

Broadcast Radio as an Instrument of Integration

How Mass Media Can Contribute to Social Cohesion

Abstract

Modern western societies seem to battle themselves. Globalization and the differentiation in more and more saturated market environments are tending to cause increasing gaps in society, for example showing up in the disparity of income or education. Furthermore people even fear a concrete threat: The recently foiled terror attack in Germany has once again shown that this is not only an external motivated threat. Powers that aim to destroy the democratic base of societies develop right in the middle of them – a fairly new and up to now unknown phenomenon to cope with. The remaining questions: “What holds (political) communities together? How could all parts of society be integrated?” To answer these questions seems to be more urgent than ever. Similarly to the saturation, the complexity of the society increases; and nearly every individual suffers from a lack of information. And mass media? As a mirror of society it on the one hand seems to follow the segmentation and individualization tendencies, on the other it is increasingly serving the smallest common denominator. The future of mass communication will be either marked by social fragmentation or by standardization, McQuail says, and to quote him directly: “The future of mass communication is either socially fragmentising or unifying.”¹

So the framework for this contribution is set: To cover complexity, to check possibilities for intervention, one has to clarify *if* and *how* the mass media can contribute to social cohesion. Europe and particularly Germany as a (still young) nation of immigration, shows several of the typical consequences following globalization and differentiation. It therefore might be one of the best examples to deal with this question. Another reason for choosing Germany as a model for checking the role of mass media concerning social cohesion: The Ally after World War II formed (in western Germany) a unique broadcasting system – driven by public law and not directly controlled by the nation’s government.

Every fifth person living in Germany is either an immigrant or of foreign descent. Among researchers, the opinion prevails that the German media hardly reflects the multicultural reality of Germany as a nation of immigration. Regarding integration, both “public” and private media institutions are widely accused of deficits and a need to change. This implies, however, that the media has an integrative – and therefore a disintegrative – potential. In combination, these two arguments mainly result in demands that the mass media reconsider their structure and contents.

The radio station *Funkhaus Europa* (Broadcasting Studios Europe) is the answer of the WDR (Westdeutscher Rundfunk / one of the stations run under public law) to these findings and their implied imperatives. By balancing foreign-language and German broadcasts, the station aims to actively contribute to integration. Predominantly considered as a praiseworthy model and embedded in a broadcasting structure that allows a comparison to a “mainstream” program of the same parent company without distortions caused by differing basic parameters, it is particularly suitable as a case study.

This contribution is based on research, directly focussing *Funkhaus Europa*. The core question will be: Which characteristics define the coverage and the structure of the station and its program? In addition these characteristics are weighted whether they are deliberately

¹ McQuail, Denis (2002): McQuails Mass Communication Theory, London. chapter 10

employed as a means of integration. At last one has to face the ideas and objectives the daily programs of *Funkhaus Europa* are based on. Including integration theories of various academic research fields and media research finally the question of the integrative role of mass media is discussed.

1 Introduction

The micro census of 2006 has shown again that Germany is a nation of immigration. 15.1 of the 82.4 million people living in Germany are immigrants or of foreign descent². The discussion in Germany about the necessity, the methods, success and failure of integration that is currently taking place in Germany might considerably be older than this acknowledgement and is led in most Western countries – although the approaches and the main arguments might differ. The mass media not only portrays this debate but is also a subject to the discussion. Often, the media is accused of reporting little, stereotypically or negatively about foreigners and Germans of foreign descent. The same holds true - although to a slight lesser extent - for their representation in entertainment programmes. Also, they rarely seem to be involved in the media production process.³

Funkhaus Europa seems to be a consequence of these criticisms. In 1998, the WDR started its integration channel. Together, employees of both foreign and German origin produce a programme which, broadcasting in 19 languages including German and playing music from all over the world, targets foreigners, people of foreign descent and Germans alike. “With this, *Funkhaus Europa* actively contributes to the integration of people of foreign origin into our society, and to a mutual understanding between majority and minority”⁴, said the former WDR’s director Fritz Pleitgen. Indeed, like its RBB (state-owned Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg) counterpart RadioMultikulti, *Funkhaus Europa* is considered by most to be a model project – at least, statements to the contrary are hardly ever voiced.

Until now, no research has been published on the defining characteristics of media designed as a means of integration. This is why this paper examines the distinctive features of these novel concepts. For this purpose, a short overview about immigration into Germany is given. Subsequently, the authors explain various approaches based on integration theory and examine how they can be used in the investigation of the role of the media in the integration process. Illustrated by the state-owned integrative radio station *Funkhaus Europa*, the following three questions are answered: Which structural and reporting specifics characterise

² Statistisches Bundesamt (ed.) [2008]: Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit – Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund, Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2006. Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden. p. 7. [The microcensus is the official representative statistics of the population and the labour market in Germany, covering 1% of all households on an annual basis (continuous household sample survey) incumbent on the Federal Statistical Office (Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden).]

³ Creating diverse newsrooms might be one of the core challenges for media management in the western hemisphere – even to ensure future markets. If one looks to the “model nation” of immigration, the U.S., this topic already is on the scene for quite a long time. Increasing diversity in U.S. newspaper newsrooms has for example been a primary ASNE (American Society of Newspaper Editors) mission since 1978 (cf. <http://www.asne.org/index.cfm?id=1138>; called on 31.10.2007). With the Newsroom Employment Census ASNE delivers a tool to measure the success of its goal of having the percentage of minorities working in newsrooms nationwide equal to the percentage of minorities in the nation's population by 2025.

⁴ Fritz Pleitgen in the WDR’s booklet on integration. Westdeutscher Rundfunk (ed.) [2003]: Integration und kulturelle Vielfalt. Viel erreicht – noch mehr zu leisten. Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Köln. p. 2 / This and all following translations by the authors.

the integrative station? Which means are deliberately employed to effect integration? Which ideas and objectives form the basis of the programme and the structure of *Funkhaus Europa*?

Drawing on integration theory, it is possible to draw conclusions whether the concept could be used as a model for integrative broadcasting.

2 Overview: Immigration into Germany

If the term immigrants is used in Germany today, it usually refers to immigrant workers – i.e. immigrants who came to Germany in the 1950s following an invitation from the Federal Government – and their family members and descendants. More recently, however, other groups dominated the immigration statistics, for instance refugees from civil war areas in the 1990s.⁵

Although the Federal Government sporadically tried to integrate the immigrants, one can usually – especially in the 1980s and 1990s – speak of Germany as a “nation of immigration against its will.”⁶ For a long time, Germany did not acknowledge its being a nation of immigration, although the percentage of the population who are foreign-born have increased more or less continually since 1961 from 1.2 % to 8.8 %, which was the official figure in 2004⁷. Only in the late 1990s, the notion caught on that Germany factually had been a nation of immigration for a long time and that the German immigration laws no longer met the demands of reality. After several years of debate, the Immigration Act⁸ was finally passed in 2004 and came into effect in 2005. That was the first time that consistent regulations on immigration and integration existed at all in Germany.⁹

This widespread denial of the German reality might be one of the reasons for a long-standing deficit in corresponding statistics: The question how multi-ethnic and multi-cultural German society actually is could not be answered convincingly until recently. The official statistics only distinguished between holders of a German passport and holders of another country's. Statistics on naturalisations, births or on (late) repatriates could only be used for estimates as to what might actually be the case.

That changed utterly with the microcensus of 2005: An extended package of questions now takes into account persons of foreign origin. The percentage of the population who are foreign-born is still calculated to be around nine percent. However, the figure for Germans of foreign descent, which had not shown separately before, is estimated to be almost ten percent of the population. Together, these two groups therefore make up 18,5 %, or 15.1 million

⁵ For information on the German migration policy since 1880 see also: Herbert, Ulrich [2003]: *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland*. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Bonn

⁶ Compare: Geißler, Rainer [2005]: *Vom Gastarbeiterland zum Einwanderungsland*. In: Geißler, Rainer/Pöttker, Horst (ed.) [2005]: *Massenmedien und die Integration ethnischer Minderheiten in Deutschland*. transcript, Bielefeld. p. 20

⁷ Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung (ed.) [2006]: *Datenreport 2006. Zahlen und Fakten über die Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Schriftenreihe, vol. 544. Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Bonn. p. 42

⁸ Gesetz zur Steuerung und Begrenzung der Zuwanderung und zur Regelung des Aufenthalts und der Integration von Unionsbürgern und Ausländern (Zuwanderungsgesetz), from 30 July 2004. It can be downloaded as pdf (in German) from the home page of the German(?) Federal Ministry of the Interior: <http://www.bmi.bund.de/Internet/Content/Common/Anlagen/Gesetze/Zuwanderungsgesetz,templateId=raw,pROPERTY=publicationFile.pdf/Zuwanderungsgesetz.pdf>

⁹ For the changes in the Immigration Act see also Franz, Vanessa [2004]: *Das Zuwanderungsgesetz. Was ändert sich?* In: *AID - Integration in Deutschland*. issue 3/2004, 20th year of issue, 28 September 2004 (editor: Iso-plan GmbH, Saarbrücken)

people, of Germany's population.¹⁰ Based on previous statistics, however, it is likely that repatriates from the former USSR and people of Turkish origin will constitute the largest groups of people of foreign origin.¹¹

Surveys on religious affiliations are still outstanding, though. Also, the microcensus does not give sufficient information on the degree of integration of these people. However, several studies as well as official statistics show that the living standards of foreigners – as it shows in living conditions, income, or education and career chances, for instance – are on average lower than those of people of German origin,¹² although one certainly should not assume a homogenous group. But, with regard to these problems too, a statistical differentiation between Germans of foreign descent and those of German origin is still lacking (with the exception of the PISA data).

