Use of old and new media by ethnic minority youth in Europe with a special emphasis on Switzerland

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Abstract

The first part of this article summarizes research carried out during the last decade in the field of media use of ethnic minorities throughout Europe. Guiding research questions, underlying paradigms, and empirical evidence will be critically discussed in a comparative way. In the second part, empirical data of a Swiss survey among 1,600 adolescents aged 12 to 17 with migrant and Swiss backgrounds are presented. The comparative study points at similarities and differences in access to and use of old and new media such as the Internet as well as with the link between media use and social integration or cultural identity. Special emphasis is given to ethnic versus social factors as underlying explanatory factors. The results of the Swiss study are placed in the context of European research evidence.

Key words: ethnic minorities, Europe, Switzerland, youth, media access, media use, new media

Introduction

Migration is a well-known phenomenon all over the world. Although people have always been moving, migration flows have reached a new quantitative and qualitative dimension since the 19th and 20th century. Europe, above all Western Europe, is one of the targets of larger flows of immigration, especially after World War II. In Switzerland, for example, every third inhabitant belongs to an ethnic minority or has an immigrant background, i. e. is descendant of at least one parent from a country other than Switzerland. Migration developments and the resulting coexistence of different ethnic groups involve conflicts like racism and inequalities on a structural as well as social level. Such conflicts in multicultural settings have triggered discussions about the integrative function that different spheres of society should fulfill.

The mass media play a multifaceted and complex role in today's multi-cultural society; they may be of relevance to the social integration of ethnic minorities in that they are, for example, an important source of information about politics, culture, and everyday life in society. Mass media can provide common knowledge and convey social norms and values, thus offering members of ethnic minorities the possibility to participate in the (national) society of the host country by creating a common basis for interpersonal communication. But they can also contribute to segregation in many ways, for instance by stressing negative images and stereotypes of immigrant groups (Schudson, 1994; Cottle, 2000). Young people with or without migrant background use local and national but also global media representations and symbols of popular culture (Lull, 2001) on an individual level to identify with, to distinguish from, and to construct actively and in creative ways multifaceted forms of hybrid identities (e. g., Barker, 1997; Nilan and Feixa, 2006).

Communication researchers started taking more interest in the field of ethnic minorities and mass media since the 1960s. Research questions are usually tackled from different academic disciplines in an interdisciplinary setting. Depending on the approach chosen, the studies investigate different aspects. One line of research concentrates on media content (Poole, 2000; Ter Wal, 2004; Müller, 2005a; Bonfadelli, 2007) above all on the representation of immigrants and the presence of negative stereotypes in mass media, hypothesizing that there is a connection between how media deal with ethnic minorities and the degree of their integration into the host society. From the media production perspective, ethnic diversity in media organizations has been of interest (Riggins, 1992; Husband, 1994; Geissler, 2003). Another topic of public discussion and research focuses on strategies and programs of public broadcasters towards migrants and ethnic minority media as media products produced by and addressed to ethnic minorities (Becker, 1998; Busch, 1999; Kosrick, 2000; Weber-Menges, 2006; Leurdijk, 2006).

Since mass media can exert an influence on the integration of ethnic minority groups only if they are used, an in-depth investigation into the aspects of the ethnic minorities' media use is crucial. Although the relevance of media use for social integration has been recognized before, communication studies scholars have carried out thorough research into that topic only in the last two decades. Because communication technologies such as the Internet, cable and satellite television have changed the media system by creating new transnationalized communicational and cultural spaces, studies dealing with questions about media use and migration have intensified. Still, research findings in this subfield are generally rather sketchy (see Müller, 2005b).

In Switzerland for example, media use of ethnic minorities has barely been researched so far. The only relatively comprehensive survey about media use of immigrants has been done in 1995 by the research unit of the Public Broadcasting Corporation SRG (Anker, Ermutlu, and Steinmann, 1995). A contribution to filling this gap is being made by the IPMZ − Institute of Mass Communication and Media Research at the University of Zurich through several research projects. One recently finished project that started in 2003 is concerned with the function of media in constructing social identity in a multicultural setting concentrating on and comparing two groups, namely adolescents from Switzerland and those with migrant backgrounds (Bonfadelli and Bucher, 2006; Bucher and Bonfadelli, 2007). Selected results of this research will be presented in the second part of our article. Media representations of Islam in Swiss newspapers have been analyzed in additional projects (Bonfadelli, 2007).

European research on media use of ethnic minorities

The aim of the first part of our contribution is to provide an analytical overview of the research carried out into media use by ethnic minorities, considering studies throughout Europe and taking into account especially the last decade, but to look for earlier important research as well. European countries, which have a relatively great number of immigrants and show an adequate research tradition in this field, are brought into special focus (Müller, 2005b; Piga, 2007). Our analysis is based on a review of the relevant research literature by analyzing the subsequent points: questions and focus of research, methods, samples, theoretical approaches, and findings. Furthermore, the summarized research is critically discussed and assessed. This includes identification of forgotten questions and major methodological and theoretical problems.

Research questions and theoretical perspectives

As the theoretical concepts and models applied to ethnic minority topics in the field of media sciences vary to a considerable degree and are often regarded as unsatisfactory, particular attention is paid to theoretical questions. On the basis of such a systematic, comparative and critical review of the research literature about use of mass media by ethnic minorities, a synthesis of key research findings is provided. Furthermore, new issues and challenges for further investigation are identified, and a series of conceptual and methodological proposals are presented in order to improve research on this subject.

Three theoretical perspectives guiding most of the research concerning media use by ethnic minorities can be identified (see Figure 1): uses and gratifications and media effects together with cultural studies.
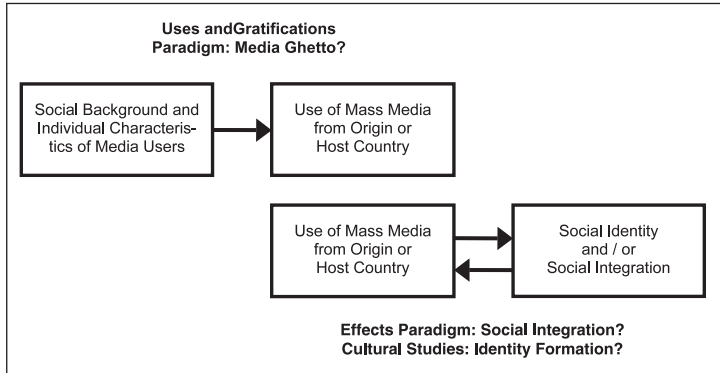
Figure 1. *Media use and ethnic minorities: Two opposed research traditions.*

