

AIRTIME FOR NEWCOMERS

Radio for Migrants in the United Kingdom and West Germany, 1960s – 1980s

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This article explores the British and West German public service radio's abilities to reflect on and to address the specific needs and expectations of migrant groups in their programmes between the 1960s and 1980s. Mechanisms of social inclusion and exclusion alike can be investigated here. Empirically, it is based on comparisons of radio broadcasts on and for different immigrant communities, produced by BBC Radio Leicester on/for the post-war Asian migrants in England and by West German public service broadcasting on/for 'Gastarbeiter' (foreign workers) as well as for 'Spätaussiedler' (German repatriates from East Europe). Radio is studied as an agent of identity management and citizenship education. Not only did radio talk about migrants and migration to introduce these topics and the newcomers to the local population. It also offered airtime to selected migrant communities to cater for their needs and interests as well as to facilitate their difficulties of adjusting to an unfamiliar environment.

KEYWORDS Radio history; public service radio; migrant radio; immigration; identity management; inclusion; exclusion; transnational history; entangled history; ARD; BBC

Historical research has long neglected the decisive role mass media play in integration processes of migrants. Inspired by the idea of tracing transnational and transmedial entanglement in media history as a team of authors with different cultural backgrounds,¹ this paper explores the United Kingdom and West German public service radios' abilities and limitations to reflect on and to address the specific needs and expectations of migrant groups in its programmes between the 1960s and 1980s. In those years, immigration became a widely and sometimes heatedly discussed issue in both countries, as it challenged traditional ideas of alleged homogenous European nation states and underscored the general frictions of social and cultural change.² Empirically, the paper is based on internal correspondence and reports as well as on radio broadcasts (manuscripts and audio documents) on and for different migrant groups produced by BBC Radio Leicester for post-war Asian – namely Indian –

immigrants in England as well as by the West German *Länder* public service broadcasters in the ARD-consortium³ for *Gastarbeiter* (foreign workers) and particularly for *Spätaussiedler* (i.e. ethnic German repatriates from the Soviet Union and East Europe). Concepts of nationhood⁴ as well as the ethnic nature of the post-Second World War nation state and, hence, of inclusion and exclusion of immigrants were at stake in these radio programmes.

In general, public service broadcasting aims at addressing a broad audience comprising ideally all or, at least, most members of society forming a nationwide public.⁵ However, since the early days of radio, catering for specific social groups as target audiences has been one strategy to reach this goal. This paper looks at *how* public service broadcasting catered for certain migrant groups and how it discussed their situation to mediate their special needs to a greater public, for this tells us more about communicative mechanisms of societal integration. What migration-related topics were addressed in which way?

We argue, that radio has been creating a parasocial relationship with migrants as well as with the native population. It did not simply support the assimilation of migrants into their new environment by teaching them the hitherto dominant norms, values, and habits of the receiving society. Rather, in the United Kingdom and West Germany, radio has helped foster hybrid identities, which merged and adjusted cultural facets from both the new and old heritage, and therefore has served as a means of individual and collective identity building. Public service broadcasters in both countries, nonetheless, felt as part of a national mission and, hence, fostered the hegemony of what they understood as national values and as the respective national high and popular culture as a way of citizenship education as well as cultural enhancement for both newcomers and natives.

In this article, we first clarify where migration history met radio history in England and West Germany. Second, we explain radio's ability to contribute to migrants' and natives' individual and collective identity building while referring to including and excluding effects of migrant related broadcasts by presenting findings from our analyses.

Where Migration History Meets Radio History

Asian Radio Broadcasting in England

England, due to its once leading role in the British Empire, has its very own history of intercultural encounters and transfers. For long, the number of immigrants coming to the United Kingdom was very small. The scenario changed drastically after the Second World

War and the decline of the British Empire, when large numbers of workers and their families from outside Europe felt attracted to move to the British Isles. After the independence of the British Raj in 1947, for instance, the United Kingdom became the main destination for migrants leaving from the newly founded Union of India and the Dominion of Pakistan. Moreover, large groups of immigrants came from the Caribbean in the late 1940s and 1950s. Others arrived from East and South Africa – in the 1960s and 1970s including a large group having roots also in India.⁶ Although the United Kingdom was experiencing a shortage of unskilled labour and turned to the Commonwealth countries to add migrants to its labour force, this post-war immigration from primarily non-European regions revealed common resentment, discrimination and xenophobia.⁷ The race riots in Nottingham and London's Notting Hill in 1958 dramatically exhibited these tensions.⁸