3 The Theoretical Foundation: On the Concept of Integration

The term *integration* is as frequently used as it is vaguely defined. The word is used as a matter of course but hardly anybody can ascertain its meaning. In that respect, the political as well as the academic discourse do not differ much from the public one. Not even within the individual fields of study a consensus on the concept exists.

The absence of a definition is even more alarming if we consider that in Germany, the term is hardly used without value judgement. Mostly it is used in a normative way: Integration is generally considered a desirable objective and, consequently, serves as a benchmark for the success of political and social, including medial, activities.

A few writers argue that the concept of integration itself could be an invention of the social majority. Otfried Jarren, for instance, points out that the desire for integration might be a peculiarity of Western societies.¹³ In addition, he criticises that the term is often linked to implicit demands on the majority's part: "The discussion about integration is mostly led by those who describe themselves as already integrated [...]. Usually, a subordination is demanded or acculturation is expected."¹⁴ Jörg Becker argues that the integration desired by

¹⁰ Statistisches Bundesamt (ed.) [2008]: Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit – Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund, Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2006. Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden. p. 7.

¹¹ For the data concerning (late) repatriates compare: Bundesverwaltungsamt [2004]: Jahresstatistik Spätaussiedler und deren Angehörige 2004. Bundesverwaltungsamt, Köln; for the origin of foreigners in Germany compare: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (ed.) [2005]: Migration, Integration und Asyl in Zahlen. 13th edition, version from 31/12/2004, Nürnberg

¹² Concerning education see also: OECD [2006]: Wo haben Schüler mit Migrationshintergrund die größten Erfolgchancen: Eine vergleichende Analyse von Leistung und Engagement in PISA 2003. short abstract (in German): <http://www.pisa.oecd.org/dataoecd/2/57/36665235.pdf>, downloaded on 28/10/2006; for the living conditions see also: Statistisches Bundesamt [2005]: Datenreport 2004. Teil 2. Second, revised edition, Bonn. p. 577 et seqq. The report deals with four exemplary migration groups: people from turkey, from the EU (i. e. from the 15 countries of 2003), from the former Yugoslavia, and refugees. A general worse position of foreigners can be assumed because of other studies showing the same tendencies. Furthermore, these groups, added up, form a great part of the foreigners or people of foreign descent living in Germany (repatriates normally have a german passport).

¹³ Jarren, Otfried [2000]: Gesellschaftliche Integration durch Medien? Zur Begründung normativer Anforderungen an Medien. Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft, 48th year of issue, 2000/1, p. 24

¹⁴ *ibid.* p. 27

the majority does not necessarily meet the needs of the minority. He states that “the question of integration is typical for the dominating German society.”¹⁵

Not only the term *integration* suffers from its vagueness; terms used similarly or contrarily are no better defined. So are, for instance, different concepts of assimilation around. While many define assimilation as a forced leveling of cultural and group-specific peculiarities, meaning a purely one-directional adaptation to the dominant culture by the minority, others identify the term as meaning a two-directional adjustment which needs not necessarily lead to the loss of specific identities where they deviate from the norm set by the majority. Charles Taylor, who may be quoted as a representative of the first school, called assimilation “the deadly sin against the ideal of authenticity.”¹⁶ Hartmut Esser, on the other hand, uses the term in place of the term *integration*, which he finds misleading.¹⁷ More precisely, he claims assimilation to be a special (and the only possible) case of social integration.¹⁸ For him, assimilation means “the adjustment of certain properties by all protagonists, more precisely the *distribution* of these properties. Therefore, assimilation does not mean that all protagonists become indistinguishable, but that different groups (e.g. men and women, old age and youth, ethnical minorities and natives) do not differ in the distribution of properties like education, income or emotional identification.”¹⁹ That is to mean that “in *group* comparisons, natives and immigrants participate to an equal extent in society’s rights and resources.”²⁰

This shows that the term has different connotations depending on what performances and achievements are expected of (ethnic) minorities. Additionally, the term’s usage is based on premises some of which might be agreed upon by a majority, which nevertheless do not necessarily reflect a reality but rather an imprecise collective perception: For instance, integration usually refers to the integration of ‘strangers.’ This usage, however, completely ignores the fact that many of those perceived as strangers are actually ‘natives’. Second- and third-generation immigrants, for instance, are still stigmatized as ‘strangers’. As a consequence of this - and alongside other reasons - they feel and act accordingly. Therefore, in addition to its normative usage, the term usually carries specific political opinions and intentions, and often even is charged ideologically as well. Also, alarmingly, approximations to the meaning of the term integration stagnate on an abstract level, whereas it is a rare undertaking to name indicators with which to measure levels of integration.

Last but not least, the term integration also refers to different objects: Definitions and theories change with the framework with which they are associated. Consequently, its meaning depends on whether it refers to society as a nation, a larger political structure like the

¹⁵ Becker, Jörg [2002]: Enormer Nachholbedarf in Forschung und Politik [Interview]. Tendenz 01/2002, p. 19

¹⁶ Taylor, Charles: Multikulturalismus und die Politik der Anerkennung. Frankfurt, Fischer 1997, p. 28. quoted after: Manfred Horn: Deutsch- und türkischsprachige Print- und Hörfunkmedien in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zwischen Kulturvermittlung und sprachlichem Pragmatismus. Dissertation in the course of studies „Communication“, FH Osnabrück. Revised version, June 2002. p. 25

¹⁷ Compare: Esser, Hartmut [2001]: Integration und ethnische Schichtung. Arbeitspapiere – Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES), Mannheim. No. 40/2001. p. 22

¹⁸ *ibid.* p. 20-21

¹⁹ Esser, Hartmut [2000]: Assimilation, Integration und ethnische Konflikte: Können sie durch "Kommunikation" beeinflusst werden? In: Holtz-Bacha, Christina/Nieland, Jörg-Uwe/Schatz, Heribert (ed.): Migranten und Medien. Westdeutscher Verlag, Wiesbaden. p. 27

²⁰ Esser, Hartmut [2001]: Integration und ethnische Schichtung. Arbeitspapiere – Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES), Mannheim. No. 40/2001. p. 22

European Union or a culture; whether, then, it refers to the integration of the system or to the integration of its constituent groups.²¹

Concepts of diversity - as common in e.g. Canada or the USA - found their way into the debate in Germany only a short time ago and are hardly prevalent.

These introductory remarks illustrate the manifold concepts behind the term integration. Because of the sheer quantity of them, it is impossible to deal with all its definitions and uses. Still, for orientation, an overview is given in the following subchapters on different approaches to the topic, to outline the history of ideas and illuminate the basic conflicts in the discourse on definitions and theories of integration. To this end, several fields of study are looked into, before the argumentation ultimately arrives at the examination of communication-scientific models.