Uses and gratifications paradigm. The uses and functions of media are in the centre of this research line and therefore represent the dependent variable in the so-called uses and gratifications paradigm. The main research questions are: To what extent do ethnic minorities use and prefer print and electronic media from their countries of origin (homeland) and do not use the media in their new country? Why is this the case or how can this be explained? Different dimensions like education, socioeconomic status, language skills (linguistic fluency), religious affiliation or ethnic identity are used to explain these phenomena. A leading hypothesis claims that ethnic minorities in most European countries prefer to use print and electronic media from their homeland and are, as a result, trapped in a so-called 'media ghetto'. Whereas older studies looked at the different media types consumed separately, newer studies apply typologies of media use (see table 1) that link homeland and host country media (Adoni, Cohen, and Caspi, 2002). However, sometimes it is not clear enough whether these labels only point to patterns of media consumption or if they also include different types of acculturation attitudes.

In his qualitative study, Hafez (2002) developed a typology also based on use of minority media from the country of origin and majority media

Table 1. *Typology of media use by migrants* (Adoni, Cohen, and Caspi, 2002).

		Use of Media from Host Country	
		Low	High
Use of Media from Home Country	Low	Detached/Alienated	Adaptors/Integrated
	High	Separatists/Bonding	Dualists/Bridging

Table 2. *Types of media use and political-cultural integration* (Hafez, 2002).

User Type	Media Orientation	Orientation towards Culture and Politics
1. Political Exile	Dominant use of minority media from country of origin	Cultural, political bonding to home country and mistrust in politics of new country
2. Cultural Exile		Cultural bonding to home country but trust in political system of new country
3. Diaspora		Pragmatic use of media from home country and political trust in new country
4. Biculturalism	Mixed use of minority media from home country and majority media from host country	Reflexive and critical stance to country and media of origin but to new country as well
5. Assimilation	Dominant use of majority media from host country	Positive attitudes to culture and political system of new country

from the host country, but added aspects of acceptance and trust in the political system and culture. As a consequence, he differentiated the so-called 'separatists' (Table 1) into three subtypes. For the 'diaspora'-type (Table 2), dominant use of minority media from the homeland is made for pragmatic reasons − mainly lack of language skills − but it is combined with political trust in the host country. Here 'political exile' means that cultural bonding with the country of origin is still strongly combined with mistrust of the political system of the new country. But there also is a 'cultural exile'-type of user who bonds with the culture of the country of origin and trusts the political institutions of the new country. 'Biculturalism' means that the media of the host country as well as the media of the country of origin are used. The result is a reflexive in-between position that manifests itself in a critical stance to the culture and media of the homeland and the new country. Finally, the 'assimilation'-type is similar to the 'adaptor'-type in Table 1: these people show a high consumption of majority media and developed positive attitudes towards the culture and political system of their host country perceiving it now as the new home country.

Beside these differentiations concerning media use as dependent variables, there is a certain theoretical development as well on the part of the independent variables influencing media behavior. Whereas older studies considered ethnicity to be the most influential causal factor and compared ethnic minority groups with the main population of a country,
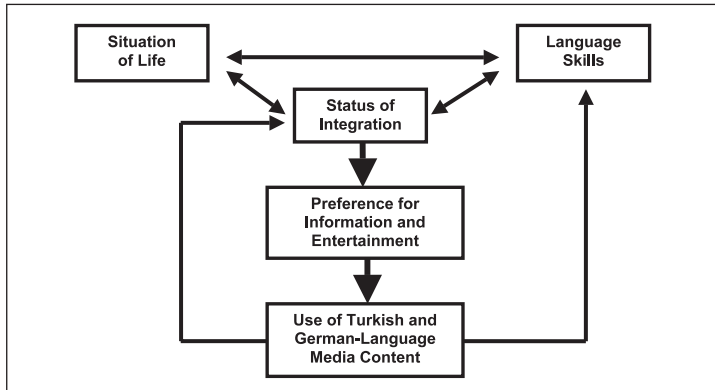
Figure 2. *Theoretical model explaining media use in Germany* (Weiss and Trebbe, 2001: 5).

newer studies (e. g., Weiss and Trebbe, 2001) argue in a more differenti-ated way and also analyze the mediating influence of social factors like everyday situation, language skills and status of integration, next to so-cioeconomic status, education or gender, trying to integrate them into more advanced theoretical models (see Figure 2).

In a further step, the main concern is determining the impact of ethnic-ity compared to other social cleavages. Recently, 'social capital' as a concept has been discussed in the context of media use, political partici-pation and integration of migrants (see Jacobs and Tillie, 2004). It is assumed that being embedded in social networks − an indicator of social capital − is an important factor influencing the level of media use and furthermore the level of political trust.

Media effects paradigm. In comparison with the uses and gratifications approach the media effects paradigm (Bonfadelli, 2004) focuses not on media use itself but on social integration on a macro level, whereas the cultural studies paradigm is complimentarily dealing with cultural iden-tity on a micro level. In most functionalist theories, media perform un-planned and long-term socialization and integration functions for a soci-ety by bridging between different social and ethnic groups and assimilat-ing different people into a common civil culture (Schudson, 1994; Peeters and d'Haenens, 2005). As a result, the use of majority host country me-dia by ethnic minorities will result in a better social and cultural integra-tion. On the contrary, it is hypothesized that the persistent use of media from the homeland and in the language of origin will help maintain individuals' old cultural identity and will thus have disintegrating effects.

As a normative consequence, ethnic minority groups should use the majority media available in the new host country in its language to fully integrate into the new socio-cultural context. Immigrants still using their homeland media in their language of origin are regarded as not integrated and labeled as separatists in the typology of Adoni et al. (1997) and still bonded to the culture of origin.

This generally assumed positive integration function of mass media for migrants is at least differentiated or even questioned by various middle range theories that have been formulated to explain the possible effects of mass communication in general and especially in the migration context in detail and have been empirically tested (Bonfadelli, 2004). Agenda-setting theory as well as the media-framing perspective postulate that media coverage focusing on controversial or negative incidents or key events like the 9/11 in New York in 2001 or the attacks by skinheads and neo-nazis on asylum centers in Hoyerswerda (17. 9. 1991) can represent migrants as a problem or threat to society and so influence the public agenda (Brosius and Eps, 1993; Scheufele and Brosius, 1999), especially when they are framed negatively and in a stereotyped way as many content analyses demonstrate (Greenberg et al., 2002), for instance applied to the German media (Müller, 2005a). Another problem are the long-term media effects of the widely and permanently used metaphors with negative connotations like "the boat is full" and "floods of refugees" or "Islamic terrorism" etc. that delegitimize the minority groups themselves (see Poole, 2000; Schiffer, 2005). Critical discourse analysts like Teun van Dijk (2000) postulate increasing racism in society as a result of such media content.