There are several research attempts to understand the circumstances and challenges of post-war migration to the United Kingdom and its effects on mass media communication, especially regarding Asian immigrants.⁹ The main focus has been on British television, stereotypes and the lack of representation of this community in programmes.¹⁰ Radio was less in focus, until very recently. While Linfoot discusses selected English radio programmes for immigrants after 1945¹¹, Khamkar gives a first comprehensive overview of the role of radio for the newly arrived migrant Asian community.¹² Since the late 1950s, there was a British tradition of Asian language radio, but it was for Asians in Asia. In July 1965, however, the BBC organised a conference to debate whether special programmes designed to assist them with the problems of integrating into the British society would be welcomed. In contrast to Caribbean representatives, who advised the BBC not to provide separate programmes for West Indians,¹³ the Asian migrant community welcomed special programmes – as support to overcome the feelings of alienation, which resulted from differences in religion, culture and language.¹⁴ The BBC responded to this need by establishing its “Immigrants Programme Unit” (later just “Asian Programmes Unit”) to produce television programmes for the migrant community. This approach was underscored by programmatic programme titles such as “Make Yourself at Home”, “Nayi Zindagee Naye Jeevan” (i.e. “New Life” in Hindi and Urdu) or “Can I help?”¹⁵ In November 1965, the British Government set up an Immigrants Advisory Committee, which – and allegedly the Asian community as a whole – welcomed these initiatives and recognized their place within the BBC's sense of public service.¹⁶ By the late 1960s, the BBC began to understand the potential for “specialisation, decentralisation and democratisation”¹⁷ with its local radio service. As a result, the BBC started considering its local radio as a better platform for catering to its Asian listeners than its national network.

In October 1976, attempting to accurately reflect local needs and demands and not just the prejudices of the English Station Manager, the BBC introduced Asian radio programming output through its local radio station in Leicester, where there was a large Gujarati-speaking Indian audience.¹⁸ Very soon the Asian population became most responsive to this programme and thus, it was expanded from Monday to Friday and later also on Saturdays.

Broadcasting for ‘Gastarbeiter’ and ‘Spätaussiedler’ in West Germany

As in the British case, it is striking how little was known about the interconnectedness of broadcasting and migration history in Germany until recently. So far, only the media usage of the *Gastarbeiter* and their descendants have been studied fairly well.¹⁹ In West Germany in the 1960s, *Gastarbeiter*, predominantly from Mediterranean countries like Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal, Turkey, and Yugoslavia, contributed much needed labour force to the Federal Republic’s still booming post-war economy.²⁰ Subsequently, special broadcasts for *Gastarbeiter* in their respective mother-tongue were – though reluctantly – introduced by major federal German broadcasting institutions within the ARD consortium. This was done in accordance with requests from the German Federal Government and by governments of the labour migrants’ respective home countries. In those Cold War days, radio turned into a public stage for political competition: Eastern European countries’ state-run or clandestine propaganda broadcasting stations tried to reach out for the *Gastarbeiter*. This provoked communicative counteraction in West German radio by establishing special foreign language broadcasts for these working migrants.²¹ All these measures were framed by the erroneous assumption that the *Gastarbeiter* would leave Germany when their labour force was not needed any more. Thus, the respective West German radio programmes were initially designed to provide a bridge home and not as a support for settling down.

In obvious contrast to the United Kingdom, West Germany had no significant experience with mass migration from non-European regions. The first large group of non-European immigrants in West Germany did not arrive until the late 1970s, when refugees from Vietnam escaped to the Federal Republic.²² However, these “Boat People” and the *Gastarbeiter*, weren’t West Germany’s only experience with the arrival of newcomers in general. In fact, since the end of the Second World War there had been a great many people migrating to the country from East and Southeast Europe. Not only had there been about eight to nine million German refugees and expellees in the immediate aftermath of war. Another legacy of the war was the immigration of so called *Spätaussiedler* or *Aussiedler* (terms varying), i.e. ethnic German repatriates from the Soviet Union and East Europe. Research on

the German expellees' relationship to media and their media representation is rather new.²³ But even in these studies, the *Spätaussiedler* mark a gap; in terms of media history, their migration has remained unexplored so far.