3.1. Political Philosophy

Since the very beginning, philosophers have been dealing with the question what society actually is, rather, why and how humans form alliances and what keeps these alliances stable. Aristotle (384 – 347 BC) already hypothesised on this: “All human beings, therefore, have a natural urge to form such [state] alliances,”²² since a human being is a *zoon politicon*, a “state-forming creature.”²³ Later philosophers rejected the idea that humans were born as political beings. Thomas Hobbes (1588 – 1679) thought that society did not exist for society’s sake but for the honour and needs of the individual.²⁴ According to him, societies are not motivated by mutual benevolence but rather exclusively by a fear of punishment.²⁵ Humans form alliances, so Hobbes, for their joint advantage.²⁶ John Locke (1632-1704) agrees with him insofar that he seeks the reason for social alliances in basically egotistical motives. State-forming, according to him, is a subordination process of the individual subjects for self-preservation purposes. For this, he considered the mutual protection of life, freedom and property as a central aspect.²⁷ Immanuel Kant (1724 – 1804), too, sees the origin of the state as an alliance in the “joint interest of all to be in a lawful situation.”²⁸ In this context, he sees the constitution as the uniting will.²⁹

Although this choice of ‘masterminds’ might seem arbitrary, and in spite of the differences in their theories, they show some corresponding premises regarding integration which are still

²¹ For the differentiation between system integration and social integration compare: Lockwood, David [1964]: Social Integration and Systems Integration. In: Hirsch, Walter/Zollschan, George K. (ed.): Explorations in Social Change. Routledge, London. p. 244 et seqq. and Esser, Hartmut [2001]: Integration und ethnische Schichtung. Arbeitspapiere – Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES), Mannheim. No. 40/2001

²² Aristoteles / Olof Gigon (ed.) [1996]: Politik. Translated by Olof Gigon. 7th edition. Artemis, München. p. 49

²³ *ibid.* p. 50

²⁴ Hobbes, Thomas [1949]: Grundzüge der Philosophie. Zweiter und dritter Teil: Lehre vom Menschen und Lehre vom Bürger. Translated by Max Frischeisen-Köhler. Felix Meiner, Leipzig. p. 76-77

²⁵ Hobbes, Thomas [2000]: Leviathan. Translated by Jacob Peter Mayer. Reclam, Stuttgart. p. 151 ff.

²⁶ *ibid.* p. 199

²⁷ Locke, John/Walter Euchner (ed.) [1977]: Zwei Abhandlungen über die Regierung. Translated by Hans Jörn Hoffmann. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1977. p.278 et seq.

²⁸ Kant, Immanuel / Weischedel, Wilhelm (ed.) [1977]: Die Metaphysik der Sitten. Werkausgabe, volume 8. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt., p. 429

²⁹ *ibid.*

in use in sociology and the political sciences:³⁰ Alliances are always formed – beside other reasons – for egoistical motives which a large group of people have in common. An alliance of this sort, so the hypothesis, enables them to achieve goals that they could not achieve alone. On the other hand, an alliance needs to co-ordinate actions. For the behaviour of the individual to be expectable and compatible, and for social interactions to become possible, everyone has to forego some options that would otherwise be at their command. This renunciation, that is to say furthermore: the rights and duties of the individual within the group, becomes standardised. Such ‘agreements’ can manifest themselves, as Kant’s words clarify, in a constitution, or, in a wider sense, in legalised behavioural codices and sanctions connected to them, as well as in lasting behavioural patterns like values and norms, which can amount to codices as well.

With this, some of the demands the mass media is confronted with are already formulated: If they are attributed the ability and the duty to secure and promote integration, they should mediate the meaning of social cohesion, that is point out the advantages of social adjustment over egotistical, divergent behaviour. They should explain the legal and the normative foundations of society and present compatible behaviours. Also, they could have a disintegrative effect by not acting according to or even in opposition to the above criteria.

3.2. Sociology

The question of society, its origins, its existence and its nature is central to sociology. An aspect that is common to modern sociological theories on integration is the premise that the principle of the division of labour leads to a social differentiation. This principle, on the one hand, is thought to be efficient; on the other hand it comes at a cost, for instance the increasing complexity of social structures. This is thought to be the cause of the problems of integration.

Apart from this common basis, the models are very different. Structure-functionalistic concepts work on the premise that an integrative core is inherent in society. In system-theoretical approaches, on the other hand, opinions are voiced that modern societies no longer need an integrative core.³¹

These views imply different demands on the mass media: For system theorists, the question of integration, here meaning integration of systems, is insignificant. Still, even system theorists formulate results that the mass media as a subsystem of society produce: According to Niklas Luhmann, for instance, the mass media make it possible for “everyone to take part in a common reality,”³² respectively fiction of reality. The structure-functional point of view, then, has two implications: If one focuses on norms and values, the mass media should transport these and help establish a basic social consensus, which then would function

³⁰ For the following description of the development of social order compare: Vlastic, Andreas [2004]: Die Integrationsfunktion der Massenmedien. Begriffsgeschichte, Modelle, Operationalisierung. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden, p. 23-24

³¹ In his thesis, Andreas Vlastic has outstandingly related the main integration theories and analysed them profitably in regard to their substance for analysing the integrative function of the mass media: Vlastic, Andreas [2004]: Die Integrationsfunktion der Massenmedien. Begriffsgeschichte, Modelle, Operationalisierung. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden

³² Luhmann, Niklas [1981]: Veränderungen im System gesellschaftlicher Kommunikation und Massenmedien. In: Luhmann, Niklas (ed.): Soziologische Aufklärung, 3. Soziales System, Gesellschaft, Organisation. 2nd edition, Westdeutscher Verlag, Opladen. p. 320

as a prerequisite for a “organic solidarity,”³³ as Émile Durkheim has put it. On the other hand, if one focuses on functionalistic arguments, the media’s contribution to integration should consist of a furthering of the knowledge that the specific groups have on one another, but even more so of the knowledge of the ways in which they are especially useful for the whole of society.

The theoretical approaches mentioned are only a couple of several sociological points of view regarding integration. Beside system theory, which can be considered, because of its system-oriented perspective, relatively neutral in the normative sense, and structure-functionalism, which, like many other theories, assumes (mostly tacitly) that a consensus is a condition for the continued existence of society, other models exist which focus on conflict or constraint. The widespread acceptance of the consensus idea is sometimes strongly criticized: Rainer Döbert, for one, sees the “consensus theory as a German ideology.”³⁴ Uwe Schimank even talks about the “practical contra-productivity of the consensus postulate.”³⁵ From these perspectives, heterogeneity, plurality, differentiation or dissenting opinions are perfectly natural phenomena which not necessarily result in the downfall of a society. That is more likely, and this is what Schimank is pointing out, if consensus becomes an ideological requirement, while dissent is declared a dysfunctional and undesirable trend which has to be fought. This results in false expectations of society, which in turn lead to false assessment criteria on social developments and ultimately to inappropriate (political) instruments and measures. Free, pluralistic democracies like Germany are – and here the consensus skeptics have a good point – rooted in dissent. The freedom of our society is marked, amongst other things, by its ability to permit contradictions. Our institutions are basically designed to allow for a regulated environment to discuss these contradictions, and to publicly filter – by means of, for instance, persuasion, compromise and expertise – from the conflicting opinions those decisions that are best for the majority and reasonable for the minority. Our representative system is based, therefore, on consensus and dissent alike. Our political life shows that conflicts too can have a social function, since they – for instance by the advertisement of the conflicting parties for their points of view – establish publicity and with this, have a nationalizing effect also.

The same holds true for cultural differences. These do not necessarily have a disintegrative effect on society. Rather, they are able to enrich it. For instance, a specific youth culture of young Germans of Turkish descent and Turkish youths developed in Germany – it can be assumed that this development is connected to the lack of a sense of belonging to both the German as well as the Turkish culture. Such hybrid cultures enrich society as much as non-ethnically defined trends and subcultures do. German-Turkish influences are found in the reception of music of Germans without a Turkish background too, as much as music, film, design and fashion from the Asiatic or Arab cultures are a part of ‘our’ cultural normalcy.

The duality of consensus and conflict, so the deduction, therefore are immanent in the conception of our political system. Of course, there is truth in the criticism that a certain level of dissent should not be crossed. Also, it is justifiable to ask whether group identities that deviate from the majority and a co-operative attitude are reconcilable or whether they are

³³ Durkheim, Émile [1977]: *Über die Teilung sozialer Arbeit*. Translated by Ludwig Schmidts. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt. p. 14-15

³⁴ Döbert, Rainer [1992]: *Konsensustheorie als deutsche Ideologie*. In: Giegel, Hans-Joachim: *Kommunikation und Konsens in modernen Gesellschaften*. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt. p. 276

³⁵ Schimank, Uwe [1992]: *Spezifische Interessenkonsense trotz generellem Orientierungsdissens – Ein Integrationsmechanismus polyzentrischer Gesellschaften*. In: Giegel, Hans-Joachim: *Kommunikation und Konsens in modernen Gesellschaften*. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt. p. 269

mutually exclusive. However, the question where the critical level of social dissent or cultural differentiation might be located can hardly be answered here.

However, regardless of whether or not consensus or dissent is more important, the demands implicit in the individual theories lead to the same consequences for the mass media: They should, if they indeed have integrative potential, enable or produce a consensus, transport existing consensus and orientation, as well as level out oppositions. That means that they should mediate in occurring conflicts, not necessarily contain or terminate them completely, but enable an open dialogue of the opposing sides and all potentially affected by the conflict, and to bring it to fruition in terms of a socially reasonable solution. Should this be impossible, they should portray the different positions and cultural peculiarities as equally valid, to promote understanding and acceptance, so that dissent and differences do not become potentially dangerous for society.