In addition, cultivation theory takes as a starting point the results of such content analyses and claims that television cultivates stereotyped images of minority groups in the long run, especially in the heads of so-called 'heavy viewers' (Gerbner et al., 2002). These 'mainstream' perceptions of social reality can even lead to an increased fear concerning minority groups. Nevertheless, one has to take into consideration that debates over national identity in Europe or America are not new or unique, and foreigners or minority groups in general have always been regarded suspiciously by the dominant majority groups even without the influence of media coverage (e. g., Huntington, 2004).

Furthermore, since most empirical surveys are not longitudinal and based on just one point in time, there is a methodological problem of demonstrating causality between media use measures and media effects as dependent variables. From the uses and gratifications perspective, the supposed media effects like social integration can also be interpreted as independent variable. In other words, it is not clear if a better social integration is really the result of media use or if preferred use of domestic media is the result of a higher level of social integration. Any how, the whole issue of

causality cannot be settled within the scope of this paper with the tools that we have at our disposal now. Moreover, there is considerable variability from country to country and ethnic group to ethnic group.

Cultural studies perspective. The argumentation of the cultural studies paradigm (Hall, 1980; Hepp, 1999) is in opposition to the media-centric effects paradigm since the media user is in the centre of interest and analysis. Media use is seen as a purposeful selection of media, and the reception process is considered to be an active construction of meaning. As a consequence, there is not only the contrast between adapting to the culture of the new country by the consumption of host media and bonding to the old country of origin and remaining culturally isolated by using homeland media (Peeters and d'Haenens, 2005). Instead, there is also a third possibility.

Members of ethnic minorities are able to use different kinds of media: their homeland media and the media of the new host country. This dualistic position is not regarded as deficient or a danger for the development of a cultural identity. Being able to participate in both cultures and using media from both countries and in both languages enables members of ethnic minority groups to bridge between the norms and values of different cultures and to actively develop new forms of a so-called reflexive hybrid identity. In today's pluralistic societies it is even a necessity for everybody out of mutual respect, social participation, and cultural integration to acquire an understanding of the everyday life and the norms and values of other cultural groups. Thereby the mass media play a significant role in providing not only homogeneous images of the so-called home country in a national perspective, but by communicating information and knowledge of the different minority groups and their everyday culture as well (Barker, 1997). On the basis of these theoretical premises new forms of cultural identities can be postulated.

A first type of cultural identity is locally bounded and based on difference. Distinct traditions are kept separately in time and space. For instance, Swiss citizens feel as Swiss or Turkish migrants living in Switzerland feel as Turks. They live in Turkish neighborhoods and interact and communicate mostly with Turks. A second type of cultural identity is similar concerning local 'boundedness' and difference, but the separate traditions of Swiss and Turkish identity can be juxtaposed in the same person, in so far as different identities are expressed depending on the situation, e. g., the person behaves as a Turk with Turkish friends but behaves like a Swiss in settings with Swiss people. A third type of identity is the result of the assimilation into a new culture and the absorption of new values and norms. This is the case for a youngster with Turkish parents who is growing up in Switzerland and feels and behaves like a

Table 3. *New forms of cultural identities* (Adapted from Barker, 1997: 616).

	Difference	Similarity
Locally Bounded	1. Distinct traditions, kept separately in time and space. Turkish or Swiss identity. 2. Separate traditions are juxtaposed in time and space. Hybrid Identity as Turkish and Swiss and move between them in situational adequate ways.	3. Assimilation into the new culture and absorption of new values and norms. Parents are Turkish but child feels as Swiss.
Translocal Shifting	4. New global forms of identity based on distinct taste/style cultures like "hip hop" or "heavy metal".	5. New forms of identity based on shared concerns like "anti-global" movement

Swiss. Fourth, beside these locally bounded identities there are translocal and shifting identities as a result of a new global media culture. Young people in different countries feel and behave for example as 'hip-hoppers' in contrast to 'heavy metal' fans by identification with certain global media symbols (see Lull, 2001). But there are transnational global identities based on similarity as well, in that for example the anti-global and the environmental movements or fundamentalist religious groups are based on shared concerns and belief systems on a worldwide level.

Review of research on media use of ethnic minorities (1995−2005)

Situation of research. As a result of the increasing visibility of ethnic minorities in most European countries on the one hand and the wide distribution of satellite television on the other, empirical studies of media use by ethnic minorities started in the early 1990s. In comparison to studies of ethnic representations in the media, studies of ethnic minority audiences remain a rarity. The research situation in Europe is disparate and varies considerably in the different countries. We identified as a basis for our meta-analysis a total of 24 studies, carried out since 1995 (titles listed in appendix). Most of the studies identified and taken into account come from Northern, North-Western or Central European countries like the Netherlands (7), United Kingdom (5) and Germany (4) whereas only very little research from Southern Europe has been found. This situation partly reflects the migration situation in Europe in that the countries with higher numbers of immigrants are better represented in this review.

It is important to stress the fact that our sample cannot be regarded as comprehensive and complete. The resulting selection has several

reasons: first of all, in some countries where the research reports were not translated into English, the language barrier prevented the authors from finding relevant literature, analyzing it and thus making it difficult to assess the research situation on media use among ethnic groups in a particular country. We ask ourselves: Is the research situation really so scarce or is access to the relevant reports or papers the main problem? Sometimes if a hint on a research project was found, the research report was sometimes not published and it revealed impossible or too time-consuming to obtain the relevant material. Nevertheless, the amount of internationally published articles and monographs can also be seen as an indicator for the importance of a research field. As a result, countries showing a certain research tradition on ethnic minorities' media use are brought into special focus in this paper.

