specially established agencies in potential sending countries. In spite of these endeavours the percentage of foreign workers increased noticeably only at the end of the 1960s whereby the most important immigrant groups were coming from the former Yugoslavia and Turkey. For the first time in 1970 more than 100,000 work-permits were issued. In 1973 a first peak was reached with 226,800 foreigners working in Austria. The agencies lost their influence after some years because immigration to Austria developed its own dynamics through increased chain migration which was more flexible.

Although the basic idea of the guest-worker system was the rotation principle, at a time of economic boom neither the unions nor the employment office saw a need for restricting the number of work permits issued. This development as well as the need for a female labour force in the growing service sector and in the textile industries stimulated the immigration of family members which commenced in the beginning of the 1970s.

The first Foreigners' Employment Act (*Ausländerbeschäftigungsgesetz*), enacted in 1975, reaffirmed again the influence of the social partners by establishing a parity commission which had an extensive influence on all regulations concerning the access of foreigners to the labour market.¹ According to the law, only after 8 years of continuous employment could a foreigner obtain a so-called '*Befreiungsschein*' - limited to two years, but renewable - which allowed the employee to change the employer (Bauböck 1997). That regulation affected an ethnic segmentation of the labour market and for the immigrant employees a high degree of dependence on their employers (Gächter 1995). The Trade Unions had again two options in this period: Either to support the interests of immigrant workers and to co-ordinate their interests with those of the Austrian native workers or to use their influence on immigrant employment issues as leverage in negotiations within the framework of "Sozialpartnerschaft" and to force the prioritised employment of native workers. There is some evidence that the union kept following rather the second mentioned strategy (Bauböck 1997, 683).

Until 1987 immigration policy was purely seen as labour market policy and thus the Ministry for Social Affairs was the only responsible authority. From 1991 onwards, the Ministry of the Interior became a proactive player in the field, after having played only a nominal role till then (Gächter 2001). Additionally the political landscape had changed in the meantime and two parties which had not been involved in the negotiating processes of the social partners before, started to actively use immigration issues to shape their political profile. Although representing opposite approaches, both were rather

¹ Until 1975 the negotiations of the foreign workers contingents had still been based on the first 'Raab-Olah agreement' from 1961.

free in their argumentation without the restrictions of keeping the burden of traditionalised interests in mind (Bauböck/ Wimmer 1988). Mainly due to the concern of the unions to lose their influence, a great reformation of the legal framework that regulated the residence and labour market access for non-Austrians was not feasible at the end of the 1980s. Consequently, only minor changes of the existing regulations were being made and – still following the concept of the 'guest-worker'-schemes - a national quota-system (*Bundeshöchstzahl*) was introduced for work permits. The yearly fixed quotas vary between 8% to 10% of the total workforce and can cause the paradox effect that even persons with a legal residence permission have no access to the labour market. Particularly young people, women, and self-employed immigrants are affected (Bauböck 1997, 684; Haberfellner/ Böse 1999). In spite of many years of criticism, the split into these two vital permits has still not been removed.

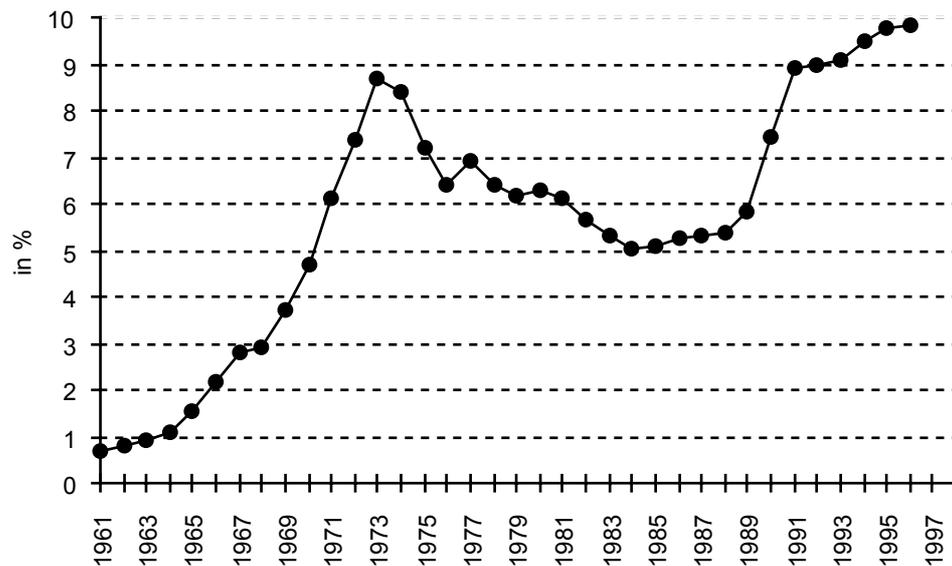
The opening of the borders to the Eastern European Countries, an additional need of immigrant labour due to an economic upswing and a rise of asylum seekers led to more than a duplication of the foreign population, from 326,000 up to 713,000 between 1987 and 1994. Since the enactment of a new Asylum Law in 1992 and the institution of a yearly quota for new residence permissions² the net-immigration into Austria has been dramatically reduced. The yearly net-immigration to Austria did not exceed 10,000 people in the 1990s since the new quota-regulation came into effect and these low numbers are expected to remain on that level in the next few years.

The high influx of immigrants and the rising unemployment rates caused heated discussions about immigration into Austria in the media as well as in the political arena at the beginning of the 90s. They eventually led to the already mentioned more restrictive regulations concerning labour market access and immigration which had to be adapted several times in the last years.

The table below gives an overview of the shares of non-Austrian employees between 1961 and 1998.

² reformed in 1995 and 1997.

Table 1: Rate of employees without Austrian citizenship 1961-1998



Source: Biffl et al 1997; employees without Austrian citizenship in percentage of all employees.