Spätaussiedler were Eastern European migrants with a German background, who came to the Federal Republic in the 1950s and onwards, based on certain paragraphs in the West German law granting them the right to “return” to the Federal Republic of Germany as citizens.²⁴ Over time, the numbers of *Spätaussiedler* immigration to the Federal Republic increased, peaking remarkably in the 1970s. Back then, generally 40.000 new *Spätaussiedler* came to West Germany every year.²⁵ Between 1950 and 1986, 1.3 million people from Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Hungary immigrated to the Federal Republic of Germany as *Spätaussiedler*.²⁶

Even though there was a fair number of *Spätaussiedler* living in the Federal Republic, there was no such thing as a *Spätaussiedler*-Radio in the public service scheme. Instead, these newcomers were featured in various public service programmes. To most West Germans, the growing group of *Spätaussiedler* was strange and distant. People needed to get accustomed with each other, as integration only works as an exchange process, involving the newcomers as well as the locals.

Making Migrants Feel at Home? Radio's Contributions to Identity Building

Individual or group identity is nothing fixed, coherent or stable, but a complex, continuous, and undetermined process of interaction between self and society, of the “dialectical relationship between internal definitions and external categorization and recognition” or validation with points of reference depending upon the perspectives of insiders and outsiders.²⁷ Hence, identity, which promises a “belonging” or “home” and gives key orientation in a complex world, is socially and culturally constructed by articulating, adapting, mixing and performing common role models, not least due to public (mass) media communication.²⁸ Inclusion and exclusion are two sides of the same coin here and it is common to have several parallel or entangled – sometimes also contradictory – identities depending on the social context and concrete situation. “Diaspora identities” constantly produce and reproduce themselves anew, “through transformation and difference,” as Stuart Hall has noted.²⁹ At the same time it is very challenging for diaspora members to integrate in the society of their new homeland, as existing political, economic, social and cultural networks and their infrastructure tend to repel any newcomers, leaving immigrants for some

time (or generations) segregated both factually and metaphorically.³⁰ Therefore, social or cultural change, especially when induced by pluralisation and mass individualisation, may be experienced as a crisis and challenge to traditional identities and then tends to become an issue of heated public debate.³¹ Broadcasting reveals remarkable potential for (moderating) identity management as electronic (mass) media offer “new resources and new disciplines for the construction of imagined selves and imagined worlds.”³²

The BBC had a duty to represent and serve Britain’s ethnic minorities. However, until the 1960s the BBC was not convinced that having programmes specifically for migrants would be an advantage, fearing such programmes could aggravate racial tensions³³ and assuming migrants would not be interested anyway. Nevertheless, the government continued to lobby for migrant programmes “to overcome the problems of language and cultural and environmental differences.”³⁴ This led to the BBC’s radio programming output for the Asian migrant community in the 1960s. Local Asian residents presented respective radio shows.

It was intended that the programmes should include advice and information on various topics relevant to the immigrants’ daily life. For example, discussion of immigrants’ problems and status, success stories of immigrants, interviews with celebrities, and teaching of the English language. In “Make Yourself at Home” guests dealt with carrying out essential domestic routines such as taking children to school or finding their way on the bus. Its task was to answer questions, and to sweeten the jaw-breaking complexities of housing or nationality with a little traditional song and dance. “Milan”, another series, was a weekly half-hour programme broadcast on every Wednesday at 7.02 pm, for Asian migrants in Hindustani language, a mix of Hindi and Urdu, the national languages of India and Pakistan. This programme included an English lesson, record requests, and a local news summary translated in Hindustani language. Also, there was a ‘what’s on’ bulletin aimed at the Asian listeners, for example about Indian films showing locally.³⁵ And “The Six O’Clock Show,” which started in October 1976, developed into a radio magazine programme, which included Asian news – local, domestic as well as from the Indian sub-continent – discussions, music and requests.³⁶ Music was extremely important to the Asian community, particularly Bollywood tunes. “The Six O’Clock Show” was initially broadcast three nights of the week in English, one night in Hindi-Urdu, and one night in Gujarati language. Later it was expanded to all weekdays from Monday to Friday from 6 pm until midnight, and subsequently, also on Saturdays from 8 pm till 10 pm. This development led to the creation of what is today known as the BBC Radio Asian Network.