Beyond the conflicting lines or pairs of concepts *Values and Norms/Function*, *Consensus/Conflict*, *Homogeneity/Difference*, and the central question of system integration and/or social integration, approaches exist which seek a different access to the problem of integration than the assumption of one or more possibly integrative central factors. Friedrich Heckmann, for instance, differentiates the phenomenon of integration by introducing the following four dimensions:³⁶ structural integration, cultural integration, social integration and identificatory integration.³⁷ Structural integration he describes as “the conditions for and the actual participation in the institutions of modern societies”³⁸ which show, for instance, in the status in education and training, in the legal status and in the position on the job market. Cultural integration, also called acculturation, points to the knowledge and adaptation of the receiving country’s culture, i.e. its norms and values, its religion(s), as well as the acquisition of cognitive abilities. He also includes “cultural change [...] also within the receiving society”³⁹ in the term acculturation. With social integration he means the social contacts and membership in groups of a person, and connects it to the question whether these are intra-ethnic or not. As identificatory integration, ultimately, he describes the last step of the integration process which refers to the emotional connections of a person to the national or ethnic community, especially a sense of belonging to the receiving society.

Such a differentiation is helpful in dealing with the integrative potential and function of the mass media since it goes beyond relatively abstract categories like a value consensus, and formulates specific tasks that make up integration, and which – if one ascribes to them the ability and function – pose a challenge the mass media has to take up. Following Heckmann’s model, they should enable an equal participation in the system, for instance by means of information and education, or by demanding publicly to consider the rights of disadvantaged groups; they should portray the majority culture with its norms and values; they should promote the dialogue between different groups and offer possibilities for identification. That

³⁶ Compare.: Heckmann, Friedrich [1997]: *Integration und Integrationspolitik in Deutschland*. efms Paper No. 11. Europäisches Forum für Migrationsstudien, Rom. Url (German): http://www.uni-bamberg.de/~ba6ef3/pdf/efms_p11.pdf, downloaded on 01/03/2006

³⁷ Heckmann is not the only one to make such a differentiation, so here he just is an example for a different approach. For example, Hartmut Esser differentiates between systems integration and social integration and breaks the latter into cultururation, placement, interaction and identification. Compare: Esser, Hartmut [2001]: *Integration und ethnische Schichtung*. Arbeitspapiere – Mannheimer Zentrum für Europäische Sozialforschung (MZES), Mannheim. No. 40/2001. p. 8 et seqq.

³⁸ Heckmann, Friedrich [1997]: *Integration und Integrationspolitik in Deutschland*. efms Paper No. 11. Europäisches Forum für Migrationsstudien, Rom. Url (in German): http://www.uni-bamberg.de/~ba6ef3/pdf/efms_p11.pdf, downloaded on 01/03/2006, p. 1

³⁹ *ibid.* p. 4

means they should give orientation as well as portray minorities, so they find themselves as part of society in the media, and their culture, their values and norms might eventually find their way into the dominant culture.

3.3. Political Sciences and Jurisprudence

As already mentioned, the question of integration, from a political perspective, is closely linked to theoretical considerations of democracy. Modern western democracies are pluralistic societies with pluralistic constitutions. However, although pluralism is widely accepted as a political principle and a desirable condition,⁴⁰ it is assumed to be at the root of the differentiation of approaches to life and a disappearing basic consensus.⁴¹ Therefore, the question for the political sciences is similar to that of sociology: What keeps the political community together?

In the political sciences as well, there are no universally agreed upon answers to the question which could be summarized in a simple doctrine or even a definition. Explicit integration theories developed only in the field of International Politics, with a specific view on European Integration, and the European Union respectively. However, none of these theories and models explicitly refers to mass media or the people in a society. If at all, a European public is mentioned in passing – usually, to criticize its non-existence as a deficit regarding the democratic structure.

Integration theories on a national framework explicitly are practically non-existent as well. Only within the realm of jurisprudence, or more precisely, of constitutional law, a specific theory on the matter, Rudolf Smend's Theory of Integration (Integrationslehre),⁴² became an established part of the political sciences. In short: the constitution as the political core of the legal system is ascribed an integrative function insofar as it translates a social value system into a binding order. In other theories and fields of research, for instance research on political parties or nationalism, propositions on integration might be inherent; but for the purpose of this study, and considering the sociological theories already discussed above, they do not yield any new insights.

Since political scientists in Germany usually do not question democracy as the political order, certain implicit premises on integration as a common basis can be made out, though there certainly are many differences between the individual theoretical approaches to democracy. It is accepted, for instance, that representation creates legitimation, which in turn is a precondition for the stability of a political system. Connected to these basic ideas are factors like information, education, or personal abilities that are attributed integrative potential as well since they further the ability of the individual to participate in society. In this context, the necessity of a sufficient command of the German language is usually mentioned. The acceptance of national institutions and procedures is also recognized to have a stabilizing, and therefore integrative, quality since it is the basis of the binding nature of rules and decisions, and therefore allows the coordination of the actions of the groups and individuals in a community.

⁴⁰ Of course, different opinions also exist concerning the concept of pluralism. See also: Nuscheler, Frank/Steffani, Winfried (ed.) [1972]: *Pluralismus. Konzeptionen und Kontroversen*. Piper, München.

⁴¹ Compare: Vlastic, Andreas [2004]: *Die Integrationsfunktion der Massenmedien. Begriffsgeschichte, Modelle, Operationalisierung*. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden. p. 33 et seq.

⁴² Compare: Smend, Rudolf [1928]: *Verfassung und Verfassungsrecht*. Duncker & Humblot, München.
Secondary literature: Llaque, Marcus: Rudolf Smend. In: Brodocz, André/Schaal, Gary S. (ed.) [1999]: *Politische Theorien der Gegenwart – Eine Einführung*. Volume 1. Leske+Budrich, Opladen.

The concepts of the public opinion and the political public are central to the concept of democracy. Publicity as the basis of modern mass democracy serves as the framework of political opinion-forming, and the media are considered the body responsible for this publicity. “The media communication serves to open up, in addition to the legal legitimation of the elections, another ‘legitimate’ plebiscital way to power,” Franz Ronneberger wrote already in 1980.⁴³

For the mass media, that implies that they should support the opinion-forming of the people in particular. In addition, they should act as a platform for the balancing of interests between politicians, the people and specific interest groups, to accompany and support the political decision-making. They should allow equal representation and generate acceptance of the democratic system as such, but especially its procedures of arguing out conflicts and of political decision-making. They should make available information not accessible to the individual, and in turn give the political elite insight into public opinion. If the mass media are indeed able or willing to accomplish all that, or whether they are already doing that to a certain extent, no consensus exists, though.

3.4. Communication Science

The vague idea that mass media can somehow have integrative effects is widely spread in communication science. Here too it is closely linked to the hypotheses on tendencies of differentiation and globalization, and, as a result, the increasingly complex society. The assumption of the integrative effects of the mass media is not least based on the sociological integration theories. Jürgen Habermas even goes as far as linking the mediating efforts of the mass media specifically to the defeat of the ethnic-national concept of the state and the development of the “democratic nation state which, with the status of the citizen, firstly gives rise to a new, that is to say abstract, solidarity mediated by the law”⁴⁴: “Historically, this first modern form of social integration that goes beyond personal acquaintance developed in new communicational conditions mediated by the media.”⁴⁵

This shows already the common ground of the communication-scientific concept of integration with that of other fields of study. “The traditional academic discourse on integration is therefore marked by the idea of the necessity for a unity of, as well as in society, and it therefore ‘suffers’ from a normative elevation: The fear of social decay [...] and the fear of loss or decay of the state [...] mark the debate from the very beginning . . .”⁴⁶

The fact that the idea of the integrative potential of the mass media is accepted as valid by a majority reveals itself not least in the organization of the dualistic broadcasting system in Germany. Similar to the propositions on social integration in the general political sciences, however, the hypothesis of the integrative function of the mass media is hardly designed as an integration theory explicitly. Rather, many theoretical approaches implicitly or axiomatically are based on it. Recent questions in the field of communication sciences, however, touch the subject of integration, for example the debates on the function of the state-owned broadcasting stations, on the different receptive patterns in East and West Germany, on a European medial publicity, or on the portrayal of ethnic minorities.