Although the uncertainty of continued residence was reduced by the adapted regulations in 1997, to be in employment and obtain a sufficient income, is still a vital requirement for non-Austrian citizens. As extended periods of unemployment can cost immigrants the legal base of their stay, there is even more pressure on them to find a new job as soon as possible than there is for unemployed Austrians. Therefore they are much more likely to accept even low paid or low quality jobs which tends to enforce the segmentation of the labour market, where immigrants can generally be expected to occupy lower and less attractive positions. This leads furthermore to a situation in which activity rates for foreign women and men are considerably higher than those of Austrians. Against the backdrop of the multiple pressure on immigrants (economic and political) it is hardly surprising to see that the average unemployment rate of immigrants in Austria exceeds the overall unemployment rate only by 1% to 2%.

Austria's labour market statistics show that employment in the manufacturing industries - with a traditionally high percentage of men and foreigners - decreased during the last few decades while the service sector showed a rising share of employment. Immigrant workers are not only confronted with a higher risk of unemployment but their average income lies also far below the Austrian average. Foreign workers have a much higher job fluctuation than nationals and re-employment is more often linked to a cut in wages than in higher wage groups. Furthermore, they can be predominantly found in the so-called "outsider segment"; the only industry which provides relatively stable employment for immigrants is the textile industry (Biffl 1999). The economic sectors with the largest shares of immigrant workers are construction, catering, and cleaning, which are also the sectors with the highest concentration of unskilled labour and very restricted chances for upward mobility (Fassmann 1993).

1.3. Refugees and asylum policies

Its geographical and geopolitical position at the intersection of East and West has made Austria one of the most significant destinations of refugees. Its history as an asylum country goes further back than the guest worker schemes. More than 650.000 people reached the West via Austria between 1945 and 1990. However, the bulk of the asylum seekers spent only a transient phase in Austria before moving on to – mostly other Western -countries. Nonetheless, the notion of being an 'asylum country' and a 'gateway to the West' has been established in the national imagination for some decades. Already shortly after 1945, more than half a million 'displaced persons' – war refugees, people who had been liberated from the concentration camps – and more than 300.000 German speaking refugees from East and Central Europe were in Austria before moving on to the USA, Canada or Australia. The major refugee movements since then were connected mainly to political change in the neighbouring Eastern European countries. Thus, the uprising in Hungary in 1956 led to the first influx of refugees (180.000), followed by the 'Prague Spring' in 1968, when more than 160.000 people fled from the Russian invasion and sought refuge in Austria. After the state of war was declared in Poland, more than 120.000 Poles escaped into the West via Austria. The majority of these groups of refugees used Austria only as a 'corridor' on their path to a life in the West. Since the mid-1980s however this trend ceased, as the destination countries of the refugees from Eastern Europe adopted more restrictive policies towards these immigrants.

The breakdown of the socialist governments in Eastern Europe caused a new phase of refugee movements. Thousands of people grasped the opportunity to go West when Poles, Hungarians and Czechoslovakians were granted the freedom to travel. Nearly 90.000 people (mainly from Romania and Poland) applied for asylum in Austria between 1989 and 1992. Austrian asylum and refugee policies changed in exactly these years. In particular in the course of immigration from Romania, the asylum law was deconstructed step by step. Supported by the yellow press in Austria and politically exploited in the course of a federal elections campaign, a highly emotional anti-asylum seeker-discourse emerged, introducing notions of 'abuse of asylum' and rising sensitive issues in connection with the dispersal of asylum seekers in Austria. The recently torn down fences at the Eastern borders were replaced by members of the Austrian armed forces.

In the course of the break-down of the former Yugoslavia which caused the largest European refugee movements since World War Two, Austria created a particular temporary residency permit for refugees from Bosnia, who were not granted the status of convention-refugees. In 1992 alone, about 50.000 war refugees from Bosnia sought protection in Austria. The next peak in the applications for asylum occurred in the course of the war in Kosovo. With more than 20.000 applications in 1999, the peak from 1989 was almost reached. (Volf, Bauböck 2001)

As for the refugees' origin countries, a significant change occurred in 1989. Till then, non-European asylum seekers were a small albeit growing minority while non-Europeans (more recently from Afghanistan, Iran, India and the Iraq) have been outnumbering Europeans since then. As exact data on the legal status of non-Austrian nationals are not available, the overall number of non-Austrians who enjoy convention refugee status remains unknown. (Gächter 2001)

1.4. The demography of immigration country Austria

Historically, Austria's minority groups are Croats in Burgenland (census 1991: 29.596, estimate: 30.000 - 40.000), Slovenes (census 1991: 20.191, estimate 40.000 - 50.000) and Hungarians (census 1991: 19.638, estimate: 25.000)³. Croats have been living in Burgenland, the very Eastern province of Austria bordering to Hungary, since the 16th century. Slovenes were the group that originally populated the predecessor of the province of Carinthia in the South of Austria (in the 7th century) and have populated the area since then. Shortly after the foundation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918, Carinthia was claimed and occupied, but finally lost to Austria following a plebiscite in 1920. Finally, Hungarians are also based in Burgenland. Croats and Slovene minorities were given sovereignty yet also stipulations on their rights as minority groups in the Austrian Treaty of 1955. Romas have been granted the status of 'autochthonous minorities' only in 1993. According to estimates of the Centre of Ethnic Minorities around 10.000 Romas live in Austria, the Platform for Minorities in Austria estimated their number to amount up to 40.000. The settling of Czechs and Slovaks in Austria has been traced back to the 13th century. Today, their numbers amount to 15.000 (Czechs) and 5.000 (Slovaks) respectively.

In Austrian official statistics, Immigrants are not identified by their ethnic origin, but by their citizenship. Hence, after their naturalisation there is no indication of their origin and they disappear in the statistics. The population without Austrian citizenship was estimated to be about 250.000 in 1999 on annual average out of a total of 8 million. The share of naturalised immigrants is estimated to be by 5% of the population. The statistical figures have to be 'handled with care' since they tend to under-represent immigrants due to the neglect of this group.