In West Germany, broadcasting for German refugees and expellees from East, Central and Southeast Europe became common after the Second World War. Providing broadcasts for non-German *Gastarbeiter* became only accepted under the circumstances of the Cold War as “important social and psychological support for migrants” to defy Communist propaganda from the Eastern bloc.³⁷ As a bridge home, news and music from the migrants’ home countries and in their respective mother tongue were broadcast by Westdeutscher Rundfunk and Bayerischer Rundfunk for the ARD. Moreover, radio features and commentaries as well as local news and basic information were given as orientation for life in West Germany by bilingual journalists, who had roots in the *Gastarbeiters’* countries and who were deployed to edit these programmes in accordance with the German public service programme mandate. However, radio was not supposed to assist the migrants to integrate in the West German society.

Another way of catering for migrants in West German radio can be observed in the case of the *Spätaussiedler*. They were citizens of Eastern European countries, but at the same time ethnically and historically Germans, thus allowed to apply for West German citizenship. On the radio, *Spätaussiedler* were able to tell the public, how their split identity unfolded troubles, before and after their immigration to the Federal Republic. In their old home, they had been regarded as “Germans”, a minority looked upon as strangers. But the same became true after moving to West Germany. Again, they were discriminated against, they said, and seen as Poles, Russians or Romanians.

In the eyes of the *Spätaussiedler* it was especially outrageous, when people treated them like *Gastarbeiter* (“like the cheapest sort of workers – the Turks!”³⁸). “After all, I’m German. I’m a German and I’m very happy to be able to spend my last years among Germans”, an angered elderly lady proclaimed on Bayerischer Rundfunk in 1978.³⁹ It is striking how *Spätaussiedler* felt particularly insulted by the comparison with *Gastarbeiter*. It unveils the hierarchical patterns of social judgement, typical in immigration societies. Community-building processes regularly show these dynamics of inner and outer circles.

Despite the *Spätaussiedler* defending their ‘Germaness’ on air, they often also admitted how close they still felt to their old country. This demonstrates, how there was no such thing as one singular *Spätaussiedler*-voice, but multiple ones. West German radio journalists continuously tried to capture this reciprocity. Yes, *Heimweh* (homesickness) was a problem for them: “I’m here not long enough yet to only think of Hanover. I still think of Gdańsk and my colleagues there.”⁴⁰ The newcomers faced cultural and language barriers.

Language proved to be of special importance, not only for dealing with the locals, but also for the *Spätaussiedlers*' self-esteem: "The language ... it's bad. I know so much and want to say so much, but I can't express myself," a young male *Spätaussiedler* complained in an interview.⁴¹ On the one hand, radio fostered the *Spätaussiedlers*' emancipation. It gave them a unique chance to tell their story and thereby develop confidence and a voice in the public discourse. On the other hand, acoustically, radio cemented the *Spätaussiedlers*' 'foreignness'. By voicing them, radio exposed and marked *Spätaussiedler* as strangers.

The *Spätaussiedler* radio programmes reflected all the different stages of the complex process of settling down in West Germany. They ranged from a simply informative function up to a highly participative potential for both integrating parties, thus, revealing the power to give a voice to some, but at the same time to estrange and to silence others. Even though the analysed programmes were produced over a time span of roughly twenty years, the following topics dominate: immigration numbers, housing, bureaucracy, language skills and ambitions, professional skills and ambitions, politics, and finally, family history. Through special rhetorical techniques, these topics turn into significant fora for citizenship education.