⁴³ Ronneberger, Franz [1980]: Kommunikationspolitik. Volume 2. Hase & Koehler, Mainz. p. 106

⁴⁴ Habermas, Jürgen [2001]: Warum braucht Europa eine Verfassung? Lecture held on the 8th „Hamburg Lecture“ on 26 June 2001

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ Jarren, Otfried [2000]: Gesellschaftliche Integration durch Medien? Zur Begründung normativer Anforderungen an Medien. *Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft*, 48th year of issue, 2000/1, p. 28

An application of contemporary communication-scientific lines to the subject of integration shall be omitted here.⁴⁷ However, it must be remarked upon a theoretical and empirical need for clarification which Andreas Vlastic describes as follows: “It is easily discernable that the connection between the media and social integration is rarely the *conclusion* of an analysis, much more often, it serves as a *premise* for such investigations.”⁴⁸ According to him, this premise represents the smallest common denominator of otherwise widely different theories which can be attributed to its intuitive plausibility. With regard to political-scientific and sociological findings as well as results from psychological research,⁴⁹ a respective assumption could well be described as a scientifically founded hypothesis.

This hypothesis, however, is by no means an undisputed one. The basic question of the potentialities of the mass media is still not answered unanimously. Thomas Hanitzsch, for example, describes system-immanent reasons which might conflict with an integrative function of the media.⁵⁰ According to him, the media favor subjects and presentational styles that interest the widest possible audience: “The marketing and reception of offered public communication therefore follows the laws of attention economy with its ‘currencies’ circulation and ratings”⁵¹ which explain the exclusion of minority subjects. Other authors take on a generally critical attitude towards the media’s influence on integration processes, whether or not they are attributed (dis)integrative effects. Hartmut Esser, for instance, at a conference titled “Migrants and Media: New Challenges to the Integrative Function of the Press and of Broadcasting”, concedes only little significance in integration processes to mass communication.⁵² Otfried Jarren, then, points out that “in the traditional concepts, the integrative potential of the media is often overrated in that concrete material achievements are expected.”⁵³ However, he also admits that “integration as construction of a social reality is achieved mostly through communication. Since the social communication in modern society functions mostly through the media, a central function in (integration) discourses (as a mediator), as well as socio-structural factor of the infrastructure falls to the mass media.”⁵⁴ These examples shall suffice to show that the criticism on the basic idea of the integrative function of the mass media are as complex and heterogeneous as the theories in agreement with it. Empirically sound, however, is neither position.

⁴⁷ Here I would again like to refer to the thesis of Andreas Vlastic.

⁴⁸ Vlastic, Andreas [2004]: Die Integrationsfunktion der Massenmedien. Begriffsgeschichte, Modelle, Operationalisierung. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, Wiesbaden, p. 62.

⁴⁹ See also: Theorien zur Medienpsychologie

⁵⁰ Compare.: Hanitzsch, Thomas [2004]: Integration oder Koorientierung? Risiken funktionaler Differenzierung und Journalismustheorie. In: Löffelholz, Martin (ed.): Theorien des Journalismus. Ein diskursives Handbuch. 2nd edition. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften., Wiesbaden. p. 217 ff.

⁵¹ Hanitzsch, Thomas [2004]: Integration oder Koorientierung? Risiken funktionaler Differenzierung und Journalismustheorie. In: Löffelholz, Martin (ed.): Theorien des Journalismus. Ein diskursives Handbuch. 2nd edition. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften., Wiesbaden. p. 230

⁵² Compare: Esser, Hartmut [1999]: Assimilation, Integration und ethnische Konflikte: Können sie durch „Kommunikation“ beeinflusst werden? Lecture held on the annual meeting of the working group "Politics and Communication" of the Deutsche Vereinigung für Politische Wissenschaft (DVPW), concerning: "MigrantInnen und Medien: Neue Herausforderungen an die Integrationsfunktion von Presse und Rundfunk", 11-12/06/1999, Gerhard-Mercator-Universität Duisburg.

⁵³ Jarren, Otfried [2000]: Gesellschaftliche Integration durch Medien? Zur Begründung normativer Anforderungen an Medien. Medien & Kommunikationswissenschaft, 48th year of issue, 2000/1, p. 22

⁵⁴ *ibid.* p. 23

3.5. Conclusion

By looking at the different approaches to integration within the different fields of study, its multi-dimensionality has been shown. A standardized definition cannot be put forward. It becomes obvious that the imprecision and the normative connotations of the term are factors which are mutually dependent and not completely avoidable – the term integration is too closely connected to subjective opinions and individual approaches to life. Additionally, it has been shown that even accepted theories on the mechanisms of integration can hardly be considered objectively proved or provable. Also, even within a theory, contradictions can occur since equally valid lines of argumentation can produce different results, for instance humanitarian arguments against economic considerations.

Neither philosophy, nor political science, nor sociology have sufficient explanatory power with regard to the question of integration from an ethnic-cultural point of view, even less with regard to the integrative effects of the mass media. Media and Communication Studies, then, consists of innumerable individual theories which usually focus on only one specific field. Comprehensive concepts are missing.

However, an approximation to the term seems possible by using the intersections of modern sociological integration theories. In the following, the authors aim at a structuring of the different sociological approaches.

In the field of sociology, the term integration usually means the development, the generating, or the existence of a unity of the elements of a social system or in a wider sense a society, in contrast to the lack or dissolution of such a unity or wholeness, i.e. the splitting up of a system by, for example, disintegration, segmentation, or segregation. This unity, then, is attributed several dimensions, or is ascribed to different sources, whether exclusively, weighted, or in combination:

- **Individual** (for example abilities, education or training of a person; this includes language)
- **Interpersonal** (for example contacts, solidarity towards others, and mutual advantages)
- **Personal-institutional** (for instance political participation, identification, loyalty to the system, or abiding by the law)
- **Group-specific** (for instance group identities, values, culture, and collective prejudices)
- **Structural** (for example the economic, political, educational, or legal systems, chances of participation)
- As well as the **separation** from the other, for instance other states or regions.

At the same time, these sources are understood as features or aims of integration. Connected to immigration, this unity is linked to the access of new elements to an existing whole. Mostly, integration is viewed as both a condition and a process, which might be in consideration of the permanent social changes. The term is understood as an empirically observable phenomenon but usually is used in a normative way, since the state of being integrated is almost always implicit as a necessary or desirable goal, and the term integration comes to connote ideas of adaptation, tolerance, acceptance, respect, equal chances, or lack of discrimination.

For all these approaches, language can be considered as a central factor to integration. Although it is rarely mentioned, the possibility, or even the necessity, of communication is always implicitly required; language is the main instrument of it.

This intersection corresponds in many respects to the recurring assumptions of other fields of study. The hypothesis of the integrating effects of representation, for instance, appears in political science and communication science as well. From these intersections, with the aid of communication-scientific approaches, implications for an integrative function of the mass media can plausibly be derived. Therefore, the mass media, if they are assigned such a function, should:

- have **individual** effects, for example through an educational function or the imparting of linguistic competence.
- have **interpersonal** effects, for instance by allocating themes of common interest or generating solidarity towards others.
- have **personal-institutional** effects, for instance by functioning as a forum, enabling political participation, or by offering possibilities of identification.
- have **group specific** effects, for instance through the mediation of common norms and values, political or medial representation, or transfer of knowledge for controlling, or avoiding, of collective prejudices.
- have **structural** effects, for instance through the promotion of equal chances for participation in the legal or educational systems, or through integration into the medial system.
- or enhance the awareness of a collective identity as a **separation** from other societies, for instance by developing a sense of belonging.

One should bear in mind, though, that the process of integration requires more of people of foreign origin, for obvious reasons, than it does of the majority of society. Also therefore, it shall be warned, once more, against taking the attribution of the integrative function to the media for granted, and, even more so, applying it one-to-one on the integration of ethnic minorities. Although the hypothesis is well-founded, it is not empirically confirmed without doubt. And although it is widely accepted, there are also critics. Kai Hafez, for example, presented a qualitative (rather interesting, but not representative) study on the use of the media of Turkish recipients as well as the correlation with their degree of integration in 2002. He is skeptical of the general assumption of the socializing effects of the media.⁵⁵ He contradicts the proposition of the integration of people of foreign origin by the German mass media with his conclusion “that integration is much more a *prerequisite for* than a *consequence of* the use of the German media.”⁵⁶

The authors assume that neither proposition has an exclusive claim on validity. Although the degree of integration of the individual determines their use of the media, its reception can have integrative or disintegrative effects as well. It is, then, a mutually conditional process.