The most important immigrant groups in Austria are people from the five successor countries of the former Yugoslavia, who made up about 4.2% of the Austrian population and almost half of the population of non-Austrian nationals (46%). The next largest group with a non-Austrian citizenship are people from Turkey, who build a 1.7% share of the overall and 18% of the non-Austrian population. Further 1.2% of the total and 12% of the non-Austrian population were EU-nationals and the remaining 2.1% of the total and 24% of the non-Austrian population came from a large number of nationalities, according to this estimation (Gächter 2001).

Larger settlements of immigrants (with a population of more than 5,000) could be found in only nine urban areas in Austria except Vienna, among which only four have more than 10.000 non-Austrian inhabitants in 1999. These larger settlements were throughout of people from former Yugoslavia, while the populations of Turkish people do not exceed 3,500 in any town. According to the micro-census, non-Austrian nationals live in poorer housing conditions than Austrian nationals. Not only are non-Austrian nationals more likely to be given fixed-term rent contracts, but they also tend to pay more for less quality. Furthermore, overcrowding was diagnosed disproportionately more often for the group of non-Austrians. Due to the limitations of the figures recorded by official statistics, segregation indices allow only for a restrictive interpretation of changes in residential patterns. The stagnation of the

³ Source: Platform for Minorities Austria, <http://www.initiative.minderheiten.at/> The

segregation index for the total of non-Austrian nationals in Vienna thus has to be understood in the context of relatively high naturalisation rates. (op.cit)

1.5. Political Climate, Racism and Anti-Racism

Austria is not a post-colonial immigration country albeit a part of the immigration into Austria can be drawn back to former member countries of the Habsburg Empire. In contrast to post-colonial countries such as England or the Netherlands, there is no comparable tradition of 'race-talk' and anti-racism policies.

Racism or xenophobia, as resentments against immigrant minorities are generally referred to in Austria, has emerged in different waves in Austria. In the mid 1990s, for the first time in several decades racist violence manifested itself in a series of letter bomb attacks on minority activists as well as in violent attacks on the bi-lingual Slovene-German school in Carinthia and on Roma settlements in Burgenland (Baumgartner/ Perchinig 1995). Although the extent of violent racism seemed to be smaller than in other European countries, xenophobia has always had a crucial impact on the daily lives of immigrants in Austria. Thus, in the period after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the 'opening of the East' an upsurge of racism was identified not only in the discourses of the yellow press but also in official, so-called 'elite discourses' (Matouschek 1995). The Freedom Party, at that time in its role of the opposition party, was at the forefront of emotionalising the debates and initiated an 'Anti-Foreigner' referendum in 1992. Surveys in the late 1990s suggested a wide agreement of the population with the by then implemented restrictive immigration policy. Among those who supported political measures in favour of immigrants, a clear distinction was made between 'real refugees' and other immigrants, whereby the former group was clearly prioritised. Overall, xenophobia was diagnosed to emerge rather in older and in less educated sections of the population and against immigrants from Eastern and South Eastern European countries. (Lebhart, Münz 1999) Many of the prejudices against immigrants can be traced back to the period of 'guest worker' immigration and partly even to the social stratification within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. In the meanwhile, discussions evolve also around the second generation of immigrants, as for example about their participation in the Austrian education system. The most recent political measure in the field of 'integration policy' is a so-called 'integration contract', which is in fact a one-sided obligation on behalf of the immigrant who has to deliver specified evidence of being 'integrated' as defined in the regulation, such as by passing a German language proficiency exam. In case of failure the immigrant can lose their residency permit. The implementation of the measure is only being prepared at the time of writing, first reactions to the concept were consistently negative.

A significant anti-xenophobia-movement was constituted only at the time of the mentioned Anti-Foreigner-Referendum. Before that the candidacy of Waldheim for the Austrian presidency had led to the first more recent emergence of an anti-semitic and anti-populist forum. Since the FPÖ-initiated referendum, a variety of NGOs were established with the objective of combating racism and representing the interests of immigrants and refugees in Austria. A further degree of organisation against racism with a high level of presence and exchange on the web was reached since the FPÖ-

participation in the Federal government in 2000⁴. In the same year the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia was opened in Vienna. Organisations like the Integration Fund which is affiliated with the City Council of Vienna have served as advice centres for immigrants and various 2nd generation- projects have been active for several years. In 1995 integration issues were allocated to a separate department at Vienna City Council.. Among the many issues currently at stake are the political participation and representation of immigrants (the passive and active right to participate in elections as well as the right for workplace representation) and their access to council flats.

Concerning the critical potential among immigrants themselves, who are partly also involved in the mentioned initiatives and organisations, it has been suggested that it might be a particularity of the Austrian system that counselling and care structures served to absorb such potentials. The rise of an 'ethnically oriented political elite' has furthermore been prevented so far by the exclusion of immigrants from political participation including trade unions. (Gächter 2001) The few instances of political representation among immigrants (f.ex. as entrepreneur in the Chamber of Commerce) are restricted to those who have been naturalized.

2 MINORITY IN THE MEDIA

2.1. A short overview

According to the findings of a rather recent research project on the representation of immigrants in the Austrian media, immigrants' media are limited to the papers of individual associations and initiatives as well as the information leaflets of various immigrants organisations based in Austria. Regular publications in Turkish or Serbo-Croatian are published by the Viennese Integration Fund. The German-speaking youth magazines for the second generation, *ECHO* and *Top One*, are also published regularly. Besides, only international editions of mainstream media in respective 'home countries' could be found in the field of print media. (Volf, Bauböck 2001, Kogoj1999). A more detailed description of these media follows below.

Austrian electronic media are primarily public. The opening of television and radio to private providers and programmers only occurred in 1993. Immigrant programmes occupy only a very marginal position in radio and television. Thusly, the regional channels of the Austrian Public Service Broadcasting (ORF) station is broadcasting a half-hour programme per week in Croatian respectively Slovenian language and a bimonthly in Hungarian. Besides, there is a 1-hour programme on the radio broadcasted daily in minority languages (also Hungarian), a weekly radio broadcast, dedicated to 'ethnic minorities' and a quarterly programme of all minorities together on TV. Minority radio programmes such as "Tribüne Afrikas" (African Stage, *our translation*) or the programme of the "Kulturverein österreichischer Roma" (Cultural Association of Austrian Romas, *our translation*)– are broadcasted on medium wave.