First, the journalists explained, why *Spätaussiedler* came from different countries in Central, East, and Southeast Europe. They gave background information, for instance, on how many *Spätaussiedler* had tried to leave these countries for years, and how Communist regimes had declined many applications. Next, the broadcasters informed their listeners about the *Spätaussiedlers*' arrival in the Federal Republic. Various experts and stakeholders delivered insights to their daily work with *Spätaussiedler*-related issues at schools, employment offices, and trade unions.⁴² But the journalists only used factual narratives as informative openers, to tell personal vivid stories next. They portrayed brave *Spätaussiedler*, who struggled with a variety of forms of the German bureaucracy, withstood pathetic conditions at refugee camps, and, eventually, enjoyed fine new apartments.

The interviewees were questioned about their feelings in the new country, their hopes, fears and first experiences. Many were intimidated, shocked or even frightened. On the radio, journalists expressed understanding and thereby did advocate the same for local listeners: "They come to the land of their desire. To a home unknown. To a strange society. To people, who mistrust them."⁴³ A mechanic from Poland was given the chance to describe his intimidation: „I'm all lonely here (...). My colleagues look down on me, because for them I am a Pole."⁴⁴ Radio made audible what was suppressed in daily life – the emotions of marginalised newcomers – to promote a dialogue and foster inter-cultural exchange.

Regularly, journalists explained why the *Spätaussiedler* had decided to emigrate to the Federal Republic and, thus, supported their identity building. Often they plead *Spätaussiedler*-claims of being German: „Even though they own a foreign passport, they aren't foreigners“⁴⁵, radio reporter Magda Schleip stated in her feature on a Nuremberg camp. Then again, journalists often distanced themselves from their interviewees: „They enter a land, whose language they cannot speak or understand. They talk Polish, think Polish, and dream of Poland – in Polish.“⁴⁶ Here, the *Spätaussiedlers'* commitment to Germany was seriously questioned. Quite often, interviewers interrogated *Spätaussiedler* more than simply talking to them.⁴⁷ The *Spätaussiedler* were forced to prove their serious intentions to integrate and to deliver a long-perspective plan for their future in Germany, when in fact they had only just arrived.

Another disputable point in the radio features became the question of economy. Journalists dwelled on the importance of economic reasons driving *Spätaussiedler* to Germany: “They come, because they see themselves as Germans, because they want to die in Germany one day, because their relatives live in Germany. But they also come for the better standard of living.“⁴⁸ Material goods such as cars or TV sets were said to grant new security and compensate for the loss of home.⁴⁹ But the discussion of materialism was self-critical and reflective and did not condemn *Spätaussiedlers'* wish for wealth. Instead journalists talked of the „dark sides of capitalism“⁵⁰ and observed how modest many *Spätaussiedler* were. They saw them as good examples: “We are content. Again and again, we hear this sentence. Among ourselves, sadly, it is rather rare [...]. We take too many comforts in our lives for granted.“⁵¹

Conclusion

In this article, radio has been studied as an agent of identity management and citizenship education for migrants as well as the members of the receiving society. Similar programming strategies can be identified, despite the obvious differences between the studied immigrant groups: in the United Kingdom and West Germany radio tried – partially encouraged by politicians – to serve as a forum where communication between migrants, but also between them and the native population could take place. Not only did radio talk about migrants and migration to introduce the ‘foreigners’ to the locals, thus to inform and educate the local population. It also aired selected migrant communities as attempt to cater for their special needs and interests as well as to facilitate their difficulties of adjusting to an unfamiliar environment. Therefore, public service radio in both countries created exclusive

news coverage or, in the English case, even established special programme slots. English broadcast series with titles like “Make Yourself at Home”, “Can I help?” or those in foreign language meaning “New Life” did emphasise the cesura in the migrants’ lives. In both countries, migrant related broadcasts frequently offered local news, English or German language courses and everyday advice, which can be considered of key importance for settling down and for getting in contact with the native population. Radio journalists met migrants personally or were newcomers themselves, helping them to mediate between the different groups of society. In addition, some broadcasts did offer distinctive “migrant soundscapes”, mixing spoken word in a foreign language, possibly including certain accents or dialects, with culturally specific music and other (familiar) noise. Radio’s acoustic communication and the ways the programmes and, in the English case, stations were framed and provided arenas for contemplating and defining one’s identity. This had both including and excluding effects on the listenership, as it supported migrants to settle and adapt, but at the same time affirmed their culturally hybrid or foreign identity. And, eventually migration is no linear or simple process of relocating the centre of one’s life and of acculturating to a new social and cultural environment. It is complex and reciprocal, as the receiving environment is changing through immigration as well.