Research topics. About 90 percent of the examined material does not only endeavor to describe how media are used by ethnic minorities but also tries to find explanations and devotes attention to predictors and effects of media use. The following questions could be identified:

Table 4. *Research questions.*

Research question	Studies	Examples
Relationship between media use and integration, above all the influence of media use on integration processes	10	Weiss and Trebbe (2001), Hafez (2002), Veldkamp (2002), Peeters and d'Haenens (2005) etc.
Media consumption and its role for the formation of identity	7	Ogan (2001), Gillespie (1995), Sreberny (1999) etc.
Integration of media use into everyday family life	2	Hargreaves and Mahdjoub (1997), Madianou (2005)
Influence of culture-specific characteristics on media use	1	d'Haenens (2002)

'Media use' itself has many aspects. The elements of media consumption that are investigated range from numerical descriptions of ownership, times and frequencies of use, program and channel preferences and motives of reception to the evaluation of programs and assessments of media's ethnic group representations. With regard to the kinds of media types examined, three groups of studies can be identified:

1) Media use research including a comprehensive set of media types like television, radio, the Internet and press (e. g., Veldkamp, 1998; 2002; Peeters and d'Haenens, 2005; Weiss and Trebbe, 2001; Bucher and Bonfadelli, 2007a; 2007b).

2) Work considering a predefined smaller group of media types like 'new media' (d'Haenens et al., 2003) or 'electronic media' (e. g., Thompson, 2002; Georgiou, 2001).
3) Studies with focus on one medium, especially television (Milikowski, 2000; Hargreaves and Mahdjoub, 1997; Gillespie, 1995; Sreberny, 1999; Caroe, 2004).

Almost all studies investigate the use of both majority (host country) and minority (homeland) media; a few qualitative analyses (Hargreaves and Mahdjoub, 1997; Sreberny, 2000; Georgiou, 2001; Ogan, 2001), though, clearly focus on the use of ethnic minority media and mention majority media consumption only in parentheses.

Methods and samples. The empirical research in the field of ethnic minorities and media use can roughly be divided into two complementary categories:

1) Standardized quantitative surveys, mostly commissioned and carried out by institutions like public broadcasters, government migration offices or bigger private and − rarely − university research departments. Research is in most cases based on big and representative samples and measures of media use in general, especially television use and preferences for programs, in a more descriptive way.
2) Non-standardized qualitative studies based on rather small and not representative samples carried out by university researchers with a more theoretical background, dealing with the relationship between media use on the one hand and formation of cultural identity on the other hand.

Our sample of studies is methodologically quite balanced, consisting of 8 quantitative and 11 qualitative studies. Nevertheless, the methodological approaches differ considerably between the European countries, suggesting that some countries or European regions follow certain research traditions. While there are many qualitative but not exclusively quantitative studies in the British research, the German-speaking countries' sample mainly consists of quantitative surveys. Five studies, the majority of which are British studies (e. g., Sreberny, 2000; Gillespie, 1995), combine the two approaches, mostly focusing on one method of evaluation and completing some findings by using the other method.

Written standardized interviews are used in the Swiss research (Anker, Steinmann and Ermutlu, 1995; Bonfadelli and Bucher, 2006) and partly in the Dutch school survey (d'Haenens et al., 2002) but are otherwise rather rare in European projects. Standardized interviews are more often carried out by telephone or face-to-face (e. g., Veldkamp, 1998; 2002;

Güntürk, 1999; 2000; Weiss and Trebbe, 2001). Non-standardized survey methods mainly include individual in-depth interviews, but focus groups and family interviews are conducted as well. Some research is declared as "ethnographic" (e. g., Gillespie, 1995; Georgiou, 2001), a label that is methodologically often not clearly defined but referring for instance to additional video recordings and informal as well as focused interviews and/or group discussions.

The sample of immigrants varies numerically according to the methodological approach chosen. Noticeably, in contrast to quantitative surveys, most studies do not provide any accurate description of the sample or information on the way the sampling procedure was carried out.

Depending on the numerical importance an immigrant group shows in a country, the discussions of the ethnic minority groups differ. Turks are the most researched immigrant group in the examined works: 16 out of 24 studies deal (among others) with Turkish immigrants' media use. This is especially the case with research from The Netherlands and Germany, but also the Swiss, Belgian and Greek studies include Turks in their sample. While Indians are brought into special focus in Great Britain (e. g., Gillespie, 1995; Thompson, 2002), the French research (Hargreaves and Mahdjoub, 1997) is concerned with people of Islamic origin, mostly from the Maghreb region. In the Netherlands, there is a clear preference for investigating Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean media use − beside the Turkish. Swiss research is rather comprehensive in that it considers many different immigrant groups, even though Italians and people from Ex-Yugoslavia and Albania form the biggest sample group.

More than half of the studies include people of different age groups in their samples and/or investigate generational differences, whereas only a few concentrate exclusively on young people or adults. It has to be mentioned, though, that studies on young people's media use have become more frequent in recent years.

Important research findings

In order to get a solid theoretical and empirical basis for our own research, a synthesis of important findings from the existing research was compiled. With regard to the media use of ethnic minority adults, the following results turned out to be key findings throughout the European research:

- Media access especially to electronic media (satellite television and VCR) is high in homes of minority groups; access to new media like PCs and the Internet is significantly lower.

- Television is the most important medium for migrant groups, especially for ethnic groups from Southern European countries like Turkey, Ex-Yugoslavia, Italy and Spain.
- In comparison to the majority population, ethnic minorities generally display a more intensive television viewing behavior; Turkish immigrants are considered to be 'champion television watchers' with very high viewing times. According to a Dutch study, for example, Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands watch television for 32 hours per week (Veldkamp, 1996).
- Television is often used as aural background medium; the boundaries between the media technologies of radio and TV are getting blurred (e. g., Georgiou, 2001; Madianou, 2005).
- Television viewing is also a socializing, communal activity in ethnic minority groups. This kind of 'family viewing' is especially promoted by satellite television (Hargreaves and Mahdjoub, 1997).
- Television use is entertainment oriented. The most popular television programs include soaps and TV shows. Beside the entertainment functions television also fulfils a variety of cultural functions, e. g., bridging and bonding (Peeters and d'Haenens, 2005). But further functions like political reasons do not seem to be important.
- Radio plays a minor role for migrant groups; the main reason seems to be that FM minority radio programs from home countries are mostly not available. Another reason is that satellite television pushed radio use out of the picture (except for youth − who listen to music on the radio).
- Minority groups attach considerable importance to their representation in the majority media, but in most cases do not recognize themselves in the host country media. A lack of minority characters in TV programs like soaps (Sreberny, 1999); negative and stereotyped news reporting about their ethnic group is criticized (Madianou, 2005).
- Although first generation minority groups prefer TV news programs and newspapers in their own languages and from their countries of origin, there is a demand for news covering the minority groups' everyday concerns by the main channels.
- Ethnic minorities, especially Turks and Ex-Yugoslavians, show a predominant use of minority media, especially TV programs, from their countries of origin (e. g., Veldkamp, 2002; Ogan, 2001; Bonfadelli and Bucher, 2006). Nevertheless, most studies show that homeland and host country media are used complementarily. Only a few older immigrants name their home country media as primary source of information (d'Haenens et al., 2000).
- The 'ghetto-thesis' stating that minority groups homogeneously use only minority media from their countries of origin appears to be too simple (e. g., Güntürk, 1999; Hafez, 2002).