⁴ See e.g. <http://www.rassimus.at>, <http://www.no-racism.net>, <http://www.demokratische-offensive.at>

Minority media have at the same time become very specialist media, focusing in particular on identification components, while information and entertainment aspects tend to get rather ignored. These remain to be covered largely by the mainstream media. Lacking their own media or prominent minority programmes in the public as well as in the independent television and radio sector, immigrants were found to be mainly restricted to the role of the passive observer, consumer or object of the programme in the Austrian media landscape (Busch 1999).

In the course of increasing digitalisation, the availability of news in the mother tongues of Austrian minority groups through the internet has obviously improved. Regarding the consumption of online newspapers, data is not yet available however.

2.2. Austria's media policy context

Austria's mediascape can and has been characterised by a high level of concentration in the print media and a lack of legislation in the digital media sector as well as the lack of a systematic public discourse about the value of diversity in the media sector. A legal framework for the provision of media in minority languages does not exist. The legal ensuring of minority access to media can only be subsumed to the general minority protection legislation, which applies however only to Austria's recognised minorities, i.e. Austrian citizens with minority descent, but not to younger immigrant groups. Thus, the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, article 7 grants Austrian citizens of Slovenian and Croatian origin equal rights as other Austrian citizens regarding 'press in their own language' (Art. 7 Z.1. State Treaty of Vienna) and equal conditions for the participation in cultural facilities (Art. 7 Z.4. State Treaty of Vienna). Although electronic media are not explicitly named in this regulation, an interpretation of the underlying intention would have to lead to their inclusion. (Busch 1998, Kogoj 1999) However, nothing like an immediate right can be derived from the Austrian constitution, as for example in terms of a guarantee of being allocated broadcast licences. What can be derived though, according to the Supreme Court interpretation⁵, is a 'value statement in favour of the protection of minorities'. This obliges the state to protect the linguistic and ethnic identity and to prioritise minorities in certain respects to promote their development of cultural autonomy. Thus, minority interests and programmes in minority languages have to be considered also in the field of broadcasting. (GfbV 2000) However, neither the Broadcasting Law nor the Mission Statement of the ORF contained any explicit regulations about the provision for minority interests till the recent change of legislation in 2000 and 2001. Similarly no representation of minority members is guaranteed in the representative body of audiences, established at the ORF. (Kogoj 1999)

Independent or 'free' radio stations have only gone on air since the European Court for Human Rights in 1993 declared the monopoly position of the Austrian Public Broadcast Service (ORF) a breach of the freedom of expression, granted in article 10 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights. Media in minority languages were however not considered in the first Regional Broadcast Act that implemented this change in the media infrastructure. Only in the course of the

⁵ VfSlg 9224/1981

second allocation of licenses in 1997, programmes in minority languages were also considered. This delay stands in contrast to the constitutionally set commitment to the protection of minorities which would have had to be considered already when implementing the regional radio regulation⁶. According to the selection criteria in case of a limited availability of broadcasting frequencies, in particular the 'diversity of opinions in the provided programmes' and 'independent programme provision, with consideration of the diverse interests in the target area' would have suggested such a consideration of minority interests. (GfbV 2000)

Another specificity of the Austrian media legislation is the regulation of public subsidies for print media. The promotion of a diverse media landscape by a compensatory logic behind subsidies is contrary to the spirit of the respective law⁷ as newspapers receive support directly according to their circulation figures. A Special Subsidy for the preservation of media diversity was introduced in 1985, which is directed to those newspapers that are credited a preeminent importance for the formation of political opinion yet do not hold a strong position in the market. Since this subsidy is limited to daily newspapers, it is not applicable to any of the existing minority papers in Austria. Minorities receive financial subsidies mainly from a budget specifically granted to the promotion of ethnic minority groups. (Kogoj 1999)

IN 2000 and 2001, the media legislation was changed and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages was finally ratified in Austria. The crucial part of the recent version of the Federal Broadcast Act is a 'special programming commitment'⁸, through which the ORF is compelled to broadcast a 'suitable programme' for the minority groups who are represented in the minorities advisory board. The implementation of this responsibility through the ORF was authorised also by way of cooperations with other private providers. This permission was heavily criticised by the pro minority media lobby as it facilitates the shifting of responsibilities from the public to the private sector. Likewise, none of the European Charter-regulations that entail a commitment on behalf of the Federal broadcasting body, were ratified by Austria. (Arbeitsgruppe Medien)

Subsidies through a budget that is allocated to the promotion of 'ethnic minorities' ('Volkgruppenförderung') were initially given to the regional minority radio stations, but were cut after the first 2 years and suspended in 2001. MORA, the regional minority radio station in Burgenland had to cease its services in 2001.

2.3. Search for self-representation

The last few years have seen a growing awareness and higher degree of pro-minority-media-activities. Only in 2000, the minorities advisory board, a representative body of Austria's officially recognised 'ethnic minorities', has presented their demands regarding the government's media policies to the Austrian chancellor. These claims have to be seen in the context of a broader discourse about the (linguistic) representation of minorities in Austria, as for example through bilingual place name signs in

⁶ BGBl.1993/ 506

⁷ Presseförderungsgesetz (1975)

⁸ BGBl I Nr. 83, 5

the residential areas of officially recognised minorities⁹. The controversies around the latter matter led eventually to the so-called Volksgruppengesetz¹⁰ ('Ethnic Minorities Act') in 1976, which envisioned the establishment of minority advisory boards to represent particular minority interests. Due to the restriction of their competencies to mere consultancy, most of the minority organisations rejected this political innovation. By then, a new generation of activists had emerged who understood minority issues increasingly as democracy issues and sought for a co-operation with the critical public to enforce their claims. In 1972, a 'Committee for the rights of the Burgenland Croats' was established in Burgenland which should exert a crucial influence in the implementation of Croatian radio programmes later on. The 'Ethnic Minorities Act from 1976 symbolised the attempt to synchronise the diverse legal positions of Austria's minority groups (the position of Slovenes and Burgenland Croats laid down by constitutional law, that of Czech and Slovaks in Vienna by bi-lateral treaties). (Baumgartner/ Perching 1995, Kogoj 1999, Arbeitsgruppe Medien).