Apparently, the function of radio in post-war integration processes was a double one. On the one hand, it introduced newcomers to major local populations, promoted their stories, asked for understanding and gave them airtime for genuine societal participation. On the other hand, acoustically, radio repeatedly framed newcomers as foreigners, set discursive limits, informed about predominant norms and values and hereby limited the migrants’ options for identity-building communicatively. In the cases studied, radio gradually guided newcomers’ ways into new societies, even though such different political and historical background lay underneath. It therefore seems that radio in general evolves as an entangling agency, when it comes to catering for migrants.

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¹ Cf. Cronqvist and Hilgert, "Entangled Media Histories."

² See, for example, Arnold, *Migration*; Bade and Oltmer, *Handbuch Staat und Migration in Deutschland*; Schönwälder, *Einwanderung und ethnische Pluralität*.

³ The "Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland" (ARD) is the joint organisation of Germany's regional public-service broadcasters.

⁴ See Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 6-8.

⁵ In his book "Banal Nationalism" Michael Billig explains how in modern Western nation states "there is a continual 'flagging'" (8) of nationalism. Nationalism is no extreme separatist ideology, but "banally inhabited" (109). Mass media (among many other discourses, symbols and habits) take part in this "flagging" of nationalism as daily "banal reminders of the homeliness of the homeland" (126). Billig makes clear that "banal does not imply benign" (6), but creates mystic, potentially dangerous causes for sacrifices, e.g. in the occasion of war (175-176).

⁶ Arnold, *Migration*, 210; see also Bhachu, *Twice Migrants*.

⁷ Husband and Chouhan, "Local radio in the communication environment of ethnic minorities in Britain," 272.

⁸ Cante, *Community cohesion*, 35. Cf. Jones, *Race and the Media*

⁹ See Ballard, "The South Asian presence in Britain and its transnational connections;" Visram, *Asians in Britain*; Peach, "South Asian migration and settlement in Great Britain;" Parekh, "South Asians in Britain;" Spencer, *British immigration policy since 1939*.

¹⁰ See, for example, Cottle, "Making ethnic minority programmes inside the BBC;" Malik, *Representing Black Britain*; Long, "Representing Race and Place."

¹¹ Linfoot, *A History of BBC Local Radio in England* mentions, for example, Radio London's *New Londoners*, aimed at Asians, Caribbeans, Africans and those from eastern Europe; Radio Sheffield's programme by the local community relations officer for Asians partly produced partly in Urdu and Bengali languages; Radio Nottingham's *Nawrang*, and on Radio Leicester's *Tony and his friends*, aimed at primary school children; Radio Leeds' *Jacob's Ladder* for its Jewish listeners and Radio Leeds' programmes broadcast for Asians in Asian languages.

¹² Khamkar, "A Post-War History of Radio for the Asian Community in Leicester;" Khamkar, *The Evolution of British Asian Radio in England*.

¹³ Cf. BBC, *Programmes for Immigrants*.

¹⁴ BBC, *Report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee*, 1. Cf. Anwar, *Who Tunes in to What?*

¹⁵ BBC, *General Advisory Council (Meeting minutes GAC/292)*, 1.

¹⁶ BBC, *Report of the BBC's Asian Programmes Advisory Committee*.

¹⁷ Lewis and Booth, *The invisible medium*, 89.

¹⁸ Khamkar, "Interview with Michael Barton."

¹⁹ Bonfadelli, "Rundfunk, Migration und Integration;" Hepp, Bozdog and Suna, *Mediale Migranten*. And, in historical perspective: Sala, *Fremde Worte*.

²⁰ Mattes, "Wirtschaftliche Rekonstruktion und grenzüberschreitende Migration".

²¹ Zambonini, "Medien und Integration;" Sala, "'Gastarbeitersendungen' und 'Gastarbeiterzeitschriften' in der Bundesrepublik;" Sala, *Fremde Worte*.

²² Bösch, "Engagement für Flüchtlinge."