⁵⁵ Compare: Müller, Daniel [2005]: Die Mediennutzung ethnischer Minderheiten. In: Geißler/Pöttker [2005], p. 368

⁵⁶ Hafez, Kai [2002]: Türkische Mediennutzung in Deutschland. Hemmnis oder Chance der gesellschaftlichen Integration? Qualitative Studie im Auftrag des Bundespresse- und Informationsamtes. Deutsches Orient-Institut, Hamburg. p. 40. Highlightings by the authors; quoted according to: Müller, Daniel [2005]: Die Mediennutzung ethnischer Minderheiten. In: Geißler/Pöttker [2005], p. 368

4 Case Study: Funkhaus Europa, WDR

4.1. The History of Funkhaus Europa

Funkhaus Europa is the result of more than forty years of experience with broadcasts in non-German native tongues the state-owned German media has. In the early 1960s, various stations of the ARD⁵⁷ started broadcasts in the languages of the so-called guest workers. In 1964, the ARD coordinated the non-German radio broadcasts, in the form of a joint task of the regional stations, into a cohesive program. The concept of these broadcasts did not change much until the 1990s; its main objective remained – apart from offering orientation in Germany – the intention to offer the foreign audience a “bridge toward home.”⁵⁸ By providing information on the home country, a kind of informative back-connection was established. The reality in Germany, however, changed. Germany became a nation of immigration, the immigrant workers, their families and offspring as well as their cultures and languages became part of a multi-ethnic society in Germany. The technological progress of the 1980s allowed the reception of more and more programs – even from abroad. The programs of the public service TV and radio stations lost their significance. However, alarmed by an increase in xenophobia and a rise in the number of attacks on people of foreign origin in the 1990s, both politicians and broadcasting institutions accepted that the old model was obsolete and no longer lived up to the current and future situations.

After the WDR was rejected with its idea of a nation-wide integrative radio station, it followed the example of the SFB (former Sender Freies Berlin, now RBB) and, in 1998, founded its own: *Funkhaus Europa*.

4.2. The Program

Today, *Funkhaus Europa* broadcasts in cooperation with the other ARD institutions and foreign stations in German and eighteen other languages, 24-hours per day.

The program of *Funkhaus Europa* is fundamentally organized into two pillars: broadcasts in the “lingua franca,” German, which, in their capacity as the day program, can be described as the core program of Funkhaus Europa, and the non-German broadcasts, which are on mostly in the mornings and evenings.

The non-German broadcasts are not only the beginning of *Funkhaus Europa*, but still a characteristic part of the program. They provide information on the current politics, culture and society of the home countries, but also on the European countries⁵⁹ and on “Germany as

⁵⁷ In Germany, apart from private broadcasting stations and the public service broadcasting institution ZDF, also exist nine public service broadcasting institutions owned by the federal states. Together with the German foreign station Deutsche Welle, they form a working pool of the broadcasting corporations of the German Federal Republic, short ARD. Those broadcasting corporations have their own as well as shared TV and radio programmes.

⁵⁸ For the concept of „bridge towards home“ compare: Westdeutscher Rundfunk/Pressestelle [1991]: „Brücke zur Heimat“ – Fremdsprachensendungen im WDR-Radio ab 7. Oktober landesweit im fünften Hörfunkprogramm. WDR – Produktion – Programm, 30th September 1991

⁵⁹ The non-German broadcasts not being in the focus of interest and concerning the fact that the authors, with a few exceptions, cannot speak the broadcasted languages, these statements are based only on conversation with the editorial staff made during the study period and on the official data for the respective programme parts provided on the internet (in German): <http://www.wdr5.de/funkhauseuropa/sendeplan/sendungen.phtml>

the center of life”⁶⁰. It is the declared aim to not only to provide language-area specific information and discuss migration-related topics, but also publicize current discourses and topics related to the communities⁶¹ in Germany. This way, the special informational interest and the special life situation of the audience is taken into account, while, on the other hand, they are enabled to participate in the German society. Additionally, the broadcasts shall serve as a complement, or even as a corrective, to the possibly one-sided media in the home country. But even today, the topics of service⁶² and orientation have their place in the program.

During the day, the broadcasts are in the “common day-to-day language”⁶³, German. This ensures, according to the WDR, the possibility to listen through a program, as well as opening it towards people whose languages are not represented, as well as Germans. The news magazines of the German day program, as well as the non-German broadcasts, provide current and background information, mainly on politics, but also society, culture, economy and sports, as well as service and entertainment.

With bilingual broadcasts, the station takes into account the life situation of especially younger listeners of foreign origin who often live in a bilingual and bicultural environment. The German part of the program, too, should be open to the multi-lingual reality of its audience.

A third pillar of the program is the musical coloring of *Funkhaus Europa*, described as ‘world music.’ It is a characteristic and supporting element of the program.

4.3. The Structure of the Study

The research that this paper is based on examines, by using *Funkhaus Europa* as an example, which characteristic elements, mainly of the coverage, define integrative public service broadcasting. The informative content of the German part of the program are the focal point of interest here. In addition, the theoretical premises, the structure of the program and editorial peculiarities are examined. The study is based on the well-founded assumption that the mass media can have integrative effects. From this starting point, the question is raised which means are used by the public service radio station *Funkhaus Europa*, which was designed as an integrative program, to achieve those effects, and which ideas and objectives those means are based on.

The structure of this study, therefore, is determined by the following questions:

- a) Which characteristic coverage and structural elements define *Funkhaus Europa*?
- b) Which of these elements are deliberately employed as means of integration?
- c) Which ideas and objectives form the basis of the program and structure of *Funkhaus Europa*?

⁶⁰ Pleitgen, Fritz [1998]: Eröffnungsrede zum Start von Funkhaus Europa am 30.08.1998. Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Köln. p. 5

⁶¹ „Communities“ means those social networks which are mainly defined by shared experiences, knowledge and interests of people of the same origin. Sometimes, the concept of „community“ is used not so much with the intention of separation from the society: then it vaguely groups all people with a special awareness of and interest in a multicultural living together.

⁶² In the context of Funkhaus Europa, „service“ means support in everyday life or on living in Germany. It does not mean services like weather forecasts or traffic information.

⁶³ Westdeutscher Rundfunk (ed.) [2003]: Integration und kulturelle Vielfalt. Viel erreicht – noch mehr zu leisten. Westdeutscher Rundfunk, Köln. p. 6

These questions are dealt with in three subsequent steps: A program analysis, in which, by use of exemplary broadcasts, the coverage of *Funkhaus Europa* is compared to a not explicitly integratively designed program, forms the core of the study. Examined were, as examples, the German-language mid-day broadcast *Funkhaus Europa Piazza* and *Mittagsmagazin* ('noon magazine') of WDR2 (a radio channel of the same parent company, WDR)⁶⁴.

Before that, however, the questions were dealt with on two other levels: Firstly, a qualitative analysis of the literature available, by means of which the official position on integration of the WDR as the parent company, and therefore the framework in which *Funkhaus Europa* is set, is determined. The analysis is mainly based on official statements of the station, for instance press releases, brochures or lectures held by its representatives, but also on legal texts and press reports.

Secondly, the program analysis was preceded by an open, half-structured questioning, in the form of problem-oriented interviews, of the permanently employed editors of the German-language speech-editorial office of *Funkhaus Europa* (Redaktion Europa Aktuell/ Editorial Current European Affairs). In these interviews, the individual understandings of integration, objectives and expectations of the individual were ascertained, as well as the demands on the program and the respective conceptual ideas. Additionally, questions were asked on the specific procedures, for instance the dealing with or the implementation of topics. The evaluation of those interviews gave an understanding of the point of view of the "producers," that means their subjective theories, views and intentions, as well as their professional obligations, their working structures and methods. Following the gatekeeper research in this respect, the editors are viewed as a decisive factor in the process of content selection.

These two levels of the study gave insights into the theoretical setting of *Funkhaus Europa*, and a starting point for the content-analytical evaluation of the program; also, they serve as a backdrop for its results.

In connecting the three levels of research, statements can be made on the relationship of the official and the internal editorial perspective on the actual circumstances, on the broadcast product. Also, it allows to compare the demands of an integrative program as deduced from theory to the actual product.

⁶⁴Content Analysis Methodology: The analysed program was determined by using the method of an artificial week, which was used similarly for *FHE* and *WDR2* to ensure the comparability. The artificial week emanated from an observation period of one year. The weekdays were drawn as random numbers from weekday clusters. The sample hence included five days of broadcasting of each program. The representative sample covered a total of 97 radio plays, 46 of *Piazza (FHE)* and 51 of *Mittagsmagazin (WDR2)*. The categories for the content analysis resulted from an inductive-deductive procedure based on the upstream steps as explained (qualitative analysis of WDR-literature, problem-oriented interviews with the *FHE*-editors, integration theory). The code-decode system was tested, discussed and adapted by several coders; all of the final coding was realized by the same coder and controlled by a second one. No multiple mentions were allowed for reference units (compare footnote #65) within a radio play; only lengths of plays, talktime of reference units and comparable categories were totalled. Multiple mentions were possible for content-categories, not for alternative categories such as formal characteristics or origin.