Here follow some of the claims made by minority representatives to achieve an improvement of the representation of minorities in the media:

- the establishment and maintenance of a television channel and a radio station or at least the broadcasting of programmes in minority languages in bilingual areas. implementation
- the representation of minorities in the deciding bodies within the ORF and the regional radio authority
- financial support for private radio providers who broadcast in minority languages
- the promotion of training for bi-lingual journalists
- the establishment of at least one daily newspaper for minorities

2.4. A Mapping of Minority Media in Austria

An official list of minority media in Austria is not available at the present time. Previous research in the area (Busch, Kogoj) has focused on the officially recognised ethnic minority groups in Austria, in particular Slovenes in Carinthia and Croatians in Burgenland, less so on the media by and for 'new minorities'. Likewise there are no statistics available as yet about media consumption by minorities in Austria. The density of satellite dishes and cable TV registrations in immigrant households tends to be above the Austrian average however and is still on the increase (Kogoj 2001).

As for the **media scene of ethnic minority groups** in Austria generally, it has to be noted first that there are no daily newspapers and secondly, that the Austrian Federal Broadcasting (ORF) programmes for minorities on TV are limited to a half-hour programme on Sundays (lunch time), which are broadcasted simultaneously in Slovenian language in Carinthia and in Croatian in Burgenland while the other seven provinces in Austria receive the same 'general minority' programme titled

⁹ As for the implementation of bilingual place name signs, the public debate on the matter reached a new peak only recently (in 2001) when the former head of the Freedom Party Haider challenged the respective Supreme Court decision, which had ruled that the 25% minimum population quota necessary for bilingual signs to be put up was a breach of constitutional law.

¹⁰ BGBl.Nr. 396/1976

'Heimat, fremde Heimat' ('Homeland, foreign homeland', *our translation*). A radio show with the same name is broadcasted every Sunday on the local radio station in Vienna. Other minority programmes are broadcasted on a medium wave frequency via the ORF. 'Danubedialogue', as this radio project of the ORF is called, shows a broad variety of programme makers, including a programme for second generation youth and a 'stage of Africa'. Regional minority programmes exist in Slovenian in Carinthia, in Croatian and in Hungarian in Burgenland, and in Turkish in Vorarlberg. Similar programmes existed in the regional ORF branches in Styria and Upper Austria, but were stopped due to lacking demand. Finally, only since 1998 migrants are for the first time creating their own radio broadcasts on three of the then emerging independent radio stations: on *Orange 94.0* – the free radio station based in Vienna, *Radio Fro* in Linz and on the *Radiofabrik* in Salzburg. In the meanwhile there are more than 10 free radio stations on air in Austria, whose programmes cover overall about 20 languages. Most free radio stations broadcast in the languages of the larger migrant groups in Austria, such as Bosnian/ Croatian/ Serbian, Turkish, Kurdish. (Arbeitsgruppe Medien) Since 2000 the Federal Broadcasting Corporation (ORF) has included several pages in Croatian on to their website¹¹. Furthermore, the so-called 'Volkgruppenportal' (minority portal) provides specific minority-relevant information, that ranges from political news reports to basics about the Austrian minority legislation.

To start with the **Slovenes** in Carinthia, three weekly newspapers are published which differ mainly in their ideological and political orientation. Their contents resemble in terms of focusing on reports about the cultural and social life of the ethnic group (e.g. reports on sports and cultural events of associations and artists) while neglecting areas like technological development, health, travel, living, etc. Beside these weekly newspapers, there is a monthly family-magazine and a few quarterly magazines, among them a cultural politics-magazine. Furthermore, there are student papers in Vienna. The representation of Slovenians in Carinthian newspapers has improved over the years, but is still limited to Austrian journalists writing about Slovenes. (Busch 1998, Kogoj 1999). The half-hour TV programme in Slovenian broadcasted by the ORF is watched by more than half of the Slovenian population in Carinthia, according to a survey in 1993. The popularity of this programme has been interpreted through its function as a "virtual village square" (Busch 1999). On the level of radio programmes, two radio stations which broadcast programmes in minority languages have gone on air in Carinthia in 1998. Radio AGORA represent the form of 'non-commercial citizen's radio' while Radio Korotan positions itself as a commercial radio station. The two providers share one frequency and broadcast in turns a 12-hour programme in the bilingual part of the province. In the meanwhile, the ORF has entered into a collaboration with AGORA/ Korotan. (Arbeitsgruppe Medien, Kogoj 1999)

Like the Slovenes, the **Croats in Burgenland** also lack their own daily newspaper. The periodicals are published likewise by associations and the church. A couple of the periodicals is published by Burgenland Croats in Vienna, a couple is based in Burgenland. Since 1978, the regional branch of the ORF in Burgenland (established in 1966) has also a Croatian editorial department which created a weekly half-hour programme, since a few years slightly increased in length. Besides, there is an early-evening slot where 10 minutes of news are followed by a half hour programme with a focus on culture,

¹¹ <http://volksgruppen.orf.at/>

customs, music, youth, etc. Since 1989, there was additionally the already mentioned half-hour programme on Sundays. Radio MORA, broadcasted in Croatian, Hungarian and Romans and understood itself like its correspondent Radio AGORA in Carinthia, as a 'non-commercial citizen's radio station'. In November 2001, the station was closed. A final parallel with the Slovenes in Carinthia, is the focus on contents that are not provided by German speaking mainstream media, such as customs and ethnic politics. The majority of Burgenland Croatians consumes in fact German speaking media. (Kogoj 1999)

Among the media of younger minority groups, one newspaper stands out as being produced by Turks in Austria and bearing a striking resemblance to the most widely read Austrian tabloid paper (the 'Kronenzeitung') in layout, style and content. This news paper appears monthly, in Turkish language in the print version, online also in German and English. Besides, the only Turkish speaking magazine, produced in Austria and available via an Austrian media distributor, is the lifestyle magazine *Paparrazzi*.