²³ Marszolek, "Unforgotten Landscapes;" Röger, "Film und Fernsehen in der Bundesrepublik;" Hilgert, "Hörfunk;" Tiews, *Fluchtpunkt Film*; Tiews, "Zwischen Aufklärung und vertonter Ikone."

²⁴ Panagiotidis, *Staat, Zivilgesellschaft und Aussiedlermigration 1950–1989* reminds us, how in the end state officials from local refugee offices were the ones in power to define the 'Germaness' of applicants. There were only few absolute measurements.

²⁵ Panagiotidis, *Aussiedler/Spätaussiedler*.

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- ²⁶ Panagiotidis, *Staat, Zivilgesellschaft und Aussiedlermigration 1950–1989*; Tröster, Irene. “(Spät-)Aussiedler – ‘neue, alte Deutsche’.”
- ²⁷ Sperling, “Belonging, Beyond the Nation,” 68; Hepp, Bozdag and Suna, *Mediale Migranten*, 13.
- ²⁸ Morley, *Home Territories*; Hall, “Introduction;” Husband and Chouhan, “Local radio in the communication environment of ethnic minorities in Britain.”; Hepp, Bozdag and Suna, *Mediale Migranten*.
- ²⁹ Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 235.
- ³⁰ Cf. Niethammer, “Konjunkturen und Konkurrenzen kollektiver Identität,” 196.
- ³¹ Mercer, “Welcome to the jungle,” 43.
- ³² Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 3; cf. Casillas, *Sounds of Belonging*, 2-9
- ³³ BBC, *Report of the BBC’s Asian Programmes Advisory Committee: Local Radio for Immigrant Communities*.
- ³⁴ BBC, *General Advisory Council (Meeting minutes GAC/292)*, 1.
- ³⁵ BBC, *Summary of BBC Local Radio Programmes for immigrants*, 2.
- ³⁶ These and the following information are based on Khamkar, “Interview with Owen Bentley.”
- ³⁷ Sala, *Fremde Worte*.
- ³⁸ DZ 155870 (DLF), “Umsiedler aus Polen suchen Anschluss an die Wohlstandsgesellschaft, Deutschlandfunk, 13.07.1971. Similar statements in: X248862 (DRadio), „Der Abschied fiel schwer – Berichte jugendlicher Spätaussiedler“, RIAS 19.12.1974 and DZ211431 (DLF), „Junge Deutsche aus Polen – Die Kinder einer neuen Minderheit“, Deutschlandfunk, 10.05.1973. This and the following quotes from broadcasts were translated by the authors.
- ³⁹ ND044940Z00 (BR), Endstation Deutschland? Ein Bericht über Spätaussiedler, Bayerischer Rundfunk 1978.
- ⁴⁰ DZ211431 (DLF), „Junge Deutsche aus Polen“.
- ⁴¹ DZ211431 (DLF), „Junge Deutsche aus Polen“.
- ⁴² DZ114860 (DRadio), „Wenn sie noch ‚der, die, das‘ verwechseln – Spätaussiedler und die deutsche Sprache“, RIAS, 14.05.1977.
- ⁴³ ND044940Z00 (BR), „Endstation Deutschland? Ein Bericht über Spätaussiedler“, Bayerischer Rundfunk, 1978.
- ⁴⁴ DZ211431 (DLF), „Junge Deutsche aus Polen“.
- ⁴⁵ ND024720Z00 (BR), “Gute Chancen für Spätaussiedler. Das Nürnberger Land überrundete Lager Friedland”, Bayerischer Rundfunk, 08.12.1968.
- ⁴⁶ DZ211431 (DLF), „Junge Deutsche aus Polen“.
- ⁴⁷ DZ114860 (DRadio), „Wenn sie noch ‚der, die, das‘ verwechseln – Spätaussiedler und die deutsche Sprache“, RIAS, 14.05.1977.
- ⁴⁸ 78223720Z00 (BR), „Deutsche ohne Heimat in Deutschland. Berichte über Spätaussiedler“, Bayerischer Rundfunk, 27.06.1978.
- ⁴⁹ X248862 (DRadio), „Der Abschied fiel schwer“.
- ⁵⁰ X248862 (DRadio), „Der Abschied fiel schwer“.
- ⁵¹ ND024720Z00 (BR), „Gute Chancen für Spätaussiedler“.

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