4.4. Results of the Program Analysis

The analysis of the example broadcast, *Piazza*, gives a complex and differentiated impression of the coverage. Several factors can be worked out distinctly; others can only be described in tendencies, though. In the following, only a small extract of the whole analysis can be presented.

Formal Characteristics

The average length of a broadcast being 3:31 minutes, and the wide variation in length, indicate that no strict formatting in the ways of modern format radio exists at *Funkhaus Europa*. This finding underlines the statements of editors that formal openness is a characteristic of *Funkhaus Europa*. At the same time, *Piazza* is, as stressed by the editors too, “a modern radio magazine with a standard structure and modern radio elements.”

The dominating form of representation is the report with original quotes. In addition, the standard forms of political magazines, for instance reporter or correspondent interviews, surveys or interviews, are used. Short and entertaining forms are employed as well. So-called ‘Erklärstücke’ (explanatory radio plays) that were named by the editors as a frequent and characteristic form are not to be found once amongst the analyzed material. Equally absent are Call-In-elements, which, however, were mostly mentioned for the general program. The reports themselves are marked by their implementation. More often than in the *Mittagsmagazin*, as the point of comparison, it makes use of the original sound of the location, for instance, or music.

It also can be shown that *Piazza* not only covers and reacts to current events or affairs, but also equally often broadcasts their ‘own’ topics with no discernible occasion.

As many as 37% of the analyzed broadcasts, remarkably, can be ascribed to authors of foreign descent (compare table 1). A little less than a third of these are recorded with an accent. The representation of people of foreign origin, as claimed by the editors and aimed at by the parent company, shows very much in *Piazza*. As does, if less obviously, the employment of natives (as opposed to German correspondents, as otherwise standard in the ARD) for the coverage from abroad. Especially considering that not one broadcast of the comparison program could be determined to be authored by someone of foreign origin, this medial integration could be described as a characteristic feature of *Piazza*.

Contents

Thematically, *Piazza* is dominated by politics (compare table 2). About two fifth of the broadcast topics, with the possibility of multiple entries, relate to this theme. ‘Society’ is, with about one fifth, second on the list, followed by ‘Integration/Immigration’ with a little less than a fifth. The theme ‘European Integration’ comes in seventh with a little more than a tenth of broadcasts, behind ‘Religion,’ ‘Work/Economics’ and ‘Entertainment/Soft News/Human Touch.’ The editors’ evaluation that the “thematic mix” of *Funkhaus Europa* is determined by, first, integration, and second, European integration, cannot be confirmed based on the analyzed material.

The statement that the coverage of *Funkhaus Europa* is first and foremost “standard political coverage” seems to be more accurate. For instance, on four of five of the days analyzed, parallels to the comparison program can be found in the choice of topics. Certain top themes, for example the funeral service for the late Pope John Paul II or the consent of the Parliament of the EU to the new Commission – appear in both formats. These topics are often

similarly implemented, too. In one case, the contribution was exactly the same, probably supplied by a correspondent of the ARD or WDR to all editorials. The editors' statement that the coverage on day-to-day politics does not differ much from that of other programs, therefore, seems to be confirmed by the analysis.

Also, contributions related to 'Service' are rare considering that contributions of an advisory nature, in the sense of 'Information and Support,' for immigrants are stressed by the editors as an important part of the program. In the analyzed material, the only two contributions related to service are tips on cooking and travel. Even rarer are contributions on themes 'Customs/Traditions/Way of Life,' contrary to the opinion of the editors that *Funkhaus Europa* looks "very often at the day-to-day habits, at traditions". The same holds true for the declared intention of explaining "the German perspective" to immigrants, and the statement that topics that are not specifically related to integration or immigration are viewed from an immigrant perspective in *Piazza*. Of the broadcasts that are not primarily dealing with integration and immigration, not one refers to immigration. All these factors, described in the interviews as characteristic for *Funkhaus Europa*, appear in the analyzed broadcasts rarely or not at all.

More often, though, comparative coverage is used as a means. 13% of the contributions examined show comparative elements. Examples for this are short references to other countries in contributions, or surveys on the same topic in more than one country. Also, sometimes coverage on domestic policies in other countries can be found, for instance an interview with the new Greek president, or Blair's political competition, in his own constituency, with the father of a soldier killed in action in Iraq.

Only a few broadcasts, however, fulfil the claim formulated by the editors to give Germans an insight into areas that they otherwise have no access to. As one of the few exceptions, a survey in Islamic communities on the discussion on Islamic extremists should be mentioned here.

In consideration of the formal means and the choice of topics as described above, the official claim that *Funkhaus Europa* is a "Vollprogramm" (generalist program) can, at least for *Piazza*, be supported.

Areas of Coverage

It can be shown that *Piazza* has more contributions thematically located outside Germany than within (compare table 4), although the margin is not that wide. International and European topics constitute about 13% of the contributions. It becomes obvious, too, that topics situated abroad appear less often in a negative context than do German, European, or International topics. 25% of the former appear in a negative context; the claim of the editors that they want to portray what happens abroad "beyond catastrophe coverage" can therefore be considered true.

With about a third of the coverage total, the countries of the EU are represented distinctly more than other foreign countries. Other regions appear, if even, only marginally. However, even EU-related topics take up, in contrast to the statements of the editors, rather little room. Only four of the 46 contributions analyzed are related to this theme.

Persons and Majorities Appearing

A central point in all editors' statements is the claim of a strong representation of people of foreign origin in the program. This analysis underlines this claim. In a large part of the broadcasts people of foreign origin appear (compare table 3a). 42% of all appearing reference

units⁶⁵ are discernible as foreigners, 13% are of foreign descent. Only 32% of all appearing persons and majorities are Germans of German origin (compare table 3b). Within the coverage area Germany, that means – using the most recent social statistics – an overrepresentation of people of foreign origin and an underrepresentation of Germans. In consideration of findings to the contrary of media content research on mainstream programs, this dominant representation of people of foreign origin can well be considered a characteristic feature of *Piazza*.

The representation of people of foreign origin in the coverage was, for the interviewed editors, closely linked to other factors which were formulated partly as objectives, partly as means, for instance the portrayal of cultural diversity as social normalcy and reality. However, immigration as “daily routine” in the program and ‘presence [...] in the coverage about everyday life,’⁶⁶ as the WDR states, cannot be observed – at least not for people of foreign origin who appear on the program. The majority appears in broadcasts which are explicitly connected to the theme ‘Integration/Immigration.’ Additionally, the portrayal of reality could be impeded by the strong overrepresentation of the Islamic faith. Two thirds of the reference units of Islamic faith, then, appear on broadcasts with negative contexts. It is to be considered, though, that no mentioning of the religious faith took place without importance to the topic of the broadcasts.

The claim that a reality is portrayed, however, is substantiated by the role distribution of the reference units (compare table 6). 44% of the people of foreign origin are presented as “everyday people,” it follows, far behind, ‘Government/State’ (15%), ‘politics’ (12%) and ‘work’ (9%). This ranking applies, with slight digressions of the figures, to the distributions of the German reference units. Also, stereotypes and clichés are not observed.

Concerning the professional status, it is difficult to make definite statements insofar as this is not determinable for a large part of the reference units. Remarkable is, however, that the proportion of persons in positions of leadership to the total of the foreign reference units is almost the same as the figure for the German reference units. The portrayal of socially better-off classes does not seem to be influenced by origin.

Another point stressed by the interviewed editors in connection to the integration of people of foreign origin is the inclusion of their “intellectual representatives.” An official goal is it, for instance, to employ more experts of foreign origin in the program since they are underrepresented in the mainstream programs. This can neither be verified nor disproved: Of the 516 reference units (meaning persons or collectives appearing on the program) coded for *Funkhaus Europa*, only two functioned as experts.

All in all it can be said that, considering the representation of people of foreign origin, the general finding of media research on the contents of mainstream media that they depict people of foreign origin rarely, negatively or distortedly does not apply to *Piazza*. Distortions are observable, though. However, firstly it is questionable whether a social-statistically correct portrayal is possible or desirable, and secondly, the German reference units suffer distortions as well. Men are, for instance, strongly overrepresented in all groups.

⁶⁵ The term reference unit (Referenzeinheit) names persons or collectives that appear in the broadcast, that is to say they are addressed or talk themselves.