The following list aims to give an overview of minority media in different formats in Austria. It cannot claim completeness. Many of the media listed here, are produced in Germany. Private associations or individuals distribute these magazines and newspapers then in the respective 'community' in Austria.

(0) Media catering for more than one specific migrant or minority group

(All indicated media are written in German unless otherwise indicated.)

Periodicals

- *Die Bunte Zeitung* (by and for immigrants, about migration-politics, based in Vienna since 1999) Rotenlöwengasse 12/1, 1090 Wien, contact: bunte.zeitung@lion.cc
- *Stimme* (quarterly, since 1991, since 1997 also online, published by the Platform for Minorities in Austria; offices in Vienna and Innsbruck; not only migrants but more generally by and for minorities) <http://www.initiative.minderheiten.at/Zeitschrift/zeitschr.htm>
GÜRSES HAKAN, Gumpendorferstrasse 15/13, 1060 Wien
- *Zebratl* (by and for immigrants, since 1990, based in Graz) <http://www.zebra.or.at/zebratl/>
- *Mosaik* (a 'multicultural information magazine' for immigrants, issues related to migration, integration, anti-racism, 1993-1997, activated again in 2000) <http://www.migration.cc/magazin/index.html> Verein Multikulturell, PF 740, 6021 Innsbruck
- *BALKAN Südosteuropäischer Dialog* - (multi-lingual, in Vienna since 1999) <http://www.balkan-dialog.org>, balkan@netway.at

Second generation magazines

- *Top One* – published in print (since 1996) and online <http://www.topone.at/>
- *Echo* - published in print (since 1993) and online by Echo, a an association for youth, culture and integration, built 'to empower young people from the 'so called 2nd generation'. <http://www.echo.non.at/index1.htm>

- *Mosaik* – Multicultural magazine in the Tyrol (1993-97)

Radio programmes by/for minorities

- *Radio Stimme* – programme by Platform for Minorities in Austria, broadcasted on Radio Orange and Radio AGORA, <http://www.initiative.minderheiten.at/>
- *Inter>face* - youth radio station, broadcasted on medium wave http://www.interface.or.at/medien_projekte.html, <http://1476.orf.at/>

Independent radio stations

- *Radio Orange*, formerly: *Freies Radio Wien* – based in Vienna, programmes by and for Turks, Bosnians, Serbs, Croatians, and Kurds. <http://www.orange.or.at>
- *Radio FRO* – based in and around Linz, programming in various languages (Serbo-Croatian, Hungarian, Bosnian, English for Kurdish people, Spanish and Portugese) <http://www.fro.at/>
- *Rado Helsinki* – based in Styria, programming in various languages, including Serbo-Croatian, Turkish and Kurdish <http://helsinki.mur.at/>
- *Radiofabrik* – based in Salzburg, programmes in Turkish and Serbo-Croatian <http://www.radiofabrik.at/>
- *Radio Proton* – based in Vorarlberg, 2 programmes in Turkish and Kurdish <http://www.med-user.net/proton/>

(1) by ethnic group and/or language and kind of medium

OFFICIALLY RECOGNISED MINORITIES IN AUSTRIA

Slovenians in Carinthia

Newspapers and periodicals (each approx. 3.000 copies)

weeklies

- *Slovenski Vestnik* – left liberal, publi. By the central association of Slovenian organisations
- *Naš tednik* – conservative, opublished by the Council of Carinthian Slovenians
- *Nedelja* – church paper, publ. by the Slovenian Bishop Seelsorge Office <http://www.nedelja.at>

Monthlies and quarterlies

- *Družina in dom* – monthly family magazine
- a few regional papers - quarterly
- *Celovški zvon* – on culture politics, quarterly
- *Punt* and other quarterly student papers (publ. by the Slovenian student club in Vienna)

Radio stations

- *Radio AGORA*, <http://www.buk.ktn.gv.at/agora/>
- *Radio Korotan* <http://www.korotan.at>

Croats in Burgenland

Newspapers and periodicals

Weeklies

- Hrvatske novine (Croatian in print, online Croatian/ German, published by the Croat Press Association in Burgenland– Croatian issues in Vienna and Burgenland, circulation: approx. 3.400) <http://www.hrvatskenovine.at/>
- Crikveni Glasnik Gradiška – church paper

Periodicals

- *Novi glas* (quarterly, Croatian, published in Vienna, by the Croatian Academics Club)
- *PUT* (bimonthly, Croatian/ German, published by the Burgenland Cultural Association in Vienna, since 1980)
- *Glasilo* – quarterly, published by the Croatian Culture Association in Burgenland.
- *Multi* – bilingual, distributed in the Croatian Culture Documentation Centre in Burgenland
- *Mali Mini Multi* – published by the Association of Croatian Pedagogists

Various local and church papers

Radio station

- *Radio MORA* –multilingual (1998-2001) <http://www.antenne4.at>
- 4 satellite radio stations

Television channels

5 Croatian satellite TV channels

'NEW MINORITIES'

Bosnian

No newspapers and periodicals produced in Austria.