- The higher the socio-economic milieu and educational level of ethnic minorities, the longer the period of living in the host country and the better the language skills, the higher is the use of majority media of the host country (e. g., Weiss and Trebbe, 2001).
- The 'direct integration thesis' suggesting that a higher use of majority media by ethnic minorities has a positive influence on their level of integration is confirmed in many studies, but cannot be generalized. According to Peeters and d'Haenens (2005) a positive correlation exists between integration and general media use in so far as well integrated immigrants use majority media more often than less integrated minorities. This is not the case with television use, though. Ethnic minorities with a lower level of integration have more access to satellite television and spend more time watching homeland channels than other people (Veldkamp, 2002). In Switzerland, for example, the integration function for predominant television use in host country language is fulfilled for young people from Italian families, but not for those from Turkish families. For ethnic groups, though, there is a negative correlation between use of television in native language and integration into Swiss culture (Bonfadelli and Bucher, 2006; Bucher and Bonfadelli, 2007a; 2007b).

The following findings concern above all young people:

- Television preferences of minority and majority youth are very similar; typical youth cultural patterns in media use are more significant than cultural differences (e. g., Bonfadelli and Bucher, 2006; Granato, 2001; Milikowski, 2000).
- Sociodemographic factors seem to have more influence on media use patterns than ethno-cultural origin or orientation (d'Haenens et al., 2002)
- There is a generation gap in that young people with migration background use many more majority media from the host country compared to their parents.
- If second generation immigrants use media from their home country they mention affective motives or see them as a particular form of education regarding language and general knowledge of their country of origin (e. g., Milikowski, 2000; Gillespie, 1995).

Critical evaluation of research

The following remarks mainly concentrate on methodological problems and theoretical considerations regarding the existing research in the field of media use by ethnic minorities. In a second step, research gaps shall be identified.

Methodological problems. Although interest in media uses and effects studies has increased in the nineties, minority groups and/or foreigners are still not included in the panels of continuous audience measurement research in most European countries. Professional audience researchers obviously fear costs and recruitment problems on the one hand and possible decreases in audience figures on the other hand. In addition, it is argued that media use patterns of minority groups are "hardly different from the majority population" (Müller, 2005b: 376).

As a consequence, small case studies still outnumber the few larger and more representative studies. Many of the existing studies are troubled by methodological problems: Due to costs of translation and sampling problems the existing variety of minority groups is usually reduced to only a few of the most important ethnic groups like the Turks. It can be assumed that the better integrated and higher status segments are overrepresented in most studies and marginalized low status segments are underrepresented. This holds especially true for qualitative studies relying mostly on very small samples. Besides, the information given about the applied sampling procedure is often only basic, or the sampling is done very arbitrarily. Furthermore, there appears to be a certain problem of desired answers. Minority groups seem to be aware that too much use of minority media is not considered to be socially acceptable. The indicators used for measuring media consumption vary throughout the studies (regular use or minimal use), a fact that is crucial for the interpretation of sometimes contradictory findings. The same goes for the concept of integration: while some studies measure integration mainly by means of social indicators, others also consider elements of structural, cultural and identifying integration.

Theoretical considerations. The media behavior of minority groups is often not compared with the majority population, or it is compared without controlling the differences in the demographic structures of the different populations. This is a problem because level of education and the socioeconomic status of minority groups are usually lower in comparison with the total population. In addition, level of education in connection with language skills are crucial factors influencing the use of majority and minority media as well as the consumption of electronic media as opposed to print media or the Internet. Furthermore, minority groups are often considered to be homogeneous and treated only on the aggregate level, even if there are marked differences between various minority groups and within the same minority group and one defined group in different countries. The time when certain groups immigrated into a country and the length of their stay seem to be important determinants. Comparisons between first, second or third immigration genera-

tions usually show very distinct media use patterns. Also media-specific conditions like availability of media have to be taken into consideration. For example, most Turks cannot receive FM radio programs in Germany or Switzerland, and daily print minority media are not easily available for every minority group. Another element is content availability. Immigrants' low interest in majority TV news or press can be explained by the fact that the minority groups are still neglected or mostly treated as a problem in the content of the majority media. A last remark has to do with the interpretation of research findings. With regard to one consistently found result showing that television is the leading medium of the Turkish minority population and that television use is heavily entertainment oriented, one has to take into account that there are intercultural differences between the different minority cultures and the culture of the European countries. Especially in Switzerland, Germany or the Scandinavian countries, book reading and print media have a longer tradition and television viewing times and frequencies are generally lower than in other countries, whereas the visual culture is more prominent in the Southern European countries.

Forgotten questions and research gaps. The direction of the causalities in the relationship between integration and media behavior of minority groups is crucial but not investigated by European research so far. Furthermore, culture-specific influencers on media use should be given more importance in research on media use in comparison with sociodemographic factors. As opposed to media use at home, media use in the public sphere (e. g., at school, in community centers, with friends) is often neglected.

Media use of ethnic minority youth in Switzerland

The meta-analysis of research in the field of media and migration, presented in the first part of this article, was the starting point for our own quantitative and representative empirical study of the uses and functions of media by ethnic minority youth compared to adolescents with Swiss background. This quantitative study was complemented by a qualitative part analyzing in greater detail media use and identity formation in eight Turkish families. The whole project was funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation and was carried out between fall 2003 and summer 2006.