⁶⁶ WDR programme guidelines. Passed by the WDR Broadcasting Council on 27 January 2006. Url (in German): http://www.wdr.de/unternehmen/_media/pdf/basis_struktur/programmleitlinien/WDR_Leitlinien.pdf;jsessionid=5SDHKMEGDBB DUCQKYXFETIQ, downloaded on 24/04/2006, p. 4

Language

Not only the general presentation of the foreign reference units, but also their proportional speaking time testifies to their strong representation in the program (compare table 5). In the broadcasts of *Piazza*, People of foreign origin are mostly allowed to speak longer and more often than Germans of German origin. It confirms the claim of the editors that foreign accents are often heard in the program. The claim that immigrants are often heard on *Funkhaus Europa* cannot be confirmed, though. If one looks at the people of foreign descent specifically, one notices that they are heard more seldom than those of German origin.

5 Conclusion

The analysis shows that the WDR, with its conception of an integrative radio station, operates in harmony with a scientific paradigm regarding integration in Germany, and the dominant political climate of our time. Those conceptual characteristics that the WDR lists for its program are indeed found in the theory as factors of integration. Consequently, many consider it a praiseworthy initiative.

It has been shown that the central points specified by the interviewed editors as integrative not only can be found in large parts in integration-theoretical approaches, they also can be considered to be characteristic of *Funkhaus Europa*. These are especially:

- Integration of people of foreign origin into the production
- Integration of people of foreign origin into the program
- Thematic focus on integration and immigration
- Thematic focus on topics abroad
- Comparative elements respective different countries

Regarding the medial integration of people of foreign origin into the program, still more detailed findings could be produced: they mostly appear as “everyday people,” victim or offender descriptions are practically non-existent, and they are often heard.

Apart from these, other characteristic features can be found which were mentioned by the editors but not explicitly as means of integration: the covering of topics currently of interest in Germany, the standard structure of a radio magazine, the formal openness, and the high proportion of self-proposed topics.

Some of the characteristics of the program named and accepted as integrative by the editors cannot be confirmed as typical or at all, though. This includes the frequent use of radio plays to explain customs, traditions and ways of life and the everyday life of majority or minority cultures, the expansion of not explicitly immigration-related topics by a reference to migration, and a special service for immigrants in the sense of giving advice, and offering information and help. The main topic of the European Integration cannot be confirmed apart from the high proportion of European reference units.

It becomes obvious, too, that, contrary to the claims, people of foreign origin are often presented in negative contexts. In the light of the described results that does not mean that one can speak of negativism or problematic attitude – the same holds by the way true for a positivistic coverage or a playing down of problems. In opposition to the declared aim to portray the realities of day-to-day life, however, the main topic, politics, is dominating the thematic structure.

6 Outlook

Funkhaus Europa, then, fulfils the demands on an integrative medium, which are deduced from theory and empirical research, in many respects, as well as predominantly their own ambitions. However, this only remarks on the form of the program. Statements on its effects cannot be made on the basis of these findings. They do allow, however, to examine whether or not the employed means have the intended effects. In order to form a basis for future programmatic decisions beyond theoretical propositions it would be of interest to check these criteria for their actual effect. There is no question that this is not an easy task; As it is without question that it is necessary. Otherwise, criteria for research like the one this paper is based on will furthermore be missing. And for further on, programmatic planning, in this respect, will be made in the dark.

In addition, no studies are available yet on the characteristic features of integrative media in Germany, which is why the results described above cannot be compared. The authors expect that other integratively designed media share the characteristics of the examined radio station, even if they are not situated in Germany. An external validation promises to enhance knowledge considerably. Comparisons with successful ethnic or migrant media would also allow conclusions on their actual effectiveness

The question of social integration, and therefore the integration of ethnically, linguistically, religiously or culturally defined parts of society is, increasingly and lastingly, of great importance to all Western democracies. Mass media could and should contribute to this process. For this to succeed, research has to take up this topic and carry it out thoroughly, objectively and interdisciplinary.

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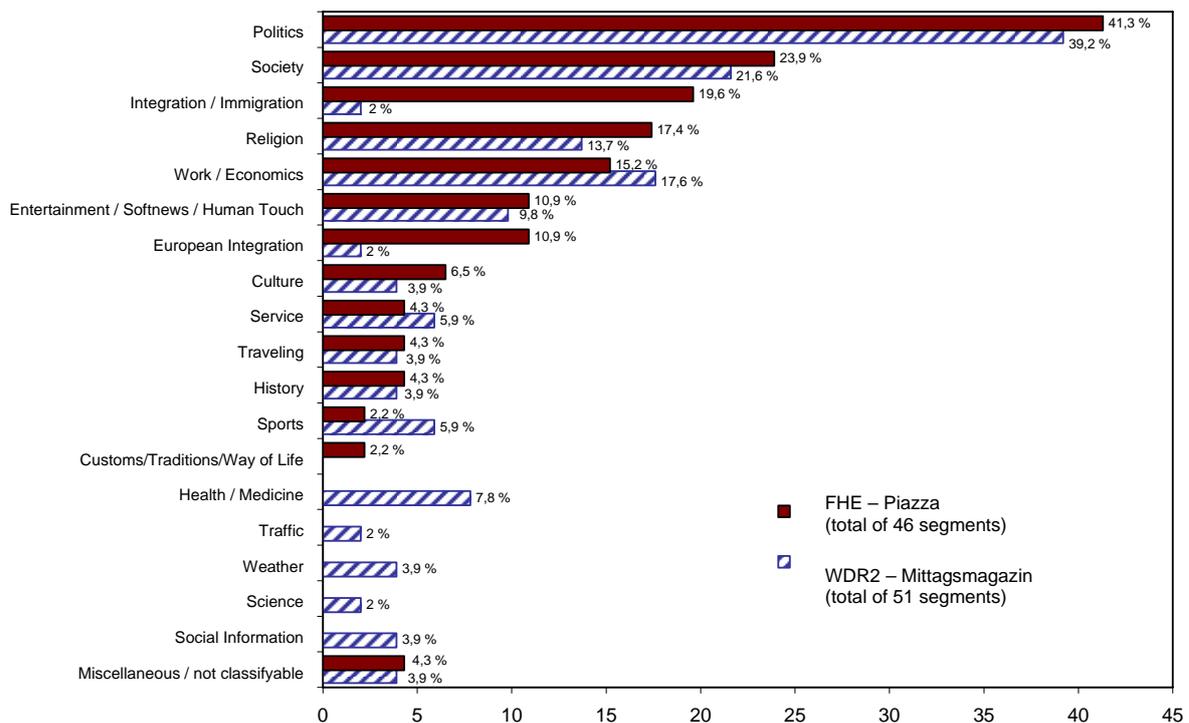
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Tables

1) Origin of the Author

origin of the author	FHE - Piazza		WDR2 – Mittagmagazin	
	N	%	N	%
foreign descent	17	37%	0	0%
german descent	26	57%	32	63%
not classifiable	3	7%	19	37%
Total	46	100%	51	100%

2) Topics (multiple entries possible)



3a) Reference Units of Foreign Descent I

minimum of 1 reference unit of foreign descent in the segment	FHE - Piazza		WDR2 – Mittagmagazin	
	N	%	N	%
according to current residence	32	70%	26	51%
according to origin	22	48%	8	16%
according to apparent origin	41	89%	30	59%
Total of segments	46	100%	51	100%

3b) Reference Units of Foreign Descent II

Apparent Origin of the Reference Unit	FHE - Piazza		WDR2 – Mittagsmagazin	
	N	%	N	%
german with german background	166	32%	241	55%
non-german migration background	217	42%	163	37%
generally european (only for pluralities or collectives)	65	13%	7	2%
internationally (only for pluralities or collectives)	33	6%	8	2%
international (only for pluralities or collectives)	26	5%	21	5%
not referable	9	2%	2	0%
total	516	100%	442	100%

4) Areas of Coverage

Topics situated abroad	FHE - Piazza		WDR2 – Mittagsmagazin		
	N	%	N	%	
Germany only	19	41%	29	57%	
Germany and abroad	particularly EU	4	9%	1	2%
	international in general	2	4%	1	2%
	total	6	13%	2	4%
Abroad	EU-Countries	13	28%	8	16%
	Europe, not EU	4	9%	7	14%
	beyond Europe	3	7%	4	8%
	total	20	44%	19	38%
not unascertainable	1	2%	1	2%	
<i>total of segments</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>100%</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>100%</i>	

(incorrect additions are due to the rounding of the places after the comma)

5) Soundbites

reference units with at least 1 soundbite	FHE - Piazza		WDR2 - Mittagsmagazin	
	N	per segment	N	per segment
german (current & by origin)	49	1,07	50	0,98
not german (current & by origin)	51	1,11	23	0,45
migration background	21	0,46	0	0,00

6) Role Distribution of the Reference Units (according to apparent origin and program)