Online newspapers by Bosnians:

- Oslobodjenje <http://www.oslobodjenje.com.ba/> (daily)
- Dveni avaz <http://www.avaz.ba> (daily)
- Dani <http://www.bhdani.com/> (weekly)
- Ljiljan <http://www.nipplijiljan.com> (weekly)
- Slobodna Bosna <http://www.slobodna-bosna.ba> (weekly)

Radio station: -

1 satellite radio station

Television channel

3 Satellite TV channels (Alternativna TV, FTV Federalna TV BiH, OBN Open Broadcast Network)

Kurdish (unless indicated otherwise, the following media are produced in Germany)

Newspapers and periodicals

- Özgür Politika (daily), published by Uelkem Press in Germany, in Turkish
<http://www.ozgurpolitika.org/>

Weeklies

- Roja Teze (bilingual Turkish/ English) <http://www.demanu.com.tr/rojateze/>

Periodicals

- Baveri (monthly, Kurdish, Kurdish Islamic community)
- Civan – youth (monthly, Kurdish)
- Deng (monthly, Kurdish)
- Jina Serbilind (monthly, Kurdish, for women)
- KNK Buletin – quarterly bulletin of the Kurdish National Congress
- Kurdistan Report (multilingual, bi-monthly) <http://burn.ucsd.edu/~kurdistan/>
- Kurdistan Rundbrief (German, irregular editions) <http://www.kurdistan-rundbrief.de/>
- Midya (monthly, Kurdish)
- Ronahi (monthly, Kurdish, student paper)
- Serxwebun (monthly, Kurdish) <http://www.serxwebun.com/>
- Zülfikar (monthly, Kurdish, Kurdish-Alevite community) <http://www.zulfikardergisi.de/>

Radio Programmes

- Radio Dersim Wien (on Radio Orange)
- Radio Mezopotamya Graz (on Radio Helsinki)
- Kurdistan Radio Linz (on Radio Fro)

Television channel *(not produced, only received in Austria)*

- Medya-TV (successor to the previously existing, but banned Med-TV)
- Mezopotamya TV
- CTV (Vatikan) (see Medya-TV)
- TV Kurd
- KTV (Kurdistan TV)

Serbian

Newspapers and periodicals

Weeklies

Periodicals

- Becki Informator (monthly) <http://www.becki-informator.at>
Postfach 29, 1050 Vienna

Radio station

- *Radio Jugoton Wien* (Serbo-Croatian/ German) via internet <http://www.jugoton.com>
Postfach 262, 1050 Vienna
- *Nasa Mala Ulica* (Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, ..) on Radio Helsinki
- 5 staellite radio stations

Television channel

- Satellite TV channels (16)

Turkish (unless indicated otherwise, the following media are produced in Germany)

Newspapers and periodicals

Dailies

- Several daily Turkish newspapers are imported from Germany such as Milliyet, Tuerkiye, Huerriyet..

Weeklies

- Aydinlik
- Demokratik Cumhuriyet – politically left wing
- Dünya-Hafta – in Turkish, (issue in German is planned), publ. by SMC Mediengesellschaft mbH <http://www.sesmc.de/Almanca/smsanasayfa.htm>
- Evrensel – politically left wing <http://www.evrensel.de>
- Fanatik – sport (publ. In Turkey) <http://www.fanatik.com.tr/>
- Girgir – publ. by W.E.Saarbach GmbH (<http://www.saarbach.de/>)
- Milli Gazete – welfare party <http://www.milligazete.com.tr/>
- Zaman – political party paper, right wing <http://www.zaman.com.tr>

Periodicals

- Alinteri (monthly, Turkish, political left) <http://www.alinteri.org/>
- Anadolu (monthly, Turkish-German, produced in Vienna)
- Avusturya Haber (monthly, Turkish, distributed free of charge in the Tyrol and Vorarlberg) <http://www.geocities.com/avusturyahaber/>
- Caglayan (monthly, Turkish/ German, religious, produced in Vienna)
- Ehl-I Beyt (monthly, Turkish, Turkish-Alevitian, religious) <http://www.ehli-beyt.net/>
- Medyatik (monthly, Turkish)
- Özgür Gençlik (monthly, Turkish, politically left)
- Tuna (monthly, Turkish, produced in Vienna)
- Yaşamda Atilim (monthly, Turkish, politically left)
- Yeni Vatan Gazetisi (monthly, Turkish, online also English/German, produced in Vienna) www.yenivatan.com

Radio stations/ programmes

No Turkish radio station, but a wide range of Turkish satellite radio stations and several programmes hosted by (mostly free) Austrian radio stations:

- Radio Anadolu and Radio Türkiyem via Radio Fro in Linz
- Radyo Sel via Radio Helsinki
- Turkish news and youth radio programme via ORF Radio Vorarlberg
- weekly programmes on Free Radio Proton in Vorarlberg

Television channel

No Turkish TV channel produced in Austria, only satellite TV channels are available in Turkish.

(2) By technology, language and group

Analogue radio

Croatian

Stopped in 2001

Kurdish

No Kurdish radio station, but a few programmes hosted by mainly free radio stations

RADIO DERSIM WIEN (VIA FREE RADIO ORANGE)
RADIO MEZOPOTAMYA GRAZ (VIA FREE RADIO HELSINKI)
KURDISTAN RADIO LINZ (VIA FREE RADIO FRO)

Slovenian

RADIO AGORA

RADIO KOROTAN

Turkish

No Turkish radio station, a few programmes (incl. Turkish news) hosted by Austrian radio stations:
TURKISH YOUTH RADIO PROGRAMME VIA ORF RADIO VORARLBERG, WEEKLY PROGRAMMES ON FREE RADIO PROTON, RADIO ANADOLU AND RADIO TÜRKİYEM VIA RADIO FRO, RADYO SEL VIA RADIO HELSINKI

Former Yugoslavia
NASA MALA ULICA

Für Südosteuropäische Raum

Digital Radio (satellite)

Bosnian

BH RADIO 1 (satellite)

Croatian

HRT-HR1 HRVATSKI RADIO 1

HRT-HR2 HRVATSKI RADIO 2

HRT-HR3 HRVATSKI RADIO 3

OTVORENI RADIO

Yugoslavian

B2-92

RADIO BEOGRAD 1 (satellite)

RADIO BEOGRAD 202 (satellite)

RADIO MONTENEGRO (satellite)