Topics and questions of research

In Switzerland, a country with an average of 20 percent of the population from other countries, the media use of children and young people

with immigrant backgrounds has not been extensively documented so far. Especially we do not know much about differences and similarities between adolescents with Swiss parents and those living in families with immigrant backgrounds on the one hand and media use between the generations (parents vs. children) on the other hand. The project is thus investigating the relationship between culture-specific characteristics (besides other socio-demographic influences) and the function and role the media and ICTs play in identity-formation processes for children and adolescents living in a multicultural setting. Our study is exploring the following research questions:

- What role do traditional mass media and new ICTs like the computer and the Internet play in the live of Swiss youth in comparison to young people with an immigrant background according to access, time spent, functions, favorite programs etc.?
- To what extent is media use determined by characteristics of cultural background like country of origin, religion in comparison to other factors like gender, education or social background of family?
- What role do media and ICTs play in the formation of identity for the intergenerational setting of immigrant life?

Methods and sample

The quantitative part of our study is based on a written standardized questionnaire with mostly closed-ended and a few open-ended questions about media access, media use, user-habits, personal identity, cultural identity, social setting (family, peer group and school) and socio-demographic factors. 88 complete classes in schools with a high rate (>25%) of children with immigrant backgrounds were selected carefully and visited during summer 2004 in the greater region of Zurich. The sample of 1486 students is composed of 49% female and 51% male students and is also well balanced regarding age (12−16 years). About one third of the adolescents (N = 499) are indigenous Swiss (whose father and mother were both born and raised in Switzerland), two thirds (N = 969) are young people with immigrant backgrounds. The biggest ethnic groups are from Ex-Yugoslavia (24%), Italy (11%), Turkey (9%); other countries contribute an additional share of 22%.

The qualitative part of our study used different strategies of ethnographic fieldwork and interviews with members of eight Turkish/Kurdish families about the functions the media fulfil for them. The methodological approach is mainly adapted from research in the field of cultural studies and ethnography. Specially, in-depth-interviewing offers better insights into the relation between media and cultural identity thereby

differentiating the results obtained in the quantitative investigation. Referring to visual methods in this context helps to grasp representations which are not available through verbal statements. This fieldwork illuminates the function that media and ICTs play in processes of identity-formation in an inter-generational setting of a specific (Turkish) immigrant group. For further exploration of the results, we refer the reader to Moser, Hanetseder and Hermann (2007) and Hermann and Hanetseder (2007).

Main results of the quantitative study

Values, political interest and occupational expectations. Asked about the most important values for living a comfortable life, about 97 % of the students mentioned "good friends". The same importance was attributed to the item "not to be unemployed". About 92 % of the young people declared a good education and an interesting job as important things to have a good life. Regarding these mentions there were no differences between Swiss students and students with migration backgrounds. As to the items "to have a lot of money" and "to believe in something" only 35 % respectively 45 % of the young Swiss as opposed to about 60 % respectively 70 % of the youths with migrant backgrounds ranked it as important. Remarkable for all questions regarding attitudes is that the answers of adolescents with Italian origin are similar to those of the Swiss young people whereas the responses of adolescents from other countries of origin differ more.

About 20 % of the young people declare no interest in political affairs; 24 % of the Swiss adolescents and 33 % of those with migration backgrounds mention that Swiss politics are important. When it comes to politics of the country of origin or of other countries, the interest of students with migration backgrounds is even stronger: 43 % respectively 44 % are regarding it as something important whereas only 17 % of Swiss youths consider politics of other countries as important. There is a significant connection between education and political interest in the Swiss segment whereas this is not the case in the segment with migration background. Political interest also depends on media use: Young people who are reading a lot (newspapers and/or books) are more politically interested.

The future occupational chances and possibilities as recognized by the young immigrants are quite similar to Swiss adolescents. Most of the students think they will find a satisfying job. This has to be understood as positive especially in light of the generally high fear of getting unemployed (see above: values).

Table 5. *Do you believe that you can achieve your own occupational goals?*

%	Swiss	Migrants	Italy	Turkey	Ex-Yugoslavia
Yes, quite sure	35	29	32	30	26
Yes, maybe	55	58	56	56	61
No, probably not	9	11	10	13	11
No, certainly not	1	2	2	1	2

Note. Switzerland: N = 499; Migrants: N = 969; Italy: N = 166; Turkey: N = 136; Ex-Yugoslavia: N = 350.

Cultural orientations. A typology of cultural orientation was constructed[1] based on several indicator questions like preferred language of media use, main language used in the family and with friends, ethnic background of friends, perceptions of belonging to, interest in events happening in Switzerland or in home country, etc. (see table 1). A majority of the adolescents with migrant background were classified as "Swiss-oriented" (45%) in comparison with only 24% "homeland-oriented"; 24% have a "dualist" orientation, and a minority of 7% seems to be detached from their country of origin as well as from Switzerland. There are no significant differences between young people from Italy, Turkey or Ex-Yugoslavia; but parents from each ethnic group are significantly more homeland-oriented, according to the perceptions of their children: Ex-Yugoslavia (45%), Italy (48%) and Turkey (57%).

Table 6. *Attitudes towards multiculturalism in Switzerland.*

% 'yes'	Switzerland	Italy	Turkey	Ex-Yugoslavia
If someone immigrates to Switzerland, he/she has to assimilate	64	51	37	53
People from different countries living in Switzerland are interesting	39	44	66	70
Swiss people can learn something from immigrants	38	63	62	79
It's not bad, if not all people are similar; Swiss people too are quite divers	62	72	72	77
If Swiss people and immigrants from other countries respect each other there would be no problems	79	80	82	80

Perception of multiculturalism. Compared to their colleagues with migration background Swiss youths have a more skeptical view of multicultural society (Table 6): They agree more that immigrants have to assimilate and they deny that a mix of cultures can be interesting and that Swiss people can learn something from immigrants. Only regarding the item "If Swiss people and immigrants respect each other, there are no problems" all youths − irrespective of the country of origin − highly agree.