RADIO PINK (satellite)

RADIO JUGOTON (on line)

Slovenian

RADIO SLOVENIA INTERNATIONAL (satellite)

RADIO SLOVENIJA 1 (A1) (satellite)

RADIO SLOVENIJA 2 (VAL 202) (satellite)

RADIO SLOVENIJA 3 (ARS) (satellite)

Turkish

A wide range of satellite TV channels (approx. 60)

Analogue Television

Digital Television

Bosnian

ALTERNATIVNA TV (satellite)

FTV FEDERALNA TV BiH (satellite)

OBN OPEN BROADCAST NETWORK (satellite)

Croatian

HRT-TV 1 (satellite)

HRT-TV 2 (satellite)

HRT-TV 3 (satellite)

HTV Hrvatska TV (satellite)

NOVA TV (satellite)

Slovenian

KANAL A (satellite)

POP TV (satellite)

TEVE PIKA (satellite)

TV KOPER-CAPODISTRIA (satellite)
TV SLOVENIJA 1 (satellite)
TV SLOVENIJA 2 (satellite)
TV3 (satellite)

Yugoslavian

ANEM TV (satellite)
B92 TV (satellite)
BK 063 SAT (satellite)
JUVEMOERC (satellite)
PALMA TV (satellite)
PINK PLUS TV (satellite)
RTK 1 KOSOVO (satellite)
RTS 1 (RADIO TELEVIZIJA SRBIJE) (satellite)
RTS 2 (RADIO TELEVIZIJA SRBIJE) (satellite)
RTS 3 (RADIO TELEVIZIJA SRBIJE) (satellite)
RTS SAT (RADIO TELEVIZIJA SRBIJE) (satellite)
STUDIO B (satellite)
TV 21 (KOSOVA) (satellite)
TV CRNE GORE (TV MONTENEGRO) (satellite)
TV MELOS (satellite)
YU INFO (NOVA TV) (satellite)

Print

Croatian

HRVATSKE NOVINE
CRIKVENI GLASNIK GRADIŠKA
NOVI GLAS
PUT
GLASILO
MULTI
MALI MINI MULTI

SLovenian

SLOVENSKI VESTNIK
NAS TEDNIK
NEDELJA
DRUZINA IN DOM
CELOVSKI ZVON
PUNT

Turkish

AYDINLIK
ANADOLU
ALINTERI <http://www.alinteri.org/>
CAGLAYAN
DEMOKRATIK CUMHURİYET
EHL-I BEYT <http://www.ehli-beyt.net/>
EVRENSEL <http://www.evrensel.net/>
FANATIK – SPORT <http://www.fanatik.com.tr/>
MEDYATIK
MILLI GAZETE <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/>
PAPARRRAZZI
ÖZGÜR GENÇLİK
TUNA
TURKISH DAILY NEWS <http://www.turkishdailynews.com/>
YAŞAMDA ATILIM

YENI VATAN GAZETISI

ZAMAN <http://www.zaman.com>

Some preliminary conclusions from the mapping

Firstly, the lack of print media produced by 'new minorities' in Austria is striking. Only the 'officially recognised minorities', Croatian and Slovenians and to a limited extent Turks and Kurds have a few press publications. A large part of the media read by Turks and Kurds in Austria is produced in Germany however and reaches their audiences in Austria through Turkish and Kurdish associations based here who fulfill a distributing function. The association of Austrian media distributors shows a wide range of foreign media available in Austria, among which the origin countries of the 'new minorities' are well represented. The emergence of Turkish and former Yugoslavian newspapers on the Austrian press market is a rather recent phenomenon however.

Other media originating from the country of origin, are generally digital media and especially satellite TV channels who appear to have occupied a central role as a medium for minorities in Austria. Due to the only recent history of independent 'free radio' stations in Austria, the on air-presence of minorities can be regarded as still in the process of development.

Conclusions: What's to learn from the Austrian experience?

In contrast to many other European countries, Austria has a poorly developed and hardly diversified domestic media scene with only 5 national daily newspapers (of which 2 are tabloid papers) and 9 regional ones. In relation to the country's overall population, the most widely read daily newspaper in the world (sic!) is an Austrian tabloid paper with a long tradition of anti-minorities-discourse. Ironically, this very newspaper has found its mirror image in a Turkish monthly, which resembles the Austrian 'Kronenzeitung' in layout and style.

Differences between the media availability of Austria's officially recognised minorities and 'new minorities' based on immigration since after WWII can be seen above all in the lacking representation of the latter in audio-visual media. Within the Austrian public television and radio framework, even the recognised minorities have been allocated traditionally a very marginal position, limited to rather folkloristic programmes. A more significant representation of minority members as producers and programme makers has only started since the liberalisation of the broadcasting legislation. Thus, various 'minority programmes' can now be found on some local radio stations, addressed predominantly to younger – or 'second' - generations of immigrants. Likewise, more lively publication activities in the realm of print publications can be found at the level of second generation magazines which tend to be also published online and generally written in German.

While the mentioned publications have a strong local reference point, a different part of the media sector appears to exist at the level of diaspora media, especially in the context of Kurdish and Turkish media. These are to a large extent produced and published in Germany and distributed in Austria through religious or political associations. This distribution is generally based on private networks and on door-to-door sales. So far, no data is available on the consumption of media by minority members

in Austria. It can only be assumed that the younger generations who have largely grown up in Austria, consume 'ethnic' as well as mainstream media, while the older generation probably draws more on media imported from their country of origin as well as, most importantly, satellite TV channels. During the period of the war in former Yugoslavia, satellite TV was a central magnet in catering businesses run by immigrants from former Yugoslavia.

A movement towards an improved representation of minorities in the Austrian media landscape can be hoped for on the basis of the changed legislation regarding audio-visual media. The scarcity of print media produced by minorities in Austria has to be seen in the context of the socio-economic position of Austria's minorities, in particular in comparison with Germany, and a generally hostile policy framework relating to the security of stay of minority members.

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