Media access. One basic prerequisite for media use is media access. Therefore we asked which media are available in general at home and especially in the own bedroom of young people. Looking at media access at home the migration background explains more than social background regarding print media, satellite television and new media. The equipment of Swiss families in the living room is better then it is among

Table 7. *Media access at home (except own bedroom).*

Mentioned (%)	Swiss	Migrants	Italy	Turkey	Ex-Yugoslavia
Newspaper Subscribed	89	61	64	63	55
Magazine Subscribed	65	46	48	56	45
TV	99	98	99	99	97
Satellite TV	24	61	56	71	74
Video Equipment	85	80	84	74	78
DVD	75	64	70	59	53
Radio	77	68	74	66	63
Stereo Equipment	70	63	65	53	59
Computer	81	52	60	40	38
Internet	80	49	57	34	38
Playstation	52	40	43	34	34

Table 8. *Media access in own bedroom.*

Mentioned (%)	Swiss	Migrants	Italy	Turkey	Ex-Yugoslavia
Magazine Subscribed	24	17	11	10	21
Ø Number of books	37	23	22	24	16
TV	32	46	50	39	52
Satellite TV	6	6	8	5	8
DVD	27	39	36	46	44
Video Equipment	18	23	25	22	25
Radio	89	74	78	69	72
Stereo	87	78	83	81	74
PC	45	56	51	68	61
Internet	30	49	40	64	56
Playstation	25	37	40	43	41

Table 9. *Media use in hours per week.*

	Swiss	Migrants	Italy	Turkey	Ex-Yugoslavia
Newspaper	1h30	1h30	1h40	1h30	1h20
Books	3h10	2h40	2h30	3h00	2h10
Magazines	2h00	1h40	1h40	1h45	1h40
TV	10h15	13h00	13h20	12h15	13h35
Video	2h15	2h40	2h10	2h35	3h25
DVD	2h45	2h50	2h55	3h10	2h30
Computer offline	5h10	6h00	7h25	5h25	6h15
Internet	8h25	10h30	9h35	10h20	11h00
Radio	6h30	3h50	4h35	2h15	3h20
Music (CD)	10h30	10h20	11h35	9h40	9h30
Playstation	3h35	3h35	4h00	3h25	3h00
Total	54h45	56h35	59h25	54h00	56h25

families with migration background. But a somewhat different result is observable if one looks at media ownership in the children's bedrooms (table 8)

Interestingly, adolescents' own access to new media is higher among the immigrants. This means that parents with immigrant background offer their children access to ICTs, but without using it themselves. But ownership of print media (books, subscription of newspaper and magazines) is significantly lower among families and children with immigrant background.

Besides migration background, gender and level of education are important predictors for media access as well: The own access to electronic media is strongly dependent on gender: Boys have better access to the computer and the Internet than girls do. In addition, the amount of own books is closely related to the personal level of education, the social background of family; but there are negative correlations with the availability of a television set in one's own bedroom.

Media use. Consonant to studies in other countries (d'Haenens, 2003; Weiss and Trebbe, 2001) Swiss adolescents are listening to radio more frequently and for more hours per week than adolescents with immigrant background. Otherwise, young people with immigrant background spend more hours watching TV whereas the frequency of watching TV does not differ from the TV habits of their Swiss colleagues. The segment of those that are not using the Internet at all, is higher among the immigrants but on average young people with immigrant background spend more time online than their Swiss counterparts. Whereas there are no differences between Swiss youth and others concerning the use of maga-

Table 10. *Frequency of media use* ("at least several times per week" vs. "never").

in %	Swiss		Migrants		Italy		Turkey		Ex-Yugoslavia	
Newspaper	47	7	44	11	36	12	38	15	46	13
Books	43	5	33	11	31	13	34	7	33	13
Magazines	41	5	30	13	27	15	22	16	30	13
TV	89	3	96	0	99	0	94	2	95	0
Video	25	11	35	8	36	9	27	10	41	3
DVD	28	10	41	8	39	8	37	7	47	8
Computer	53	4	60	7	48	10	60	7	63	9
Internet	67	7	71	11	61	19	72	14	73	8
Radio	70	5	50	14	55	10	35	19	49	17
Music (CD)	89	1	90	1	89	1	96	1	91	1
Playstation	31	30	34	27	33	22	40	19	30	30

zines and newspaper, students with immigrant background are reading books significantly less frequently and fewer hours per week than Swiss adolescents. Regarding the use of other media there are no significant differences between Swiss pupils and others. Immigrant families do not have as many computers as their Swiss counterparts; but in the bedrooms of children with immigrant background we found more computers than in the bedrooms of the Swiss.

Migration background is a more important predictor than other factors regarding the frequency of reading books, watching TV and listening to the radio. As to reading of books as well as to use of audiovisual media there is a correlation between migration background and reading frequency, but education level and gender are more important predictors. For the use of the computer and the Internet there is no significant difference between Swiss adolescents and others but education explains the biggest part of variance. Gender is a good predictor for the offline use of the computer − boys are using the computer more frequently than girls − but girls are using the Internet as often as their male colleagues, especially for communication purposes.

Preferences for media content. There are no differences between Swiss adolescents and migrants regarding entertaining TV programs, because media content is chosen according to youth specific interests. But for TV information it is obvious that young migrant people prefer watching news on private stations whereas Swiss youths more often mention programs of the public broadcaster. As for print media, there are similar interests regarding the best liked genres, yet it has to be emphasized that the broadness of print media offerings is better utilized by Swiss pupils. Youth-specific and topic-oriented interests are characteristic for the In-

Table 11. *Partners for conversations about different media.*

Partners mentioned in %	Mother		Father		Siblings		Colleagues	
	CH	M	CH	M	CH	M	CH	M
TV	46	44	37	37	54	50	83	79
Video	30	25	30	23	55	55	74	71
Radio	39	20	27	21	23	18	30	28
Music	33	29	30	21	55	53	84	86
Books	41	26	21	16	23	24	31	26
Newspaper	54	39	51	41	20	21	30	33
Magazines	26	18	19	16	31	28	53	47
Computer-Games	9	5	14	9	37	38	58	61
PC Graphics/Photos	13	10	28	19	13	24	23	32
PC Programming	7	6	36	23	17	29	26	40
Internet Pages	19	16	27	19	35	35	68	71
Internet Chats	6	6	5	5	21	21	57	69

ternet. In addition young people with immigrant backgrounds are also using the Internet for e-mail and chat to keep in touch with relations and friends in the country of origin. − To sum up, the globalized sphere of international TV programs, e. g., MTV, media symbols and formats targeted at young people are highly visible especially in the open-ended questions dealing with favorite media content.

Media as a topic of conversation. Modern mass media content also plays an important role in providing topics of conversation in the everyday life of young people. Therefore we asked our adolescents which media they are talking about with what persons. Regarding print media there is a deficit of conversation between children and parents compared to Swiss families. But young immigrants are talking with their siblings or colleagues as much as Swiss youths.

Adolescents with migrant backgrounds talk about new media (the Internet, programming etc.) primarily to friends and siblings whereas Swiss pupils also mention the father as an important conversational partner; this is probably a result of the different occupational backgrounds of Swiss fathers and their computer and Internet skills.

The limited amount of media discussions by young people with their parents in migrant families also seems to be a consequence of language differences in the media content used: Parents of migrant families are using most media more frequently in their mother tongue whereas children often use them in German language which complicates conversation about media.

Main results

In response to our research questions concerning access to and use of media and mostly in accordance with our review of research we found the following main results:

- Except for television and satellite television, the *ownership of media* in Swiss families is higher than in families with immigrant backgrounds. At the same time it can be stated, that children's own access to new media is higher among the immigrants; but immigrant families do not own as many computers as their Swiss counterparts. This means that parents with immigrant backgrounds offer their children access to ICTs, but without using it themselves. But ownership of print media (books, subscription of newspaper and magazines) is lower among families and children with immigrant backgrounds.
- Young people with immigrant backgrounds spend more hours watching television whereas the frequency of watching television does not differ from the television habits of the native Swiss. The segment of the respondents who are not using the Internet at all is higher among the immigrants but on average young people with immigrant backgrounds spend more time online than Swiss youngsters. Whereas there are no differences between Swiss youth and others concerning the use of magazines and newspaper, students with immigrant backgrounds are reading books less frequently and less hours per week than Swiss pupils.
- With regard to identity-formation processes our qualitative data illustrate how young people actively use friends or relatives, role models from the world of football or music in order to define their own style through which they express themselves. Media play an important part for them, both for keeping in touch with peers and relatives or for discussing news from the world of sports or show business.
- Migrant youths often do not fully belong to both cultures, the Swiss culture and the culture of origin. The deepest roots they develop in the place where they were living and in the relationships to a broad − sometimes international − network of relatives, friends and peers. In such a situation the political aim of a "seamless" assimilation is highly counterproductive.
- Against the widely held belief, that young people with migrant backgrounds are living in a kind of 'parallel society' and/or 'media ghetto' our study indicates that *migrant youths are not a homogeneous group* but are characterized by a diversity of individual personalities, social backgrounds and manifold media use patterns. As a consequence, policy measures, school projects or media coverage should take more into account this existing social and cultural diversity.

- But there is mutual influence as well. Young people with Swiss as well as migrant backgrounds share many age-typical media and cultural preferences, especially globalized youth oriented television and music programs, youth magazines and Internet sites.
- Young people with migration backgrounds as well as their parents have high aspirations regarding their chances for education and future employment. These claims and efforts contrast with the existing educational disadvantages of children from another country of origin and using another mother tongue. Despite these 'hurdles', the majority of young people with migrant backgrounds are surprisingly satisfied.

Conclusions and discussion

Our multidisciplinary research project attempted to realize several objectives concerning theory, methods and data, and is intended to be of practical relevance in different fields like social sciences, school and family education as well as journalistic practice.

On a theoretical level, the project tried to enrich the theoretical foundations of a culturally orientated migration theory by linking concepts of media use with the perspective of a globalized community of young immigrant media users. Using concepts like 'hybrid identities' we referred to socialization theory stressing aspects like 'active media use', 'self socialization' or the dissolution of traditional identity concepts.

An important methodological objective of the project was to develop an instrument to gather quantitative as well as qualitative data concerning the role and functions of traditional media (print and electronic) and new media (the computer and the Internet) for children and youths with immigrant backgrounds. In addition, a special focus of the qualitative part was the involvement of visual data in the research process.

Furthermore, the project's aim was to gain knowledge based on empirical data for the first time in Switzerland about the complex relationship between identity-formation processes and media use in the life of young people with migrant backgrounds. The results of the research demonstrate differences in media habits of young people with Swiss compared to migrant backgrounds. But besides ethnicity, we observed even stronger differences in various areas of media consumption concerning factors like personal level education, social background of family or gender. As a consequence, a complex multifactoral model is needed to fully understand use of and effects of media in the lives of young people. Based on empirical data, the project tries to sensitize the social science research in Switzerland for the topic 'migration and media' and to establish a network of experts for media and migration in the context of our two international workshops.

Especially the results of the quantitative study stress differences between migrant and Swiss young people and should give school teachers a better understanding of the media behavior of their pupils in order to prepare the ground for developing specific actions in schools or directed towards families to provide better equal opportunities to both groups. Together with the results of the qualitative investigation we show how media use and consumption are connected to the identity-formation processes of children with an immigrant background.

The project demonstrates manifold influences of the media on migrants, who are living between integration into a new socio-cultural environment, bonding relations to their old diasporic communities, and conflicting demands of bridging between these different cultures. Under these circumstances it is necessary to find new perspectives for successful integration. The concept of hybrid identity, which integrates 'here' and 'there' in the construction of identities, gives new impulses to the politics of immigrant integration. It accepts that integration is not a process of fundamental change of identity − which in fact is a process of alienation. In contrast to such conservative approaches one has to interpret hybrid identities as positive resources for the development of a particular position or attitude in a multicultural society.

In this context we are aware of the risks when segregating behavior overwhelms the integrative aspects. Integration as a process between a mere adoption of so-called 'Swissness' and the conservation of migrant mentalities is a difficult path we have to go. With respect to this delicate task, we attempted to show how and where integrative aspects have to be strengthened in our youth politics and in schools, and how we can learn from the cultural resources of immigrants.

The results of our study can be of significance for media professionals as well as they demonstrate the importance of media for the integration of young people with a migration background and give the opportunity to anchor media coverage on a more realistic and thus less stereotypical basis. The results also point out to the need of the immigrants themselves to be represented in the media in a more diverse and more accurate fashion.

Note

1. The 4-group-typology 'cultural orientation' was based on two indexes (orientation towards Switzerland and orientation towards country of origin); each additive index (0 to 8 points) was divided by the median value into a 'low' vs. a 'high' group. The additive index 'Swiss orientation' was based on the following questions: a) 'German' as most often used language with colleagues/friends; b) personal rating of German language skills as 'very/quite good'; c) Switzerland as country of origin of most friends; d) membership in Swiss club; e) feeling comfortable in Switzerland;

f) feeling of belonging to Switzerland; g) important to know what is happening in Switzerland; h) family life seen as similar to that of Swiss adolescents. The additive index 'orientation towards home country' was based on the following statements: a) 'native language' most often used language with colleagues/friends; b) personal rating of native language skills as 'very / quite good'; c) most friends are from country of origin; d) no membership in Swiss clubs; e) one feels more comfortable with people from home country; f) one frequently feels being excluded in Switzerland; g) it is important to know what is happening in home country; h) one does not feel a real Swiss. Reliability tests were run on both scales.

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Appendix: Publications of research review

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